Sustained connections
the institutional transnationalism of next generation Latino-Americans

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Abstract

Next generation transnationalism is overwhelmingly perceived as an emotional or non-institutional form of cross-border connectivity. This study takes a fundamentally different approach and attempts to define an *institutionalized* transnational space for this demographic. Investigating a non-representative sample of Mexican and Salvadoran individuals who are active within cross-border philanthropic and political organizations operating in California and Washington DC, the analysis suggests that next generation institutionalized transnationalism exists and should be taken seriously as a subject of academic interest. This mode of transnational connectivity assumes different forms, conceptualized in this study as 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism - the former referring to frequent and essential contributions, and the latter to contributions that were less frequent and less essential to organizational development.

In understanding the causes of next generation institutional transnationalism, the study calls for a synthetic appreciation of the factors involved, a blend of structural factors - including personal attributes, socialization, social location, and institutional characteristics – and individual agency. An 'actor-centred' framework was also relevant, acknowledging prevailing structural conditions while remaining sensitive to the subjective contexts in which institutional transnationalism could emerge, and the capacity for individuals to define their own transnational trajectories. The analysis is open to the possibility that transnational organizations will survive beyond the first generation – a possibility largely found to be controlled by the characteristics of institutions and their potential for regeneration. Finally, the analysis contributes to the on-going debate regarding the relationship between transnationalism and assimilation. The evidence suggests that assimilation and transnationalism proceed simultaneously for the next generation. Sustained connections to the country of origin do not therefore necessarily delay, hold-back, or undermine incorporation.

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Glossary and Abbreviations

ADEES	Asociacion para el Desarrollo en El Salvador
ARENA	Alianza Republicana Nacionalista
CAFTA	Central American Free Trade Agreement
CAFRED	Central American Foundation for Rural Educational Development
CARECEN	Central American Resource Center
CEPAL	Comision Economica para America Latina y el Caribe
CISPES	Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador
COTSA	Comunidades Transnacionales Salvadorenas Americanas
CRISPAZ	Christians for Peace in El Salvador
CUS	Communidas Unidas Salvadorenas
DGACE	General Directorate within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DREAM Act	Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act
EMIF-Norte	Encuesta sobre migracion en la frontera Norte de Mexico
ESCASE	Comite Amigos de Santa Elena
FIOB	Frente Indigena de Organizaciones Binacionales
FISDL	Social Investment and Local Development Fund
FCZSC	Zacatecan Federation of Hometown Associations of Southern California
FMLN	Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional
GED	General Education Diploma
HTAs	Hometown Associations
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development of the United Nations
IDEA	International Diaspora Engagement Alliance
IME	Institute of Mexicans Abroad

IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NALACC	National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities
NGOs	Non-government Organizations
NILC	National Immigration Law Center
OEAMs	Offices for Attending to Migrants
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPME	Presidential Office for Mexicans Abroad
PCME	Program for Mexicans Abroad
SALEF	Salvadoran American Leadership and Education Fund
SANA	Salvadoran-American National Association
SHARE	Salvadoran Humanitarian Aid Relief and Education Foundation
TPS	Temporary Protected Status
USD	United States Dollars
USEU	Union Salvadorena de Estudiantes Universitarios
UZCDC	United Zacatecan Community Development Corporation

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale: why next generation institutional transnationalism?

Transnational migration - the concept that international migrants maintain ties with their societies and communities of origin as they settle in another country - has attracted significant academic interest in recent years, advancing our knowledge of the contemporary immigrant experience. While the historical record shows that previous waves of migrants also retained links with their home countries, scholars of transnational migration emphasize the more intense and regular ties facilitated by modern advances in communication technology and transport. They contend that the instantaneous connectivity that modern technology facilitates, gives rise to a qualitatively different experience that was not possible in previous eras. Recent research on these aspects of migration has documented philanthropic organizations that migrants have established to deliver assistance and address needs 'back home' (Goldring, 2002; Smith, 2006, 2006; Guarnizo, 2003; Iskander, 2005); described the multiple ways in which migrants participate in the political processes of their country of origin (Ostergaard-Nielson, 2001; Bauböck, 2001, 2007; Bakker and Smith, 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008; Martiniello and Lafleur, 2008, and Ostergaard-Nielson, 2001); and has examined how transnational migration affects assimilation and incorporation within the country of settlement (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003; Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000; Tamaki, 2011).

However, there has been significantly less research and theorizing about the transnational links of the next generation – those born and/or brought up in the country of settlement. There is therefore far less information about their relationships with the parental 'home' country; for example, whether these are maintained, neglected, or utilised periodically; how any links retained are realized, and what the implications of any such relationships are. The limited studies that do exist have mostly explored emotional forms of connectivity (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds,

2004; Falicov, 2005; Gowrichan, 2009) or non-institutional behaviours such as trips to home countries, the consumption of home country media, or contacts with relatives in countries of origin (Rumbault, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002; Levitt, 2002). Despite a limited number of isolated case studies (Smith, 2002, 2006; Levitt, 2002), there have been very few investigations into next generation contributions to transnational philanthropic and political networks, and no - at least to my knowledge - comprehensive studies that investigate this subject in significant detail.

As a result, formal or institutional transnationalism – through cross-border political and philanthropic networks - is primarily perceived as the exclusive domain of first generation immigrants. This study makes a significant new contribution to the field of transnational studies by investigating to what extent these same forms of activity also apply to the next generation. While perhaps understandable, given the closer ties that first generation individuals are likely to sustain with the country of origin, the failure to investigate next generation institutionalized transnational activity is unfortunate. Studies of this phenomenon are important in order to provide a means of investigating transnationalism beyond the realm of emotions and more routine activities, helping to expand our conceptions and the analytical toolkit we apply to this phenomenon. This more expansive viewpoint enables us to consider the full plethora of transnational options available to the next generation and a wider understanding of the transnational social spaces in which this demographic operates.

A limited focus on emotions and routine cross-border activities also misses some of the potential impacts of formal transnationalism in the United States and countries of origin. There could be implications for transnational organizations, for instance. The presence of US-born and/or raised children of migrants may help to ensure the long-term sustainability of transnational networks beyond the first generation. These individuals also tend generally to have higher educational achievements than their parents, and this may help transnational organizations to overcome capacity constraints and

deliver improved assistance to communities of origin. For the United States, on the other hand, the maintenance of ties to countries of origin raises important questions about the long-term assimilation trajectories of Latino-American communities: how do transnational activities affect incorporation? Does continued involvement in the country of origin delay or undermine assimilation? And, can incorporation and transnationalism take place simultaneously? This is controversial terrain and the subject of an intense debate between those who see the maintenance of transnational ties as a threat to social cohesion (For instance, Huntington, 2004), and those who instead perceive transnationalism and assimilation as simultaneous processes (for example Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000).

In order to contribute to these debates and fill gaps in the empirical record, this study approaches next generation transnationalism from a distinctly *institutional* viewpoint, investigating the participation of next generation Mexicans and Salvadorans within a sample of political and philanthropic cross-border organizations operating in Washington DC and California. It therefore complements previous research, contributing to on-going discussions about the sustainability of next generation ties, yet goes beyond the limitations of these studies to offer a more expansive appreciation of the transnational activities undertaken by this demographic. Additionally, it also explores the non-institutional activities of next generation individuals, and considers to what extent transnationalism affects incorporation within the United States.

1.2 Research aims

In order to gain a full appreciation of next generation institutional transnationalism, the study explores the following. First it describes and analyses the patterns of next generation inclusion across a range of philanthropic and political transnational organizations. Second, it investigates the form, frequency and impact of next generation institutionalized activities. Third, the study examines the factors that contribute to the emergence of next generation institutionalized activities. Amongst these factors,

particular attention is paid to human variables, opportunity structures, processes of socialization, and individual volition, and how next generation institutionalized transnationalism affects assimilation and incorporation within the United States. The research on these aspects of next generation transnationalism has been organized around five key aims.   These are outlined below, and briefly positioned in relation to related works. Furthermore, some brief details are provided on how these aims are addressed. This chapter then outlines the structure of the thesis, before concluding with a brief section on important aspects of the terminology used in the study.

Aim 1: Determine the patterns of next generation inclusion within transnational organizations

Previous studies that have explored institutional (Jones-Correa, 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008) and non-institutional (Levitt and Waters, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002) transnational activities among individuals born and/or raised in the United States predict mostly limited involvement - at rates that are significantly lower than the parental generation. This study therefore examines to what extent this also applies to their involvement in transnational organizations, paying particular attention to variations in an attempt to isolate factors and organizational characteristics that could explain next generation inclusion or exclusion.

Aim 2: Examine the form and frequency of next generation institutional transnationalism

Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) distinguished between 'broad' and 'narrow' forms of transnational activities: the former designated occasional practices and the latter more regular commitments. This study investigates the positions and responsibilities that next generation individuals have assumed within their respective organizations, and the impact their contributions have generated in order to consider to what extent their contributions conform to 'broad' or 'narrow' definitions of transnationalism.

Aim 3: Determine the causes of next generation institutional transnationalism

Research has suggested a range of factors to explain transnational connectivity among the children of immigrants, including socialization (Fouron and Glick-Schiller, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Levitt and Waters, 2002; Quirke et al., 2009; Wassendorf, 2010; Soehl and Waldinger, 2012; Levitt and Waters, 2002), opportunity structures (Levitt, 2002), and human attributes (Levitt, 2002; Smith, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002). This study explores the relevance of these factors in the transnational trajectories of next generation migrants, in order to identify the variables most conducive to institutional forms of transnational activity. It also goes further. First, it examines the significance of structural analysis (Wellman, 1988), which argues that social location – defined by the ties that connect individuals to one another in a social system – is the predominant factor controlling human behaviour, as this tends to determine access to opportunities and resources. Second, the study also examines individual agency: the strategies that individuals develop, and the actions they initiate, to realize their dreams, desires, and hopes.

Aim 4: Examine alternative, non-institutional forms of transnational activities

Transnational studies on the next generation have suggested a range of cross-border behaviours that may be relevant for individuals socialised in the United States such as emotional forms of transnationalism (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Gowrichan, 2009) or non-institutional cross-border behaviours (Rumbaut, 2002; Kasinitz, 2002) such as travel to the country of origin. This study considers the ways in which emotional and non-institutional transnationalism may affect next generation Mexicans and Salvadorans, and the relationship between these forms of cross-border connectivity and institutionalized activities. To what extent, for example, did emotional or non-institutional transnationalism predate involvement in a cross-border organization and what influence did these forms of transnationalism have on the emergence of institutional activities? Answers to this question could advance our knowledge on the causes of next

generation transnationalism further, confirming whether alternative forms of homeland orientation can evolve to assume more substantive and institutionalized forms.

Aim 5: Understand transnationalism's impact on assimilation

Transnational migration and assimilation have often been perceived as contradictory processes. Huntington (2004), for example, has argued that continued involvement in a country of origin can delay or undermine incorporation within the United States. In recent years, however, this assertion has been challenged by a growing body of evidence which suggests that, actually, transnational and assimilation can progress simultaneously, much of it based on the first generation (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003; Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000; Tamaki, 2011). This study builds on this research to investigate how this relationship applies to next generation individuals involved in institutionalized cross-border activities: has their assimilation been held back or delayed, or has their incorporation proceeded? These questions are addressed through surveys and qualitative analysis of identification decisions, perceptions, and US civic participation: voting behaviours, attendance at political rallies, and contributions to political and/or advocacy campaigns.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter Two provides a review of literature and theoretical debates relevant to studies of contemporary immigrant communities and the relations they forge and maintain with their countries of origin. Analysis focuses on four main areas: transnational migration (the extent, causes and impacts of this phenomenon); the transnational ties of the next generation (the transnational activities specific to this demographic and the factors that contribute to its emergence); assimilation (the evolution of assimilation theory from its orthodox roots and the relationship between transnationalism and immigrant incorporation); and identification (the identification choices available to Latino-Americans and how these relate to broader debates surrounding assimilation and transnationalism).

Chapter Three provides background information on the migration histories of Mexican and Salvadoran communities in the United States. It also examines the emergence of transnational networks and arenas within these communities, placing this examination within a historical context and describing the political and developmental impacts of transnational mobilisation.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological approach adopted to investigate the institutionalized transnational activities of the next generation. It also provides information on the spatial and temporal parameters of the study, and describes the three samples consulted for this study.

Chapter Five sets the scene, providing an overview of next generation inclusion within sampled organizations, paying particular attention to the form, frequency, and impacts of their contributions. It therefore attempts to define a distinctly *institutionalized* space beyond the emotional and non-institutional forms of transnational connectivity that are most often applied to the next generation. This chapter also contributes to an on-going debate regarding the long-term sustainability of transnational organizations beyond first generation immigrants, which ranges from predictions of demise and decline (Jones-Correa, 2005; Rumbault, 2002) to potential survival (Kasinitz et al., 2002; Levitt, 2002).

Chapter Six is the first of three explanatory chapters, which explore the causes of next generation institutionalized transnationalism. This particular chapter investigates the relevance of human variables, socio-economic status, and processes of socialization, which have all been emphasized in the empirical record (Fouron and Glick-Schiller, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Levitt and Waters, 2002; Quirke et al., 2009; Wassendorf, 2010; Soehl and Waldinger, 2012; Levitt, 2002). Latter sections attempt to define distinct processes of socialization that may have had an influence on next generation institutional transnationalism, going beyond a general exposure to home-country cultural flows.

Chapter Seven adopts an alternative approach, exploring opportunity structures and analysing to what extent the characteristics of transnational organizations can facilitate or constrain institutional activities.

In addition to studying organizational characteristics – resource constraints, human capital, composition, and pervading cultures – the chapter engages with two structural theories that have been previously used to explain individual mobilization within larger networks or organizations: 'structural analysis' (Wellman, 1988) and 'institutional completeness' (Levitt, 2002).

Having explored structural factors, **Chapter Eight** considers agency and individual volition, considering the motivations and desires that drive individuals to participate in institutionalized cross-border activities. In doing so, this chapter constructs a synthetic and 'actor-centred' approach to understanding next generation institutionalized transnational activities which emphasizes action mediated through structural conditions.

The analysis turns to non-institutional activities in **Chapter Nine** to consider alternative modes of cross-border connectivity: identification with the country of origin, home visits and time spent in Mexico or El Salvador, family relations, and perceptions of both countries. As a result the chapter engages with previous transnational studies of the next generation which mostly neglect institutional activities (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Gowrichan, 2009; Rumbault, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002). It also explores whether, and to what extent, these forms of transnationalism contributed to the development of institutionalized connectivity.

Chapter Ten is concerned with the impact of transnational activities on assimilation and incorporation into US society: does institutionalized transnationalism within the next generation impede assimilation, or can the maintenance of transnational ties and incorporation proceed simultaneously? Analysis examines civic participation - voting patterns and involvement in political campaigns – identification, and perceptions of the United States.

The final concluding chapter, **Chapter Eleven**, summarises the main findings of the study and places these findings within the wider debate on transnational migration. It highlights consistencies and

inconsistencies with previous studies, and emphasises original contributions to knowledge. Finally, by contemplating potential next generation transnational trajectories in the years and decades ahead, the analysis suggests potential implications for the United States, Mexico and El Salvador.

1.4 Terms of use

Next generation refers to both individuals born in the United States (second generation) and those who were born in El Salvador or Mexico but came to the United States before the age of twelve (1.5 generation). This term is used as a replacement for second generation and 1.5 generation for two main reasons. Firstly, these terms may be too discrete to adequately capture the complexity that governs the lives of migrant families. What term, for example, should we apply to an individual who was born in the United States but moved back to El Salvador or Mexico for an extended period of time as a child before returning, as some respondents in this study did? Secondly, I suspected that using these terms would introduce an unnecessary distraction, suggesting distinctions that were not actually very significant. This became apparent during initial stages of the research when the emotional connections that second generation respondents expressed, and the physical connections they sustained, were just as strong as those who were born in Mexico or El Salvador. Previously, I had suspected that birth in the United States would generate a more detached and less intense relationship with the country of origin. Within the text I also refer to the next generation as *Latino-Americans*, *Mexican-Americans* and *Salvadoran-Americans*, or *individuals born and/or raised in the United States*.

This study subscribes to wider, more inclusive definitions of transnational migration and recognizes that this phenomenon can assume many different forms (Vertovec, 1999). I use the term *transnationalism* to describe an aggregated version that incorporates divergent trends. Elsewhere, I use terms that correspond to specific activities and orientations. *Emotional transnationalism* refers to transnational connections at the level of emotions and includes identification; *transnational*

actions/activities/behaviours describe actual physical acts (occasionally also described as *cross-border*

rather than *transnational*); and *institutional* or *formal transnational actions* or *activities* denote cross-

border acts that are performed within organizations and networks.

Assimilation or *incorporation* is understood to encompass a wide range of immigrant adaptation

strategies. For the purposes of this study it does not, therefore, only correspond to orthodox theories of

assimilation which describe adaptation to a white middle class mainstream. Instead, the terms are used

to denote multiple trajectories that can accommodate the retention of home-country ties or the

adoption of minority behaviours and cultures.

Countries or *communities of origin* refer to the countries and communities from which

respondents' parents (in the case of second generation individuals) or respondents themselves (in the

case of 1.5 generation individuals) originate. The term *home country* is also used to describe Mexico and

El Salvador, and should not be confused with the United States where respondents reside. The United

States is sometimes also referred to as the *country of settlement.*

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review provides context for the study of next generation institutional transnationalism. It starts by discussing the concept of transnational migration, analysing the main debates and competing definitions that have surfaced since its introduction two decades ago. The review then considers the causes of migrant transnationalism, considering explanations such as individual agency, human and social capital, altruism, and the influence that the context of departure and arrival may have had on the emergence of cross-border activities. Subsequent attention is given to the specific forms of next generation transnationalism, and how cross-border connectivity differs for this demographic. In addition, the causes of next generation transnationalism are also considered. Finally, the review considers the literature devoted to assimilation, charting the evolution of assimilation theory from its orthodox roots and notions of 'Americanization,' to revisionist theories that capture the more complex incorporation strategies of contemporary immigrants. An on-going debate as to whether the relationship between transnationalism and assimilation is simultaneous or dichotomous is also explored. The review concludes with a section on identification and what identification can reveal about a sense of belonging to either 'home' or 'host' settings, investigating the relevance of national, pan-ethnic, and hyphenated identities.

2.2 Transnational migration

Transnational studies challenge the prevailing social science view that the nation state is the central actor in the organization of economic, political and social experience, recognising the increasing constraints that supra-national forces place on national polities. Although sharing similarities with global studies, transnational studies focus on cross-border forces that are not global in reach (Hannerz, 1996).

They also do not assume the complete capitulation of the nation state to global forces or the homogenizing effects of an increasingly inter-connected world (Levitt and Khagram, 2008). Earlier studies applied the term 'transnational' to international relations. Keohane and Nye (1970) recognised that international actors - corporate bodies or non-governmental organizations - were conducting cross-border relations free from government control, which led them to differentiate 'transnational' activities from the 'interstate' activities of nation states. Martinelli (1982) also used 'transnational' to describe corporations with multiple bases in different countries, and political scientists have expressed interest in the growth of transnational social movements - activist networks and coalitions that exploit global communication platforms to operate across borders (for example see Brysk, 2000). Others have also documented the effects of 'transnational cultural flows' from core to peripheries which alter local cultural practices and expressions (Hannerz, 1992) or re-construct identities and generate trans-border 'imagined communities' (Appadurai, 1996).

A transnational lens has also been applied to the study of contemporary migration, helping to conceptualize the identities, ties, and activities that bind immigrants to their places of origin as they settle down in another country. For an investigation into the activities of cross-border political and philanthropic organizations, the literature on transnational migration offers a convenient framework with which to understand this phenomenon, providing insights into the factors that mobilize migrants to act transnationally across borders and offering a lens through which to view the potential impacts of such activities. Glick-Schiller et al. (1992, 1994, 1995) first coined the term 'transnational migration' to describe the increasing number of migrants who were exploiting advances in transport and communication to maintain a multiplicity of cross-border ties that simultaneously linked places of settlement and origin. Transnational migrants, they asserted, challenged orthodox theories of assimilation which had previously assumed that migrants eventually severed ties to their home countries as they were incorporated into a country of settlement (Park, 1928; Chiswick, 1977; Lieberson

and Waters, 1988; Wytrwal, 1977; Gordon, 1964; Warner and Srole, 1945). Glick-Schiller et al. insisted that social scientists re-think their 'state-centric' frame of reference. The tendency to act, make decisions, and develop identities across borders meant that contemporary migrants challenged conventional theories of geographical space and social identity.

Transnationalism: a novel concept?

Despite its potential as a new analytical device, the value of a transnational perspective on migration was later compromised by a flurry of studies that applied the transnational label too liberally, stretching the definition so far that the term became largely ambiguous. These excesses have prompted an intense debate that considers both the relevance of this new concept and its proper definition. Debate tends to focus on three main areas of contention: the novelty of transnational ties, the inclination among some studies to neglect the role of the state, and the tendency to exaggerate the extent of transnational ties.

The notion that transnational migration is novel was contradicted by the historical record which demonstrated that 'transnational' ties were often retained among earlier waves of migrants, such as Irish nationalists in nineteenth century New York (Jacobson, 1995), or seasonal European migration after the invention of steamships (Wyman, 1993). These historical precedents have even led some to question whether transnational migration terminology is needed at all (for example see Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004). However, this position overlooks the fact that due to advances in transport and communications technology contemporary transnational ties are significantly more complex and frequent in the modern era. Previous waves of immigrants had fewer options to sustain meaningful and frequent relations with their countries and communities of origin: the excessive costs of international transport would have reduced the possibility of visits 'home,' for instance, and information, news and imagery from the country of origin would have been less pervasive. Today, immigrants are positioned within an intricate and dynamic web of transnational information flows, a social location that can facilitate a much more

intimate relation with the country of origin. In short, advances in transport and communication technology enable immigrants to remain part of the community or society they left behind – albeit from a distance – and this new reality warrants a new conceptualization.

Applying a transnational lens to historical movements and activities also enables researchers to investigate previously overlooked phenomena in the historical record and recognize their significance (Portes, 2001; Foner, 1997, 2000). Given added conceptual weight, transnationalism therefore helps to resurrect the historical record of transnationalism, demonstrating the complexity of immigrant histories, which were often concealed beneath an overriding emphasis on orthodox notions of assimilation and the rapid shedding of allegiances to the country of origin. The maintenance of transnational ties and relations was not consistent with this model and was therefore rarely given sufficient attention as an alternative mode of incorporation in previous eras.

A further criticism directed toward transnational migration studies was a tendency to exaggerate the extent of transnational ties among contemporary immigrant communities, or imply that dense cross-border connectivity was more common than it actually was – a consequence of an initial propensity to base conclusions on a small number of case studies. Portes (2003), for example, warned against sampling on the dependent variable even as he articulated a defence of transnational migration as a concept worthy of investigation. In response to this criticism, subsequent studies sought to quantify transnational activity more accurately, suggesting that only a minority of immigrants regularly participated in transnational activity - although certain events such as natural disasters or economic and political crises could periodically increase the numbers involved (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003; Landolt, 2001; Levitt, 2001; Portes, 2003). Helpful in this regard, Guranizo et al (2003: 1238) argued that transnational activity constituted a "fluctuation between a small core and a larger soft rim of transnational activists."

Critics also attacked the notion that migrant transnationalism represented a form of emancipation, an argument made explicit by Glick-Schiller at al. (1994), who perceived cross-border activities as a form of resistance or escape from the hegemonic controls of government. In this formulation, transnational activities were understood as a response to ethnic differentiation and the subjugation and marginal societal positions designated to immigrants in countries of settlement. Emphasizing migrant agency, Glick-Schiller at al. suggested that transnational behaviours and continued identification with the home country emerged to compensate for the low status that many immigrants to the United States were given. They further argued that cross-border activities were a conscious form of opposition and resistance to the power asymmetries operating in countries of settlement, and often pursued as a form of 'escape' from the drudgery of low pay, low status work in post-industrial economies.

This emphasis on immigrant agency provoked a strong rebuke from those who recognised that transnational activities were conditioned by multiple constraints. In particular, critics expressed concerns about the tendency to underestimate the role of the nation state (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004; Koopmans and Statham, 2003; Joppke and Morawska, 2003; Faist, 2000; Vertovec, 2004). Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), for instance, argue convincingly that the cross-border movements and activities of immigrants are conditioned by the policies of nation states, which enforce entry and exit requirements and regulate membership within the national polity. International migration, they contend, interacts and collides with the efforts of governments to define, distinguish, and develop nation states. Koopmans and Statham (2003) also attempted to articulate a relationship between transnationalism and host country policies, distinguishing between 'exclusive' state policies that restrict immigrant rights and encourage migrants to develop orientations towards their countries of origin, and 'inclusive' policies that confer political rights in the host society and therefore encourage claims-making in a host setting. Finally, Vertovec (2004) suggests that while transnational migration has helped to

disturb the 'bounded' nature of nation states – the idea that identification and place of residence are contiguous – it does not present a challenge to state 'territoriality' since state policies continue to shape transnational practices, controlling for instance, back and forth movement across borders.

The interaction between transnationalism and policies in the country of settlement is exemplified by the case of Mexican and Central American immigrants in the United States, particularly those whose movements and actions are constrained by 'illegality' and a precarious immigration status. The fear of deportation is often a constant presence in the lives of undocumented immigrants, a condition of vulnerability that brings uncertainty and a life constantly regulated by restrictions and limits placed on freedom of movement (de Genova, 2014). It could be argued that this condition would not be conducive to the more visible manifestations of immigrant transnationalism as these could potentially bring unwanted exposure for undocumented migrants. In the case of Salvadorans living in the United States, for instance, transnational social fields are often 'truncated' (Bailey et al., 2002) because of the precarious legal status that many Salvadoran immigrants are forced to endure. Transnational lives are often characterized by immobility, particularly those afforded Temporary Protective Status (TPS)[1], which stipulates that immigrants cannot leave the United States for their home countries – doing so would infer that they are no longer in fear of persecution, thus contradicting the criteria on which they were initially granted TPS status and endangering their residency. Instead, Salvadoran migrants remain physically separated from their families and communities in El Salvador, opting to sustain connections

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[1] TPS is a temporary visa granted to immigrants resident in the United States whose country is unable to adequately handle the return of emigrants or unable to guarantee their safety. It is usually provided for the nationals of countries experiencing conflicts, natural disasters, or epidemics (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2012). Once the Peace Accords were signed in 1992, the US government announced that it was going to allow TPS to elapse for Salvadorans.

and fulfil their obligations through the distribution of material goods and remittances – a substitute for their actual physical presence (Bailey et al., 2002; Migares et al., 2003).

A more concise conceptual tool

Rather than diminishing the relevance of transnational migration, these debates have encouraged tighter, more concise definitions that are able to endure analytical scrutiny more effectively. In order to redeem the value of the concept, scholars have delimited transnational migration to certain practices and occupations (Portes et al. 1999; Guarnizo, 2003; Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec, 2003; Foner, 2000). Portes et al (1999), for instance, delimited the concept to economic, political, and socio-cultural activities that required regular and sustained cross-border movement, although others have suggested that an emphasis on frequent cross-border activities and occupations may be less relevant for communities that live long distances from the country of origin, whose transnational connectivity is not contingent on frequent 'individualistic' pursuits but may instead conform to broader definitions that suggest the flow of people, goods, and information (McIlwaine, 2011).

In a later study, and a further attempt to delimit migrant transnationalism, Portes (2003) also emphasised the 'grassroots' nature of transnational migration, arguing that the phenomenon must be initiated and led by migrants to be recognized as transnationalism, and is therefore distinct from the actions of nation states and global institutions. However, empirical evidence suggests that this definition may be too rigid to encompass the entire range of transnational connectivity. Adding further support to the notion that nation states control the form that transnational migration assumes, research has demonstrated that some transnational activities are in fact initiated by governments. For instance, the governments of emigrant states identify policies that can leverage the economic resources of expatriates and facilitate their contributions to national or community development (Waldinger, 2014). In Mexico, for example, municipal, state and federal authorities have actively recruited migrants and

organised them into HTAs as a means of delivering assistance to community development. For this reason it may be more useful to clarify whether transnationalism is 'state-led' or 'migrant-led' (Goldring, 2002). A similar classification was developed by Gardner (2002) who proposed 'Great' forms of transnational activity to describe economic and state-led activities, and 'Little' forms to describe transnational activities at the familial and household level.

Beyond the role of states, there have been further attempts to describe distinctions in the regularity, strength, and duration of transnational ties. Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) distinguish between 'narrow' transnational practices, which correspond to institutionalised and continuous activities, and 'broad' transnational practices, which refer to only occasional participation. Portes (2003) distinguishes between 'broad' and 'strict' transnational activities, the former describing occasional practices, and the latter used to describe regular participation. Levitt (2001) offers 'core' transnational activity to depict patterned and predictable activities in one area, and 'expanded' transnational activity to describe occasional practices in many spheres. Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) further delimit the concept to: linear transnationalism, efforts that sustain social relations and ways of life; resource-dependent transnationalism which describes entrepreneurial activities; and reactive transnationalism, a mode of connectivity that emerges from discrimination and negative experiences in the country of settlement. This last definition is consistent with the work of Glick-Schiller et al., (1994) who, as we have seen, argue that transnational migration is a strategy utilized by immigrants to escape hegemonic control and compensate for their low societal status in post-industrial economies. As we will see in a later section, a 'reactive' dimension to migrant transnationalism – a response to discrimination and marginalization – also surfaces in the transnational literature on the next generation.

Scholars have also defined the social spaces in which transnational migrants operate. Kearney (1995) describes 'migrant circuits' that connect communities in emigrant and immigrant countries, and

Glick-Schiller and Levitt (2006) adopt the term 'transnational social fields' to describe the multiple networks and linkages that traverse 'home' and 'host' communities, facilitating the flow of ideas, practices, and resources. A more detailed analysis is provided by Faist (2000) who describes three types of transnational social space: transnational kinship groups, transnational circuits, and transnational communities. The first designates relations between dispersed family members, and the second and third classifications refer to the circulation of goods, people and information within larger dispersed populations - the distinction between the two reflecting differences in the strength and density of transnational ties. However, the literature can also underestimate the complexity of transnational social spaces. By emphasizing a dual orientation towards home and host societies, research may neglect the existence of multiple ties connecting migrants to places beyond home/host settings, a pattern that could apply to dispersed diasporas, for instance, whose members may scatter to numerous countries. A similar pattern could also apply to individuals who engage in a two-stage process of migration, staying temporarily in one country before subsequently moving to another destination. McIlwaine (2012) uses the example of Latin American migrants in Europe to demonstrate how previous residence in another European Union country before moving to the UK, resulted in the development of transnational ties across multiple borders – not only from the UK to Colombia, Bolivia, or Brazil, but also to Portugal, Italy, and especially, Spain, where friends and family still resided. Given this, McIlwaine argues that migration research needs to take into consideration the more "complex transnationality of social spaces," recognizing that migrants negotiate multiple connections to diverse locations.

The social spaces navigated by transnational migrants are also perceived in distinctly economic and political terms. As we have previously seen, transnationalism has been perceived as a means for immigrants to navigate and escape the low social status they are often designated in countries of settlement (Portes et al. 1999; Guarnizo, 2003; Glick-Schiller, 1994). The example of transnational entrepreneurs (Guarnizo, 2003; Glick-Schiller et al, 1994), for instance, could fit into this narrative as

immigrants exploit transnational connections to accumulate capital and improve their situation in the country of settlement. There have been significant studies of economic transformations at the community level in countries of origin, in particular the proliferation of transnational philanthropic groups such as HTAs and the flow of remittances and other economic resources from centre to periphery (Koopmans and Statham, 2003; Goldring, 2002; Smith, 1998; Guarnizo, 2003). To a lesser extent, the less tangible and often unintended economic consequences of living lives across borders are also considered. Travel to the country of origin, the consumption of home-country products, and communicating with relatives can all generate economic expansion across a range of sectors, including trade, telecommunications, transport, and tourism (Landolt, 2001; Guarnizo, 2003; Orozco, 2005). With immigrants as the principal actor in these cross-border economic transformations, the literature tends to infer a 'bottom-up' perception of economic transnationalism. In reality, however, much of this consumption supports capitalist expansion, providing revenue for home-country producers and multi-national transport and telecommunication companies (Guarnizo, 2003), further repudiating the claim that transnational migration always operates in opposition to – or beyond - hegemonic control. In addition to economic contributions, 'social remittances' – transnational values, practices, and outlooks – can also alter local cultures and the patterns of social life in communities of origin (Portes, 2003; Vertovec, 2004; Levitt, 2001).

Studies have perceived transnational migrants as a new political force in their countries of origin. Political transnationalism encompasses a broad range of activities, and has been defined in very general terms as cross-border participation in political networks oriented towards the country of origin (for example see Martiniello and Lafleur, 2008, and Ostergaard-Nielson, 2001). Within this broad definition there have been attempts to delimit specific actions and forms of political transnationalism, although some have cautioned against concepts that compartmentalize political actions too rigidly and fail to see their mutable nature (Martiniello and Lafleur, 2008). Nevertheless, delimitation is useful in

that it helps to highlight the different forms that political transnationalism can assume within transnational communities. Political transnationalism can, for instance, assume 'direct' forms that engage directly with the country of origin, or 'indirect' forms that are directed through the institutions of the receiving countries, as in the example of 'ethnic lobbyists' trying to influence the foreign policy of the US government towards their country of origin (Shain, 1999). Conversely, 'indirect' migrant political transnationalism has also been attributed to situations where migrants lack political rights in their country of origin and influence family members back home to vote or act in a certain way (Fox, 2005a). 'Homeland politics,' political activities directed towards the home country, are considered alongside 'immigrant politics,' the pursuit of immigrant rights in the receiving society, and 'trans-local' politics, engagement with sub-national government agencies at the municipal, state, or regional level, a form of political transnationalism that is often applied to HTAs (Ostergaard-Nielson, 2001; Bauböck, 2001, 2007).

The empirical evidence on migrant political transnationalism is varied, and much of the research on this has been conducted in the United States on immigrant communities from the Caribbean and Latin America. Political transnational arenas connecting Mexico and the United States, in particular, have proved fertile ground for studying political transnationalism: Mexican politicians campaigning in the United States (Goldring, 2002; Smith and Bakker, 2008), the increasing influence of hometown associations on municipal and regional politics (Goldring, 2002; Iskander, 2005; Smith, 2006), and Mexican migrants running for political office in Mexico (Bakker and Smith, 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008). The Salvadoran case in the 1980s points to a different conception of political transnationalism – a form of 'homeland politics' that aimed to remove a military government from power, utilizing both 'direct' and 'indirect' actions in pursuit of this cause (Perla, 2008, 2009). Elsewhere, while studies of political transnationalism in Europe are less extensive, there has been some investigation into the political formations of some communities, for instance those established by Turkish and Kurdish immigrants in Germany (Ostergaard-Nielson, 2001).

Researchers debating the effects of transnational political arenas and actors have not yet reached a consensus. While some perceive transnational migrants to be a new elite seeking incorporation within existing power structures (for example see Itzigsohn, 2000), others recognise their potential as a new political force that tackles corruption and campaigns for democratic reform (Portes et al, 1999; Shain, 1999; Guarnizo et al., 2003). Any effects are likely to be conditional on context. The first position assumes complicity between local and migrant elites and does not acknowledge that while migrants seek incorporation in existing power structures, they can also subvert these power structures. For example, in her study of Mexican HTAs in Zacatecas, Goldring (2002) suggested that despite a semi-clientilist relationship with state authorities, migrants were able to bargain effectively and extract significant concessions due to their growing economic power. The second position does not anticipate local opposition and the increasing tension that might arise as migrants insert themselves into local political arenas. Given that only a minority of migrants participate in regular transnational activity, this argument may also overstate the political strength of transnational actors (Guarnizo et al., 2003). Furthermore, the range of transnational political practices makes it almost impossible to compartmentalise activities into two discrete groups. Bakker and Smith (2005) have suggested that the 'status quo versus democracy' dichotomy should more accurately be perceived as a continuum of potential actions and outcomes.

The causes of migrant transnationalism

Given the subjective nature of many studies, it is difficult to reach any general conclusions regarding the causes of transnational migration. The determinants of transnational migration are many and the literature considers a range of potential explanations, including individual agency, human and social capital, altruism, and the context of departure and arrival. Another key factor is the massive change in communications and transport technology - the 'time-space compression' posited by Harvey (1990) -

which facilitates global connectivity and provides opportunities for migrants to pursue transnational engagements (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992, 1994, 1995; Faist, 2000).

Altruistic concerns and a desire to improve the lives of those left behind (Guarnizo,2003) are partly responsible for the transnational philanthropy organizations and institutions that migrants form to deliver assistance to their countries and communities of origin. Due to their rapid proliferation in recent decades, many studies have focused on HTAs, groups composed of migrants from the same town who raise money to fund community improvements such as road construction, electrification, and education and health facilities. There has been particularly significant interest in Mexican HTAs, given their large number – one estimate suggests there may be more than 2000 operating in the USA (Orozco and Lapointe, 2004) – and their formal relationship with the Mexican government, which has yielded some positive development impacts (Orozco, 2003; Goldring, 2002; Iskander, 2005; and Portes et al., 2005).

Self-interest is also thought to play a role: cross-border activities help migrants maintain status in home communities (Burrell, 2005; Guarnizo, 2003), and as we have previously seen, the pursuit of transnational activities provide migrants with a means to escape the long hours and limited opportunities that characterise low status work in a post-industrial economy (Portes et al. 1999; Guarnizo, 2003; Glick-Schiller et al., 1994). In addition, entrepreneurial migrants are motivated to maximise access to resources and labour in countries of origin (Levitt, 2001), and transnational economic interests allow migrants to 'hedge their bets' when economic conditions deteriorate in the country of settlement (Glick-Schiller et al, 1995).

However, these explanations fail to sufficiently consider the constraints placed on human behaviour and the fact that individual motivations are mediated through structural conditions. Individual action is often controlled and limited by restrictions, over which people have little, or no,

control, and these checks could be significant for migrant groups who occupy a more marginal status in countries of settlement. A confinement to low status, low-pay occupations, for instance, could undermine an ability to participate in economic forms of transnationalism, such as transnational entrepreneurism or participation in cross-border philanthropic groups. Legal restrictions and restrictive entry/exit requirements could also constrain freedom of movement. For the large number of undocumented migrants in the United States, for instance, the pursuit of cross-border goals and objectives may be limited by a precarious legal status and the threat of deportation. Visiting the country of origin could mean not returning. Furthermore, a fear of deportation would force many to maintain a low profile, thereby undermining some of the more visible aspects of political transnationalism such as protests and cross-border campaigns. As mentioned previously, the result for this segment of the US's migrant population is more likely to be a 'truncated' form of transnationalism (Bailey et al., 2002), which conceptualizes a more symbolic, rather than physical, presence in communities of origin manifested through long-distance communication and the exchange of gifts.

Recognizing this, studies of transnational migration have also adopted more structural perspectives to consider the context in which migrants operate, using this perspective to explain why certain individuals or communities participate in transnational activity more than others. As we have already seen, the state policies of receiving country governments are thought to shape, initiate, encourage, or constrain transnational migration (Levitt, 2001; Joppke and Morawska, 2003; Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2006; Vertovec, 2004; Hagan, 1994; Koopmans and Statham, 2003; Faist, 2000; Smith and Wiest, 2005; Bauböck, 2007). The policies and actions of receiving state governments and institutions also establish the boundaries of inclusion and define the rights of immigrants (Ostergarrd-Nielson, 2001). McIlwaine's (2012) study on Latin American migrants in Europe revealed that although migrants demonstrated agency in their attempts to accumulate capital – economic, civic (legal residence documents), and social (language proficiency and education) – in order to ease their incorporation, they

were also subjected to increasingly restrictive controls which shifted according to labour requirements within the European Union, and placed limits on their freedom to act. There are also different views on the way in which state policies affect transnationalism. Some have argued that the very atmosphere of exclusion and negative behaviour towards immigrants fosters transnationalism because it provides limited opportunities to participate in the political process of the country of settlement (Abadan-Unat, 1997; Koopmans and Statham, 2003; Ostergarrd-Nielson, 2001). Yet, there is also a view that policies which promote multiculturalism and tolerance encourage immigrants to retain their national-origin identification and participate in ethnic or national group activities, including transnational activities (Faist, 2000; Vertovec, 1999).

In sending countries the extension of expatriate rights – dual nationality, for instance, and voting rights – has fundamentally challenged accepted notions of citizenship and identity, decoupling rights from territory and giving migrants the ability to become political actors in their countries of origin (Levitt, 2001; Fitzgerald, 2000; Goldring, 2002; Smith, 2003, 2006; Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Iskander, 2005; Bakker and Smith, 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008; Bauböck, 2007). Some have offered a new conceptualization of 'transnational citizenship,' describing an institutional reaction to migration that extends membership rights to expatriates (Bauböck, 2007; Fox, 2005b). Home-country governments often initiate links with expatriates in order to maintain remittance flows (Itzigsohn, 2000; Smith, 2003; Bauböck, 2007). Another home-country policy in this category would be the matching fund schemes initiated by Mexican authorities to facilitate increased community investments from HTAs, documented by Goldring (2002) and conceptualised by Smith (2003; 2006) as an 'institutionalised' form of transnationalism. Domestic politics and political reform also emerge as significant factors in the literature: democratization, the rise of competitive party politics, and political crises can prompt governments or opposition parties to reach out to migrant communities where there is a convergence of interests (Itzigsohn, 2000; Smith, 2003). As individuals with access to the resources of more advanced

economies, their growing economic clout can also provide greater leverage in the country of origin (Vertovec, 2004; Waldinger, 2014). For instance, the ability to channel or restrict financial flows can significantly influence or alter government behaviour, particularly on a 'trans-local' level where financial resources may be scarce (Fitzgerald, 2000). While some have argued that this influence is justified, given that migrants send remittances, invest in their countries of origin, and may intend to return (Ostergarrd-Nielson, 2001; Bauböck, 2007), migrant involvement in the domestic politics of a home country could also potentially generate resentment among some sectors of the population who may perceive expatriates as individuals divorced from day to day realities.

In fact, migrant involvement could also be actively challenged where there is no convergence of interest or expatriates assume an oppositional stance and challenge the authority of home-country governments. The Mexican PRI (Revolutionary Institutional Party) government, ousted from office in 2000 after 71 years in power, delayed extension of the vote to expatriates because it feared expatriates would vote for the opposition (Fitzgerald, 2000; Cornelius and Marcelli, 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008). Governments would also be keen to curtail the influence of diasporas that play a key role as protagonists in conflicts, perpetuating insurgencies through material and moral support (Kaldor, 2001; Fair, 2005; Shain, 2002; Duffield, 2002; Brinkerhoff, 2006). As we have seen, given the exodus that accompanied El Salvador's protracted Civil War, Salvadorans in the United States played an important role in efforts to remove the country's military government from power. Salvadoran migrants provided financial assistance to the main opposition group, Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional (FMLN), and used their location in the United States to target international media and raise awareness about the atrocities being committed by El Salvador's military (Landolt et al., 1999; Perla, 2008, 2008b). In these situations, then, there is little incentive for governments to reach out and cultivate stronger ties with expatriates – such efforts would simply provide an opening for antagonists to gain a foothold in the country of origin and challenge state authority. Although some studies have suggested that the

experience of violence and persecution can have the opposite effect, causing expatriates to distance themselves from involvement in opposition movements (for example Colombians in the United States, see Guarnizo et al., 1999, 2003), most research appears to document cases of active transnational involvement.

The context of departure could be important in another way. Guarnizo et al. (1999), for instance, found that the type of community migrants resided in before they emigrated was influential. Reflecting on the experiences of Salvadorans, Dominicans, and Colombians, they suggested that migrants originally from urban areas were less likely to maintain transnational ties than migrants from close-knit rural communities who develop stronger bonds and a more powerful group consciousness. However, this argument is not entirely convincing. Although it could be relevant in transnational networks dominated by HTAs which funnel assistance to specific rural communities, it ignores other forms of consciousness that are also capable of mobilizing transnational movements and causes. Building on arguments developed earlier, the example of political and ethnic diasporas challenge this assertion and demonstrate how nationalistic, political, and ethnic identities can become increasingly salient in response to developments in the country of origin, galvanizing a transnational response.

2.3 Next Generation Transnational activities

The literature and studies so far discussed tend to be about first generation immigrants. There is much less research and theorizing about their offspring - the 1.5, second, or next generation - and whether their relations with the country of origin are maintained, neglected, or utilised only periodically. Limited empirical research means that the transnational ties of the next generation are less well known and many questions remain unanswered. However, it is widely assumed that the transnational ties of individuals born and/or brought up in the United States are weaker, less substantive, and tend only to be sustained by small minorities (Levitt and Waters, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002).

Furthermore, when analysts consider the future development of transnational ties and networks, they adopt both a positive and pessimistic tone: while research concedes that future trends are still an open question, the available evidence leads researchers to suggest either the demise (Jones-Correa, 2005; Rumbault, 2002) or the possible survival (Kasinitz et al., 2002; Levitt, 2002) of next generation transnational ties.

Rumbault based his conclusions on the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS), a study which follows a representative sample of 1.5 and second generation youth as they come of age across a number of different 'gateway' cities in the United States. Analysing a range of variables and behaviours – including identification, language preference, remittance behaviour and legal status – Rumbault predicts an 'American' rather than a 'transnational' future for the vast majority of the next generation, noting the stronger ties and allegiances that the children of immigrants demonstrate and express towards US society. However, despite the limited evidence of transnational attachments – Rumbault argued that subjective and objective ties to the country of origin were consistently below 10 per cent across all communities – these varied according to nationality

Focusing on institutional forms of transnationalism, Jones-Correa (2005) offers a further pessimistic take on the future of second generation transnational activities. Considering the potential of ethnic (in this case meaning political mobilization within the United States) versus transnational political mobilization, he offers three main scenarios for the future involvement of the second generation: the first is that the second generation opt out of transnational organizations entirely and instead mobilize around ethnic concerns in the United States; the second is that existing transnational organizations shift to re-focus on ethnic issues as the second generation comes of age; and the third raises the possibility that second generation individuals become drawn into first generation organizations and address transnational concerns. Available evidence leads Jones-Correa to support the first two scenarios but to

dismiss the possibility of the third. In this analysis, members of the next generation appear to be drawn

more towards ethnic political arenas, and where they are involved in transnational organizations, tend

to actively re-orient these organizations towards more ethnic concerns.

The more optimistic note struck by Kasinitz et al. (2002), while not deviating from the general

observation that transnational ties are rarer among members of the next generation, offers additional

caveats which promote an alternative outcome and raise the possibility of continued transnational

engagement. For Kasinitiz et al., the fact that significant minorities are already engaged in substantive

transnational activities is significant. The small number currently maintaining ties to the country of origin

could potentially reinforce the formal and informal networks that transfer social, economic and political

capital to the country of origin, preserving these linkages for occasional usage by the ethnic majority.

When circumstances are conducive – perhaps in the aftermath of a natural disaster or conflict –

identification and emotional attachments can therefore evolve into more substantive and concrete

activities that engender more direct impacts on home countries.

The contours of next generation transnationalism

By adopting an alternative definition of transnationalism – one that can incorporate smaller and less

frequent cross-border practices – research has been able to present more evidence for the maintenance

of home-country ties extending beyond first generation immigrants. As a critique to commentators who

observe only the absence of substantive and frequent ties among the next generation, Levitt (2002),

while conceding that the transnational activities and ties of the second generation are not comparable

to the regular and comprehensive practices of the immigrant generation, argued that transnational

research may have 'set the bar too high,' thus failing to acknowledge the different modes of connectivity

that define next generation transnationalism. This important observation has helped to conceptualize

alternative forms of transnationalism that are capable of capturing next generation experiences. A more

inclusive definition has allowed researchers of the next generation to perceive emotional orientations and identification as forms of transnationalism (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Gowrichan, 2009).

In a study of second generation Filipino youth, for instance, Wolf (2002) introduced the concept of 'emotional transnationalism,' a sentimental attachment emerging from the close interactions between family households and the country of origin, which affects the way in which identities, moral practices, and personal goals are forged and maintained. Although second generation Filipino youth may not participate in the economic or political actions that are common among some first generation immigrants, they do, according to Wolf, participate in a "transnational life at the level of emotions" (285). Similarly, Le Espiritu and Tran (2002) challenge us to think of transnationalism not only as a literal phenomenon – taking the form of actual physical practices - but also as something that is symbolic or imagined. In this perception of transnationalism, then, the country of origin is understood not only as a physical place but a concept that the second generation can imagine or desire. This was highly relevant for the Vietnamese second generation individuals consulted for Le Espiritu and Tran's study. Although they had never visited Vietnam and could only imagine their country of origin, they used its symbolic presence to construct their identities in the United States. A similar more qualitative take on transnationalism is taken by Falicov (2005), who refers to second generation immigrants as 'emotional transmigrants' whose transnational attachments – both objective and subjective – are mediated by the immigrant generation, incorporating first generation memories gleaned from family narratives, rituals, and customs, and adopting idealized visions of 'home.'

Beyond emotional forms of transnationalism, examples of formal social, economic, or political cross-border practices among the next generation are relatively scarce. There are a limited number of case studies and observations, documenting evidence of next generation participation in transnational

networks, including community development initiatives and political movements (Smith, 2002, 2006; Smith and Bakker, 2008; Levitt, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002). As we have already seen, Kasinitz et al. came across minorities of second generation transnational activists – particularly in New York City's Dominican community – who were maintaining structural links to the country of origin. This study, and another by Rumbaut (2002), also uncovered some evidence of next generation individuals sending remittances to relatives in the country of origin.

In a more detailed examination of formal transnational linkages, Smith (2002, 2006) investigated a New York-based second generation transnational organization. Composed of individuals with roots in a small town in the Mexican state of Puebla, the short-lived organization was able to raise not insubstantial sums of money to fund public works and the restoration of a chapel in the hometown. Smith and Bakker's (2008) investigation into transnational political networks within California's Mexican community also uncovered some evidence of next generation involvement in formal transnational organizations. Although they do not go into much detail, they note that many first generation transnational leaders are encouraging their children to participate in organizational activities and reported witnessing the emergence of second generation leaders. Levitt (2002; 2009) also presents a number of individual cases of transnational philanthropy: second generation Irish-Americans who are involved in community development projects in their parents' hometowns, for instance, or young, Indian-Americans who were in the process of establishing both formal and informal linkages with India. These analyses – based on empirical evidence gained during a long-term investigation into immigrant communities in Massachusetts – demonstrated that next generation individuals formed part of the social networks being forged and maintained with countries and communities of origin.

While distinct from the vast majority of studies on the next generation, which focus on transnationalism *in situ* within the country of settlement, a recent body of work to emerge from Europe

has also documented next generation 'return migration' - when children of immigrants migrate back to their parent's country of origin to live – and position this phenomenon within broader definitions of transnationalism. This pattern of migration has been identified across a range of ethnicities: Afro-Caribbean individuals in the United Kingdom (Potter, 2005; Reynolds, 2004, 2008; Quirke et al., 2009), Greek-Americans returning to Greece (King and Christou, 2008, 2010), and Swiss-Italians (Wessendorf, 2007, 2010). This practice of 'Counter-diasporic migration' (King and Christou, 2008, 2010) or next generation re-settlement provides a very different perspective compared to the approach taken in most of the literature on the next generation, which largely focuses on integration, assimilation, and takes the country of settlement as the main reference point. Next generation return does not conform to more conventional definitions of transnationalism, given that the subjects of study no longer sustain cross-border connections with their ancestral countries because they are in fact now living there. Nonetheless it is perceived as relevant to transnational analysis in two main ways: return is pre-empted by intense transnationalism before arrival in the ancestral country, and it can initiate new transnational connectivity oriented towards the country where individuals were brought up (King and Christou, 2008, 2010).

Explaining the survival of transnational ties

Having determined that the next generation maintains some form of transnational attachment to their countries of origin, research has also begun to advance theories that explain this persistence beyond first generation immigrants. Exposure to transnational spaces in the community or at home is thought to establish or reinforce cross-border activities. Levitt (2002) has extended Breton's (1964) theory of 'institutional completeness' to suggest that next generation transnational activities are also facilitated by local opportunity structures: the greater the number of transnational opportunities, the more likely individuals are to be involved. However, this may also depend on a convergence of interests between

the next generation and established cross-border organizations. Smith's (2002, 2006) study of a Mexican

second generation transnational organization, for example, partly attributed the group's eventual

demise to the attitude of first generation members within the transnational community. Previously

unable to include next generation individuals in their hometown association, these members

subsequently failed to offer adequate support to the youth group, refused to work alongside it, and

instead preferred to delegate the group minor tasks. Elsewhere, however, Smith and Bakker (2008)

witnessed the leaders of Mexican HTAs actively encouraging their second generation offspring to

participate in organizational activities, and in some cases were keen to promote next generation leaders,

which may suggest an alternative scenario.

Processes of socialization as a cause of next generation transnationalism also appear frequently

in the literature. Next generation transnationalism, it is suggested, occurs in communities dominated by

cultural flows from the home-country (Foner, 2000, 2002; Ueda, 2002) or transnational households

which are bilingual, frequently receive visitors from the country of origin, and regularly send remittances

(Fouron and Glick-Schiller, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Levitt and Waters, 2002; Quirke et al., 2009;

Wassendorf, 2010; Soehl and Waldinger, 2012). In both instances, the next generation are subjected to

the influences, contacts, and cultural trends that are capable of facilitating and sustaining meaningful

transnational connections with the country of origin. The literature considers household dynamics and

parental-familial influences, as well as transnational orientations that arise from exposure to mediated

images of the country of origin. In terms of household dynamics, Soehl and Waldinger (2012) argue that

parental transmission is the predominant facilitator of next generation transnationalism. Going beyond

a generalised understanding of socialization, the default position of most next generation transnational

studies, Soehl and Waldinger adopt a disaggregated approach that explores the influence of discrete

'transmission pathways': sending remittances, home-country visits, speaking home-country languages

within the household, and performing home-country customs. Analysing data captured by the 2006

Latino National Survey, which asked respondents to provide detailed information on their upbringings, they found that childhood extended home visits, in particular, were a strong predictor of next generation transnationalism as they strengthen emotional attachments to the country of origin, increase the frequency of home-country visits in adulthood, and raised the possibility of involvement in homeland-oriented organizations.

Given the increasing complexity and dynamism of contemporary cultural flows, facilitated by the internet, satellite television, and social media platforms, images of 'home' are becoming more pervasive and could potentially become more influential as a cause of next generation transnationalism – and not only as a means of strengthening identification, but also as a facilitator of institutional transnationalism through exposure to home-country issues and causes. The strength of contemporary cultural flows and their influence on transnational orientations has been explored in Gowrichan's (2009) investigation into the transnational ties being forged by 'Hindustani' youth, the children of Indian-origin Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands. Interestingly, their exposure to Bollywood culture – and its blend of fashion, music, and Indian imagery – has resulted in a process of 'ethnification,' creating a strong emotional transnational orientation towards India, rather than their parent's country of origin, Surinam. A similar phenomenon was uncovered by Kasinitz et al. (2002) who found that the children of Russian Jews were oriented towards Israel rather than Russia, where the Jewish community faced significant discrimination and their families had experienced considerable hardship. In both cases, a place other than the parental 'home country' was given significant cultural and religious significance and was therefore able to exert considerable influence over the transnational subjectivities of second generation immigrants. This finding, by stretching the conceptualization of transnationalism to incorporate places beyond countries where the parental generation were born, adds additional complexity to a phenomenon that is conventionally understood as existing between 'home' and 'host' settings.

The reception that migrant communities face in the host society is also considered a potential cause of second generation transnationalism, as it is for the first generation, and the literature advances two main hypotheses. The first is that continued transnational attachments arise from the increasing tolerance towards ethnic diversity and relatively weak assimilation pressures in countries of settlement (Foner, 2002; Perlmann, 2002). This is compared to the situation confronted by previous immigrant groups when stronger assimilation pressures helped to discourage transnational attachments and instead promote acculturation into the American mainstream (Foner, 2000; Ueda, 2002; Child, 1943). The second hypothesis is in many ways in direct conflict with the first, and far more negative: it suggests instead that it is the common experience of social immobility, discrimination, and negative perceptions of the country of settlement which cause next generation individuals to reject full integration and cling to ancestral cultures and identities (Reynolds, 2008; Quirke et al., 2009; Levitt, 2002). Reynolds (2008), for instance, perceived second generation return as a response to discrimination and the poor economic conditions that British-born emigrants to the Caribbean faced in the United Kingdom. Similarly, Levitt found that upwardly mobile individuals had considered working in their parents' countries, reserving this option in case their upward mobility was checked by discrimination in the United States. This 'compensatory' aspect to next generation transnationalism, generated by negative experiences in the country of settlement, can also emerge in alternative forms. Bolognani (2013), for instance, suggested that in some cases British-Pakistanis returned to their parent's communities in Kashmir because their status shifted – from the low societal status they were designated in the UK to the high status their relative wealth enabled in Kashmir. Pursuing 'leisure tourism' rather than the 'roots tourism' concept that has previously appeared in the transnational literature on the next generation (for example see King and Christou, 2010), these British-Pakistanis initiated transnational experiences that were defined by consumption, exploitation, and power asymmetries.

Confronting the racial hierarchies of US society can also strengthen transnational attachments to ancestral countries. Upwardly mobile West Indians in New York have been found to emphasise their background and express a strong attachment to the Caribbean as a way of distancing themselves from Black Americans and proving their worthiness in the labour market, for example (Waters 2004). Mexican-Americans in New York can behave similarly in order to distance themselves from other marginalised minority groups, particularly African Americans and Puerto Ricans (Smith 2002, 2006).

The ways in which parents are incorporated within the country of settlement can also affect next generation transnationalism. This makes sense as parental incorporation is often a strong determinant of next generation human and social capital within the dual settings of both home and host societies. The children of more embedded parents have been found to be less likely to forge emotional attachments with the ancestral country (Soehl and Waldinger, 2012). However, as is so often the case, there are nuances within these generalized patterns. For example, among Mexican respondents, stronger parental integration, tended to raise the educational attainment of their offspring. This in turn corresponded with more significant involvement in transnational organizations and more frequent visits to the country of origin in adulthood, which may have been sustained by the higher pay and economic resources that this educational attainment provided.

Not surprisingly, class has been found to be another important influence on the maintenance of cross-border attachments and activities, as well as return migration; evidently class factors are suggested by the research on Mexican parents and offspring, as just discussed. There is good evidence that individuals with higher education and skills are more likely to take advantage of opportunities in the home country where many have a comparative advantage. This has been demonstrated, for example, for 1.5 and second generation Indian-Americans (Levitt , 2002), and for second generation Korean and Chinese Americans (Kibria, 2002). The literature on second generation return also views this migration

stream as one composed of mostly middle class individuals who have above-average educational attainment and are able, in some circumstances, to trade their education and experience in more advanced North American or European economies for relatively well-paid employment in their ancestral countries (for instance Potter, 2005 and Reynolds, 2008). Yet, Foner (2000) suggests that it is children with *low* educational attainment levels who may seek opportunities in 'home' countries because they face bleak prospects in post-industrial economies. Although it is plausible that both perspectives are correct, they are also likely to be conditional on context and conditions in the country of origin, particularly economic conditions. In the case of economic transnationalism, it could be argued that opportunities are usually sought in the country of origin when there is an economic incentive to do so. Even in the case of individuals with low educational attainment levels, low-pay work in a post-industrial economy might present a better alternative to economic insecurity and under-employment in a poorly-functioning developing economy. Equally, while socially-mobile Indian-Americans and Chinese-Americans are in a position to exploit the economic opportunities provided by two burgeoning economies, their counterparts from Central America or sub-Saharan Africa may face significantly fewer opportunities in their home-countries.

As is already evident, there is a very wide range of social, economic and political factors that have been identified as influences on transnationalism. To make things even more complex, and to build upon arguments just made, transnational ties also vary considerably across national groups. Some studies have found a higher propensity to engage among individuals with connections to Latin America and the Caribbean, given the geographical proximity (Rumbault, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002). Levitt's (2002) theory of institutional completeness may be instructive since studies on transnational networks and institutions demonstrate that some communities – due to historical, cultural, and political factors – are more organised and maintain more transnational connections than others. The extensive studies on the first generation (see previous section) which consider the context of emigration and arrival and how

different backgrounds facilitate or constrain transnational connectivity may be useful here. For instance, Diasporas that flee persecution may develop transnational networks to support opposition movements from their new homes. Or, an active home-country government could encourage the development of transnational networks, as the Mexican government has among communities in the United States, helping to establish philanthropic organizations as a means of funnelling economic resources to community development projects. Once developed, these networks could provide an opportunity for the next generation to engage with 'home,' thus facilitating their transnationalism.

Finally, life-course events can also compel or facilitate transnational activities and engagements with the country of origin. Transnational practices vary in form and intensity throughout an individual's life, and shift according to the pressures of family and work (Levitt 2002). While transnational ties may flourish in adolescence, fostered in households that maintain close ties to the home-country and participate in customs that encourage identification with the country of origin, they may decline in early adulthood as individuals have to contend with the pressures of starting a family or initiating a career. One transnational youth group in New York, for example, eventually collapsed due to the demands of starting careers and families, undermining members' propensity to pursue and sustain transnational commitments (Smith, 2002, 2006).

What is largely absent from many of these explanations, however, is individual agency and the personal motivations that cause next generation individuals to sustain or renew connections with their parents' country of origin. Although insightful, these studies often give a somewhat simplified appreciation of the factors driving next generation transnationalism, missing some of the complexity behind individual transnational trajectories. Individual agency is revealed by the experiences of British-born Afro-Caribbeans who consciously exploit social capital - through participation in community events and membership within transnational kinship networks – to construct transnational identities and a

sense of belonging to the Caribbean (Quirke et al., 2009; Reynolds, 2008). The case for incorporating

individual agency is made convincingly by Wessendorf's (2010) investigation into the transnational lives

of second generation Swiss-Italians, all of whom grew up within the social milieu of the Italian

community but subsequently adopted distinct transnational trajectories and relations with Italy.

Contrasting those who returned to live in Italy and those who remained in Switzerland, Wassendorf

argued that transnationalism should be understood as a fusion of structure and agency, a phenomenon

that operates somewhere between personal situations and motives at a particular conjuncture in time.

This, it is suggested, facilitates a more expansive framework that accommodates the complexity that

governs individual lives and the myriad potentialities for transnationalism to emerge. This also suggests

the need for a more synthetic interpretation of transnationalism, which builds on arguments previously

made in the section on first generation transnationalism, and complements the well-established insight

in migration studies that perceives migration and individual action as an outcome of structure *and*

agency (for instance Smith and Bakker, 2008; Potts, 2010; Findlay and Li, 1999; Conway, 2007; Marks

and Rathbone, 1995).

Investigations into next generation transnationalism, then, are limited in comparison to

transnational studies on the first generation. There is continuing debate on the form, extent and

frequency of next generation transnational ties – and, in fact, whether cross-border ties exist at all for

this demographic. Interestingly, this debate has helped to expand our conceptual understanding of

transnationalism, reflecting on the context in which the next generation is coming of age, and advancing

new definitions such as emotional transnationalism. Viewing next generation experiences through a

transnational lens could also help to inform our understanding of assimilation and incorporation, the

predominant focus of studies on the next generation. Reflecting on the fact that next generation

individuals are maintaining links to their country of origin, assimilation studies would benefit from a

much closer consideration of this previously overlooked part of the adaptation process, helping to

uncover a wider conceptualization of how immigrants are settling in their adopted countries. The

relationship between transnationalism and assimilation is explored in more detail in the next section.

2.4 Assimilation theory

The maintenance of attachments and ties to countries of origin challenges accepted notions of

assimilation that continue to pervade the United States. Based on the experiences of European

immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, orthodox assimilation theories weave a

powerful narrative: hard-working migrants made a 'clean break' with the past, and their descendants

gradually shed their ties and allegiances to the 'old' country and assimilated into the culture of white,

middle class, protestant America. Studies distinguished between acculturation, the adoption of the

English language and American cultural practices, and assimilation, the acceptance of migrants into the

dominant group's institutions. Acculturation was assumed to be a relatively rapid process whereas

assimilation could take several generations. Their acculturation – always permanent and non-reversible -

was rewarded with upward mobility in US society (Park, 1928; Chiswick, 1977; Lieberson and Waters,

1988; Wytrwal, 1977; Gordon, 1964; Warner and Srole, 1945).

Continued orientations towards home countries, which complicate this process, provoked a

strong response from conservative academics and commentators who perceive transnational ties and

cultural retention as threats to social cohesion, and even national security. Given the significant

migration from Mexico and Central America in recent years, Latino-Americans – first *and* second

generation - have often been singled out for criticism. Adopting what Chavez (2008) has termed the

'Quebec Model,' this conservative critique views Spanish language retention, spatial concentration, and

continued adherence to Catholicism as evidence of an unwillingness or inability to assimilate. In its most

paranoid forms, this narrative also promotes the idea of a *reconquista* of the American south west, a

deliberate attempt by Mexican migrants to impose their language and religion, create a separate

cultural bloc, and eventually cede back land that Mexico lost to the United States in 1848 after the

Mexican-American War (Huntington, 2004; Brimelow, 1995; Buchanan, 2006). Aside from the fact that

this narrative overlooks the complete absence of separatist movements, it also fails to acknowledge the

very visible signs of incorporation and acculturation among immigrant communities, particularly second

and succeeding generations who demonstrate an overwhelming preference for English, and are

increasingly marrying outside their community (for instance see Alba, 1999 and Tran, 2010).

The argument that assimilation and the retention of home-country ties are incompatible was

also implied by earlier studies of transnational migration. When Glick-Schiller et al (1992; 1994)

introduced the concept of 'transnational migration,' they justified its usage by referencing the perceived

failures of conventional assimilation theories, arguing that prevailing models could not accommodate

the increasing numbers of contemporary migrants living trans-border lives. Since migrants could no

longer be considered an 'uprooted' people, Glick-Schiller et al. stressed the need for social scientists to

re-think their conceptions of migrant incorporation. Declaring transnational migration to be a new

concept was problematic, however, because it implied that transnationalism operated as an alternative

to assimilation. The resulting dichotomy failed to acknowledge revisionist assimilation theories that

could accommodate cross-border relations and practices, a subject taken up in the following sections.

The evolution of assimilation theory

Assimilation lost its conceptual appeal during the cultural and political upheavals of the 1960s,

overridden by an emphasis on group rights and an intellectual challenge to the notion of an Anglo-

American core or mainstream (Kazal, 1995). This challenge was led by a new generation of 'insider'

researchers who emphasized the retentive traits of their own ethnic groups (Kivisto, 1999) and drew

upon the work of intellectual forbears such as Gordon (1964), who noted the economic, social, and

institutional barriers holding back full integration, and Glazer and Moynihan (1964), who perceived a group-forming tendency within American society along ethnic lines.

This emphasis on cultural retention, however, was gradually undermined by empirical reality: increasing rates of intermarriage (Alba, 1999), the growth of diverse, multicultural suburbs (Alba and Nee, 1997), and the emergence of pan-ethnic identities that offered a more expansive alternative to identification along purely national lines. Noting these trends, Water and Jimenez (2005) even concluded that the assimilation trajectories of contemporary immigrants demonstrated striking similarities with their European predecessors a century ago. Their analysis suggested that modern immigrant communities were moving out of ethnic enclaves, losing ancestral languages, advancing socio-economically, and marrying 'out' at similar rates. Although Mexican and Central American immigrants remained an exception, which they attributed to low occupational profiles and a high incidence of poverty, even these groups demonstrated growing similarities with mainstream populations.

In recent years, in response to growing anxiety over the high retention of Spanish in some regions of the United States, studies have also noted the progression of linguistic assimilation. Contradicting the vocal fears of conservative commentators, for instance, Tran (2010) argued that the high retention of Spanish among Latino-Americans had not undermined English proficiency. In fact, indications suggest that both English and Spanish proficiency increase simultaneously, leading Tran to conclude that a new context of bilingualism may be emerging. Evidence has also emerged to suggest that cultural assimilation is progressing. Su, Richardson and Wang (2010), for example, analysed attitudes towards gender roles across a sample of first, second, and third generation Mexican-Americans and noted a clear tendency towards more liberal attitudes as generational progression proceeded. By the third generation, they found that Mexican-American attitudes towards the participation of women

in the workforce were very similar to European-American attitudes, leading them to conclude that a

process of cultural assimilation was clearly taking place. Given their preconceived notion of *machismo* as

a defining characteristic of Mexican culture, their choice of gender attitudes was highly strategic.

Analysis of societal trends such as these provided the context within which assimilation could re-

enter academic debates, helping to shed light on contemporary immigrant experiences. Having lost

some of its indefensible arguments, namely the assumption of a 'core culture' into which immigrants

were incorporated, assimilation re-emerged as a more complex and nuanced theory that could

accommodate divergent trajectories of incorporation (Alba, 1999; Bloemraad et al., 2008; Brubaker,

2001; DeWind and Kasinitz, 1997; Gans, 1997; Glazer. 1993; Nee and Sanders, 2001; Portes and

Rumbaut, 2006; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). Taking a growing similarity between different

ethnic groups as a basic starting point, revisionist theories rejected the predominant influence of

'Americanization' inherent to older theories and suggested that incorporation could also be a two-way

process that allowed immigrants to influence US society.

These revisionist assimilation studies - sensitive to group difference and mindful of the cultural

diversity that characterizes US society - also allow us to perceive the simultaneous nature of cultural

retention and incorporation. Alba (1999), for instance, suggests that rather than a radical break with the

past, assimilation processes can be better understand as a gradual decline in distinctiveness and a

shrinking of social distance between minority and majority groups. Conceived this way, Alba established

an accommodation between hard-line definitions of assimilation and multiculturalism, arguing that the

retention of cultural markers could persist as immigrant communities assimilated into the host society,

thereby critiquing a polarized debate that could only see assimilation as a rapid process of full out

'Americanization' and multiculturalism as a form of resistance to this process. In other words,

assimilation did not mean the complete eradication of social difference, and cultural retention did not

necessarily mean that immigrant and majority communities did not share similarities. Bilingualism among members of the first and second generation, Alba argues, demonstrates the simultaneity of both processes and how adaptation and an overall 'assimilationist drift' can proceed alongside efforts to maintain country of origin cultural practices and markers.

Gans (1997) also attempted to reconcile theories of immigrant adaptation and cultural retention, recognizing an inter-play between these two seemingly oppositional trends. Rejecting the polarization as an unnecessary diversion, he argues that immigrants are rapidly adopting aspects of American culture, and suggests that rather than being a victim of this process, ethnic cultures are constantly being reconstructed or reinvented as a result. Hence, what may be perceived as something entirely foreign, may actually be a response to a community's new circumstances in the host society, a fusion of memories, what the community wishes to retain, and what the majority population is willing to tolerate. Using the example of Jewish *Bas mitzvahs,* which emerged in the United States, Gans argues that this celebration of the role of women in the Jewish community was initially conceived as a response to the patriarchal tendencies within East European orthodox culture.

The persistence and evolution of distinct cultural markers and practices, and the scepticism now levelled against the idea of Anglo conformity, suggest the need to look beyond the existence of a singular assimilation trajectory and instead to consider multiple potentialities. Crucially, the new 'assimilationism' critiques the 'process theory' view of assimilation so integral to orthodox theories and makes room for human agency and free choice, suggesting that immigrants and their progeny can create their own modes of adaptation and define their own futures (Gans, 2007, 1997; Glazer, 1993; Kivisto, 1999). Gans (2007) attempted to separate assimilation and upward mobility – concepts that are conflated in more orthodox studies – and introduces a more complex inter-play between the two processes. He argues that one does not necessary proceed with the other, offering the example of

immigrant entrepreneurs who operate within ethnic enclaves, but suggests that assimilation and upward mobility can become mutually reinforcing. Emphasizing human agency, Gans suggested that immigrants could choose to adopt host community behaviours or other signifiers of the host community as a conscious tactic to gain acceptance and thereby access greater employment and economic opportunities.

Others consider the baggage that immigrants bring with them to the United States, using various forms of human and social capital to explore divergent assimilation paths. Nee and Sanders (2001), for example, developed a 'forms-of-capital' model that emphasized how social, human, and financial capital determines adaptation strategies. Following the concepts outlined by this model, immigrant families with significant financial and human capital could use these attributes to attain lucrative employment in the formal economy. Well paid, educated or highly-skilled parents could also transmit this capital to the next generation, providing a distinct advantage in the host country's economy. Alternatively, immigrants who lack financial and human-cultural capital in the host society are likely to find their employment prospects confined to low-skilled sectors of the ethnic economy.

Similar observations provided the justification for segmented assimilation theory (Haller, et al, 2011; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997), an influential body of work that also rejected the assumption of a single uniform assimilation trajectory. Instead, segmented assimilation theory argued that migrant children followed three distinct assimilation paths: consonant acculturation, whereby both parents and children adopt the language and cultural norms of the host society; dissonant acculturation, when a child's adoption of the language and cultural norms exceed the parent's; and selective acculturation, when children learn the host language and culture yet retain the language and cultural practices of their parent's country of origin. The path taken is determined by a series of variables including social class, area of residence, and the reception of the native population. In a recent

conceptualization, Haller et al. (2011) argue that the composition and social status of immigrants control the assimilation outcomes of the next generation. Hence, the children of educated, professional immigrants from Asia are prospering in American society; whereas the progeny of poorly educated labourers from Mexico and Central America are largely failing and following a downward assimilation path. The strength of segmented assimilation, they argue, is its ability to differentiate the assimilation trajectories of distinct immigrant groups, thereby contradicting the often positive tone of studies that hide these distinctions and treat the next generation as a single group. Segmented assimilation therefore emphasizes the context of distinct migration flows and the factors that produce specific assimilation outcomes in the next generation.

Although segmented assimilation undoubtedly has strengths, the theory also has its critics. Foremost among the criticisms levelled against the concept is its focus on structural conditions within the United States and its limited applicability to other countries. Some of its basic concepts have also been challenged by empirical evidence gathered within the United States. Waldinger et al. (2007), for example, take issue with the notion of downward assimilation. Downward assimilation, they contest, denotes unemployment and inactivity within the labour market, which does not accurately capture the experience of most next generation Latino-Americans. Adopting an alternative position somewhere between segmented assimilation and the perceived excesses of conventional assimilation (the idea of rapid assimilation into the middle class), Waldinger et al. argue that Mexican-Americans are mostly being incorporated into the American working class, since although they improve their position vis-à-vis first generation immigrants, their progress is still constrained by the limited social capital of their parents, generally poor educational attainment, and the negative perceptions of prospective employers.

Location within the United States has also emerged as a potential influence on the trajectory that assimilation takes. Given shifting immigration patterns in the United States and the recent

emergence of new immigrant 'gateways' in the South and Mid-West, Waters and Jimenez (2005), for instance, have attempted to articulate what this new context means for the assimilation of migrant communities. Considering the different environments that confront immigrants in more traditional destinations such as New York, Los Angeles, or Miami, they suggested three potential distinctions: immigrants may have more freedom to define their position in society given that their place is less crystallized according to class, racial, and ethnic hierarchies; there are likely to be fewer organizations and less assistance to help immigrants settle down in locations where immigration from Asia, Latin America or the Caribbean is a recent phenomenon; and in smaller towns immigrants are forced to interact and share resources more frequently with native populations.

Assimilation and transnationalism: a false dichotomy?

As we have previously seen, one of the justifications for conceptualizing migrant transnationalism was a perceived incompatibility between cross-border actions and conventional assimilation theory, specifically its emphasis on rapid incorporation into an Anglo-American mainstream society (Glick-Schiller et al, 1994). This incompatibility makes sense if assimilation is understood only in its orthodox forms. However, if one instead considers revisionist theories and the multiple assimilation trajectories that these theories help to conceptualize, it may be possible to reach an accommodation between transnationalism and assimilation. Revisionist assimilation theories help us to conceive more expansive, alternative trajectories, perhaps even a melding of assimilation and transnational perspectives. A form of assimilation that retains transnational connectivity has not been made explicit in neo-assimilationist studies, but some have come close.

Segmented assimilation, for example, by acknowledging that ancestral cultural values can continue to shape the lives of immigrants and their progeny, demonstrates some currency. Although the term 'transnational' is not used, the theory suggests that an attachment to the country or culture of

origin can promote values such as ambition and hard work, reinforce the authority of parents, and shield

young people from some of the more negative characteristics of contemporary US society (Portes and

Zhou, 1993). The theory therefore implies that transnational attachments can have adaptive functions

that allow the children of migrants to assimilate more successfully into the host society. This argument

has received support elsewhere: Suarez-Orozco (2000) has warned that pressuring migrant children to

disengage from the 'home' culture could result in feeling of loss and disruption, and Portes et al.,

(2008b) have argued that full 'Americanization' could disconnect children from their parents and

remove the cultural reference points they need to build positive self-identities.

However, the inter-connection between assimilation and transnationalism has also been made

more explicit. Investigations into migrant transnationalism have provided evidence to support the

notion that assimilation and transnationalism are compatible and not dichotomous processes.

Investigations into the activities of first generation transnational actors have revealed that cross-border

practices can persist while incorporation progresses (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003;

Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000; Tamaki, 2011). In fact, in complete contrast to the

predictions of conventional assimilation theories, there appears to be a positive relationship between

transnational activities and US residency and citizenship, suggesting that cross-border activities do not

necessarily decline the longer immigrants have been in the United States. Rather than marginal, recently

arrived immigrants, transnational networks appear to be the domain of long-term residents who have

had time to settle down and accumulate resources (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003). Tamaki

(2011) adopts the term 'resource-based' transnationalism to describe how successful incorporation into

the host society, and the accumulation of socio-economic resources that this incorporation facilitates,

provide the means with which immigrants can frequently travel to the country of origin. This analysis,

based on empirical evidence, exposes once again the shortcomings of conventional assimilation theory,

leading Tamaki to conclude that there is no 'zero-sum' relationship controlling assimilation and migrant

transnationalism, and that both may actually be separate processes that can develop independently of one another. Hence, strong attachments to the United States need not deter immigrants or their children from sustaining connections – emotional or otherwise – to their country of origin.

Political forms of transnationalism may also be instructive here since a growing number of studies have demonstrated that activists committed to transnational political activities are also active in political arenas within receiving societies (Portes et al., 2008a; Martiniello and Lafleur, 2008; Bermudez, 2010; Jones-Correa, 2005; Rivera-Salgado et al., 2005; Bauboch, 2001; Ostergaard-Nielson, 2001). Martiniello and Lafleur (2008), for instance, describe the 'ethnic lobbying' that migrant communities undertake in Washington DC to influence the foreign policy of the US government towards their home countries. Yet even beyond these examples of 'indirect' political transnationalism (Ostergaard-Nielson, 2001), evidence demonstrates that migrants also campaign on political issues that affect the immigrant, and wider, community. Bermudez (2010), for instance, uses the term 'double militancy' to describe Colombian immigrants who contribute to political processes in Colombia and the UK and Spain. A survey of migrants involved in transnational organizations generated similar findings, suggesting that participation had not undermined migrants' incorporation into mainstream American society: over 60 per cent spoke English well or very well, most were registered to vote, and a majority had voted in the 2004 Presidential elections (Portes et al., 2008a). A study by Pantoja (2005) of New York's Dominican community found that involvement in Dominican politics and the activities of HTAs had encouraged involvement in US political processes. In some instances transnational organizations may have facilitated this political involvement: HTAs campaign on issues that affect their members in the United States (Rivera-Salgado et al., 2005; Jones-Correa, 2005), and may even promote assimilation through English lessons, citizenship classes, and the provision of information on public services (Somerville, W. et al., 2008).

Hence, growing evidence is emerging to suggest that, contrary to the fears of those who subscribe to more conventional definitions of assimilation, transnationalism is compatible with incorporation, and may even facilitate it. Exploring this relationship further, Morawska (2004) uncovered assimilation/transnational combinations which were context-dependent and varied across a range of ethnic groups, and Faist (2000) has argued that a transnational lens can 'enrich' our understanding of assimilation. By evoking the importance of place, and emphasizing that while migrants sustain homeland connections they are also acculturating to the receiving society, Kivisto (2001) explicitly articulated a transnational variant of assimilation. This form of assimilation, however, is subject to declining levels of transnational involvement over time as the place of residence gradually assumes more importance in the lives of immigrants and their families who may struggle to balance commitments and competing demands in dual settings.

Civic assimilation and political mobilization

Immigrant civic participation and political activities provide tangible indicators of assimilation, demonstrating an active interest in, and commitment to, receiving societies. The form that immigrant political mobilization takes is controlled by political opportunity structures – voting rights, for instance, or access to citizenship (Martiniello, 2005) – and how immigrants respond to these opportunities, influenced by a range of variables that could include political experience and values, socio-economic status (Jones-Correa, 1998; Citrin and Highton, 2002), and education (Ramakrishnan and Espenshade, 2001). Given that studies of immigrant political mobilization tend to focus on specific countries, rather than advance theories that can be applied to a more general or global context, the following section discusses political involvement in the United States, particularly among Latinos whose burgeoning size is receiving significant and growing academic interest, and as a result dominates the available literature.

Traditionally, political studies tended to ignore the subject of immigrant civic participation, assuming immigrants to be apathetic or passive subjects with few commitments to the receiving polity (Martiniello, 1997). Analyses of Latino political participation in the United States have tended to focus on the paradox that increasing demographic size has not translated into political power. Much of the literature adopts arguments that have appeared in studies of political mobilization within the broader, mainstream population which emphasize socio-economic status and individual resources (for instance Solon, 1992; and Brady et al., 1995; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993). Hence, a 'resource-based' analysis attributes the relatively low levels of Latino political participation to the low income and working class status of this demographic (Jones-Correa, 1998; Garcia, 1997; Marcelli and Heer, 1997; Citrin and Highton, 2002), as well as their generally low educational attainment rates which are perceived as an impediment to political participation – given that education can enhance the likelihood of mobilization and provide individuals with the skills needed to navigate political systems and institutions (Ramakrishnan and Espenshade, 2001).

Applying a resource-based analysis is problematic, however. Not only is it guilty of overlooking the political agency of immigrants, it also fails to consider context and the conditions that can facilitate political mobilization. In an exploration of political opportunity structures, some have suggested that mainstream political parties and campaigns have not done enough to reach out to immigrant communities (Jones-Correa, 1998; Leal et al., 2005), although more recent elections have seen the Democratic Party, in particular, invest significantly more efforts and resources into Latino outreach (Barreto, 2005). Hillary Clinton's outreach strategy has been cited as a key factor in the widespread Latino support for her candidacy during the 2008 Presidential campaign, and may help to explain her victory in the Nevada caucus during the primaries, a state with a rapidly-increasing Latino-American population (Barreto et al., 2008).

Evidence suggests that ethnicity may be highly salient for Latinos in the United States, who respond positively to Latino candidates and targeted out-reach campaigns (Barreto et al., 2004; Barreto, 2007; Barreto and Nuno, 2009; Michelson, 2006; Michelson et al., 2007; and Nuno, 2007; Loga et al., 2012). Both have been found to raise Latino turnout and facilitate contributions to the political process. Face to face direct courting of Latino voters by Latino canvassers, in particular, has been found to be significant (Barreto and Nuno, 2009; Michelson, 2006; Michelson et al., 2007), and Spanish-language media outreach is thought to mobilize low-propensity individuals in Spanish-dominant households (Abrajano-Pangopoulos, 2011). Advances in communication also appear to be mobilizing immigrants in 'new destinations' beyond traditional gateway cities where immigrant civil societies have not yet had the time to consolidate and organize their communities. Taking the 2006 immigrant protests in Nebraska as the subject of study, Benjamin-Alvarado et al. (2009), argued that new communication technologies were able to weave the nascent Latino civil societies of Nebraskan towns into a much broader national movement, which in turn, helped to strengthen the political infrastructure of Nebraska's Latino community and lay the groundwork for future mobilization. Finally, turn-out also appears to be higher in majority-minority districts where Latinos dominate the electorate (Barreto et al., 2004).

In an on-going political context that is hostile to mass immigration, particularly the presence of undocumented immigrants, anti-immigrant legislation and rhetoric can have a galvanizing effect on immigrants, mobilizing this demographic to act against measures and narratives that threaten its position and standing (Sanchez, 2006). This hostile environment was the social context that mobilized many immigrants, documented and undocumented, to participate in the 2006 anti-immigrant protests (Barreto et al., 2009). Similarly, anti-immigrant legislation introduced in California in the 1990s, and the highly charged debates it encouraged, was found to increase the political sophistication of Latino immigrants and enhance their interest in US politics (Nuno, 2007). However, some of the evidence

related to mobilization in a hostile political climate is contradictory. Perceptions of discrimination and the effect this has on a willingness to participate in the political process can vary according to an individual's self-identification: it has been found to limit activities among those who identify as 'American,' promoting feelings of alienation, yet galvanize those who identify primarily in pan-ethnic or national-origin terms (Schildkraut, 2005). Furthermore, it can make a difference if anti-immigrant measures occur within a state-level or a more local context. Ebert and Okamoto (2013) found that local struggles were more conducive to immigrant turn-out; whereas state-level measures against immigrants could limit involvement – this difference was predicated on the fact that state-level actions were undertaken by a more significant political authority that could fundamentally undermine immigrant trust in political authorities and hinder an ability to work with others in political coalitions.

Applying an assimilation perspective to immigrant and Latino political mobilization has also produced contradictory results. According to conventional ideas of assimilation, one would expect that recently-arrived immigrants with a more limited knowledge of the US Political system and relatively poor English proficiency would demonstrate lower rates of participations, and this appears to be the case in some studies (for instance see Ebert and Okamoto, 2013; Abrajano and Pangopoulos, 2011). However, elsewhere, the mobilization of foreign-born Latinos has been found to be higher than previously thought (Logan et al., 2012; Barreto, 2005), and as we have seen, can be galvanized in specific contexts. Some have also noted a curious trans-generational decline in political participation with less participation among the second generation (Logan et al., 2012; Barreto, 2005). The reasons for this decline have not yet received sufficient attention, and may actually be contradicted in some immigrant families where political socialization can be bi-directional - given that adults may face legal and linguistic barriers, more limited access to mainstream media, and the second generation may have political rights and therefore the means to act (Bloemraad and Trost (2007).

Declining rates of naturalization (Bloemraad, 2006; Huntington, 2004) and a large

undocumented population (Gonzalez, 2008), however, mean that many immigrants do not have the

legal right to participate in conventional political processes. The literature therefore also considers 'non-

conventional' politics, such as involvement in protests (Barreto et al., 2009; Barreto and Munoz, 2003),

as a measure of immigrant civic participation, and suggests that the diminished political voice that non-

citizenship entails need not necessarily prevent involvement in all political arenas. Indicative of this were

nationwide, large-scale protests that emerged in 2006 in response to proposed legislation that would

increase penalties on undocumented workers (Barreto et al., 2009). Undocumented youth have also

initiated a struggle to raise awareness about the plight of millions of students who have spent most of

their lives in the United States yet lacked residency and were being forced to pay expensive out-of-state

fees for higher education, thwarting their ambitions and checking their social mobility (Gonzalez, 2008).

At considerable personal risk, these students came out of the shadows to lead a nationwide campaign

that took up the cause of comprehensive immigration reform and the DREAM Act, legislation that would

give the Attorney General the authority to block deportation, grant permanent residency to individuals

raised in the United States, and ensure that these individuals only have to pay in-state tuition fees to

access higher education. In addition to political activism, Perez et al. (2010) have shown how civic

participation and the contributions of undocumented youth to US society can emerge in alternative

forms: social service, volunteering, and tutoring.

The conventional and non-conventional politics of Latino migrants contradict earlier political

studies which project the idea of immigrants being apolitical or passive (Martiniello, 1997). These forms

of political participation also demonstrate an active involvement in the country of settlement and

suggest that the incorporation of immigrant communities is progressing. Voting, protesting, and

participating in political campaigns display a commitment to improve the receiving polity rather than the

non-interest and ambivalence of groups who may perceive themselves outside society or who plan on

staying only temporarily before returning home. In the following section, the discussion turns to another indicator of incorporation and assimilation – identification.

2.5 Identification

Continued identification with a home-country suggests a sense of belonging and membership, a form of nationalism from afar (Fitzgerald, 2009), or a transnational identification (Wolf, 1997, 2002) that traverses international boundaries and sustains emotional bonds with people and places elsewhere. Conversely, a tendency to retain home-country identities, or repudiate American identification, has also been perceived as evidence of dissimilation, a failure or refusal to integrate that 'proves' the 'Quebec model' (Chavez, 2008) promoted by conservative commentators and academics (Huntington, 2004; Buchanan, 2006; Brimelow, 1995). The proceeding section reflects on these debates, first summarizing theories devoted to the emergence of ethnic identification, and then subsequently reviewing research on Latino-American identification in the United States and how identification intersects with broader debates on assimilation and transnationalism.

Debates surrounding the construction of ethnic identities tend to be dominated by two competing viewpoints: primordialism (Isaacs, 1975; Geertz, 1963) and circumstantialism (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Bell, 1975; Sollors, 1989; Waters, 1990). Primordial studies perceive a basic identity ascribed at birth which is deeply embedded within the human psyche, remains rigid despite changing circumstances, and is continually reinforced by a series of fixed endowments: religion, language, nationality, cultural practices, or physical characteristics. Circumstantialism, on the other hand, emphasizes context and fluidity, and suggests that identities emerge during the pursuit of group interests, and evaporate once the conditions that gave rise to them disappear.

Both traditions have their advantages and disadvantages for understanding the formation of identities. While primordial studies comprehend the emotions that drive the construction of identities

and articulate the sense of security that group identities provide, they fail to acknowledge the fact that identities are expressed with shifting intensity over time (Roosens, 1989). Furthermore, this perspective cannot explain the development of pan-ethnic identities such as Latino or Hispanic. Although Latino-Americans share an ancestral attachment to the Latin American continent, the Spanish language, and Catholicism, they are also divided by generation, country of origin, and race. Equally, circumstantial studies may understand the variable nature of identification but overlook the emotions that individuals invest in their identifications. They are also guilty of exaggerating the passivity of agents who are simply compelled to move by circumstances.

The incomplete nature of primordial and circumstantial studies has prompted the emergence of constructionist theories which synthesize the strengths of both traditions, combining the emotional attachments that inspire primordial interpretations and the utilitarian instincts that drive circumstantial approaches (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Nagel, 1994). Building on the work of Barth (1969) and Horowitz (1975), constructionist theories also emphasize agency and the interaction between groups and context: groups fuse culture, language, religion, or ancestry to construct their identities and routinely accept, resist, or re-invent these identifications over time. However, Nagel also places limitations on the freedom that groups possess to define their identities, arguing that dominant groups may impose categories on subordinates and suggesting that choice may be restricted to the ethnic categories available at a specific time.

In recent years empirical studies have emerged to complement the theoretical traditions that underlay the study of ethnic identity formation. In depth qualitative analyses explore the contextual and socio-economic factors that condition the identities of immigrants and their children as they adapt to life in the United States (Matsuoka, 2006; Lee, 2004; Waters, 1996; Landale and Oropesa, 2002; Butterfield, 2004; Warikoo, 2004). Class often emerges as a significant influence on the construction of

ethnic identities. Lee (2004) noted distinct patterns among her second generation Korean respondents: upwardly-mobile individuals took pride in the community's 'model minority' status and identified strongly as Korean-Americans; whereas those from poorer backgrounds who felt ostracised and disconnected from the wider community adopted reactive 'pan-other' backgrounds. Similarly, in Water's (1996) study of second generation West Indians, upwardly-mobile individuals emphasised their Caribbean identities in order to distance themselves from African-Americans; while working class respondents identified more frequently as black Americans.

Neighbourhood demographics are also thought to exert powerful influences on the development of ethnic identities. Butterfield's (2004) study of Caribbean communities in New York City discovered that respondents who grew up in neighbourhoods dominated by English-speakers developed distinctly 'West Indian' identities; whereas those who lived in more diverse communities with English, French and Spanish speakers developed pan-Caribbean identities. Warikoo (2004) found that diverse, multicultural environments contributed to the fluid cosmopolitan identities of Indo-Caribbean youth who were able to freely adopt cultural elements from diverse sources. Similarly, Waldron (1995) suggests that cosmopolitan identities more accurately reflect the multicultural environments that many people now inhabit and attacks the notion that ethnic identities are absolute, singular, and distinct. Instead, this analysis insists, individuals absorb diverse elements, manage their co-existence, and construct fluid identities that shift according to context.

As we have seen, studies of the second generation have suggested that identities can be conceived in a transnational sphere, reflecting a sense of belonging and attachment to their country of origin (Wolf, 1997; 2002). In fact, the conceptualization of next generation transnationalism has articulated a form of transnationalism at the level of emotions that incorporates identification (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005). This demonstrates

some convergence with Gilroy's (1993) work on the black Atlantic, which suggests that Africans and people of African descent develop 'Diaspora' identities as they re-interpret the memory of slavery and absorb black cultural influences that traverse Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Gilroy attacks the 'mechanistic essentialism' of primordial thinking which equates identity with territory and suggests that 'Diaspora' identities allow dispersed populations to interact and develop inter-connected lives.

Latino-American identification

Suggesting the importance that home countries continue to assume in the lives of some second generation individuals, many US-born and/or raised Latino Americans retain the national identities of their parents' countries of origin. A recent study conducted by the Pew Hispanic Centre, for example, revealed that 41 per cent of second generation Latino-American participants preferred ancestral over pan-ethnic or American identities (Pew Hispanic, 2009). A similar pattern emerged in an earlier study by Sears et al. (2003) who argued that a preference for national identities among the second generation stemmed from their parents recent migration to the United States. This, together with the fact that only 33 per cent of participants in the Pew study preferred an 'American identification, could be used as evidence to support the conservative fears of dissimilation. However, the report also recorded two opposing trends that should undermine such anxieties: one third of respondents chose to identify primarily as 'American,' which suggests that a sizeable number of Latino-Americans *are* assimilating, at least according to conservative definitions, and approximately 89 per cent stated that they had referred to themselves as 'American' in the past. Furthermore, rather than a renunciation of the United States, the refusal to identify as 'American' may simply be predicated on racialized notions of the term, which denote white ethnicity (De Genova, 2008; Kasinitz et al., 2002).

Latino-Americans coming of age in the United States can also opt for pan-ethnic and hyphenated identifications such as Mexican-American or Latino, which complicate the non-

American/dissimilation hypothesis. By adopting the lexicon of the United States, and thereby acknowledging a place in US society, it could be argued that individuals are demonstrating their incorporation and adaptation to the country of settlement (Interestingly, there is some evidence to suggest that *Latino* may be gaining some currency in the United Kingdom, among the second generation children of Latin American immigrants (see McIlwaine et al, 2011)). The literature understands hyphenated identities such as Mexican-American, for example, to be expressions of syncretism and adaptation, which denote a fusion of identities and cultural traits forged from both home *and* host settings (Faist, 2000; Sanchez, 1993; Macias, 2006). Furthermore, although the more politically-edged 'Chicano' may emphasize Mexican cultural retention and distinctiveness (Munoz, 2007), it does so with a distinctly American accent. However, while noting the adoption of these identities, it is also true that these same identities may have limited currency among the next generation. In 'Mexican Chicago,' for instance, members of the second generation opt for 'Mexican' when describing themselves, rather than 'Mexican-American' or 'Chicano.' 'Chicano' is also constructed by first generation Mexican migrants and applied to delinquent members of the second generation to create a distancing effect and underscore a more positive racialized identity of 'Mexican-ness' (De Genova, 2008).

The most significant academic debate regarding the identification of Latino-Americans has focused on the development and adoption of pan-ethnic identifications such as Latino and Hispanic. Opinion is divided as to whether these terms are substantive identities adopted by people of Latin American descent or methodological constructions used by government agencies, academia, and the media. The latter perspective questions the relevance of a category that is applied to a diverse group of people separated by class, national origin, and race (Petersen, 1987; Massey, 1993). The former suggests that individuals growing up in the United States invest meaning into the adoption of Latino and Hispanic identities and perceive themselves as being part of a group that is real and not an abstract construction.

Adhering to substantive interpretations, some scholars have suggested a racial logic to Latino

and Hispanic identification, arguing that these terms denote a racial type beyond the black/white binary

that has traditionally dominated American society (Marrow, 2003; Foner, 2000). De Genova and Ramos-

Zayas (2003) perceive 'Latino' identification as a hegemonic construction that denotes racial difference,

emerging from the power inequities and subordination that those of Latin American descent endure

within a state dominated by a more powerful white-Caucasian population. Others perceive an

oppositional element, maintaining that the mutual experience of discrimination and marginalization is

the central force behind an emerging Latino/Hispanic consciousness (Oboler, 1992; Matsuoka, 2006;

Golash-Boza, 2006). Drawing on circumstantialist understandings of ethnic identity development, Padilla

(1985) and Calderon (1992) argue that Latino identification emerges when diverse Latin American

communities unite to challenge shared grievances. While these studies are insightful, however, none

can present a complete picture. Given the subjective nature of identification, Latino Americans may

have a multitude of reasons for adopting these terms. This subjective character may also render the

substantive versus methodological dichotomy misleading since both interpretations may be correct:

while some individuals only adopt the identification to check boxes on official forms and documentation,

others may instead perceive themselves to be part of a group with increasing political and cultural clout.

More comprehensive approaches recognise the need to accommodate divergent interpretations and

suggest the importance of both substantive and methodological components in their analyses (Oboler,

1995; Schmidt et al., 2000; Diaz-McConnell and Delgado-Romero, 2004). Rodriguez (2000) argues that

the classifications devised by Federal government agencies are beginning to affect the way that Latino

Americans see themselves. Rodriguez also discusses the layering of identities, rejecting the idea that

identities are exclusive and instead suggesting that individuals express distinct identities at different

levels of interaction.

Similar to other communities, context is thought to determine the development of identities among Latino-Americans, for example length of stay in the United States, generation, class, and human capital. Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral (2000) have found that the longer an immigrant's stay in the United States, and the greater their English proficiency and participation in American life, the more likely they are to adopt Latino/Hispanic identities. Lansdale and Oropesa (2002) compare the distinct ways in which first and second generation Puerto Ricans construct their identities in the United States. While first-hand memories of the country of origin ensure the first generation identify weakly as Latinos/Hispanics; socialization within the United States means that their children are more likely to identify pan-ethnically. They also recognise the importance of inter-personal ties: those who socialised more extensively with other Puerto Ricans and Latinos were more likely to self-identify as Puerto Ricans or Latinos/Hispanics; whereas those who cultivated ties outside this community showed a greater propensity to identify as Americans.

Oboler (1995) recognised a clear class distinction determining the adoption of Hispanic identification. Educated middle class respondents who were generally more aware of racial classification systems in the United States adopted the term; whereas their working class counterparts emphasised their national identities, distancing themselves from an identity that carried enormous stigma in the United States. Conversely, Calderon (1992) found that upwardly mobile Latino Americans who were integrated into the mainstream middle class were more ambivalent about their ethnicities and more likely to consider themselves American. On the few occasions they felt it appropriate or necessary to adopt a pan-ethnic identity, they preferred 'Hispanic' rather than 'Latino' which they perceived to be more militant and working class.

Identification can also be affected by the home country context, particularly the racial classification systems operating in migrants' countries of origin. Dark-skinned Dominicans, for example,

commonly identify as 'Latinos' to escape the stigma of being labelled 'black,' which in the Dominican Republic is only reserved for low-class Haitian immigrants and their descendants (Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral, 2000). Similarly, mixed race Puerto Rican immigrants emphasise a national or pan-ethnic identity as a way of distancing themselves from African Americans and resisting attempts to classify them as 'black' (Landale and Oropesa, 2002).

This literature review has considered four major areas of research that are relevant to institutionalized next generation transnationalism. The first section considered the literature on transnational migration: its conceptualization and evolution, and the theories put forward to explain its emergence, including pro-active governments keen to maintain the flow of remittances, migrant self-interest and the need to maintain status in the country of origin, and a compensatory reaction to marginalization in the country of settlement. The following section presented research specific to next generation forms of transnationalism, which tend to emphasize emotional and non-institutional connectivity, and offered theories to explain the survival of transnational connectivity within a demographic born and/or raised in countries of settlement. These included proximity to transnational networks, socialization or processes of parental transmission, and socio-economic status. In both sections, the influence of agency *and* structural factors was considered, and the analysis suggested that a synthetic interpretation of next generation transnationalism is required to understand this phenomenon fully. A subsequent review of research on assimilation charted the evolution of assimilation theories, and argued that revisionist, rather than older, more conventional studies of incorporation, could accommodate transnationalism, thereby suggesting that the relationship between transnationalism and assimilation was simultaneous rather than dichotomous, as suggested by more conservative commentators. Finally, the review considered identification, understanding identification choices to be important signifiers of the assimilation process.

Chapter 3: Migration and the emergence of Mexican and Salvadoran transnational networks

3.1 Introduction

This chapter places Mexican and Salvadoran migration in historical context, describing the various factors – in both the United States and countries of origin - that have stimulated migrant flows since the nineteenth century. Proceeding sections discuss the emergence of transnational networks that traverse the United States and Mexico or El Salvador. The analysis explains their rise with reference to economic, political, and social developments in both home and host contexts, and highlights the distinct characteristics that separate Mexican and Salvadoran transnational arenas.

3.2 Mexican migration to the United States

Mexican migration to the United States stretches back to the nineteenth century, a sustained flow that has demonstrated sensitivity to a range of economic and political factors on both sides of the border. Its initial stimulation can be traced to economic expansion in the United States and the simultaneous destabilising effects of economic and political upheaval in Mexico as the Porfirio Diaz administration (1876-1911) gave way to the destruction and violence of the Mexican revolution (Cockcroft, 1998). Migration was also facilitated by the extension of railroads - by the early twentieth century railroads had connected most major Mexican towns to the American south west (Massey et al., 2003) - and capitalist expansion in south western states where continued growth was contingent on a cheap supply of labour.

Dependence on Mexican workers became even more acute during World War One when employers were faced with a shortage of native workers and lobbied Congress to ease restrictions on the import of foreign labourers. Congress responded with the first attempt to regularize the northward

flow of migrant workers, establishing the first *Bracero* programme in 1917 which brought 72,000

workers to the United States (Massey et al., 2003). Although union and public opposition brought the

scheme to an end in 1921, Mexicans were exempted from the 1924 National Origins Act, legislation

designed to impose immigrant quotas on specific countries. As a result the region's Mexican population

increased significantly: growing from 375,000 in 1900 to 1.16 million in 1930 (Griswold Del Castillo and

De Leon, 2000). Demand also prompted the establishment of communities in Illinois, Ohio, and

Nebraska. By 1930 approximately 20,000 Mexican immigrants lived in Chicago (Ano Nuevo Kerr, 2000).

Although the Great Depression of the 1930s reversed much of this growth, the US entry into

World War Two and the economic boom that followed forced employers to look south of the border

once more for cheap labour. Their lobbying efforts resulted in the second *Bracero* programme, a bi-

national treaty with Mexico that allowed the temporary importation of Mexican workers. Pressure from

civil rights organizations and unions brought an end to the programme in 1965 when it was attacked for

exploiting poor Mexicans and undermining the wages of native workers. However, this decision merely

shifted the flow of Mexican migrants from a legal to an illegal one, and by this time, Mexican migration

had also become a self-perpetuating force. Migrants had accumulated experience and knowledge of

working in the United States and were an important source of social capital, arranging transport,

accommodation, and employment for friends and relatives, and therefore substantially reducing the

costs and risks of migration (Massey, 1990). Evidence also suggests sensitivity to economic conditions in

Mexico: Massey et al. (2003) observed a fall in migration during Mexico's oil boom between 1979 and

1982 and a subsequent rise following the onset of the Mexican debt crisis in 1982.

The United States struggled to control this movement and it is estimated that between 1965 and

1986 approximately 28 million undocumented Mexicans crossed the US-Mexico border (Massey and

Singer, 1995). In response, the US government introduced a series of restrictive measures in an attempt

to reduce illegal immigration across its southern border. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) increased border security and workplace inspections and a series of acts in the 1990s militarised the southern border: increasing border patrol personnel, extending the border fence in San Diego County, installing high-intensity flood lights, and introducing sophisticated military hardware such as motion detectors and infrared scopes. By 1999 the Border Patrol had 8000 agents, oversaw an annual budget of 900 million USD, and controlled an arsenal of deterrence technology that included 58 helicopters and 43 airplanes (Massey at al. 2003).

However, these measures did not always produce the desired effects. The IRCA could only gain bi-partisan support by including an amnesty and regularizing the status of 2.3 million undocumented Mexicans already in the United States, which enabled newly regularised migrants to bring over their spouses and dependents and therefore increase the Mexican population even further (Massey et al., 2002). Furthermore, despite increased security on the border, undocumented migrants simply shifted to non-traditional crossing points: in the two years that followed 'Operation Blockade' in California in 1996 the share of crossings outside the state increased from 39 per cent to 58 per cent (Massey et al., 2002). There is even evidence to suggest that increased security may also have transformed a previously circular flow of temporary workers into a settled population (Hicken et al., 2010).

Efforts to secure the border contradicted US economic policies which sought greater integration with Mexico. Both countries signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, which substantially lowered Mexican tariffs on imported goods. Proponents argued that integration would enable Mexico to increase foreign investment, boost economic growth, and thereby reduce the incentive to migrate. However, economic performance during the following decade was disappointing: economic growth averaged only 2.7 per cent each year during the decade after implementation

(Hufbauer and Schott, 2005), and the job creation rate could never keep pace with Mexico's working age population which grew from 32.3 million people in 1994 to 40.2 million in 2002 (Audley et al., 2004).

If trends were disappointing nationally, they were devastating in some rural regions. The years following the implementation of NAFTA saw a dramatic decrease in the price of corn - from 4.69 USD in 1995 to 3.65 USD in 1997 (Hufbauer and Schott, 2005) – and the loss of approximately two million agricultural jobs (Gallagher et al., 2009). This poor performance has led some to conclude that rather than prevent migration, the agreement actually induced further migration (for example Stiglitz and Charlton, 2005). Evidence certainly points to an upsurge in illegal migration following NAFTA: border apprehensions jumped to 700,000 in 1994 and continued to rise until they reached a peak of 1.3 million in 2001 (Papademetriou, 2004). However, isolating the effects of NAFTA is difficult given recurrent economic crises and other neo-liberal structural reforms which were implemented during the same period (Martin, 2005; Audley et al., 2004; Martinez, 2007).

Since the 1990s the flow of Mexican unauthorised migrants has slowed significantly. A recent analysis by the Pew Hispanic Center (2012) has observed two major trends: a reduction in the number of Mexicans migrating to the United States – from 3 million in 2000-2005 to 1.4 million in 2005-2010 – and an increase in the number of Mexican families returning to Mexico. According to the 2010 Mexican Census, 1.4 million Mexicans re-migrated, prompting Pew to argue that Mexican migration to the United States had come to a standstill. They attribute this to a range of factors: weakened US job markets; heightened border enforcement; increasing deportations; and declining fertility rates in Mexico.

These arguments are supported by available empirical evidence. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) figures reveal that apprehension rates on the US-Mexico Border decreased by one-third between 2006 and 2008 (Rytina and Simarski, 2009). Studies have also found evidence to suggest that economic recession in the United States is deterring potential migrants. According to a survey of

repatriated migrants handed over to Mexican authorities – *Encuesta sobre migracion en la frontera Norte de Mexico (EMIF-Norte)* – an increasing number of those who went to the United States in search of work indicate they do not intend to migrate to the United States again: 20 per cent in 2010 compared to just seven per cent in 2005 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2012).

Despite these trends, Mexicans constitute the single largest immigrant group in the United States. Given the clandestine nature of much Mexican migration to the United States – estimates suggest 55 per cent do not have documents (Pew Hispanic, 2009) - it is difficult to get accurate figures on the number of Mexicans now residing north of the border. However, current estimates suggest that approximately 12.7 million Mexicans now reside in the United States. This represents a 17-fold increase since 1970 and accounts for 32 per cent of the nation's immigrant population (Pew Hispanic, 2009). Even more significant, the population claiming Mexican descent now totals 33 million (Pew Hispanic, 2012). This is also a population that has dispersed away from its traditional areas of settlement. While communities remain largely concentrated in the South west, California and Illinois, migrants have also been attracted to buoyant regional economies such as Atlanta and Raleigh-Durham: North Carolina's Latino population increased by 394 per cent from 1990 to 2000, growing from 76,726 to 378,963 people (Pew Hispanic Centre, 2005).

3.3 The emergence of Mexican transnational networks

Early examples of Mexican organizations in the United States included patriotic councils which raised considerable amounts of money to help repel the French from Mexico in 1861-1867 (Fox, 2005a; Cano and Delano, 2006) and mutual aid societies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the precursors to unions and community groups that later fought against discrimination towards Mexican workers (Goldring, 2003; Cano and Delano, 2006). The first transnational HTAs emerged in the 1950s (Goldring, 2002) and were based upon earlier models established by internal migrants within Mexico

(Fitzgerald, 2009). However, the frequency and intensity of contemporary cross-border activity is unparalleled. Its most recent incarnation can be traced to multiple economic, political and social developments in both Mexico and the United States: the democratization that swept Mexico in recent decades; the increasing economic and political clout of migrants; Mexico's shift to neo-liberalism; the growth of the migrant community in the United States; and the trend towards permanent residency (Goldring, 2002; Smith, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2000, 2009; Ayon, 2006; Cano and Delano, 2006; de la Garza and Cortina, 2005).

From a position of ambivalence, the Mexican government has increasingly sought to formalize ties with Mexican communities in the United States: it has initiated collaborative development programmes with migrants, established institutions responsible for migrant out-reach, and extended citizenship rights to expatriates. While initial policies were 'top-down' efforts to co-opt migrants for domestic and international gain, migrants have also exploited these openings, using their economic and political leverage to re-define transnational arenas and gain concessions from the state (Smith and Bakker, 2008; Cano and Delano, 2006; Smith, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2000, 2009; Goldring, 2002).

This shift gained pace during the Salinas administration which created the Programme for Mexicans Abroad (PCME), an initiative that was designed to do three main things: promote cultural ties among people of Mexican descent, exploit their financial and political strength, and use migrants as an extra-territorial lobby that could pursue Mexican objectives in the United States (Goldring, 2002; Smith, 2003; Cano and Delano, 2006). This formalised approach was extended under Vicente Fox who established the Presidential Office for Mexicans Abroad (OPME) in 2000, which promoted migrant investments in communities of origin and sought contacts in the United States through which Mexican products could be distributed (Cano and Delano, 2006). Two years later, in an effort to create a more

cohesive outreach strategy, the PCME and OPME were amalgamated into one single institution, the

Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME).

3.4 Transnational community development in Mexico

Mexico has viewed migrant remittances as a potential source of funding for development, and has

prioritised targeting the estimated 2000 HTAs that are active in the United States (Orozco and Lapointe,

2004). The responsibility for outreach has mostly been delegated to state and municipal authorities

(Goldring, 2002; Smith and Bakker, 2008; Fitzgerald, 2009; Fox, 2005a). The PCME established 23 State

Offices for Attending to Migrants (OEAMs) which coordinated HTA efforts and played an active role in

the formation and development of new groups (Goldring, 1998; Smith and Bakker, 2008). This is evident

in the case of the *three for one* programme, a funding scheme that matches every HTA dollar with one

dollar each from the municipal, state and federal government.

The *three for one* has had mixed results in Mexico. The programme was a considerable success

in Zacatecas where it generated USD 647 million between 1993 and 2004 and continued to operate

despite the programme's national demise following recurrent financial crises in the mid-1990s (Iskander,

2005). This success has been attributed to an active state government and political consistency between

politicians and HTA leaders (Goldring, 2002). At the other extreme, in Oaxaca, an antagonistic

relationship between mostly indigenous migrants and the PRI state government has meant that

transnational organizations operate outside state influence and implement community development

projects on a less formalised basis (Goldring, 2002).

Despite government intentions, the economic contributions of migrants have given them

increased leverage with municipal and state officials, enabling them to exert greater influence over

community development projects. In Zacatecas, for example, a disagreement with state leaders over

attempts to impose controls over a HTA Federation – officials wanted to implement new regulations

which gave fiscal responsibility over HTA funds to municipal officials – caused Federation members to shift their political support to an opposition candidate in the 1998 gubernatorial elections. When this candidate, Ricardo Monreal, eventually won he attributed his success to migrant support and acceded to migrant demands, creating a cabinet-level position to act as migrant liaison and ensuring the Federation retained control over its own finances (Smith 2003).

3.5 Mexican transnational politics

Migrants have emerged as increasingly powerful transnational political actors in Mexico and have gained significant concessions. Their emergence as political actors was initially related to a process of democratization that swept through Mexico in the 1990s and provided a democratic opening that allowed non-elite actors – including migrants – to participate more fully in the political process (Smith, 2006). Simultaneously, an increasingly strident opposition, which challenged official corruption, electoral fraud and economic mismanagement, also began to cultivate migrant support. Opposition parties introduced a bill to Congress that proposed setting aside ten seats in the Chamber of Deputies for migrant politicians, and three migrants ran unsuccessful campaigns as candidates in the 2000 elections (Fitzgerald, 2000). More significantly, the opposition backed a proposal to extend voting rights to migrants, which became a key component of its reform agenda (Martinez-Saldana and Pineda, 2002). In 1996 the Mexican Congress voted to remove obstacles that prevented absentee voting; although government opposition and logistical concerns meant the necessary legislation was not passed until 2005 (Fitzgerald, 2000; Cornelius and Marcelli, 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008; McCann et al., 2006).

These developments provided a framework within which migrants could mobilize support. An impressive cross-border campaign organised high-profile delegations to Mexico and exerted effective and sustained pressure on Mexican state representatives to grant voting rights to expatriates (Martinez-Saldana and Pineda, 2002; Smith, 2003). Despite their success, political opponents managed to

undermine the strength of this potential extra-territorial voting bloc by complicating the voting

procedure in order to limit the number of absentee ballots cast. The fact that only 0.46 per cent of

eligible expatriate Mexicans voted suggests that this tactic proved extremely effective (McCann,

Cornelius and Leal, 2006), although studies have also emphasised other factors such as the limited funds

available for campaigns in the United States and the resulting low visibility (Fitzgerald, 2009; McCann et

al., 2006).

More significant concessions have been secured at the state level, although these vary

considerably and depend on contextual factors: residential concentration in the United States,

integration in US labour markets, the economic resources of migrant communities, and the nature of

migrant-state relations (Smith, 2003). Historic antagonism towards political elites among Oaxaca

migrants has caused mainly indigenous transnational networks to operate outside electoral politics,

using a base in the United States to press for indigenous land claims and expose state-sanctioned human

rights abuses. In Zacatecas, the absence of such antagonism has meant that transnational networks

have campaigned within formal political arenas (Smith, 2003).

Despite state government attempts to co-opt their economic and political power, *Zacatecano*

migrants have become increasingly more assertive and independent. Support for a migrant politician

who successful ran for the mayoralty of the town of Jerez gradually evolved into a cross-border

campaign for a *ley migrante* which would grant migrants the right to run for state office. Migrants

emphasised their economic contributions to the state, built a cross-border alliance that included

intellectuals and politicians, and gained majority support in the state legislature. The resulting legislation

granted migrants the right to run for political office if they could prove 'bi-national and simultaneous

residency,' and set aside two seats for migrants in the state congress (Cornelius and Marcelli, 2005;

Smith and Bakker, 2008).

3.6 Salvadoran migration to the United States

Migration has historically been the *modus vivendi* for large swathes of El Salvador's rural poor (Menjivar, 2000). The emergence of an economy dominated by the production of coffee - until the 1920s coffee accounted for 90 per cent of El Salvador's export revenues (Almeida, 2008) – produced a highly-stratified society in which a wealthy elite were able to claim the most productive land and drive subsistence farmers to more marginal areas (Ripton, 2006). Many were subsequently forced to migrate seasonally to harvest coffee on estates and supplement their meagre rural incomes. The development of a small manufacturing base in and around San Salvador also encouraged significant numbers of people to migrate from rural to urban areas. However, since industrial expansion could never provide a sufficient number of jobs for El Salvador's growing population, many opted to emigrate to Honduras, where by the end of the 1960s, approximately 12 per cent of El Salvador's population resided (Menjivar, 2000; Ripton, 2006).

Early migration to the United States was motivated by economic opportunity and followed commercial routes linking El Salvador to specific cities in the United States. San Francisco emerged as an early destination when it became a major centre for coffee processing in the early twentieth century, leading to the establishment of a small Salvadoran business community (Menjivar, 2000). Others travelled there as crew members on ships, or worked in the city's maritime industries during World War Two. By 1950, San Francisco's Salvadoran population was larger than the city's Mexican population (Menjivar, 2000). Nevertheless, recorded rates of legal immigration remained fairly modest. Official records show that between 1941 and 1950 approximately 5,000 Salvadoran immigrants arrived in the United States, and this population remained constant throughout the following decade (Baker-Cristales, 2004).

Numbers increased steadily throughout the 1960s – the population reached 34,000 in 1970 (Baker-Cristales, 2004) – and Salvadorans began to disperse to other cities in the United States. Some gravitated towards the Washington DC metropolitan area as a result of networks established by Salvadoran housekeepers (Repak, 1994). The Salvadoran population increased substantially during the 1970s and 1980s as political violence and civil war forced individuals to flee El Salvador en masse. It is estimated that between one quarter and one third of the population fled (Bailey and Hane, 1995). While official figures do not account for undocumented migrants, US census records indicate that the Salvadoran population in the United States increased five-fold between 1980 and 1990, from 94,000 to 565,000 (1990 US Census). The Civil War also caused a change in the complexion of the Salvadoran population in the United States: while migrants in the pre-1975 period were drawn primarily from the urban middle and upper classes, those in the post-1975 period also included significant numbers of the rural poor and working class (Menjivar, 2000; Bailey and Hane, 1995).

Despite the signing of the Peace Accords in 1992, migration did not cease in the post-war period, which was characterised by painful austerity measures – the country had accrued a budget deficit of more than one billion USD due to the conflict – and radical neo-liberal structural adjustment (Almeida, 2008; Morley et al., 2007; Ripton, 2006). Although the new government promised investment and economic growth, placing its hopes for recovery on a vibrant export sector, the economy grew by only one per cent between 1995 and 2000 and recorded no growth between 2000 and 2004 (Morley et al., 2007). Employment and income per capita suffered as a result: by 1995 unemployment stood at 50 per cent in urban areas and 70 per cent in rural parts of the country (Bailey and Hane, 1995). Recovery was also held back by recurrent economic shocks and natural disasters.

Bailey and Hane (1995) found that many of those who had returned to El Salvador following the signing of the Peace Accords decided to re-migrate soon after. Many were put off by a deteriorating

economy that offered few prospects; some had put down firm roots elsewhere; and others had acquired

skills and experience that could be more effectively applied in better-functioning economies. Many

Salvadorans sought economic opportunities in the United States and by 2000 approximately 784,000

Salvadorans resided in the United States (Halliday, 2006).

In an attempt to reinvigorate the economy the Salvadoran government signed the Central

American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) in 2004, consolidating El Salvador's post-war neo-liberal shift.

Among its provisions, CAFTA further reduced import restrictions, provided guarantees for foreign

investors, and protected intellectual property rights. It also offered Salvadoran exporters greater access

to the lucrative US market. The effects of the agreement are still not clear, and in the midst of a global

recession they are difficult to isolate, but there are already worrying signs: El Salvador's trade deficit

with the United States has grown, investment has not flowed into the country's most productive

sectors, and inflation has soared (SHARE, 2008). Critics also predict hardship for subsistence farmers

who face increasing competition from subsidised US agricultural products (Stop CAFTA coalition, 2006).

An estimated 1.5 to 2 million Salvadorans currently live in the United States (Baker-Cristales,

2002) and while the population is still highly concentrated - approximately 85 per cent live in Los

Angeles, New York, Washington DC, San Francisco and Houston (Bailey et al, 2002) – evidence suggests

there has been some dispersal to other states such as Arizona (Menjivar, 2003). Although recent trends

suggest that migration flows from El Salvador are decreasing, the presence of approximately 1.5 to 2

million Salvadorans in the United States could stimulate further emigration, as those in the United

States 'sponsor' friends and relatives.

3.7 The emergence of Salvadoran transnational networks

Given the recent nature of most Salvadoran migration to the United States, transnational networks

rarely predate the war and post-war period. As Salvadorans fled the indiscriminate killings that the state

and military unleashed on its own citizens, migrants who arrived in the United States began to develop cross-border networks that channelled support and funds to the Salvadoran opposition (Itzigsohn, 2000). By challenging the US's role as financial guarantor of the Salvadoran military regime, the Salvadoran resistance also adopted what Perla (2008a, 2008b) has termed a 'signal flare' strategy, when victimised groups appeal to potential sympathizers within a transgressor state.

Among the largest of the solidarity groups were the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the Salvadoran Humanitarian Aid Relief and Education Foundation (SHARE). CISPES is a secular group which had close links to left wing insurgents in El Salvador such as the FMLN (Frente *Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional*) and once commanded over 300 regional chapters. SHARE mobilised the religious community, strengthening congregational ties between the United States and El Salvador, and arranging delegations so that US citizens could witness the effects of the conflict first-hand. These were collaborative transnational movements in which Salvadorans and North Americans played distinct yet indispensable roles: US Citizens provided economic resources and political capital, and Salvadorans provided up to date information and powerful personal testimonies which gave the movement authenticity and legitimacy (Perla, 2008a, 2008b).

As the war progressed attention also focused on the desperate plight faced by Salvadorans in the United States. Organizations such as the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN) were established to meet the immediate needs of people fleeing the violence and persecution in El Salvador, providing emergency supplies, health services, and legal advice (CARECEN website, *accessed 6/4/2012*). There was also a significant sanctuary movement which provided a safe haven for undocumented refugees, and protection from deportation. These efforts laid the foundation of vibrant civil society networks that later fought for the legal residency of Salvadorans threatened by the expiration of the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) immigration programme.

3.8 Salvadoran transnational networks in the post-war period

The post-war period and the democratic opening that followed the signing of the 1992 Peace Accords changed transnational politics in two fundamental ways: it legitimised the right-wing ARENA (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista) government in the eyes of a previously-hostile expatriate community, and encouraged the FMLN to concentrate on national electoral politics at the expense of its transnational engagements (Itzigsohn, 2000). The FMLN retreat – reversed in the late nineties due to pressure from US-based supporters - effectively created a political vacuum which the Salvadoran government entered, offering services through its networks of consulates that had previously been provided by the FMLN (Itzigsohn, 2000). There is also evidence to suggest a simultaneous de-politicization of transnational spheres, which Baker-Cristales (2004) has attributed to the spread of consumerism and the waning influence of Marxist and left wing ideology.

The Salvadoran government also established the General Directorate within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DGACE) in 2000 in order to formalize its relations with migrants. The body works through Salvadoran embassies and consulates, and coordinates projects with other government agencies that target the migrant community. It is also charged with the responsibility of maintaining communication with migrant communities and informing them of new initiatives and developments (Orozco, 2006). However, expatriate membership rights in El Salvador are less pronounced than those in Mexico. For example, migrants cannot vote in Salvadoran elections or run for political office from the United States.

Despite this, there are transnational efforts underway to secure the right to vote and the politicised Salvadoran community continue to make their case, emphasizing their financial contributions to the Salvadoran state (*Interview with Ana Perez, CARECEN, December 2010*). While the FMLN initially supported an extension of the franchise, it later withdrew its support when the issue became

controversial in El Salvador (Itzigsohn, 2000). The state has demonstrated more interest in cultivating ties with the approximately 200 HTAs operating within the United States (Orozco, 2006). While the numbers of Salvadorans involved appears to be low – in a survey of remittance-senders Orozco (2006) found that only 4 per cent of Salvadoran respondents were members – HTAs are capable of providing substantial assistance in rural areas. For instance, when Hurricane Mitch struck in 2001, Washington DC's Salvadoran community came together to form *Communidas Unidas Salvadorenas (CUS)*, a federation of HTAs that was established to coordinate the community's response to the devastation wrought by the hurricane.

Recognising their potential role as agents for local development, the Salvadoran government has reached out to HTAs through DGACE and its Social Investment and Local Development Fund (FISDL). Both bodies established a matching fund scheme for local development projects known as 'Unidos por la Solidaridad.' By 2004 the programme had funded 40 projects in El Salvador, with HTAs contributing approximately 2.1 million USD (Orozco, 2006). In addition to government support, Salvadoran HTAs have also received assistance from international organizations. The International Fund for Agricultural Development of the United Nations (IFAD), for example, initiated a programme that facilitated HTA contributions to income-generating activities in selected communities (Orozco, 2006a).

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In designing this research project, one of the most important considerations was the subject of investigation – which communities to investigate, and where. My eventual decision to focus on the Mexican and Salvadoran communities was shaped by a number of considerations: logical, academic, and practical. Initially, the decision to explore the cross-border connections of Latin American communities reflects the fact that I have a long-held interest in Latin America and had recently studied for a Master's degree in Globalization and Latin American Development at the University of London's Institute for the Study of the Americas. It was during this degree that I developed an interest in the migration-development nexus, and specifically, the role of remittances and Home Town Associations (HTAs) in the development of Mexican 'sending' communities. I subsequently spent a considerable amount of time reading through the large body of academic work devoted to the activities of Mexican HTAs and the potential development impacts of their activities (for examples see Orozco and Lapointe, 2004; Orozco, 2003, 2006; Goldring, 2002; Iskander 2005; Portes et al., 2005; Bada, 2003). When I began to research potential topics for a PhD, the community development initiatives pursued by these transnational philanthropic organizations seemed a highly interesting and pertinent area of study.

As my research began to take shape, I initially decided to examine how HTAs navigate and challenge established political structures in Mexico's rural areas. In particular, I was interested in finding out how the power dynamics between these organizations and traditional political cliques played out, to what extent HTA leaders were able to act independently and control their own agendas, and how this affected the initiation and on-going development of infrastructural improvement plans in rural communities. However, the focus of my research began to shift over several months as I became more

familiar with the literature on this subject. I consequently realized that the power dynamics determining the relationship between HTA and traditional power elites had already received significant academic interest (for instance, Iskander, 2005, R. Smith, 2006; and Smith and Bakker, 2008). Furthermore, during the course of this initial stage in my research I was simultaneously exposed to transnationalism and transnational migration, and the academic debates that surrounded these concepts. Struck by the way in which transnational migration challenged accepted and conventional theories of immigration and assimilation, my interest in these debates grew, and as I became more familiar with the concepts and recognized their potential to capture the contemporary experiences of immigrants, my research project began to consider the strengths of adopting a distinctly transnational approach to the study of immigrant communities in the United States - using this concept not only to investigate impacts in the country or community of origin, but also to understand how communities organized themselves transnationally within the United States, and why.

It subsequently became obvious that a significant gap in the empirical record was next generation transnationalism – and whether the children of first generation migrants also maintained meaningful connections with their parents' country of origin, and what forms these connections assumed. Although a small number of studies had investigated emotional forms of transnationalism (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Gowrichan, 2009) and transnational behaviours such as trips to the 'home' country (Rumbault, 2002; Levitt, 2002: Kasinitz et al., 2002), there had been very few examinations of institutionalized transnational activities. I was therefore interested in investigating the existence of a distinctly *institutionalized* transnational space that could be applied to the next generation. I wanted to pursue answers to the following questions: were next generation individuals involved in transnational organizations and networks in any meaningful way? What were their contributions to the activities of these organizations, and how did they navigate

these networks? And, what are the factors driving next generation institutional transnationalism beyond the immigrant generation?

Conveniently, these lines of investigation converged with a long-held interest in next generation assimilation, an interest that developed as a result of my upbringing in a diverse area of East London, and related to my interest in Mexico, a year spent at the University of California, Berkeley, where close and on-going friendships with a number of Mexican-American students revealed issues related to Latino-American incorporation. As I have already argued, transnationalism raises a number of interesting questions for next generation assimilation and the trajectory that incorporation takes for the children of immigrants. Does it, as many on the right assume (for instance, see Huntington, 2002), delay or undermine assimilation within the United States, or can transnationalism and incorporation proceed simultaneously, as others have contested (Kivisto, 2002; Faist, 2000)? Taken further, these lines of enquiry could reveal important consequences for both the country of settlement, the United States, and the countries of origin, Mexico and El Salvador. Initial thinking presented a number of potential scenarios which further strengthened my interest in the subject of next generation transnationalism: the potential for next generation individuals to strengthen transnational networks and deliver improved gains for countries and communities of origin; the possible re-orientation of transnational networks towards more 'American' concerns as a consequence of next generation involvement; the extent to which involvement in a transnational network could strengthen attachments to a country of origin; and , conversely, the extent to which this involvement could weaken attachments to the country of settlement.

The inclusion of the Salvadoran community was not initially part of my research plan. The decision to include Salvadorans was a response to changing personal circumstances. Having initially decided to move to California to initiate research on Mexican transnationalism, my wife was offered an

opportunity to work in Washington DC. With very few Mexicans living in the DC region, I was forced to

consider alternative immigrant groups, and with a large and vibrant community across DC and parts of

Maryland and Virginia, Salvadorans offered a convenient solution. However, given my long-term interest

in Mexico and Mexican migration, I decided to also persevere with an initial plan to conduct field

research in California – albeit with a more limited timescale, given my financial constraints and the costs

of relocating to California. Both locations provided a good opportunity to study Mexican and Salvadoran

immigration. According to official 2010 US census figures the District of Colombia, Maryland and Virginia

had a combined Salvadoran population of approximately 300,000. However, since this figure does not

include undocumented migrants, the region's population is likely to be significantly higher. Salvadorans

comprise the largest Latin American immigrant group in the DC region, and account for 33.7 per cent of

the area's Latino population (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011). Corresponding figures for California are even

higher, and in Los Angeles County alone the official Salvadoran population totals almost 400,000 (US

Census Bureau, 2010).

While the Mexican population within the Washington DC metropolitan area is small –

comprising only 13.3 per cent of the metropolitan area's Latin American population (Pew Hispanic

Center, 2011) – it is significantly larger in California where 11,778,396 people of Mexican origin resided

in 2010, the largest concentration in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2010). They are easily the

predominant Latino group in the region: comprising 71.8 per cent of Latinos in the San Francisco-

Oakland-Vallejo area and 79.3 per cent in Los Angeles-Long Beach (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011).

Although there are no population figures for the San Francisco Bay Area as a whole, there are

population estimates for individual counties: 401,901 in Santa Clara, 267,191 in Alameda, 182,421 in

Contra Costa, and 119,570 in San Mateo. In Los Angeles County, where a small number of interviews

took place, the Mexican origin population totals 3,599,473 persons.

Evidently, both the Mexican and Salvadoran communities also provide useful case studies of transnational communities, with significant numbers of vibrant transnational spaces and networks. Both have been in the United States long enough to develop dense cross-border networks that facilitate flows of resources and capital between home and host settings (Smith and Bakker, 2008; Smith, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2000, 2009; Goldring, 1998, 2002; Perla, 2008a, 2008b, Itzigsohn, 2000; and Orozco, 2006). In fact, one previous study estimated that there were approximately 2000 active Mexican HTAs in the United States (Orozco and Lapointe, 2004). Given the size of both communities, and the maturity of their transnational networks, an exploration of Salvadoran and Mexican transnationalism helps to clearly identify the implications of cross-border activities. The long-term residence of Salvadoran and Mexican communities in the United States was helpful in another regard. The fact that Salvadorans have been migrating to the United States in large numbers for at least three decades, and Mexican-US migration has also expanded significantly in recent decades, means that both communities have sizeable next generation populations that are maturing and have entered – or are entering - adulthood. This was a crucial consideration for the study, which sought respondents who were over the age of 18 - individuals who were more likely to be independent actors capable of exploiting and responding to transnational opportunities freely and without interference from parental or other authoritative figures. A study that investigated communities with a more recent migration history, and therefore a younger and less mature demographic of US-born and/or raised individuals, could have generated very different results.

4.2 Research approach

Initial preparation

Prior to beginning the field research I undertook an initial investigation into transnational networks operating in the areas of study. Using databases compiled by the Mexican and Salvadoran embassies,

and conducting numerous web searches, I was able to locate potential organizations in Washington DC

and California. I also initiated informal conversations with prominent members of Salvadoran and

Mexican communities who were an invaluable source of background information on cross-border

movements, transnational organizations operating in the areas of study, and other relevant issues.

These individuals were also able to provide contacts within transnational organizations. They included a

priest at a Catholic Church in the Columbia Heights area of Washington DC, a social worker who assists

Salvadoran youth and their families, and community activists with significant experience campaigning

for immigrant rights and facilitating immigrant access to adequate healthcare and housing. I also

consulted a number of migration scholars to gain an insight and better understanding of their approach

to studying transnational organizations.

Research design

When initiating the research design, I decided to adopt a qualitative approach as the primary method of

gathering relevant information and data, believing that this approach could provide a more detailed, in-

depth examination of individual experiences (Rubin, 2000; Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Kvale, 1996; Marshall,

1996). I felt that a qualitative research methodology would help to reveal important insights – the

backgrounds of respondents, for instance, or their motivations, desires and reservations – that I

suspected could have an important bearing on transnational mobilization. I decided that the most direct

way of eliciting qualitative information was through interviews and so pursued respondent interviews as

my main source of information. In order to gather consistent information and data across sampled

individuals I opted for semi-structured interviews (Hill et al., 2005). To guard against an overly rigid

investigation, which I felt could potentially stifle rapport between interviewer and interviewee, I opted

for open-ended questions that would allow respondents the freedom to elaborate on their answers and

influence the direction that interviews assumed. This approach, I initially thought, would provide a more productive interaction and generate more valuable insights.

4.3 Sampling and sampling methodology

Study respondents were drawn from three main sets of people. Two were involved in transnational organizations: a group of leaders or individuals in senior positions, and a group of next generation members. The third was composed of next generation Salvadorans and Mexicans residing in California and the Washington DC metropolitan area who were not members of transnational organizations. This latter group were drawn from a 'wider' sample frame of immigrants and can be thought of as a control sample. These groups were chosen because I thought they would provide the information required to answer my research questions and generate data relevant for a study on next generation institutional transnationalism.

Initially, the study focused on HTAs. However, there was a disappointingly slow response rate from HTAs, and given the time constraints, I was forced to include alternative philanthropic and political organizations. I suspected the initial slow response from HTAs was due to the fact that I was perceived as an 'outsider' with no prior links to these groups, a problem that has confronted other ethnographers of immigrant communities (for instance, see Bailey et al., 2002). Fortunately, I came to see the benefits of adopting a more varied sampling methodology which could reveal the differences that existed between different types of transnational organizations and the potential control that these differences could exert on next generation inclusion. Furthermore, this shift also proved to be productive and I was able to rapidly accumulate data within two to three months after an initial period of limited progress. Nevertheless, I continued to persevere with HTAs alongside this new strategy and was eventually able to negotiate access to important HTA networks and their members. For convenience this group of transnational organizations, from which interviewees were chosen, were divided into four main

categories: HTAs, Political/Solidarity organizations, Charities/NGOs, and Latino-American organizations. The characteristics of these organization-types will now be described:

Hometown Associations (HTAs) and HTA Federations: HTAs are small migrant-led philanthropic organizations which raise money to fund community development projects in the 'hometowns' or areas of origin from which migrants are drawn, for example road improvements, health clinics, educational facilities, or electrification (Orozco, 2003). The sampled organizations ranged from single HTAs with very simple structures and relatively small support bases, to HTA federations with more formal infrastructures that were capable of coordinating the support of large groups of immigrants. The federations represented HTAs from Mexican states rather than individual towns and thereby provided migrants with much greater leverage when dealing with national, state, or municipal authorities in Mexico.

Transnational political and solidarity organizations: Political and solidarity organizations primarily advocated on economic and social issues affecting El Salvador, such as human rights violations and the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies. The organizations trace their origins to the Civil War in El Salvador when Salvadoran exiles and sympathetic Americans campaigned against US intervention in the conflict. The ethnic composition of their members differs significantly, with some being overwhelmingly Salvadoran (FMLN) and others having a more heterogeneous composition (For example CISPES and SHARE).

Transnational charities and NGOs: Charities and NGOs also primarily worked on community development projects but tended to have a more regional or national focus than HTAs. Some organizations worked on a range of issues, whereas others prioritised a single issue such as education. Some also had an advocacy function and campaigned on issues that adversely affected their beneficiaries in El Salvador and Mexico; others refrained from overtly political activities

Latino-American Organizations: Latino-American organizations devote a significant portion of their time and resources to the needs of Mexican and Salvadoran communities in the United States, such as immigrant rights, education reform, or health promotion. In some cases, such needs are the predominant focus; in others respondents reported an equal focus on the United States and the country of origin. While bi-national agendas were also evident in other organizations, this simultaneous engagement often appeared to be more systematic and institutionalised within Latino-American organizations. In terms of their transnational engagements, Latino-American groups organised delegations to El Salvador and Mexico, raised money for humanitarian relief, and campaigned for the rights of US-based Salvadorans and Mexicans in their home countries. Latino-American organizations tended to be larger than most other transnational groups in the sample, and even when their predominant focus was the United States, the impact of their transnational work was often more significant than other types of organization.

Having put a list of potential organizations together – accumulated by web research and referrals from community contacts – I set about choosing the organizations I would approach. Organizations chosen for the study had to fit the following criteria: they had to be political or philanthropic bodies active in the areas of study whose activities were wholly or partially directed towards either Mexico or El Salvador. Initial contact was made with transnational organizations via e-mail, and if possible, follow-up phone calls. This process was repeated several times until a response was forthcoming, an organization declined to participate, or my calls and e-mails were repeatedly ignored. Initially, my decision to target organizations operating in Washington DC and the San Francisco Bay Area shifted and I began to instead consider the advantages of also interviewing organizations located in southern California. This decision was taken because these organizations and their respective transnational networks had experience mobilizing next generation Salvadorans and Mexicans, and could therefore provide important and interesting perspectives. They also played prominent roles within the

transnational social fields established by Mexican and Salvadoran communities - hence their

commitment to the next generation could potentially generate significant consequences for the

sustainability of cross-border networks and activism. These included USEU, a transnational student

organization operating on California university campuses, whose second generation leader was also a

prominent member of the *FMLN Juventud* in Los Angeles; an indigenous organization that campaigned

for human rights in the Mexican state of Oaxaca (FIOB); and the largest Federation of Mexican HTAs in

southern California, the Federacion de Clubes Zacatecanos del Sur de California (FCZSC). In one case, the

leader of a Salvadoran religious organization located in Ohio was also interviewed due to the fact that

this institution had played a prominent role in transnational arenas traversing El Salvador and the United

States, particularly during El Salvador's Civil War. This more expansive approach also increased the

sample's size and diversity, potentially helping to further identify the institutional factors controlling

next generation transnational mobilization. Eventually, I was able to finalize a set of organizations that

seemed fit for purpose and began to sample within this set for interviewees (See Table 4.1).

Sample 1: Transnational organization leaders

I consulted the leaders of transnational organizations to explore factors that controlled next generation

institutional transnationalism and gain access to transnational organizations and their constituent

members. Adopting a 'purposive sampling' approach (Welman and Kruger, 1999; Polkinghorne, 2005),

individuals in this sample were selected because they were the leaders or senior members of

transnational organizations who were therefore in a position to offer insights into the recruitment or

non-recruitment of next generation individuals, and the factors that controlled these processes. I

contacted organizations by e-mail and telephone and specifically asked to speak to the most senior

person. Occasionally, I was able to speak to that person when contact was first made; otherwise I

repeatedly called until I was able to arrange an interview. On a few occasions the interviews were

delegated to another senior member when the President or Director was not available. Having a prior

contact was extremely useful in gaining access to these individuals - these contacts were either

respondents from other organizations or interviewees I pursued in the initial stages of the research

when gathering background and contextual information on Mexican and Salvadoran communities.

Table 4.1: Organizations consulted for the study

NAME	Place	Community	Interview	Survey
HTAs				
Vista Hermosa-USA	CALIFORNIA	MX	X	X
Comite Pro-Guatasiagua	DC	ES	X	X
Comunidades Transnacionales Salvadorenas Americanas (COTSA)	DC	ES	X	X
Comunidad Unida de Chapeltique	VIRGINIA	ES	X	X
Comite Amigos de Santa Elena	CALIFORNIA?A	ES	X	X
Communidad Unida Chinameca	VIRGINIA	ES	X	X
Club San Pedro	CALIFORNIA	MX	X	X
United Zacatecan Community Development Corporation (UZCDC)	CALIFORNIA	MX	X	X
Club Tizapan	CALIFORNIA	MX	X	X
Club La Villita	CALIFORNIA	MX	X	X
Federacion Zacatecana del Sur de California (FCZSC)	CALIFORNIA	MX	X	X
POLITICAL/SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATIONS				
Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)	DC	ES	**X**	**X**
Bay Area CISPES	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	X
Salvadoran Humanitarian Aid Relief and Education Foundation (SHARE)	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	X
SOUTH BAY SANCTUARY	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	X
VOICES ON THE BORDER	DC	ES	X	X
Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional (FMLN) DC	DC	ES	X	X
FMLN Northern California	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	X
Christians for Peace in El Salvador (CRISPAZ)	OHIO	ES	X	X
CHARITIES/NGOS				

Central America Foundation for Rural Education and Development (CAFRED)	DC	ES	X	X
Eco-Viva	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	X
Asociacion para el Desarrollo Educatativo en El Salvador (ADEES)	DC	ES	X	X
Peace International	DC	ES	X	X
LATINO-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS				
Salvadoran-American National Association (SANA)	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	
Union Salvadorena de Estudiantes Universitarios (USEU)	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	X
Salvadoran American Leadership and Education Fund (SALEF)	CALIFORNIA	ES	X	
Frente Indigena de Organizaciones Binacionale (FIOB)	CALIFORNIA	MX	X	

Invariably, those interviewed assumed positions as presidents, treasurers, or senior board members. While most of the leaders were first generation Salvadoran and Mexican immigrants, a minority were next generation individuals in positions of authority, or white Caucasian Americans in Salvadoran solidarity organizations, which had more diverse memberships and supporter bases. In total I was able to interview 27 leaders and stopped conducting interviews once I felt saturation had been reached and no new insights were emerging. Throughout the thesis, individuals in this sample are referred to as 'organization leaders' or 'leaders.'

Sample 2: Next generation 'contributors'

In order to more accurately capture next generation institutional transnational experiences and activities, and gain a full appreciation of the factors driving this phenomenon among the children of first generation immigrants, it was also necessary to interview next generation individuals who were involved in cross-border organizations. I therefore used the set of organizations listed in Table 4.1 to build a sample of next generation members, henceforth referred to as 'transnational contributors' or simply 'contributors.' As the study progressed a small minority of 'contributors' – seven in total - were found outside these organizations. These individuals included four next generation transnational actors who

had established their own organizations, brought to my attention by other 'Transnational leaders' and 'Transnational contributors.' They were interviewed for two main reasons. First, the fact that they had established their own organizations demonstrated a significant commitment to the country of origin and the potential to document interesting and significant insights. Second, the establishment of transnational organizations is not a form of cross-border connectivity predicted in the transnational literature on the next generation and as a result I was keen to document this practice. This additional group of respondents also included three individuals who had participated in a summer camp in Mexico organized by a HTA based in Napa, California. Despite repeated attempts to interview the leaders of this organization, I was never able to do so and hence the cross-border organization in which these 'transnational contributors' were involved does not appear in the list of sampled institutions (listed in Table 4.1).

To be considered eligible for the study individuals in this sample had to meet the following criteria: they had to have been born or brought up in the United States, be at least 18 years of age or older, and have at least one parent from El Salvador or Mexico. The 18-year cut off was deemed necessary because at this age respondents are entering adulthood and are therefore more likely to be independent actors, free of strict parental control. As mentioned earlier, I felt that investigating the transnational lives of adolescents or individuals under the age of 18, who may have lacked the freedom of choice to opt in or out of transnational acts, would have been less revealing of the factors driving – or constraining - transnationalism beyond the first generation.

This sample was secured through referrals and the 'snowballing' methodology – either through 'transnational leaders' who acted as 'gatekeepers' and controlled my access to next generation organization members, or as the study progressed, other 'transnational contributors' who were active in transnational networks. While some have criticised the 'snowball' methodology and its tendency to

isolate researchers from potential informants (for instance, Baily, 1996), I made sure to utilize multiple

entry points to avoid any obvious sample biases. Furthermore, adopting this methodology proved to be

highly productive within the time frame designated for field research. In total 28 'Contributors' were

interviewed. Their main characteristics are provided in Table 4.2.

Sample 3: 'Wider' sample

The other next generation sample, which as discussed above, can be loosely described as a 'control'

sample, was drawn from individuals in California and Washington DC who were not members of

transnational groups, providing some indication of the nature and trends associated with transnational

identities and perceptions within the broader population. For the sake of brevity this sample will by

referred to as the 'wider' sample. The rationale for including this group emerged from the fact that

research on the nature of contemporary transnationalism is often guilty of limiting itself to those whose

involvement and interest in transnational networks is self-evident, which can over-estimate the

phenomenon's significance (Portes, 2003).

Similar to their 'contributor' counterparts, individuals in the 'wider' next generation sample had to

meet the following criteria: they had to have been born or brought up in the United States, have at least

one parent from El Salvador or Mexico, and be at least 18 years old. Although a significant majority of

those interviewed were born in the United States, a minority were also born in Mexico or El Salvador

and came to the United States at a young age. In Washington DC I drew my 'wider' sample of Mexican

and Salvadoran-Americans from youth groups and community colleges after considering and rejecting

various alternative strategies for finding relevant respondents for this group. I decided not to

concentrate on more prestigious universities because I felt these institutions would not provide a

representative sample of Mexican or Salvadoran populations in selected study areas. Students attending

these universities were also more likely not to have been drawn from the surrounding area, but parts of

the country further afield. I also decided not to focus on places of employment because the diverse

immigrant populations residing in both regions produced few concentrations of next generation

Salvadorans and Mexicans. Perhaps the most obvious strategy would have been to target Mexican and

Salvadoran restaurants, but I suspected that there would be a high preponderance of small business

owners within transnational organizations, and this would therefore create a significant sample bias

towards individuals with strong direct and indirect transnational connections, which I preferred to avoid.

Recruiting other respondents for the wider sample was generally more challenging than the

'contributor' sample. Having decided on the sample frame as described above, I chose my interviewees

in the following ways. I started by trying to see if I could conduct interviews at youth clubs and

community colleges. Although these requests were mostly ignored, the process of making contact did

yield some useful links as a few people expressed interest in the research. These included a teacher in

northern Virginia, a Catholic priest working with Salvadoran youth, and a student advisor at

Montgomery College in Maryland. The student advisor, in particular, introduced me to ten Salvadoran-

American students. I had no control over which students were chosen, however. From some of these

respondents I was able to access other interviewees via the snowballing method, ensuring multiple

points of access to avoid any significant sample biases. Elsewhere I used referrals.

In California, I relied on referrals, using four personal contacts and one 'contributor.' These contacts

introduced me to six respondents and through two of these individuals I was able to access a further

three respondents via the snowball methodology. Given my time constraints and the limited

opportunities I had to develop contacts with youth organizations or community colleges, this approach

proved to be effective within the time period (less than three months). These constraints also led me to

consider interviewees in Southern California. Initially dismissed because these individuals resided

outside the San Francisco Bay Area, they were subsequently considered because they also met the

criteria detailed above and expanded the numbers of Mexican respondents. In total, the 'wider' sample

included 28 respondents. The broad characteristics of the individuals sampled – nationality, gender,

social status, place of birth, and residence - are provided in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Numbers and characteristics of next generation respondents in Washington DC and California and method of data collection

	Washington DC		California	
	Sample type		Sample type	
CHARACTERISTICS	'Contributor	'Wider'	'Contributor'	'Wider'
Salvadoran	10	16	11(2)	1(1)
Mexican	-	-	7(2)	11(8)
Male	1	10	7(1)	7(3)
Female	9	6	11(3)	5(5)
Professional status	3	4	2(1)	3(2)
Non-professional status	2	3	6(2)	6(4)
Students	5	9	10(1)	3(3)
1.5 generation (Born in Mx/ES)	1	4	7(2)	1(1)
Second generation (Born in USA)	9	12	11(2)	11(8)
Interview	10	16	18(4)	12(9)
Survey	10	15	16(3)	11(8)

Respondents who resided in Southern California in parentheses

Given that the Mexican community in Washington DC is small and not well-established, no interviews

were conducted with Mexican-origin respondents in this location. Interviews in Washington DC were

therefore conducted entirely with Salvadoran-origin respondents, and those with Mexican-origin

participants were exclusively held in California. In some respects the characteristics of respondents in

each of the next generation samples were similar. For both samples most were born in the United States

– and therefore were members of the second generation. For those who had left university and were

working, there were no significant differences in terms of professional status as individuals were

somewhat evenly distributed between those with professional and non-professional occupations. A

slight majority of the sample were students who had not yet graduated from university or community

college. In terms of gender, while a slight majority of respondents were male, this pattern was reversed within the contributor sample, where females outnumbered males by 20 to 8. Finally, although not included in Table 4.2, the average age of participants was similar in both samples: 27.2 for 'contributors' and 26 for those in the 'wider' sample – although the age range was longer for 'contributors' (19-53) than 'non-contributors' (18-39).

4.4 Information and data collection

Data was collected using a 'mixed methods' approach (Bailey et al., 2002), using both surveys and qualitative interviews. Surveys were used to identify trends across and between samples, and the interviews provided an in-depth examination of these trends and other factors controlling next generation transnational mobilization. The interviews were conducted according to 'informed consent' (Holloway, 1997; Kvale, 1996) and I designated time at the beginning of each interview to explain the purpose of the research, its voluntary nature, and the procedures in place to protect participant confidentiality. I then asked each respondent whether they had any questions about the research study or any reservations about their participation. In actual fact, no respondents communicated any reservations and all appeared willing to participate in the study.

Survey data collection

Respondents in all three samples were first asked to fill in a short survey which took approximately five minutes to complete. Before each respondent filled in a survey I talked respondents through the different sections, explaining why this information was necessary, and asked them whether they had any questions or problems with the survey. The surveys were structured differently in order to capture distinct data. The survey for transnational organization leaders, which compiled information on 24 transnational organizations, was divided into nine sections and sought data in the following areas: the extent of next generation involvement, their specific positions and responsibilities, the frequency and

form their contributions assumed, and organizational participation in US political arenas (appendix 1).

The survey for 'institutional contributors' was divided into nine sections and investigated respondent socio-economic backgrounds, the form and frequency of institutional transnational activities, non-institutional transnational behaviours, patterns of civic participation in the United States, and identification (appendix 2). The corresponding survey for individuals in the 'wider' sample was almost identical, except for the sections on institutional transnational activities (appendix 3). In total, 26 individuals in each of the Latino-American next generation samples completed surveys.

Semi-structured interviews

As discussed previously, a study of this type which addresses attitudes and perceptions must involve qualitative research methods to capture the crucial information required and to allow qualitative analysis. As described earlier, the chosen qualitative methodology was semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, which could simultaneously capture consistent data across samples and allow sufficient flexibility to capture elaborate and in-depth insights (see appendices 4, 5, and 6). Occasionally prompts were used to elicit more information or follow interesting leads, a tactic widely acknowledged as helpful in qualitative studies (for instance see Di-Cicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Given the flexible nature of the interviews conducted, prompts were often instantaneous on the spot questions or remarks, but occasionally they were pre-planned to ensure that required information was captured. At the conclusion of every interview, I also provided respondents with the opportunity to comment on the research topic, elaborate on any of the answers they had previously provided, or offer additional relevant information that did not emerge during the interview. While some respondents declined to comment further, others offered additional information that proved to be highly informative.

Most of the field research for this study was conducted during three major time periods: March to July 2010, October to December 2010, and January to March 2011. However, it was also necessary to

hold interviews and gather evidence outside these periods. In some instances I contacted respondents with follow-up questions when certain aspects of the study became more prominent; in others missing information on respondent surveys prompted further communication and provided an opportunity to ask questions related to the testimonies respondents had previously provided. Key contacts also emerged after the main period of field research had finished. Given their relevance – they included the President of a major Mexican HTA Federation and the second generation founder of a Salvadoran student organization – a limited number of interviews were held during the spring and summer of 2011. After 2011 I also became increasingly involved in the activities of a Salvadoran transnational organization operating in Montgomery County, Maryland. Initially, after attending meetings and fundraising events, this involvement evolved and I was eventually appointed a board member offering communication and web support. This provided a unique and on-going insight into the inner-workings of migrant-led transnational organizations.

In total I completed 83 interviews: 27 interviews with transnational organization leaders (from 24 sampled organizations), 28 with institutional contributors, and 28 with respondents in the 'wider' sample. In addition, interviews were conducted with a further nine individuals whose testimonies helped to guide the research. These individuals were either found through referrals from other contacts, or internet searches. They included, for example, a social worker who has been assisting the Salvadoran community in DC for almost three decades; a Salvadoran community activist who campaigned for immigrant access to adequate housing; and the Director of a community organization in San Francisco which assists mostly Central American immigrants on health and housing issues. On average, interviews lasted approximately one hour and usually took place at participant homes, colleges, or places of work. Some were also conducted in public places such as cafes or restaurants. Furthermore, as I have already mentioned, a minority provided personal testimonies over the phone when budget or time constraints meant that in-person interviews were not possible. While I initially thought that telephone interviews

would be less productive, suspecting that this form of inter-connection would result in respondents being more hesitant and less forthcoming with their answers, this proved not to be the case, and I was able to capture extremely helpful information. Conducting telephone interviews was problematic in one other respect, however. Since I could not collect them in in person, a very small minority of respondents never returned their surveys - despite repeated requests. As a result, the numbers of completed surveys and interviews do not entirely align. I have noted this in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

Interview positionality

Throughout the research process I was aware of the potential for personal biases and preconceived notions to creep into my investigation, and so strove to be as objective as I possibly could. I therefore refrained from asking leading questions and ensured that any prompts or comments were as neutral as possible. As someone with a distinctly different background from respondents in this study, it also seems appropriate to acknowledge my positionality during the interview process. My white Caucasian ethnicity and British nationality were obvious distinguishing features that clearly separated me from research participants, establishing my role as 'outsider' (Meron, 1972). In a diverse country divided along racial and ethnic lines, I reflected on this distinction throughout the research process and was continually made aware of my 'outsider' status. Requests for interviews were often met with surprise and even amusement, many questioning why someone from London would be interested in the transnational experiences of Salvadorans and Mexicans in the United States. Despite this, the vast majority were content with my explanations, which usually elaborated on my long-held interest in Latin America, and agreed to interview requests.

Aware that many ethnographers would have viewed my position with a great deal of scepticism - believing that my background, distinct experiences, and lack of in-depth cultural insight would prevent me from accurately capturing the real-life experiences of my research participants (for example, Shah,

2004) – I approached interviews sensitively with an open mind, primed to accurately record testimonies. As the research progressed, however, I began to understand the weaknesses of an insider/outsider binary and the belief that only 'insider' researchers can truly understand the experiences of a specific community. I realised that this assumption ignored the many attributes that divide ethnic communities – class, generation, or gender for example – which could potentially complicate the postulation that ethnic sameness ensures accuracy and guards against misrepresentation. This is not to argue that ethnic similarity cannot be valuable in ethnographic research - I believe it can – but to instead point out that ethnic consistency may not always guarantee accuracy. These observations are not novel, of course, and concur with the conclusions of other ethnographers who also perceive the complications of 'insider' positionality: the heightened awareness of social division between researcher and participant (class, generation etc.) and the risk that ethnic proximity may weaken a researcher's critical reflection on the subject being researched (Haw, 1998; Ganga and Scott, 2006; Tinker and Armstrong, 2008; Merton, 1972).

The insider/outsider binary is also guilty of presenting an overly rigid depiction of reality. While I never completely lost my 'outsider' status during the field research, this status could shift with context and assume various positions along an insider-outsider continuum. I adopted various strategies to try and bridge the gap between myself and my interviewees - efforts that resemble what Harvey (1996) has termed 'alliance building.' On occasion I adopted the position of 'informed outsider,' which assumed various guises and shifted according to who I was interviewing. With politicised Salvadoran informants I occasionally mentioned my knowledge of Salvadoran and Latin American social movements if I felt this would be received favourably. With Mexican transnational leaders, on the other hand, I was able to exploit my knowledge of Mexican government efforts to leverage the financial resources of HTAs. An accumulation of knowledge as the research progressed further enhanced my 'informed outsider' status: snippets of cultural, political, or geographical information gleaned from previous interviews

strengthened my ability to 'build alliances' during later stages of the research. Finally, using referrals had the effect of making my 'outsider' status less salient. Approaching potential interviewees through a contact meant that informants were more willing to consider being interviewed.

Aside from efforts to reduce the salience of my 'outsider' status I also began to perceive the advantages of this position. It became apparent that my non-American background offered distinct benefits that American – and perhaps even Latino-American – researchers could not exploit. As an outsider, participants were extremely candid and forthright on a range of issues, particularly their experiences as minorities in the United States and the challenges and difficulties this presented. Discussions about how respondents identified were often deeply personal accounts of the emotions, perceptions, and experiences that contributed to the construction of their identifications. When many justified their decision to not identify as 'American' or 'Salvadoran' they were frank and did not try to avoid arguments that other researchers – particularly those sharing the same nationality or background - could have perceived as contentious or offensive. My 'outsider' status therefore encouraged respondents to speak freely, a dynamic that other researchers have previously exploited to benefit their own research (Haw, 1998; Jayaraman, 1975; and Tinker and Armstrong, 2008; Merrian, et al., 2001).

I even began to use my 'outsider' status deliberately, occasionally adopting a strategy of 'cultural ignorance' (Tinker and Armstrong, 2008) to elicit detailed answers from respondents. By feigning ignorance about aspects of life in the United States or countries of origin, or at least not contradicting the ignorance that respondents perceived me to have, interviewees were encouraged to elaborate and explain their views thoroughly. This form of respondent empowerment yielded valuable insights into the lives of those who participated in the study and their national and transnational orientations. Arguably, these insights may not have emerged with an 'insider' researcher whose cultural

knowledge and similar background would have made these detailed and elaborate responses

unnecessary.

Participant observation

The field research offered opportunities to observe individuals and institutions relevant to this research.

Areas of Mexican and Central American settlement, particularly the Mission District in San Francisco,

provided important insights into immigrant incorporation. This neighbourhood, rapidly undergoing

gentrification but still the focus of the city's Latin American community, demonstrated the duality

guiding the lives of contemporary immigrants in the United States. At first glance, particularly when

juxtaposed to areas immediately to the west and north, the Mission resembles a *barrio* transplanted

from Latin America: the streets are lined with restaurants selling tacos or empanadas, shops signs are

mostly in Spanish, and Salsa music blares from speakers. However, after several visits one notices the

less visible signs of adaptation such as US flags in shop windows, the slightly less prominent signs in

English, and the hip hop inspired graffiti. Eating in these areas in restaurants provided opportunities to

converse informally with next generation waiters who shifted effortlessly from Spanish to English and

chatted about interests shared by many young San Franciscans, regardless of ethnicity. Reflecting on

these experiences reinforced my belief that the retention of transnational ties does not necessarily

undermine incorporation – a key insight guiding this research - and cautioned against observations that

perceive only the visible signs of transnationalism but not the sometimes less visible signs of adaptation.

During the course of this research I was also able to attend organizational events and meetings.

These were all instructive and provided an opportunity to better understand the factors that could

facilitate or constrain Latino-American involvement. One meeting held by CISPES provided a platform for

Salvadoran-American delegates, recently returned from a delegation to El Salvador, to report back their

experiences to other members. This proved to be an extremely informative event in which I was able to

observe presentations, listen to delegates reflect on their experiences and observe an intense debate that discussed the potential for reaching out to more Salvadoran-Americans, concluding with a commitment to mobilize this key demographic. Subsequent informal conversations with CISPES members confirmed the importance the organization placed on this strategy, seeing Salvadoran-Americans as a natural constituency capable of devoting energy and time to transnational causes in El Salvador. These same conversations also offered insights into the potential obstacles that could undermine the effectiveness of this strategy, including disinterest among Salvadoran youth in the United States and the limited institutional resources to devote to this cause. Nevertheless, the event clearly demonstrated the importance that CISPES placed on this demographic, perceiving them as an integral part of the organization's future. The meeting provided a supportive environment in which members explored ways of making visits to El Salvador a common feature of the organization's outreach strategy.

An on-going relationship with ADEES, first as a supporter and latterly as a board member, demonstrated first-hand the capacity constraints faced by many voluntary migrant-led transnational organizations. Working closely with other members revealed the considerable time-constraints placed on organizational activities and how this could prevent effective outreach to new members. Reaching out to new members – including next generation Salvadorans – was another task in an already exhaustive list of organizational activities and competing work- and family-related commitments. While the intention may have been there, limited time and resources meant that intentions were ultimately never pursued. Attendance at ADEES fundraising events also demonstrated a plethora of ways – direct and indirect – that next generation individuals can contribute to development through cross-border organizations. While incorporation at leadership levels may present difficulties, help setting up events, cooking food, playing music, or donating money all contribute to an event's and - by implication - an organization's success.

4.5 Data storage and analysis

Respondent interviews were recorded and transcribed word for word within one or two days of an interview. Once transcribed, the recording was deleted and the transcription stored on a personal computer. I also kept notebooks throughout the field research process, providing initial analyses (Morgan, 1997) on methodological techniques and approaches, theoretical insights, and the emergence of key themes and issues. Field notes were an invaluable aid during the research, enabling self-reflection and providing the impetus to, for instance, refine interview techniques, compare my results with previous studies, take stock of progress, and consider future plans. Notebooks were also used to record participant observations: insights that emerged during interviews, or more generally, reflections on community life, which were gained during visits to Mexican- and Salvadoran-dominant neighbourhoods where I often spent extensive periods of time, either walking the streets and mentally noting relevant and insightful phenomena, or sitting in dozens of restaurants and cafes.

Given that this investigation was an independent research project, I was the only person who analysed the gathered date and information in any real depth. While aware of the advantages of having other researchers and another set of eyes corroborate or critically evaluate my analyses (for instance Hill et al., 2005), this was not possible, given the solitary nature of doing PhD research and the limited time allotted to complete the research. However, research results and insights were discussed with a number of individuals who were knowledgeable about the subject and the communities investigated. I consulted these individuals – academics, community activists, and transnational organization leaders – to discuss the relevance of emerging themes and to gather their thoughts on the arguments I was beginning to articulate as the study progressed. This was an invaluable source of assistance that helped to guide the research and corroborate the data being gathered.

Thematic analysis was aided by the semi-structured nature of respondent interviews, which had already grouped responses in discrete thematic areas or 'domains' (Hill et al., 2005) and the small sample sizes. The next step taken was to establish common themes and issues that appeared in respondent transcripts, adopting a neutral and objective approach that remained close to the original meaning and avoided any significant leap in interpretation, a conscious attempt to 'bracket' any personal bias (Groenwold, 2004). As much as possible, I allowed respondents to speak for themselves and did not attempt to embellish or inject any extra meaning into their explanations. This was a conscious decision and an approach that was maintained throughout the analysis and writing up stage of my thesis.

Establishing common themes was a lengthy and painstaking process that involved a close and in-depth reading of individual transcripts, the identification of key issues according to discrete categories (identified during the planning process and subsequently included in the semi-structured questionnaire), and finally, a cross-analysis of respondent transcripts. I decided not to use any qualitative software since I wanted to retain as much control over the analysis as possible and was aware of the possibility that some crucial information would not be picked up by data analysis software. Key individual themes were identified after every interview had been completed and transcribed, an initial reflection to make note of emerging trends and issues and identify their interaction with previous theoretical studies. This was supplemented by a later, more in-depth analysis that confirmed initial observations or suggested the need for a different interpretation. Common themes that emerged during cross-analyses were identified and hierarchized according to the frequency in which they were communicated, and these were synthesized and grouped together in the thesis and presented as having explanatory potential. Throughout this process, frequent efforts were made to check the validity of conclusions and arguments, revisiting individual transcripts, initial analyses, and other evidence to corroborate interpretations and confirm the research results.

4.6 Possible limitations

An obvious limitation of the study is the small sample sizes and the fact that the samples are non-representative. This limits the transferability of the study's findings to wider populations and alternative immigrant groups living in the United States, or other destination countries. I acknowledge this limitation throughout the thesis and thus moderate any claims to generalization (Payne and Williams, 2005), adopting a cautious approach and acknowledging that my moderate generalizations may be valid or not in other contexts, a strategy widely accepted by qualitative researchers (for instance see Payne and Williams, 2005; Maxwell, 1992; Larsson, 2009; and Myers, 2000).

Dividing the next generation samples into sub-categories – gender, place of birth, geographical location, or profession – and noting distinctions between these categories is therefore also problematic, given the limited sizes of these sub-categories. The fact that female 'contributors' outnumber their male counterparts by 20 to 8, for instance, may simply reflect my opportunistic sampling methodology rather than a stronger propensity towards formal transnationalism among women. Opportunistic sampling also generated a sample that was skewed towards second generation (US-Born) individuals rather than their 1.5 counterparts (born in El Salvador/Mexico), which in no way should imply a greater interest in transnationalism within this demographic of individuals born in the United States. In actual fact, I could detect no substantial distinctions in regards to the transnational mobilization of the second versus the 1.5 generation within my samples, and as mentioned in the introduction, mostly opted to aggregate these groups together, referring to them collectively as the 'next generation.'

Equally, given the small sample sizes and their non-representative nature, distinctions in terms of national origin and geographical location must also be discussed cautiously. There is a bias towards Salvadoran respondents within the 'contributor' sample, for example, which rather than demonstrating higher rates of institutional transnational involvement within the wider Salvadoran population, may

actually stem from the fact that sampled Salvadoran organizations out-numbered their Mexican

counterparts. Most of the field research was conducted in Washington DC where Salvadorans are the

dominant Latin American group, and where the relatively small and newly-arrived Mexican community

has yet to establish formal transnational networks. As a result, I had more time to develop contacts with

Salvadoran organizations and 'contributors,' and these contacts also proved to be helpful in California,

providing referrals and helping to set-up interviews. Given time constraints, however, I struggled to

build-up an equivalent sample of Mexicans on the west coast. Furthermore, a glance at Table 4.1 reveals

that only one Salvadoran from the 'wider' sample was interviewed in California. This again reflects time

constraints and the difficulties accessing respondents for the 'wider' sample. As a consequence, the

significance of this individual's social location in California is not over-emphasized. Hence, again,

wherever distinct patterns are noted, caution is used.

This is not to say that I believe my findings are not transferable to wider populations or other

communities. I believe, potentially, that the patterns of transnational engagement *could* be replicated

elsewhere. The research findings could, for instance, be relevant in immigrant communities where a

maturing next generation confronts a dense web of established transnational networks, providing a

means through which these individuals can engage with the country of origin. Equally, it could help to

shed light on distinct patterns of next generation transnationalism and how this demographic negotiates

transnational spaces dominated by first generation immigrants in other contexts. However, that said, I

am also open to the possibility that my findings may be challenged or contradicted by subsequent

studies that investigate next generation institutional transnationalism. As a result, I concur with Larsson

(2009) and perceive my moderate generalizations to be 'working hypotheses.'

A further limitation was the limited amount of time spent with most respondents – no more

than two hours – which presented a problem of 'internal generalizability' (Maxwell, 1991), referring to

the fact that I had to infer the significance of experiences based on the limited information that respondents opted to provide. Although on occasion I tried to overcome this by subsequently contacting respondents after interviews in order to elicit more information, this approach was no substitute for prolonged exposure - a strategy that, actually, was not possible given the time constraints and my 'outsider' status. To compensate further, I opted for semi-structured interviews to ensure I generated the data I needed and strived to accurately record and interpret responses.

There are therefore some limitations to the study relating to methodological constraints. Nonetheless it is strongly believed that the sample of transnational organizations studied does provide a good cross-section of the formal cross-border networks that traverse the United States, El Salvador, and Mexico. It is argued that the research methods were sufficiently careful and thorough and that the data and information gathered are reliable and do highlight many of the organizational factors that have a bearing on the future trajectories of next generation institutional transnationalism in the United States. Equally, a comparison of respondents in the next generation samples helped to isolate the human and structural variables that give rise to institutional forms of transnational connectivity. By focusing attention on Latino-Americans who are not embedded in transnational organizations, the research also helped to uncover alternative, non-institutional forms of cross-border connectivity.

Chapter 5: Defining an 'institutionalized' transnational space for the next generation

5.1 Introduction

The following six chapters present the analysis of data and information collected on next generation Mexican and Salvadoran migrants in the United States. This particular chapter starts by providing a general overview of next generation inclusion within sampled transnational organizations. The analysis explores the frequency of next generation contributions to their respective organizations, the positions that Latino-Americans have assumed, and the nature of their contributions. Latter sections engage with this evidence to conceptualize next generation institutional connectivity, introducing the concepts of 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism, definitions that capture distinct forms of next generation cross-border engagement and participation.

As its contribution to transnational migration studies, Chapter 5 will therefore attempt to define a transnational space for the next generation that incorporates a physical and distinctly *institutional* form of connectivity, one that exists beyond emotions and non-institutional behaviours like trips to the country of origin – the subjects that appear most commonly in studies on next generation transnationalism (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Bolognani, 2013). As we have seen, while studies investigating institutional forms of next generation transnationalism exist (for example Smith, 2002, 2006; Smith and Bakker, 2008), these tend to be case studies and do not explore the phenomenon in much detail, and this type of transnational engagement is usually only ever applied to the first generation. Having attempted to define an institutionalised transnational space for the next generation, the chapter will engage with an on-going debate regarding the long-term sustainability of transnational networks, adopting a position between

those predicting decline and eventual disappearance, and others who consider long-term sustainability and survival to be a real possibility.

5.2 Contributions to transnational organizations

The overall evidence demonstrated that most sampled transnational organizations had limited numbers of Latino-American members. Survey data gathered from organization leaders confirmed that Latino-Americans comprised less than 30 per cent of members in the vast majority of organizations and accounted for less than 15 per cent in just over half. Only in a small minority of networks did next generation individuals comprise more than 30 per cent of members (see Table 5.1). These results could be interpreted differently. On one hand, they appear to show consistency with narratives of transnational decline and suggest that cross-border organizations are struggling to regenerate themselves and incorporate significant numbers of Latino-Americans. Equally, however, the fact that members of this demographic are already embedded in transnational networks demonstrates that at least some members of the next generation are contributing to established transnational networks. This is important because it raises the *potential* for future regeneration. It is entirely plausible, for instance, that the presence of this demographic could improve Latino-American outreach or induce institutional changes that could make cross-border networks more attractive to Mexican- and Salvadoran-Americans. This suggests a possible caveat to the argument made by Jones-Correa (2005) who is open to the possibility of next generation regeneration, but suggests this scenario is unlikely given the very limited numbers of this demographic within established transnational networks. It is possible that this argument overlooks the possibility of institutional transformation and the actions of a small minority of committed next generation individuals. Although, it is also true that reform is likely to be conditioned by a constellation of factors, not least the reception of established members and their response to proposed changes, an issue that will be explored in succeeding chapters.

Table 5.1: Next generation involvement in sampled organizations

Membership (%)	AGGREGATE	CA	DC	OTHER	ES	MX
> 50%	2	2	-	-	1	1
30 – 50%	1	1	-	-	-	1
15 – 30%	6	2	4	-	4	2
0 – 15%	14	6	7	1	11	3
0	1	1	-	-	1	-
N	24	12	11	1	17	7

The potential for regeneration is a topic taken up by Kasinitz et al. (2002) who, using the Irish-American

community as an example, argue that even if a small minority of the second (and in the case of Irish-

Americans, the third, and even, fourth) generation maintain structural ties with an ancestral country,

these ties can be utilized by the ethnic majority at particular times, in response to specific

circumstances. In the case of Irish-Americans, developments in Northern Ireland during 'the troubles'

galvanized communities in Boston, New York, and elsewhere, who contributed financial donations

through pre-existing networks maintained by a select group of individuals long after emigration. It is

possible that a similar model could also apply to next generation Mexicans and Salvadorans in the years

and decades to come. What would this model look like? Given both countries' susceptibility to economic

crises and natural disasters – earthquakes and hurricanes have caused significant damage in recent

decades – it is possible that such events could trigger donations from the wider community through pre-

existing community institutions and networks that periodically become conduits of economic assistance.

Within this model next generation individuals incrementally assume a responsibility of preservation as

the immigrant generation ages. While some might argue that recent immigrants are more likely to

replenish structural links, given their more intimate relations with the country of origin (for instance see

Jones-Correa, 2005), it is also true that recent immigrants are often busy trying to establish themselves

in a new setting and may not have the time or financial resources to take on this responsibility (Portes et al., 2008a).

The notion of next generation decline is further countered by an analysis of individual transnational organizations, which provides a more nuanced picture. The evidence suggests that the potential for regeneration varies by organization, given the differing levels of Latino-American involvement. Although HTAs and HTA federations were overwhelmingly dominated by first generation immigrants, the percentage of next generation support varied. The majority did report a relatively low percentage of Latino American members and supporters, but there were also significant exceptions: one Los Angeles-based HTA reported having a support base that was over 50 per cent next generation, and another Salvadoran group in Virginia estimated a support base that was 15 – 30 per cent Salvadoran-American. In keeping with patterns observed in HTAs, the overall participation of Latino-Americans within solidarity and political organizations was limited in terms of numbers. However, this sample also demonstrated variations: Latino-American contributions were higher in CISPES, for example, than FMLN base committees or religious groups. CISPES reported a national support base that was 15-30 per cent Salvadoran-American, compared to 10-15 per cent in other political and solidarity organizations.

Blanket statements supporting transnational decline beyond the immigrant generation may miss such complexity, failing to adequately appreciate the context in which next generation institutional transnationalism emerges. The evidence presented here, which demonstrates distinct patterns of next generation inclusion across the sampled organizations, suggests that institutional context may be important. Pessimistic predictions may not consider the qualitative distinctions that separate different organizations: organizational support or resistance towards reform; an infrastructure conducive to the inclusion of new members; or the availability of resources that groups can devote to outreach. While these factors will be explored in more detail in succeeding chapters, it is worth considering how a

diverse transnational terrain of organizations with their own distinct characteristics could generate

different patterns of inclusion.

Given that this is a study investigating two communities and two distinct geographical locations,

it is also tempting to look at the community and geographical context shaping Salvadoran versus

Mexican, and Californian versus Washingtonian, transnational mobilization (See Table 5.1). While there

were distinctions - three organizations in California had compositions that were over 30 per cent next –

the small sample size should caution against extrapolating too much meaning from these results.

Although it is possible that there could be something about California that facilitates higher rates of next

generation transnational mobilization - a sizeable Latino-American population, for instance, that has

established a dense network of transnational connections - these are characteristics that could also

apply to Washington DC. It is possible that other factors, for example the specific characteristics of

sampled organizations in California, may be more important than geographical location. In terms of

national-origin, next generation involvement did not demonstrate any significant variation between

Salvadoran and Mexican organizations, and certainly not enough, given the limitations imposed by the

fairly small sample size, to be considered analytically significance for this study.

5.3 The form and frequency of next generation institutional transnationalism

Apart from mere membership in an organization, another way to investigate involvement is to analyse

next generation contributions to transnational organizations. Being a member of an organization might

be a fairly unimportant thing for some people, something that is done out of habit or because it is

expected of them. A more significant commitment to transnational causes might therefore be better

demonstrated by the roles that next generation individuals adopt and the activities they perform. Thus,

the study also explored the positions and responsibilities that individuals born and/or raised in the

United States assumed within their respective organizations. Table 5.2, displaying survey data gathered

from transnational leaders, shows that there were some Latino-Americans who had assumed senior

positions or exercised considerable responsibility, albeit a minority. The sample included philanthropic

and political networks with next generation presidents, treasurers, secretaries, and board members.

Hence, rather than confirming predictions of transnational decline beyond the first generation, this

minority suggests that at least some sampled organizations appear to be cultivating Latino-American

leaders.

Furthermore, since the next generation are younger than the immigrant generation and

organizations anywhere tend to have more senior (older) people in the most powerful positions, the fact

that Latino-Americans were much more likely to be Board members (over one-third of sampled

organizations) than Presidents is hardly surprising. Their fairly important presence as Board members is

not only suggestive of real involvement, but also puts them in a good position to be recruited, in time, to

positions of more responsibility. Arguably, having these individuals in positions of responsibility also

raises the potential of future regeneration. It is possible, for instance, that their inclusion and influence

could promote institutional change, making their respective organizations more relevant to the needs

and interests of individuals born and/or raised in the United States. This could mean mobilization

around issues affecting the community in the United States, such as immigrant rights.

Table 5.2: Leadership positions occupied by Latino-Americans in sampled organizations

Position	Y	N	CA (N=14)	DC (N=10)	OTHER (N=1)	MX (N=6)	ES (N=18)
President	1	23	1	-	-	1	-
Treasurer	1	23	1	-	-	1	-
Secretary	2	22	2	-	-	2	-
Board member	8	16	5	3	-	4	4

This core of next generation transnational leaders could also help to shift the out-reach priorities of their respective organizations, recognizing the potential contributions of Latino-Americans and more purposefully and strategically targeting this demographic. What could these potential contributions entail? For one, Latino-Americans could expand an organization's overall support base, thus potentially expanding its financial and political clout, particularly as the next generation comes of age. There are also potential contributions that derive from next generation competencies: computer literacy, which could help to improve overall efficiency and effectiveness; knowledge of the US political system, thus helping organizations to navigate civil society and the US political system – enhancing their capability to build alliances, for instance, or campaign on domestic issues within the country of settlement that affect their members; and English proficiency, which could further strengthen political agency within the United States and enable an organization to more effectively amplify its voice. While this list is not exhaustive, and may not be specific to the next generation, it does provide a sense of how cross-border political and philanthropic networks could benefit from next generation inclusion, particularly in organizations dominated by poorly-educated, resource-poor, first generation immigrants.

The analysis also explored geographical and community context to investigate whether these had a bearing on the delegation of responsibilities to next generation transnational actors. When comparing Salvadoran to Mexican organizations, the patterns of inclusion were similar. However, the analysis did uncover distinctions between those organizations located in California and those in the Washington DC metropolitan area: there were significantly more senior next generation members in California-based organizations who had assumed roles such as President, board member, and treasurer (See Table 5.3). This could be related to conditions specific to transnational mobilization, perhaps resulting from the historical longevity of Mexican and Salvadoran migration to California, for instance, which would ensure access to more mature members of the next generation (a more attractive

demographic given their potentially higher incomes and accumulation of human capital), and provide

sufficient time to build up resources and infrastructures more conducive to effective out-reach.

The patterns of next generation inclusion provided in Table 5.3 were generally confirmed by

evidence gathered from next generation 'institutional contributors.' While a minority of 'contributors'

referred to themselves as 'senior contributors,' the majority described themselves as members,

contributors, or supporters, which would not suggest leadership positions such as Board members,

Treasurers, or Presidents (See Table 5.4). However, respondents were also more likely to describe

themselves as members or contributors – as opposed to occasional contributors or supporters – which

would suggest a more regular and persistent presence in transnational networks. Again, the evidence

could infer the presence of a small core of next generation transnational leaders with the potential to

sustain structural ties to the country of origin.

Table 5.3: 'Contributor' positions within respective transnational organizations

	AGGREGATE	CA	DC	ES	MX
Senior member	6	4	2	5	1
Member	10	5	5	9	1
Contributor	2	2	-	2	-
Occasional	2	2	-	-	2
Supporter	5	2	3	4	-
Occasional supporter	1	1	-	-	1
TOTAL	**26**	**16**	**10**	**20**	**6**

In terms of the frequency of Latino-American contributions, the evidence (See Table 5.5)

demonstrates a relatively even distribution with few defining patterns: 'Transnational leaders' reported

both frequent and infrequent time contributions from their US-born and/or raised members and

supporters. However, few Latino-Americans donated money to transnational organizations on a regular

basis - although this could well be due to the relatively young age of some Latino-American members

and the possibility that many had not yet achieved financial independence or stability. It is possible that

the voluntary nature of many transnational organizations, and their dependence on fundraising, may

have meant this factor had an exclusionary effect and limited the opportunity for Latino-Americans to

attain more senior positions within their respective organizations since they were less able to donate – a

possible explanation for the patterns demonstrated earlier. However, if this is the case, then it is also

possible that next generation contributions and influence could grow over time as these individuals

acquire more financial stability and exercise more economic clout within their respective networks.

Table 5.4: Frequency of next generation contributions within sampled organizations

Frequency	Time	Money
Often	5	1
Regularly	5	1
Sometimes	6	7
Occasionally	4	4
Rarely	4	7
Never	-	4
N	24	24

A more detailed analysis of next generation contributions reveals that some activities were performed

more frequently than others. Providing further confirmation of their mostly supportive roles within

transnational organizations, although being careful not to overlook the emerging cohort of Latino-

American leaders, the evidence demonstrates that most Latino Americans in sampled organizations

tended to perform managerial duties such as financial control or planning and coordination infrequently

(See table 5.6). This is consistent with the fact that only a minority of contributors described themselves

as 'senior members' of their respective organizations. Non-leadership roles such as attending or

organizing events were undertaken on a more frequent basis. However, there were other supportive

activities that were not performed frequently, demonstrating that limited participation was not only

confined to essential or managerial responsibilities (See Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Frequency of next generation contributions in sampled organizations (specific activities)

Activity	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Sometimes	Regularly (%)	Frequently (%)
Attending events	-	4	5	3	6	6
Attending meetings	3	6	5	5	3	2
Organizing	3	3	5	6	5	2
Outreach	2	5	7	6	2	2
IT/Website	9	2	4	3	6	-
Planning and	4	5	6	6	3	-
Fundraising	4	3	6	5	5	1
Management	6	8	2	3	3	2
Donating money	3	8	5	5	3	-
Financial control	11	4	4	4	1	-

Overall, then, the evidence presented here is mixed. On the one hand, Latino-Americans are not usually

central figures in transnational organizations: they mostly assume 'supportive' rather than 'leadership'

roles, their contributions are mostly insubstantial and in-frequent, and they rarely donate money to

transnational causes. On the other hand, this pattern is not entirely consistent and there are some

important exceptions. Data gathered from both 'transnational leaders' and 'contributors' reveals a

cohort of next generation leaders, influential figures who assume essential responsibilities in their

respective organizations. Data drawn from respondent interviews with 'transnational leaders' and

'transnational contributors' demonstrated this complexity further, and revealed a full range of next

generation responsibilities. This evidence, for instance, demonstrated that while most HTAs and HTA

Federations had few or no US-born and/or raised individuals in leadership positions, there were

important exceptions to this general rule since some reported having US-born and/or raised individuals

on their executive boards, or other positions of influence. One second generation member sat on the

board of *Club Vista Hermosa* to help organize beauty pageants (*Interview with Jorge Rosales, President of Club Vista Hermosa, October 2010*), and another served as Secretary for the *United Zacatecan Community Development Corporation (UZCDC) (Interview with Fermin Luna, President of UZCDC, November 2010)*. Mexican-American contributions were also significant within the *Federacion de Clubes Zacatecanos del Sur de California (FCZSC),* a Los-Angeles based Federation whose treasurer and secretary came to the United States at a young age. One of the Federation's HTAs - *Club La Villita* – also had a President who came to the United States before the age of twelve (*Interview with Efrain Jimenez, President of FCZSC, April 2011*).

The solidarity organization, CISPES, had also promoted a small number of Salvadoran-Americans to prominent positions, such as regional directors, where they assumed essential responsibilities. Two CISPES members were even given the authority and support to organize a delegation to El Salvador that specifically targeted Salvadoran-Americans in 2010 (*Interview with Alexis Stroumbelis, CISPES Executive Director, May 2010*). Despite their relatively small number, a few prominent positions were also reserved for next generation members within the FMLN, including an assistant regional coordinator (*Interview with Salvador Henriques-Cordon, Director of the FMLN Northern California Chapter, October 2010*). With the exception of *Eco-Viva* - whose Communications Director is Salvadoran-American - most 'contributors' to charities and NGOs assumed 'supportive' rather than leadership activities within their respective organizations. However, their contributions were not insignificant and some individuals had been able to harness their professional skills and knowledge to advance organizational development. For example, a lawyer had been able to help *Amigos de El Salvador* meet various legal requirements (*Interview with Daniel Flores, Amigos de El Salvador, October 2010*); a business administration graduate advised *CAFRED* on strategic development (*Interview with Gary Urra, CAFRED, June 2010*); and a 1.5 individual who had been educated in rural Salvadoran schools could draw on her experience to guide ADEES (*Interview with Imelda Torres, ADEES member, September 2010*).

An analysis of Latino-American organizations also revealed an emerging cohort of next generation leaders. FIOB members, for example, have contributed to gubernatorial campaigns in Oaxaca and led demonstrations against human rights violations (*Interview with Odilia Romero, FIOB, November, 2010*). SANA board members have also monitored Salvadoran elections and helped to organize delegations (*Interview with Werner Marroquin, SANA, December 2010*). Additionally, this category includes the student organization, *Union Salvadorena de Estudiantes Universitarios (USEU),* which is coordinated exclusively by Salvadoran-Americans in California. Despite this, there is also evidence to suggest a division of responsibility operating in some Latino-American organizations since most transnational actions seem to be planned and executed by first generation immigrants. In SANA, for example, first generation members organize and participate in delegations to El Salvador; whereas the contributions of US-born and/or raised members are mostly confined to activities in the United States (*Interview with Esther Portillo, SANA, February 2011*). It is unclear whether this reflects a lack of interest and motivation or whether this is due to first generation members having Salvadoran contacts and therefore being able to navigate economic and political arenas more effectively. As mentioned previously, an analysis of the institutional factors that may facilitate or constrain next generation transnationalism, thus helping to explain the different patterns of inclusion that emerged in the sampled organizations, are provided in succeeding chapters.

5.4 'Prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism

In an attempt to conceptualize these distinctions, and more generally conceptualize a form of transnational connectivity that is distinctively next generation and institutional, I propose using the terms 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism. The former refers to organization contributors who demonstrate frequent commitments and assume essential or significant responsibilities and the latter refers to individuals whose contributions were less frequent or less essential to organizational

development. By referring specifically to next generation forms of institutional involvement, these terms help to distinguish activities from those undertaken by first generation transnational actors. As a consequence, these definitions embody the unique aspects and dynamics of next generation transnational mobilization, and reflect the distinct relationships that the next generation forge with countries of origin. Utilizing these terms also helps to conceptualize a type of transnationalism that diverges from the forms of connectivity more commonly associated with the next generation – transnational emotions and non-institutional behaviours such as trips to the country of origin. 'Prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism therefore add to the conceptual toolkit available to researchers, helping to expand our understanding of the range of transnational options that individuals born and/or raised in a country of settlement can adopt and pursue.

Looking in more detail at the distinctions that divide 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' institutional transnational contributors, 'prominent' actors demonstrate cross-border commitments that resemble the 'narrow' transnational acts formulated by Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) which designate institutionalised and continuous practices; the 'core' transnational acts described by Levitt (2001) which depict patterned and predictable activities; and the 'strict' actions described by Portes (2003) which denote regular transnational participation. 'Prominent' transnational actors tend to display the following characteristics: they are frequent contributors to their respective organizations and demonstrate regular and patterned transnational behaviours; they routinely contribute to decision-making processes; they perform leadership roles; and exercise responsibilities over key areas of operation. They include, for example, regional coordinators of CISPES and the FMLN; the bi-national women's coordinator of the FIOB; the communications director for Eco-Viva; and a board member of the UZCDC. Their impacts are also felt across a range of activities: organizing events and conferences; coordinating fund-raising drives; organizing and leading political campaigns and delegations; or helping to deliver community projects.

The responsibilities commonly assumed by 'prominent' transnational actors are illustrated by the case of Rosa. Rosa is a long-standing member of CISPES and has made significant contributions to organizational development, participating in annual conventions and debating, and voting on, key decisions. Just prior to being interviewed she, and another 'prominent' Salvadoran member of CISPES, had planned and executed a delegation to El Salvador specifically for Salvadoran-Americans, introducing delegates to the continuing repercussions of El Salvador's Civil War and the 'revolutionary' struggle that CISPES and its allies were still committed to. Reflecting on her role in the 'Radical Roots' delegation, she commented:

> *I was an intricate part in deciding what allies were important to meet with, what atmosphere Nestor [another 'prominent' contributor] and I wanted to create for these youth, that have experienced similar things to us growing up in the United States. So I think my opinion regarding that was extremely important and influential.*

A small minority of prominent transnational actors had also initiated their own transnational organizations, a phenomenon that has, to my knowledge, only appeared in one other study (Smith, 2002, 2006). These include a second generation Salvadoran who established USEU; a CISPES regional coordinator who established a chapter of USEU in San Francisco; and a delegate on the CISPES 'Radical Roots' delegation who later established a CISPES chapter in Santa Cruz. Two respondents in Washington DC also established their own non-profits and a young woman of mixed Salvadoran and American descent established a programme at the University of Pittsburg, which enables students to participate in community development projects in El Salvador. This form of prominent transnationalism is almost entirely neglected in the limited literature available on next generation transnationalism, and on the rare occasion that institutional connectivity is explored, it is often assumed or inferred that next generation involvement is facilitated through pre-existing organizations established by immigrants. That

this is not always the case presents an interesting caveat to next generation transnationalism, possibly

denoting a form of 'prominent' transnationalism that rests more heavily on individual agency, a

consideration that will be explored in more detail in succeeding chapters.

In comparison to their 'prominent' counterparts, 'non-prominent' contributors to transnational

organizations demonstrated less frequent and patterned activities; had less influence over decision-

making processes; did not exercise responsibilities over key areas of operation; and were not in

leadership positions. In general, they tended to perform secondary roles: providing support on

campaigns, attending meetings, donating money, or contributing to development projects in Mexico

and El Salvador. Non-prominent transnational actors include HTA members who help organize

fundraising events and occasionally travel to Mexico or El Salvador to build community projects; former

delegation members who continue to attend CISPES meetings; individuals who taught at a HTA-

sponsored summer camp in Mexico; and Latino-Americans who occasionally attend fundraising events.

Although these transnational acts may have less impact than those committed by 'prominent'

transnational actors their effects can still be substantial. 'Non-prominent' transnationalism is illustrated

by the experience of Mauricio, a Salvadoran 'contributor' who provides support to his father's HTA in a

suburb of northern Virginia. The following quotation indicates the more supportive role that Mauricio

plays within the organization. Note the difference with Rosa, who was able to exercise considerable

influence and responsibility:

> *I basically … whatever my dad asks me to do. Early on when we first started to do it; this is back*
>
> *in 91 the first project was to … in El Salvador my grandmother lived next to a church that ran out*
>
> *of money and so we raised money to finish painting it and putting in benches because they*
>
> *literally had boards there and buckets to sit on so we used to throw parties in my basement …*
>
> *my parents basement … so it first started like what do we have to do? Ok, clean the house, clear*

out the basement, go to the store, get this, get supplies, and my mom would cook and stuff like

that and I would help go around ... this was when I was like 13 ... go around and give people food

and just help to try and make sure the party ran smoothly. And then as I got older it got to ...

now when he throws parties I'll make fliers for them and tickets, I'll help to organize it. At the

events I'll either ... like the barbeque we had a few weeks ago I was grilling all day, I was grilling

food. If we have an event at a location somewhere I'll be bartender or I'll take tickets at the door,

or do some security and stuff like that (Mauricio).

In many cases transnational acts are not confined to one organization since individuals may

participate in multiple transnational networks. Such transnational activity can be described as

'expansive' and it stands in contrast to 'non-expansive' transnational activity which takes place within a

single transnational organization or space. Individuals who demonstrate 'non-expansive' transnational

activities may face time constraints due to demanding work and family commitments, or simply lack

motivation. Furthermore, the distinct orientations of their organizations may not lend themselves to

collaboration. In the case of 'expansive' activities, individuals may operate in spaces that demonstrate

considerable overlap because of religious or political similarities. This is demonstrated by USEU

members who share a left-leaning political orientation with other transnational organizations such as

the FMLN and CISPES. Members of USEU have collaborated with the FMLN on specific campaigns and

several individuals are active within FMLN Base Committees (*Interview with Ernie Zavaleta, USEU, March*

2011).

Another feature of the transnational activities undertaken by the sample of transnational

'contributors' is the flexibility of their commitments. Contributions to transnational organizations are

not constant but may shift in terms of their regularity and intensity: the demands of work, education

and family may conspire to limit activities at a certain conjuncture. For example, events in the home

country may galvanize efforts temporarily, or actors may move away from the social networks that facilitated their transnational activities. In keeping with the concepts outlined above, individuals may also shift from 'prominent' to 'non-prominent' actors over time - or vice versa - and demonstrate 'expansive' or 'non-expansive' activities according to the specific context. One individual in the 'contributor' sample had previously performed transnational acts that were consistent with 'prominent' transnationalism but following a move to the West Coast, reduced her commitments to a DC-based non-profit significantly. In addition, there may also be shifts from institutional to non-institutional transnational activity, or individuals may even shift in and out of transnational activity altogether.

All of this activity – whether 'prominent' or 'non-prominent,' 'expansive' or 'non-expansive' – contradicts the evidence presented in earlier studies of next generation formal transnationalism. The presence – and indeed the significant contributions – of individuals born and/or raised in the United States suggest *at least* the potential survival of transnational networks oriented towards Mexico and El Salvador. As we have seen, for instance, Jones-Correa (2005) has largely dismissed the possibility that the next generation will become drawn into existing Mexican transnational organizations, who he perceives as being more interested in US political issues. However, the evidence presented here suggests that some Mexican-Americans are not only involved in home-country politics and the development of their communities of origin, but deeply and actively involved. Whether these individuals will gradually orient these organizations towards ethnic, or largely 'American' concerns, which Jones-Correa insists is a potential possibility, remains to be seen.

Instead, this study has more sympathy with the work of Kasinitiz et al. (2002), which explored next generation transnational connectivity and found minorities in some communities that were maintaining formal links with their countries of origin. While vast majorities were not contributing to formal organizations, the minorities that were active in transnational networks were perceived as

potential 'preservers,' maintaining these structures so that the wider majority could contribute to transnational causes on an occasional basis – in the aftermath of a natural disaster, for instance, or the run-up to an election. As we have seen, a small number of transnational organizations sampled for this study were cultivating emerging Latino-American leaders whose presence could suggest sustainability and stability rather than demise. Arguably, this presence could also raise the potential for attracting more significant numbers of Latino-Americans if these leaders are able to create a welcoming environment conducive to next generation inclusion. This is a theme that will be explored in later chapters.

Finally, the evidence suggests the need to conceptualize a distinctly *institutionalized* transnational space for the next generation which encompasses contributions to formal cross-border organizations and networks. It is a space that incorporates a wide range of behaviours and responsibilities within a wider formal or institutional context: 'prominent' and 'non-prominent,' frequent and in-frequent, within established networks or within networks formed through the initiative of next generation actors themselves. It is therefore also a space that exists beyond emotional connectivity and non-institutional behaviours like trips to the country of origin (for instance see Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Bolognani, 2013). Such a conceptualization has been given insufficient attention in previous studies of transnational migration, which have either ignored the phenomenon, referred to it briefly without any in-depth analysis (Smith and Bakker, 2008), or presented incidences of next generation institutional transnationalism as isolated case studies (Smith, 2002, 2006). As a result, previous analyses may have missed an important aspect of next generation transnationalism. While the findings presented here cannot reveal how widespread this form of connectivity is across Salvadoran and Mexican immigrant communities, or for that matter across other immigrant communities in the United States, it could

generate important impacts on an aggregate level even if small minorities participate, given the size of the Salvadoran- and Mexican-origin populations in the United States.

5.5 Summary

Overall, the aggregated evidence suggests that the presence of next generation individuals within transnational organizations is limited, and that their contributions are mostly confined to 'supportive' rather than leadership or managerial roles. However, when the data collected for this study are disaggregated it is evident that this should not be interpreted in the simplistic terms of transnational decline found in some previous studies, which argue that transnationalism is unlikely to extend beyond first generation immigrants. There is considerable variation across the sample, and when organizations are analysed separately, a more complex picture emerges to challenge this presumption. For instance, while some organizations contained no Latino-American members, others had been able to incorporate significant numbers; and while some groups had delegated only minor responsibilities to the next generation, others had cultivated emerging Latino-American leaders who had been able to exert significant influence on organizational development and strategy. Leaders included, for example, regional coordinators of CISPES and the FMLN; the bi-national women's coordinator of the FIOB; the communications director for Eco-Viva; and a board member of the UZCDC. Their impacts are also felt across a range of activities: organizing events and conferences; coordinating fund-raising drives; organizing and leading political campaigns and delegations; or helping to deliver community projects.

The contributions of this emerging cohort of leaders demonstrate consistency with the concepts of 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism – terms delimited to next generation forms of institutional transnationalism. Applying these concepts helps to construct a transnational space for the next generation that accommodates a physical and distinctly *institutional* form of connectivity beyond emotions and non-institutional behaviours, the default focus of most transnational studies of the next

generation. In this respect, the concepts demonstrate similarities with the 'narrow' (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002), 'core' (Levitt, 2001) and 'strict' (Portes, 2003) definitions that have been applied to first generation institutional transnationalism. However, unlike terms usually applied to the first generation, 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism embody the unique aspects and dynamics of next generation transnational mobilization, and reflect the distinct relationships that the next generation forge with countries of origin.

Evidence gathered from these two limited samples of organization leaders and next generation 'contributors' suggests that predictions of transnational decline may be premature. The findings suggest consistency with previous studies that caution against hastily dismissing the extent and importance of next generation engagement with countries of origin (Levitt, 2002; Levitt and Waters, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002). Furthermore, it suggests that *institutional* forms of connectivity may also be sustained into the next generation. This is significant since such behaviours are overwhelmingly considered to be the domain of the first generation, and have only on very rare occasions been applied to the children of immigrants. What does the evidence tell us about the possible future trajectories and evolution of the sampled transnational organizations? This is still an open question, but the presence of next generation Latino-Americans – some in very prominent positions – at least raises the possibility of trans-generational survival. Their presence may change the complexion of organizations, and perhaps even the issues that drive organizational activities, but it also suggests that members of the next generation may remain involved and take forward the transnational activities of their respective organizations. The emergence of Latino-American leaders suggests not only the survival and sustainability of cross-border networks, but also the potential for further regeneration. While some will decline and disband, others with the ability to regenerate could survive for years to come. In the following chapters, the study investigates in more detail the factors that control how this evolution may play out.

Chapter 6: Explaining next generation institutional transnationalism –attributes, socio-economics, and socialization

6.1 Introduction

This is the first of three explanatory chapters, which seek to explain the patterns of next generation institutional transnationalism previously presented in Chapter 5. It concentrates on two lines of enquiry: human attributes and socio-economic backgrounds, and processes of socialization. In doing so, it engages with previous studies that have emphasized the influence these factors have had on the development of next generation forms of transnationalism, whether socio-economic status and income, family cohesion, language proficiency, or age and life-course events (Rumbaut, 2002; Levitt, 2002; Smith, 2002; Rumbault, 2002; and Kasinitz et al, 2002; Kibria, 2002). As discussed in Chapter 2, this debate remains an unsettled one, with authors disagreeing about the importance of these factors and how they influence the transnational trajectories of the next generation. To briefly recap, while some (Levitt, 2002; Kibria, 2002; Potter, 2005; and Reynolds, 2008) suggest that individuals with higher education and professional skills are more likely to take advantage of opportunities in their home countries where they have a comparative advantage, others such as Foner (2000) argue that next generation individuals with low educational attainment levels may seek opportunities in 'home' countries because they face bleak prospects in post-industrial economies.

The analysis presented for this particular study deviates from previous studies in one crucial aspect, for it seeks to identify the factors that facilitate or constrain *institutional* forms of transnationalism. It therefore builds upon arguments presented in the previous chapter, which attempted to construct a transnational space for the next generation that was distinctly *institutional* in nature. Although some (for instance Rumbaut, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002) mention formal mobilization

and participation in transnational organizations, the predominant focus is always *non-institutional,*

highlighting behaviours such as trips to the country of origin. This study concentrates on three main

attributes that seem relevant to an examination of formal participation in transnational networks:

language proficiency, a potential means of facilitating access and effectively navigating Spanish-speaking

organizations; socio-economic status and the skills and knowledge that this status designates; and age,

which is likely to define some individual characteristics such as financial independence, and control the

way in which individuals are perceived by existing members within a particular network or organization.

Latter sections explore the influence of upbringing, family and household dynamics, and

socialization, which also feature in previous studies on next generation transnationalism. The literature

has suggested that next generation individuals socially located in transnational spaces are subjected to

strong cultural flows, resources, and ideas from the country of origin, which are internalised and

replicated by the next generation (Levitt and Waters, 2002; Falicov, 2005; Quirke et al., 2009;

Wassendorf, 2010; and Soehl and Waldinger, 2012). This chapter builds on these studies, drawing on the

testimonies of respondents in both next generation samples to investigate the role that socialization

may have played in the transnational trajectories of 'contributors.' Specifically, to what extent did

cultural flows and resources in the home or community influence individuals to engage in

transnationalism, and did proximity to a cross-border network create a propensity towards formal

transnational engagement?

6.2 The significance of socio-economic backgrounds

Socio-economic background has featured in some previous studies exploring the factors that drive the

survival of transnationalism beyond first generation immigrants (Smith, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Levitt,

2002). Smith (2002), for instance, argues that second generation Mexicans confront the class and racial

classifications of New York City by asserting their 'Mexican-ness' and therefore by distancing themselves

from the City's marginalized and lower class African-American and Puerto Rican communities. Waters (2006) noted a similar trend among New York's second generation West Indians. Levitt (2002), on the other hand, has proposed two scenarios in which socio-economic variables could push next generation individuals in a transnational direction. In one scenario marginal actors are *forced* into a transnational lifestyle because they do not have the education, language proficiency, or job skills to succeed in either 'home' or 'host' contexts. In the other scenario, socially-mobile individuals *choose* a transnational existence because they had the language skills, work experience, and education to operate in transnational settings, an argument that was subsequently put forward by other transnational studies of the next generation (for instance Potter, 2005; and Reynolds, 2008). Research has also explored the socio-economic profiles of parents who can project certain values and outlooks onto their children, providing a source of ideas and resources. Portes and Rumbault (2001), for example, suggest that parents with high educational attainment and socio-economic status are more likely to provide a home setting in which the next generation can maintain proficiency in the home-country language and adhere to its cultural beliefs and practices.

The evidence gathered for this study provides support for some of these positions. In keeping with Levitt's analysis, individuals in the 'contributor' sample tended to be socially mobile - although it is important to point out that Levitt was talking about involvement in corporate environments rather than grassroots transnational organizations, the main focus of this particular study. Respondents had relatively high educational attainment rates, and with the exception of one individual, all participants were either pursuing - or had pursued - higher education at community colleges or four-year universities (See Table 6.1). Hence, rather than marginal actors forced into a transnational existence because they could not thrive in a United States context (Foner, 2000), 'contributors' appeared to be the very opposite. Parental education, however, was more mixed: while some parents had achieved advanced

university degrees, others had barely received a school education in El Salvador or Mexico (See Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: The educational attainment of 'contributors' and their parents

	None	Elementary/Middle	High school	Higher Ed.	No report
Respondents	-	-	1	25	-
Parents	4	16	11	16	2

Occupational figures also revealed a trend towards social mobility: one half of respondents were students and more were employed in professional than non-professional jobs (see Table 6.2). While parents mostly worked in non-professional sectors, significant minorities were also professionals, self-employed, or economically inactive due to unemployment or retirement (Unfortunately, professions before retirement or periods of unemployment were not provided). Hence, despite their social mobility, respondents came from a range of socio-economic backgrounds: 'institutional contributors' included not only the children of university-educated professionals but also the children of immigrants with limited educational attainment and low-status occupations. Although the sample is small, this finding does suggest that *institutional* transnationalism is not only confined to individuals from relatively affluent, middle class households.

Table 6.2: The occupational status of 'contributors' and their parents

	Student	Prof.	Non-prof.	Self-emp.	Unempl./Ret.	No Rep.
Respondents	13	8	5	-	-	-
Parents	-	11	22	4	8	4

This evidence appears to support research conducted on first generation transnational actors, which suggest that cross-border activities correspond with relatively high educational attainment. A survey of

immigrants involved in transnational organizations, conducted by Portes et al. (2008a) for instance, found that transnational activities were more common among individuals with higher educational attainment and English proficiency. Education certainly seemed to provide the knowledge and skills that enabled individuals to participate effectively within transnational networks. Many participants – particularly 'prominent' transnational actors - helped their respective organizations maintain or improve performance in key areas of operation: outreach, fundraising, and campaign or project development. It is very interesting to have found that university appears to have been a particularly formative time in respondents' personal development as transnational actors. This experience exposed individuals to research on ethnicity or Latin America; provided an arena in which participants could explore their identities; and gave respondents an opportunity to engage with organizations oriented towards their country of origin. One respondent sought out transnational Salvadoran social movements after attending a lecture on the effects of neo-liberal economics; another joined a campaign group after attending a group presentation on campus; and others described a diverse campus environment which encouraged them to think in terms of their ethnic or ancestral identities – some for the first time.

The professional experience and occupational status of individuals in the 'contributor' sample also facilitated their involvement in transnational networks. Respondents were able to draw on their work experience and work-related knowledge: lawyers helped their organizations navigate legal hurdles; community organizers helped transnational organizations reach out to new members; and individuals with experience working at non-profit organizations helped transnational groups search for funding opportunities. In the case of this small sample of transnational actors, then, analysis would again suggest that institutional forms of transnationalism are predicated on a relatively high level of educational attainment and a socially-mobile occupational profile.

The strength of this argument, however, is complicated by evidence gathered from the 'wider' sample of next generation individuals. Most respondents in this sample shared similar socio-economic profiles with their 'contributor' counterparts. For instance, in terms of educational attainment, the vast majority were attending - or had attended - higher education institutions (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: The educational attainment of 'wider' sample respondents and their parents

	None	Elementary/Middle	High School	Higher Ed.
Respondents	-	-	1	25
Parents	5	9	18	14

Individuals in both samples also displayed similar occupational characteristics: a significant minority in the 'wider' sample were students and more worked in professional than non-professional sectors. A further similarity was that respondents in the 'wider' sample grew up in a range of socio-economic household types. While almost half the respondents in the sample were the children of non-professional workers, a significant minority were also the children of professional workers and small business owners (See Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: The occupational status of 'wider' sample respondents and their parents

	Student	Prof.	Non-prof.	Self-employed	Unempl./Ret.
Respondents	12	11	3	-	-
Parents	-	13	20	5	5

Since education and socio-economic status variables were not differently distributed between the 'contributor' and 'wider' samples, it seems that other factors may have more explanatory potential for understanding next generation institutional transnationalism. In succeeding sections we explore the significance of alternative variables, starting with language proficiency.

6.3 How important is Spanish proficiency?

Fluency or competency in the language of the 'home' country has previously been perceived as an effective predictor of next generation transnationalism (Rumbaut, 2002; Levitt, 2002; Kasinitz et al, 2002). Analysing a large sample of 1.5 and second generation immigrants - the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study – Rumbault, for instance, noted a relationship between proficiency in a mother tongue and three indicators of transnational attachment: home-country visits, sending remittances, and identification with an ancestral country. Kasinitz et al. also uncovered a moderate relationship between proficiency in a foreign language and the retention of transnational ties. Although these studies were not referring to *institutional* transnational ties – the principal form of transnationalism explored by this study – it is possible to see how Spanish proficiency could facilitate next generation involvement in cross-border organizations linked to Mexico or El Salvador. Spanish proficiency could, for instance, enable individuals to more effectively navigate transnational, Spanish-dominant networks, and communicate more easily with first generation immigrant members. It would also enable individuals to follow and analyse current affairs in the country of origin, particularly issues and events not covered by mainstream, English-language media outlets. This knowledge would not only inform and enhance next generation contributions, and thus potentially strengthen inclusion within cross-border political and philanthropic networks; it could also have a galvanizing effect and help to mobilize individuals for a particular transnational cause.

The argument that Spanish proficiency can facilitate involvement in a transnational cause or organization was one that was shared by those 'organization leaders' who attributed the low participation and marginal status of next generation individuals within their respective groups to non-fluency in Spanish. Although the sons and daughters of organizational members may have spoken Spanish well, they felt more comfortable speaking English which could undermine their attendance or

participation at meetings. For example, the President of COTSA, Jorge Granados, mentioned that his daughter was interested in helping poor communities in El Salvador, and since she is a medical student, had spoken about the possibility of working with 'Doctors without Borders' there. I asked whether she had shown the same commitment to his HTA and the Federation.

> *It has to be a different comite (HTA) because we are a comite that speaks only Spanish. Some of the kids - even though they are our kids - don't feel comfortable just speaking Spanish. They will not fit in perfectly because they would like to be with kids of the same age.*

Survey data provided by 'contributors' also suggested a relationship between language proficiency and institutional forms of transnationalism. The vast majority of respondents in the 'contributor' sample were fluent Spanish speakers (See Table 6.5). Qualitative evidence also revealed that the vast majority spoke Spanish or a mixture of Spanish and English at home with their families. Yet again, however, these factors were fairly similarly distributed amongst the wider sample, so language does not appear to be a discriminating factor in terms of the types of transnationalism under study. Spanish fluency and proficiency was also high within this group, and while this may have influenced respondents' orientation towards El Salvador and Mexico, facilitated their consumption of Mexican or Salvadoran media, and increased their propensity to engage in cultural traditions or events, it did not translate into institutional forms of transnational activity (See Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Spanish language proficiency among 'contributors' and 'wider' sample respondents

	Low	Intermediate	Good	Fluent
'Contributor' proficiency	-	1	4	21
'Wider' sample proficiency	-	2	3	21

6.4 Age and 'life-course' events

Another variable previously considered to have a bearing on next generation transnational activity is age. Smith (2002, 2006), for example, has argued that transnational actions may peak in late adolescence and decline as individuals face the demands of work or start families in early adulthood. His examination of the demise of a next generation transnational philanthropic group concluded that the pressures of college, work, and starting a family, conspired to undermine its long-term sustainability. Similarly, Levitt (2002) employs the term 'life-course factors' to argue that transnational activities vary in intensity throughout an individual's life, increasing and decreasing according to the demands of work, school, and family. The evidence gathered for this study suggests some consistency with these arguments to the extent that a significant number of 'contributors' were young and had not yet embarked on a career or started a family: fourteen interviewees were enrolled at a community college or four-year university. However, professional 'contributors' had successfully balanced their work and family responsibilities with continued transnational involvement: fourteen of 28 respondents were working full-time and seven had children. While one or two individuals did suggest that other demands had a limiting effect on their transnational activities, their contributions were still significant.

The ability to balance work and family commitments with dedication to a transnational cause is illustrated by the case of Ana, a single mother of two who works as a lawyer for a leading law firm in Washington DC. Long hours and two young children place significant demands on her time, and yet she has been able to establish and run an NGO from her home in Virginia for several years. At considerable personal expense – she used money she had accumulated for her retirement – the organization has hired workers in El Salvador and is now delivering assistance to rural communities in El Salvador. In 2010, she travelled to El Salvador eleven times to oversee the organization's work and has no intention

of allowing her commitments in the United States to undermine her transnational activities, on which she places significant importance.

Age did emerge as a possible limiting factor in the 'wider' sample, however, where the demands of work and families were more frequently evoked to justify non-participation in institutional transnational activities. In at least seven cases, the demands of work, university, and family life had conspired to undermine a propensity to engage in transnational networks. In one case the perceived politicised nature of Salvadoran networks undermined the willingness of a Journalist to engage in transnational activities because he wished to maintain a sense of objectivity and feared that political activities could harm his career or get him fired. Others mentioned the time constraints of professional careers and raising families:

My career is pretty demanding; like I said I am pretty busy. My daughter ... it's kind of tough to raise a six-year old and I was a single parent for a while so that definitely took up most of my time. Other than that I have no other excuse and I call it an excuse because I feel like I should (Tony)

Using age as an explanatory factor is further complicated by the fact that the age profiles of both next generation samples were similar – the average age of the 'contributor' sample was 27.2 years, whereas that of respondents in the 'wider' sample was 26 years of age. This was of course not surprising since the very fact that the samples were of the 'next generation' affected the age range, and the methodology had also skewed the sample towards students. Both samples therefore contained individuals who were coming of age in the United States at a time when the job market is becoming increasingly competitive and the costs of living and raising a family continue to rise. Yet while those in the 'wider' sample use these trends to justify their non-involvement in transnational organizations, those in the 'contributor' sample took advantage of transnational opportunities in spite of these trends,

balancing career and family pressures with their commitments to transnational organizations. For some 'prominent' transnational actors this balancing act can assert significant demands on their time, but their commitment to a particular cause, and the goals they continue to pursue, means they are able to persevere nonetheless. Given the motivations of 'contributors' and their determination to pursue transnational causes, despite considerable demands on their time from other commitments, individual volition or agency could present a promising line of enquiry to complement the evidence presented here, something that will be investigated in more detail in Chapter 8.

So far in this chapter the analysis has looked at a range of socio-economic and skill characteristics. As has been seen, while some of these could be necessary to push individuals in a transnational direction, equipping actors with the necessary knowledge and skills to navigate transnational spaces (for example language ability), since they do not distinguish next generation transnational actors from those not actively involved, other factors need to be taken into account if we are to gain a full appreciation of the variables that contribute to this phenomenon. The following sections and chapters take up this challenge, initiating the investigation of other explanatory variables, starting with processes of socialization. The succeeding section attempts to identify to what extent cultural exposure or proximity to transnational networks may have influenced the institutional transnational activities of actors in the 'contributor' sample. Is there any evidence, for instance, to suggest that their cultural exposure was more intense or prolonged, and did they participate in, or were they exposed to, the activities of cross-border networks or formal transnational practices, while growing up?

6.5 Transnational forms of socialization

Levitt and Waters (2002) have suggested that a process of socialization can explain transnationalism within the next generation. In their view, individuals socialised within transnational households, or other

transnational social fields, associate with people from the country of origin, exchange sending-country resources and ideas, and ultimately develop transnational orientations. This idea of a transnational form of socialization was subsequently adopted by later studies (Quirke et al., 2009; Wassendorf, 2010; and Soehl and Waldinger, 2012). Levitt and Waters, and others, may not have had *institutionalised* activities in mind, but home-country influences appear to have been strong for most 'contributors.' The following quotation was a typical response and gives a sense of the cultural influences that pervaded most households:

> *I don't know if it was ... it was kind of like pride but I don't know if it's like a ... it's kind of hard to explain ... you know they didn't say it clearly like 'yes you're proud that you're Salvadoran' but you wore the soccer jersey when a game was on, you ate the food and it was just the culture that was around you and you knew that was what you were but you weren't like ... at least from my experience I've always been proud to be Salvadoran and I remember there was like a ... as a kid if someone would be like 'Where you from? Are you Mexican?' 'No, I'm not Mexican.' And you'd really take that hard and be like 'no.' So, it's being proud in a way. I just think it's more cultural ... who you are (Nestor).*

While some respondents indicated that cultural influences were stronger than others, every individual stated that Mexican and Salvadoran cultural forms and practices assumed some degree of relevance in their daily lives. However, using this alone to explain institutional transnational activity is insufficient given that such activities are minority endeavours and cultural transmission is likely to be widespread. The problem of using cultural socialization to explain institutional transnationalism is further revealed when one analyses the testimonies of respondents in the 'wider' sample, since a majority revealed that home-country cultural influences also pervaded their households - although there was evidence of slightly more dissonance towards the country of origin, albeit to a limited extent. Even so, without

exception, these individuals ate home-country food, listened to Mexican or Salvadoran music, and participated in cultural events. These influences were particularly strong for individuals who spent a considerable part of their childhood in El Salvador or Mexico. Yet even those respondents in the wider sample who were born or brought up in the United States reported some degree of cultural transmission from their parents. The following quote gives an indication of the home-country influences that individuals in the 'wider' sample experienced growing up:

> *That was very strong within the household; sometimes that was a little overbearing. But it was strong and they taught me a lot. They took me to Mexican dancing lessons so I was very much involved in that cultural aspect. They would always play music and cook different types of food and talk to me about Mexican Independence Day and what that meant. And they told me stories about when they were younger (Joeana)*

A significant number of people in the 'wider' sample also indicated that they were encouraged to acknowledge and value their backgrounds in El Salvador and Mexico:

> *Well what my mother always said was 'Be aware of where you're from. Know that you're Salvadoran. Know that your people are Salvadoran. Know the struggles that we have been through.' Basically, it's like get to know [it]. So I guess in those terms, yes there's a lot of pride. There's a lot of pride in that. I mean she won't say it directly 'Be proud, say it loud that you're Salvadoran.' Maybe not in those words but 'Know where you're from, know where I'm from, know the background to our life stories (Jesus).'*

The fact that the majority of respondents in the 'wider' sample were brought up in households where home-country influences were present - and sometimes pervasive - highlights the limitations of using *cultural socialization* to explain *institutionalised* forms of transnational activities. Like their 'contributor' counterparts, most respondents were brought up by parents who exposed them to Mexican or

Salvadoran culture, most spoke Spanish at home, and some were encouraged to acknowledge or take pride in their roots.

In an attempt to further engage directly with the 'socialization' hypothesis put forward by Levitt and Waters (2002), the study also considered another line of enquiry: an analysis of the neighbourhood characteristics where individuals grew up, which explored the extent to which institutional transnational actors emerged from Mexican or Salvadoran 'enclaves.' The analysis revealed interesting findings. Transnational 'contributors,' in fact grew up in a range of ethnic neighbourhoods. While a significant minority lived in Salvadoran or Mexican-dominant areas, respondents were more likely to report that they lived in White-Caucasian or ethnically-diverse areas of California and Washington DC (See Table 6.6). Similarly, a slight majority reported having an ethnically-diverse close circle of friends rather than friends drawn primarily from either the same ethnic or national group. These findings would therefore suggest that transnational 'contributors' do not necessarily emerge from Mexican- or Salvadoran-specific peer groups or 'enclaves,' but also contexts in which Mexican or Salvadoran cultural influences were not necessarily pervasive, at least outside the household. It may also reveal the shortcomings of an 'enclave' hypothesis and indicate that household and family influences can be more influential on the evolution of next generation institutional transnational actors.

Table 6.6: The ethnic composition of 'contributor' neighbourhoods and friendship groups

	Salv/Mex.	Latino	White	African- Am	Diverse
Neighbourhood	6	4	7	1	8
Close friends	7	4	-	-	15

When the results are compared to the 'wider' sample, analysis reveals that differences in distribution are rather weak and thus not particularly revealing. While a similar number of respondents grew up in Mexican or Salvadoran-dominant areas, respondents in this sample were slightly less likely to live in

white-dominant areas and slightly more likely to live in ethnically-diverse areas. More individuals in the 'wider' sample also had an ethnically-diverse circle of close friends.

Table 6.7: The ethnic composition of neighbourhoods and friendship groups within the 'wider' sample

	Salv/Mx	Latino	White	African- Am	Diverse
Neighbourhood	7	4	3	1	11
Close friends	3	3	1	-	19

An 'Institutional' form of socialization?

Given the limits of using cultural forms of socialization as a driver of next generation institutional transnationalism, another form of socialization – at a level of abstraction that is distinct from a merely cultural habitus – may be more instructive. Looking beyond cultural transmission to consider the influence of actual *institutional* transnational practices, analysis reveals that close to half of the respondents in the 'contributor' sample were brought up by institutional transnational actors. Parents included FMLN and CISPES activists, HTA members, the founders of transnational non-profit organizations, and individuals who had collected aid or performed charitable acts on an ad hoc basis. While it is beyond the scope of this study to conduct a deep psychological analysis of each interviewee, one can be fairly certain that these individuals would have been subjected to the sense of obligation, or the emotions that drove first generation transnational acts. Furthermore, parents could have set an example and performed certain modes of transnational behaviour that their children may have absorbed and replicated as they grew up. This finding is not necessarily new. Smith and Bakker (2008) noted evidence of HTA leaders exposing their children to transnational practices, and the subsequent emergence of next generation leaders within these networks. Levitt (2002) has also suggested that proximity to a transnational institution, and the opportunity this presents to engage in cross-border

activities, may help to explain next generation transnational activities. However, these studies did not investigate this phenomenon in any great depth.

The evidence gathered for this study suggests that a form of *institutional* transnational socialization may help to explain the activities of some next generation cross-border political and philanthropic actors, a process that goes beyond rudimentary cultural exposure and the cultural flows transmitted through households, communities, or media. It is a form of socialization that emerges from the regular, sustained, and significant contributions that institutional transnational actors perform and exhibit, strongly influencing their children's evolution as philanthropic or political transnational actors. Some respondents certainly conveyed a sense of the importance they placed on their parents' transnational activism, and the following quote provided by a prominent transnational actor suggests that a strong commitment to community development can emerge at a young age:

> *Because they are part of the NGO 'Peace International' we saw them caring enough, doing*
>
> *things in El Salvador, doing good work and raising funds to help people and our family. It was*
>
> *just common sense: they were proud and 'we should be too.' It just kind of developed on its own,*
>
> *just by seeing what they did. Both me and my sister followed in that same way (Gabriella).*

Another respondent, who has been active in his father's HTA since the age of thirteen, was also taken to El Salvador and shown first-hand the desperate needs that existed there:

> *A lot of it is because I've seen the struggles they've been through and I've seen it first-hand ... like*
>
> *when I went back my Dad made a point of taking me to places and he took me to the orphanage*
>
> *[his father has a close relationship with an orphanage for disabled children]. It's a bunch of like*
>
> *handicapped orphans and your heart breaks when you see those kids (Mauricio).*

An interview with the FMLN Coordinator for Washington DC, the mother of a 'prominent' transnational actor, was also instructive, revealing the forms that parental transmission could assume, at least in politicised Salvadoran households. Sonia's daughter, Rosa, was exposed to transnational politics from a young age and the realities of the situation in El Salvador were explained throughout her childhood. The grievances and injustices that fuelled the Salvadoran resistance pervaded the family home, a focal point of the expatriate community, and the role of the United States, as guarantor for the military government, was made explicitly clear. History lessons provided in elementary, middle, and high school were also challenged and alternative viewpoints considered at the dinner table (*Interview, Sonia Umanzor, September 2010*). In this particular case, given the central role that parental figures played in the transnational struggle against the Salvadoran government, transmission would have also assumed the form of particular behaviours and practices: participation in protests and rallies, for instance, or the planning and implementation of transnational campaigns. Rosa, having been exposed to all this, subsequently became a community organizer within Maryland's Latin American community and a 'prominent' transnational actor with CISPES.

The vast majority of respondents in the 'wider' sample were not brought up by philanthropic or political transnational actors – with the exception of a small minority whose parents had had very limited involvement in protests during the Salvadoran Civil War. It is therefore probable that most individuals had not been subjected to the same sense of obligation and emotions that compelled respondents in the 'contributor' sample to participate in cross-border organizations. Given this, it is possible that the relationship between parental institutional activities and next generation institutional transnationalism could signify something akin to what Soehl and Waldinger (2012) have conceptualized as a discrete 'transmission pathway.' These forms of socialization describe distinct patterns of parental transmission - the sending of remittances, home-country visits, speaking home-country languages, and performing home-country customs – which are thought to initiate and control next generation

transnationalism. Extended home visits during childhood, were found to be a particularly strong

predictor of next generation transnationalism: strengthening emotional attachments to the country of

origin; increasing the frequency of home-country visits in adulthood; and raising the possibility of

involvement in homeland-oriented organizations. The evidence gathered for this study therefore

suggests that it may be useful to conceptualise a discrete *institutional* form of parental transmission in

addition to those provided by Soehl and Waldinger that is capable of capturing the dynamics that

contribute to the emergence of next generation *institutional* transnational activities.

These *institutionalized* forms of transnational socialization are therefore believed to be relevant

in understanding formal transnationalism in some cases. However, it did not appear to be a determinant

in others since not every 'contributor' was brought up by a transnational actor - not in the institutional

sense at least. Furthermore, first generation transnational actors in the 'organization leader' sample

sometimes complained that their children or the children of other members demonstrated little or no

interest in institutional transnational activities. HTA leaders often referred to the indifference or apathy

of next generation individuals within their own communities and networks, and some demonstrated a

degree of frustration that more were not involved:

> *I always go to bed thinking 'how we can do this, how we can bring them.' And I try and I try and I*
>
> *don't know. I don't know how to bring them in because I'm talking to my two boys too you know.*
>
> *I try to bring them to the organization but it's not easy; they don't care enough ... (Martin*
>
> *Martinez, ESCASE).*

Hence, even in households where first generation immigrants play a prominent role in a transnational

network or movement, exposure to their activities or the sentiments and emotions that drive their

commitments, confront other constraining factors that conspire to undermine the influence of

institutional socialization. When explaining next generation apathy, leaders often suggested that

assimilation had undermined their interest in transnational causes and their country of origin did not

assume the same importance. While they may have enjoyed visiting and spending time with relatives,

these individuals were not motivated to address needs there or improve conditions. It seems apt at this

point to also consider the role of individual agency, a consideration that will be explored in more detail

in Chapter 8. While my objective is not to provide a detailed examination of structure versus agency, in

part to avoid repeating long-held arguments that have appeared and re-appeared in countless

sociological studies over the years, I would suggest that any reference to socialization as a potential

cause of next generation transnationalism should also consider personal motivations and desires. After

all, a failure to acknowledge this serves only to suggest that individuals absorb and replicate influences

without determining their own trajectories. While parental expectations may have been high, the

evidence also suggests that 'contributors' *chose* to act trans-nationally. In some cases parents may have

provided the access to transnational networks but individuals responded to these opportunities with

their own drive and motivations.

6.6 Summary

Analysis suggested that human attributes had some explanatory potential for next generation

institutional transnationalism – but only up to a point. Next generation formal connectivity tended to be

undertaken by individuals demonstrating upward social mobility: most had relatively high educational

attainment and more were employed in professional than non-professional occupations, confirming the

arguments of previous studies on both first and next generation transnational actors (for instance see

Portes et al, 2008a; Rumbault, 2002; Levitt, 2002; Potter, 2005; Reynolds, 2008). However, the

explanatory potential of these factors was complicated by the fact that most individuals in the 'wider'

sample shared the same personal characteristics, suggesting that additional factors needed to be taken

into account. A similar point could also be made about language proficiency. While the vast majority of

institutional transnational actors were proficient and even fluent Spanish speakers, an attribute that

could have facilitated their involvement in Mexican or Salvadoran networks, this finding was also

consistent for many in the 'wider' sample who chose not to participate in formal transnationalism.

The final attribute that the analysis considered was age, investigating to what extent age or life-

course events controlled institutional forms of transnationalism, a hypothesis previously applied to the

next generation by Smith (2002; 2006) and Levitt (2002), who suggest that transnationalism may peak in

late adolescence and decline as individuals grow older and are forced to deal with the demands of

college, work, or starting a family. However, this is not really supported by the evidence gathered for

this study. While individuals in the 'wider' sample used these demands to justify their non-involvement

in cross-border political and philanthropic networks, those in the 'contributor' sample had instead been

able to balance their institutional transnational activities with their often demanding careers, university

courses, and families.

Subsequent sections considered the influence of 'socialization' and its contribution to the

emergence of institutional forms of transnationalism. A cultural form of socialization did not appear to

be significant because majorities in both next generation samples reported similar degrees of cultural

transmission – although there appeared to be slight evidence of more detachment from these

influences in the 'wider' sample. However, other forms of socialization at a different level of abstraction

appeared to hold some explanatory potential. Looking beyond mere cultural transmission, it was

possible to detect the influence of *actual* transnational practices – or an *institutional* form of

transnational socialization - since analysis revealed that close to half of respondents in the 'contributor'

sample were brought up by institutional transnational actors. It could therefore be argued that next

generation individuals in these households would have been subjected to the sense of obligation or the

emotions that drove transnational acts within the parental generation.

This suggested some consistency with Soehl and Waldinger (2012), and their conceptualization of discrete 'transmission' pathways, which considers the influence of distinct parental behaviours on next generation transnationalism. Hence, in addition to sending remittances, home-country visits, speaking home-country languages, and performing home-country customs, all thought to be significant by Soehl and Waldinger, this analysis suggested that institutional transnational actions committed by parents should be considered a potential contributing factor to distinctly *institutional* forms of next generation transnational behaviours. However, as a final caveat to this argument, analysis also revealed that institutional influences – even when they are strongly exerted in some households – do not routinely produce committed next generation institutional transnational actors. This demonstrated the need to incorporate agency and individual volition into an understanding of next generation institutional transnational activity, a consideration that will be explored more fully in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 7: Explaining next generation institutional transnationalism – organizational characteristics, mobilization, and opportunity structures

7.1 Introduction

Having explored the explanatory potential of human attributes, socio-economic backgrounds, and socialization, this chapter investigates the institutional factors – or organizational characteristics – that help to explain the inclusion or exclusion of next generation individuals within transnational philanthropic and political networks. In doing so, it engages with two influential theories that have previously been used to explain mobilization and opportunity structures that condition the formal or institutional behaviours of individual actors. The first, structural analysis, based on the work of Wellman (1988), is an oft-cited academic study which binds together the separate strands of social network theory to produce a synthetic account of individual mobilization and initiation into formal networks or organizations. To my knowledge, the theory has not previously been applied to the study of next generation – or for that matter first generation – institutional transnationalism. The second, 'institutional completeness,' developed by Levitt (2002), is well known to researchers familiar with transnationalism, and is one of the few attempts to articulate an explanation for next generation *institutional* transnationalism. Importantly, this theory extends beyond the theoretical terrain of most next generation studies to consider physical and institutional cross-border actions. Throughout, the explanatory potential of these theories will be considered alongside the gathered evidence.

In order to test the relevance of structural analysis and institutional completeness, this evidence includes an examination of how 'contributors' were initiated into their respective transnational networks and how their institutional activities emerged and evolved. The analysis also considers the characteristics and institutional cultures that pervade sampled organizations, which could have a

bearing on next generation institutional mobilization and the ability of these organizations to regenerate themselves and incorporate new members, specifically next generation members. The analysis will explore decentralizing tendencies within the sampled organizations and their willingness to delegate responsibilities to new members; their efforts to target next generation members through targeted outreach activities and programs; and tendencies towards US political engagement, which could potentially help to mobilize individuals socialized within the United States. This evidence will then be applied to a discussion on the future trajectories of sampled organizations, contributing to an on-going debate on institutional transnational mobilization which considers the long-term sustainability of next generation institutional transnationalism.

7.2 Opportunity structures: institutional transnational mobilization

Given that this is a study of formal transnationalism and transnational institutions, the relevance of theories that explain opportunity structures and organizational mobilization are considered and applied to next generation cross-border behaviours and activities. Under scrutiny are structural analysis (Wellman, 1988), a theory that brings together strands of network theory and asserts that structural location is the predominant factor controlling individual activities and behaviours, and transnational 'institutional completeness' (Levitt, 2002), which extends Breton's (1964) theory of institutional completeness and argues that the formal transnational actions of next generation individuals are facilitated by their proximity to transnational organizations. The explanatory potential of these theories is considered alongside empirical evidence describing the experiences of individuals in both the 'contributor' and 'wider' next generation samples, and also information on the institutional characteristics of sampled organizations. The aim is to provide a more complete picture of mobilization that builds on the strengths of these theories and exposes any theoretical weaknesses.

On a very broad level, structural analysis investigates the ties that connect individuals within social systems and studies the processes – exchange, competition, collaboration - through which individuals utilize their direct and indirect ties to access and distribute resources such as information, wealth, or influence (Wellman, 1988). Rather than personal attributes – the explanatory variable for most mainstream sociological theories – structural analysis argues that structural location, by determining opportunity and access to resources, offers a more reliable prediction of normative behaviour. The focus on personal attributes, theorists further contend, ignores social structure and the ties that individuals establish to form organizations and other groups or networks.

When applied to the empirical results from this research study, structural analysis was found to have some value and shed light on the processes through which some individuals became transnational actors. For example, it appeared to be relevant for individuals who were deeply embedded within transnational networks from a young age: their social location within tight social networks could have facilitated cross-border activities through the absorption of relevant information and resources gleaned from direct access to transnational actors. Of the fourteen respondents who were the children of transnational actors, at least eleven were involved in networks in which their parents were - or had once been - active. Hence, the daughter of the FMLN Coordinator in Washington DC, who grew up in a household that became a focal point for political transnationalism during and after the Salvadoran civil war, would have had numerous connections to transnational actors and cross-border networks. This social location may have also equipped this individual with relevant human and social capital that facilitated her initiation into politicised Salvadoran transnational organizations. While her commitments to the FMLN were less significant than those to CISPES, the contributions to CISPES took place within a specific context: the overlapping transnational space that traverses both organizations and reflects shared political allegiances, a mutual base of supporters, and a three-decade long history of close collaboration. Hence, initiation into CISPES could have been facilitated by a social location that

positioned this individual within close proximity to the FMLN and its members. The same sorts of processes could also be seen as relevant to the experiences of two young women, Margarita and Gabriella, who were prominent members of their parents' transnational philanthropic organization. Social location, by determining their close connections to transnational actors – in this case their parents – would have provided them with the connections and social capital to thrive in a transnational context and could have been a significant factor in their evolution as cross-border actors.

The idea of *indirect* ties emphasised by structural analysis may also be helpful. Structural analysis assumes that ties in a social system can be transitive: if two nodes are connected to another node they share an indirect tie and an increased probability of forging a direct tie over time (Wellman, 1988). Indirect ties therefore connect individuals to the contacts of people already in their own networks, and by implication, increase the size and complexity of egocentric social systems. Some of those who were not directly connected to transnational networks exploited indirect ties –usually friends or acquaintances – to access transnational organizations. This appears to have been relevant in at least eleven cases: for example a CISPES delegate who was introduced to the organization through a friend; an FMLN activist whose friend was already attending FMLN meetings; and a young woman who was initiated into a Salvadoran charity through a friend of the family.

While relevant in many cases, there were a number of instances when the value of structural analysis was less clear: individuals not initially connected to organizations through their social networks, or respondents who initiated their own transnational opportunities. Six individuals established transnational organizations – and while two were in a position to exploit resources through direct contacts with transnational actors – it is unclear to what extent the remaining four were able to do so. How then does structural analysis theory account for such anomalies? It is not entirely clear but theorists might highlight an individual's structural location in other transnational kinship or non-

institutional networks, positions that could facilitate access to information, generate awareness, and

push individuals in a transnational direction. However, this still leaves us with a 'connectivity gap' and

does not account for actual *initiation* into a transnational organization. Structural analysis may therefore

explain actions *after* agents become connected to transnational networks – directly or indirectly - but

struggles to adequately explain behaviours *before* relations were established.

A further problem associated with structural analysis is that it fails to consider the qualitative

nature of transnational organizations and how institutional characteristics can facilitate or constrain

next generation involvement. It does not reveal anything about pervading organizational cultures, for

instance, or internal structures and other factors that may limit – or facilitate – involvement. This is

something that Smith (2002; 2006) understood from his study of a Mexican HTA in New York City which

had failed to regenerate itself and attract younger community members due to the fact that it was

hierarchical, male-dominated, and not prepared to delegate important responsibilities to women or

young people. Smith argued that first generation members of the HTA had been unable to establish a

positive relationship with younger members of the community or to effectively include them in

organizational activities. There were also generational differences: first generation HTA leaders worked

through existing political structures in the home town; whereas younger community members wanted

to distance themselves from the corruption they perceived in the home town's political environment.

A consideration of institutional characteristics is also missing from Levitt's transnational

'institutional completeness' hypothesis. Levitt suggests that today institutionally complete communities

are able to satisfy their needs – cultural, political or economic - through businesses and organizations

that span the borders of home and host countries. It is within these communities, with their multiple

connections to the home country, that the next generation can become embedded and socialized within

cross-border organizations, and subsequently come to participate in institutional forms of

transnationalism. By implication, Levitt seems to infer that next generation formal transnationalism is

related to the number of transnational opportunities that the children of immigrants are presented

with. This, of course, seems entirely logical and one can see how engagement could be higher in a

community with a large network of transnational organizations than one whose connections to home

are less significant numerically. However, opportunities will not be realized if organizations have closed

infrastructures and are not willing to include new members, or resource-constraints prevent them from

having a visible presence in immigrant communities. Taking this on board, the proceeding section

explores the traits of the transnational organizations sampled for this study. In particular, it looks at

resource capacities, outreach potential, decentralizing tendencies and an ability or willingness to

incorporate new members, and internal cultures that may impede the inclusion of individuals born

and/or raised within the United States. This analysis will help to shed light on the regenerative potential

of sampled organizations and the institutional factors that may control next generation mobilization

within Mexican and Salvadoran transnational networks.

7.3 Institutional characteristics: controlling next generation mobilization

Resource constraints

A significant minority of eleven organizations complained that their efforts to attract and incorporate

new members were held back by resource constraints. This was particularly evident within HTAs and

HTA federations which depend on the voluntary efforts of a small number of committed first generation

immigrants, many of whom struggle to fit organizational activities into demanding work schedules. The

observed capacity restrictions reflect previous research on HTAs which suggest that resource and human

capital constraints can undermine long-term development impacts (Orozco and Lapointe, 2004; Portes

et al., 2005; Waldinger et al., 2008). Hence, while these groups may have recognised the importance of

reaching out to the next generation, time constraints meant they were forced to prioritise other

activities. Martin Martinez of ESCASE complained about the lack of time available to reach out to new

members and emphasised the sacrifices members already endured to sustain the work of his

organization:

> [W]e are always thinking and we never do anything about it [reaching out to second generation].
>
> And the reason is I think is that nobody has the time to do this. I mean we spend a lot of time
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> doing what we are doing ... maybe the other thing is I think we are tired too. I [have been doing
>
> this] for 20 years ... I have managed to continue but by working for free, but even not just free ...
>
> I mean I spend a lot of money on this ... driving [my] car, gasoline, time ... this is a big thing. And
>
> the other thing is your family also have demands.

Time and resource constraints were not only confined to HTAs and HTA federations. Small grassroots

charities and NGOs faced similar scenarios and were consumed with pressing needs that undermined

their ability to develop an effective outreach programme for individuals born and/or raised in the United

States:

> Well we just haven't reached out to the second generation [because] all of our efforts are made
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> to raise money for our work in El Salvador and the needs of the first generation; many of whom
>
> are still struggling. Some of the families we have been helping since the 1980s are still hurting.
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> Reaching out to the second generation is just not a priority for us. If it were a priority then we
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> would invest time and effort in reaching out to them. The priority at the moment for us is
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> organizing the delegations to our partner communities in El Salvador, or finding jobs for some of
>
> the families we help here. Many of them are still asking us for some assistance to support their
>
> families. And new people are coming all the time who need assistance from us (Arlene Schapp,
>
> South Bay Sanctuary)

Resource levels and capacity were particularly low in organizations that had only recently been established. After starting this research I became a board member at an educational charity working in rural schools in El Salvador (ADEES). No matter how motivated and dedicated the group's volunteers were, the organization struggled to build an infrastructure more conducive to outreach, and the organization has only recently been able to devote significant time and resources to a website and social media platform – tools that could potentially improve outreach over time. A previous board member argued that until their programmes were more firmly established, they were not sure how they could include next generation Salvadorans:

> *The idea of bringing second generation students or teenagers back to El Salvador is very enticing and I think that is something we'd like to do once we have developed our work there and we have something to show, and we can capture their energy. But right now ... there is not much to do. We have to set the basis and develop the infrastructure in order to bring these people there (Victor Olano, ADEES)*

A predominant focus on securing financial donations also required one recently established organization to overlook next generation outreach, and instead prioritise outreach to first generation immigrants who were perceived as having more financial resources:

> *I'm mainly working to develop the finances right now ... so consequently since I've been focusing more on donors and donations I'm tending to not go out and seek second generation Salvadorans who may not have the financial independence that the first generation who have been here for thirty years would have (Gary Urra, CAFRED President).*

Despite this, resource constraints were not uniform across the whole sample and some had been able to utilize human and other forms of capital to incorporate more significant numbers of individuals born and/or raised in the United States. While still grassroots in nature, the characteristics of these

organizations permitted more effective outreach strategies. They often had a more formal structure, their operations were governed by rules and regulations, and their responsibilities were more clearly defined. Some could also rely on a small cadre of paid staff who could coordinate activities and devote more time to organizational development. These characteristics were mostly evident within solidarity, political, and Latino-American organizations. These groups had relatively sophisticated websites and operated within relatively large support networks which raised the potential of attracting new members. Furthermore, their clearly defined organizational structures meant they could more easily incorporate and retain new members. The example of CISPES illustrates this point: the organization has a regularly up-dated website and social media platform; seven chapters located in different regions of the United States; links to other social justice movements in the United States and El Salvador; clearly defined leadership roles; and a small number of paid staff.

Another feature that CISPES shared with other solidarity, political and Latino-American organizations was age and experience. Some organizations dated back to the Salvadoran civil war in the 1980s, and others to the post-war period in the early 1990s. They had therefore had two or three decades to evolve and develop capacity, and many of their members have extensive grassroots organizing experience in both transnational and national contexts. They included activists who had previously campaigned against US intervention in El Salvador in the 1980s, former guerrillas who fought in the Salvadoran Civil War, and campaigners who had advocated for immigrant rights in the United States.

Given this, it is possible that the higher prevalence of politicized, relatively resource-rich networks within the Salvadoran community, as opposed to Mexican communities dominated by small, voluntary and resource-poor HTAs with generally unsophisticated organizational structures (Orozco and Lapointe, 2004; Portes et al., 2005; Waldinger et al., 2008), could generate important and distinct

consequences for next generation transnational mobilization. These distinctions could mean, for

instance, that higher proportion of Salvadorans are mobilized relative to their Mexican counterparts,

benefiting from the more effective outreach efforts of transnational institutions within the Salvadoran

community. The experience, knowledge and skills of existing members in well-established politicised

Salvadoran networks could also provide a positive mentoring environment more conducive to next

generation retention. This is relevant because the retention of this demographic could change the

composition of transnational organizations, initiating changes and activities more favourable to further

next generation outreach.

Negative perceptions

Whatever the outreach capacity of an organization, however, transnational groups may have to contend

with feelings of mistrust directed towards them. Rumours of funds being wasted, or worse, ending up in

the pockets of unscrupulous individuals, may pervade communities and undermine attempts to reach

out and cultivate new members and donors. In an interview with one leader of a Salvadoran charity, this

individual remarked that many in the Salvadoran community had donated money in good faith but were

never able to trace where and how their money was spent (*Interview with Gary Urra, CAFRED,*

September 2010). In fact, six individuals in the 'wider' sample justified their non-involvement by

indicating a lack of trust towards migrant-led transnational organizations, and a perception of corruption

pervading philanthropic groups, suggesting that transnational groups may have to prioritise

transparency and accountability if they are to attract members born and/or raised in the United States.

These individuals expressed scepticism towards transnational organizations, and their promises of

delivering change, and were not confident their financial contributions would reach the intended

recipients, for instance:

You know I'm so far away from it that there's nothing tangible for me to touch or see and I think there would be just too much mistrust; not so much because of the country just because ... you know there's nothing to see or touch for me and the mistrust would be there. If it was a local political organization or a local charity I just don't know where the money is going (Horacio)

There is some evidence to suggest that a small minority of individuals in the 'wider' sample who committed informal philanthropic transnational acts tried to maintain control over their charitable contributions, and not relinquish efforts or money to groups they considered untrustworthy. One respondent sent remittances to El Salvador every month through his mother who collected contributions and distributed them to relatives and other residents in her community of origin:

And as far as donations ... the way I was brought up we don't believe in giving our goods to somebody to distribute. We know who we have to take care of and we'll do it ourselves. We'll go over there and take it to them. We will tell them 'we're coming from the US on a certain day and say 'come over the next day and we'll bring you this and that and so on and so on.'' That's how we do it.

JD: Is there an issue trusting Salvadoran organizations in Washington DC?

There is always that grey area. There's a lot of people – and I'm not the only one to tell you – you need to make sure it's there ... that it got there ... and have somebody actually confirm it you know (Jesus)

Organizational cultures

A further obstacle to next generation inclusion may be the demographic composition of transnational organizations, which influence pervading organizational cultures. Six organizations dominated by first generation immigrants indicated that their organizational cultures, which were overwhelmingly drawn

from the country of origin, may have deterred individuals socialised in the United States. As we have

already seen, language was often cited as a factor: even though next generation individuals could speak

Spanish well, their preference for English could undermine their attendance or participation at

meetings. On occasion, generational differences could even generate tensions between first generation

organization members and their next generation counterparts. According to the regional coordinator of

the FMLN in northern California, the FMLN had found it difficult to retain members born and/or raised in

the United States because the group exhibited 'Salvadoran' traits that frustrated members born and/or

raised in the United States:

> *SHC: I personally have always been interested in keeping them so I talk to them a lot ... and they*
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> *say that we older people are kind of boring in our meetings. But that is important because they*
>
> *really wanted to come to our meetings but they stopped.*
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> *JD: why would they be bored?*
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> *SHC: Well the language for one ... most of the young people's primary language is English and*
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> *we always hold our meetings in Spanish. So just keeping that level of attention to understand*
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> *and follow everything is draining. And there was some scepticism ... I would say a lot of*
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> *scepticism in young people about the way that we operate. We are very idiosyncratic and very*
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> *Salvadoran. Our meetings are long, we are not punctual, and we tend to speak for one hour even*
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> *to make one statement ... they are used to the United States way: you come to the meeting, you*
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> *get to the point, and in one hour you have everything resolved.*

Hence, despite what was said earlier about the potential for politicized Salvadoran groups to mobilize

higher numbers of the next generation, there are other factors that could undermine this potential in

some groups. Some 'leaders' also indicated that their organizations would need to reform if they were

to attract younger members of their communities, making the organizations more relevant to their

specific interests. Martin Martinez indicated that his reformed HTA would have to have less of a specific focus on his home town of Santa Elena and incorporate wider causes and communities to reflect his son's up-bringing in the San Francisco Bay Area:

> *I will like them to be part of this ... and start working with us right now to make them think like us ... but the contribution that the second generation give to ESCASE ... when they take control it will not only be for [our] communities or only for people who speak Spanish, it will be for more people [of] different races ... their friends will be part of this.*

However, the effects of generational differences were not universal across the sample. In organizations with a more diverse composition there was less emphasis on the exclusive use of Spanish, and the influence of first generation immigrants was less pronounced. The fact that individual members could be drawn from different communities could mean that organizations were more receptive to the viewpoints of individuals who were not born and raised in El Salvador or Mexico. Two second generation individuals indicated that their participation was more appreciated in CISPES than in the FMLN, which they perceived as being less appreciative of the contributions of those born in the United States.

Efforts to attract and retain the next generation might also be undermined by the hierarchical nature of some transnational organizations. A perceived lack of maturity excluded US-born and/or raised members from certain activities and responsibilities. As we have already seen, this demonstrated consistency with Smith (2002, 2006) who described hierarchical tendencies within a Mexican HTA in New York and its failure to regenerate itself and reach an accommodation with younger community members. Furthermore, the more limited financial resources of next generation individuals might also mean they could not participate in important tasks such as project oversight or government relations which involve frequent travel to Mexico or El Salvador – often at great personal expense. A conversation with Jorge Rosales was indicative of this. He mentioned a young female Mexican-American who

sometimes sat on the board of his HTA, *Club Vista Hermosa*, and helped with the organization of beauty pageants. I asked whether there was an expectation that she would continue to contribute and perhaps move up within the HTA or Federation. He answered affirmatively, but qualified his answer:

> *Yes but I don't know about the level of [government relations] because when you go there you have to know a lot of stuff. You have to know all the programmes plus how you're going to do it ... everything. It is too time-consuming.*

> *JD: You would also have to have a lot of contacts, right?*

> *JR: Yes.*

> *JD: Government contacts and contacts within other Federations?*

> *JR: Yes. At this level personally we know the President of Mexico, and we know all the government from Jalisco. Sometimes they invite us and say 'we will meet you tomorrow.' Well it's too soon ... but they say the President is going to be there and so it's like 'OK.'*

During another part of the interview Jorge was not speaking specifically about the next generation, but does infer that new members have to learn how to operate within the Federation before assuming greater responsibilities:

> *I have been following this for seven years already and I have seen younger guys moving up to become Presidents of their clubs, which is good but sometimes those kids we have to teach them ... they have too much stamina and they're moving fast and they want to do things their own way. And we say 'you have to calm down ... with these people [government officials] you have to be like this' ... and 'be careful what you are saying. Whatever you are saying, be loud and clear but watch what you are saying. If you are saying the right thing then they will respect you, but if you try to put them down, don't even try that because [no-one] will react to that.'*

This apparent reluctance or wariness towards allowing younger members to assume positions of responsibility could reflect an observation previously noted by Waldinger et al. (2008), whose study of Salvadoran transnational organizations operating in the Los Angeles area revealed that the leaders of some HTAs were reluctant to grow their organizations as this could weaken their own positions of authority and reduce their visibility and recognition in communities of origin. Hence, it was in the interests of HTA leaders and their established members to keep organizations small and informal, which would have obvious implications for outreach and next generation inclusion.

Hierarchical tendencies were also apparent in other organization types such as the FMLN. Rosa, a CISPES member, and the daughter of a leading FMLN member in Washington DC, remains loyal and sympathetic to the Party but also described it as an organization that was dominated by veterans of the Civil War who had occasionally dismissed second generation activists as being too 'American.' Comparing CISPES and the FMLN, she argued that the former gave her more space and autonomy:

> *I think that even for both the organizations I was introduced to them through my parents ... you know it was just through my heritage ... I think that CISPES provided me a little more autonomy from my parents. I mean my Mum is coordinator for the FMLN DC chapter and so within the committee I'm always going to be Sonia's daughter. And CISPES provided an alternative to that. I think it was a broader space where I could meet other Salvadorans who were born here, to work on the same issues, but from a different perspective.*

> *JD: Is it easier for you to interact with people in CISPES than in the FMLN?*

> *I don't know if I would say easier; perhaps just different. I think that especially because I'm a younger generation I think that within the FMLN communities you have people that have been militants in the FMLN that are veterans of the War ... so I think that my interactions with them are very hierarchical and I think within CISPES it's not like that. You know, I think that in CISPES*

there are folks that have just got involved and folks who have been involved for a really long time. There are folks that have been in and out. There isn't like a power structure per se ... it's more a collective atmosphere. Not that that doesn't appear within the FMLN but I think it's a more formal structure than CISPES because it's a political party.

Adopting a left-wing egalitarian stance, CISPES therefore seems to operate within a more open structure that facilitates greater access to decision-making processes. It therefore also provides a context more conducive to the emergence of 'prominent' forms of transnationalism and next generation transnational leaders capable of making significant contributions to organizational development. As a result, CISPES stands in contrast to other sampled cross-border organizations, mainly those dominated by the first generation, which operate with a more 'closed' infrastructure that impedes next generation inclusion, or at best, ascribes only supportive, 'non-prominent' responsibilities to their next generation members. Hence, we can further conceptualize 'prominent' transnationalism as context-specific, emerging in response to a particular set of institutional environments.

Political and geographical orientations

Additional caveats to 'institutional completeness' and 'structural analysis' theories are the highly specific geographical and political orientations of the sampled transnational organizations: nine had adopted a distinct political stance, and eight represented specific regions or towns in El Salvador and Mexico. It could be argued that this restricted the appeal of some organizations to a more mainstream audience, therefore undermining outreach efforts. HTAs and HTA Federations, for example, are unlikely to appeal to individuals without familial links to the towns or regions where these organizations are active, and without such links individuals are also likely to be excluded from the social networks that HTA members operate within. Hence, despite the existence of an estimated 3000 Mexican HTAs operating in the United States (Orozco, 2002), and at least the numerical strength to support Levitt's 'institutional

completeness' hypothesis, these specific orientations complicate the relationship between opportunity and initiation into a transnational organization. After all, it could be argued that involvement in the Jalisco Federation of northern California may only appeal to second generation *Jaliscenses* and not their counterparts with parents from Zacatecas, Jalisco, or any other Mexican state.

Similarly, the radical left wing sympathies of some Salvadoran transnational groups – for example CISPES, USEU and FMLN base committees – are unlikely to resonate with individuals who do not have a well-developed political orientation or profess alternative sympathies. Even in organizations such as SALEF and SANA, which do not assert political orientations so distinctly, leading members profess political allegiances and operate within certain arenas which could have exclusionary effects. FMLN leaders have complained that it is difficult to reach out to first generation immigrants, let alone members of the next generation who have been socialised in the United States. The FMLN's Coordinator in the Bay Area complained that the group could only attract around 65 active members in a region which has a large Salvadoran population (*Interview with the Coordinator of FMLN Northern California, October 2010*). In a post-conflict era when El Salvador commands less attention in the media, and events no longer galvanize the interests of the Salvadoran community to the same extent, creating a broad transnational movement is perhaps likely to be more challenging. Previous studies seem to confirm this, indicating that there is widespread disinterest, apathy and mistrust of political parties that operate within the expatriate Salvadoran community (Itzigsohn, 2000; Landolt, 2001; Baker-Cristales, 2004).

7.4 The positives: evidence of an institutional transnational potential

The evidence presented thus far would suggest there are barriers preventing a more significant inclusion of next generation individuals within transnational organizations. Many of these organizations are dominated by first generation immigrants who often assign only 'supportive' or 'non-prominent' responsibilities to members born or raised in the United States; most are resource-poor and have low

outreach capacities (although this varies); and some have highly specific political, religious and geographical orientations. The overall evidence would therefore suggest some consistency with pessimistic studies that question whether transnational organizations and spaces will survive beyond first generation immigrants. However, caveats should be applied to this narrative of transnational decline since the evidence also indicates that different scenarios could be possible. Analysis revealed some promising signs of regeneration: the limited numbers of Latino-Americans already active within transnational networks; commitments to institutional reform; the importance accorded to next generation outreach; programmes and strategies designed to appeal to Latino-American interests; and participation in US political arenas. Hence, while some practices suggest that some organizations could struggle to regenerate themselves as the first generation ages; in others there are signs of a more positive outcome.

Latino-American transnational actors are already active in transnational organizations

 While overall numbers are low, the contributions of the next generation can be significant in some organizations. As we previously saw in Chapter 5 some sampled organizations appear to be cultivating 'prominent' transnational actors, or next generation leaders, who are making significant contributions to organizational development and assuming essential responsibilities. This was particularly relevant for politicized Salvadoran organizations. These individuals could play an important role in the future as 'agents of change' who make their respective organizations more attractive to next generation individuals or more committed to their inclusion – campaigning on US issues, for instance, which may resonate more strongly with individuals socialized within the United States. And even in organizations dominated by first generation immigrants, where the next generation currently assumes only supportive roles, there is *at least* the possibility that responsibilities could evolve as next generation individuals mature, thus raising an organization's regeneration potential in the future. The attainment of secure

employment, for instance, could raise personal incomes, an outcome that would enable next generation individuals to participate more fully in organizational activities – not only as donors, but also as active members, who, given the voluntary nature of many transnational institutions, often take on a personal financial cost to participate in cross-border actions. This is often the case, in HTA networks, for instance (*Interview with Jorge Rosales, President of Club Vista Hermosa, October 2010*). Next generation contributions may also grow as individuals adopt a more settled family life and have more time to devote to political or philanthropic trans-border endeavours.

Furthermore, the knowledge and skills that US born and/or raised individuals acquire as they mature could subsequently be seen as important assets, resources that could be exploited to improve institutional performance. Their inclusion could improve outreach to other Latino-Americans and facilitate the involvement of this demographic in organizational activities. This could lead to a potential scenario outlined by Kasinitiz et al. (2002) who argue that although the numbers of next generation institutional actors may be currently limited, their efforts to maintain connectivity with the country of origin mean that networks could survive to be replenished at a certain conjunctures in time by community members who retain more irregular linkages – in response to an election, for instance, or a natural disaster. Latino-American involvement could also positively impact the delivery of positive change in countries and communities of origin. For instance, technical expertise could enable philanthropic or political groups to effectively exploit internet and social media platforms, and thereby engage more effectively with current or potential supporters and donors. Equally, native-level English and knowledge of the US political systems could help cross-border networks forge partnerships and collaborations with US-based donors and political groups, or lobby US elected representatives – efforts that could be utilised in the pursuit of both domestic and transnational causes, at least when transnational causes converge with the foreign policy objectives of political actors in the United States.

Commitment to regeneration and reform

Although transnational organizations often function within tight social networks and operate according to the motivations of a select group of people, some also demonstrate commitments to decentralization and democracy that could facilitate greater accessibility. While not specifically designed to incorporate Latino-Americans, these commitments suggest that some organizations at least acknowledge the need to broaden involvement. Some organizations have previously bridged seemingly intractable divisions and differences within their communities which could suggest that generational differences are not insurmountable. This has been particularly evident in the Salvadoran community where the divisions of the Civil War still resonate strongly. Some Salvadoran HTAs such as ESCASE have adopted a distinctly non-partisan stance and brought together FMLN supporters, sympathisers of the right-wing ARENA Party, and former soldiers, successfully transcending their differences to share a commitment to improving their hometowns. Elsewhere, SANA reached beyond its left-leaning base to different political and religious factions to organize *El Dia de Salvadorenas,* an annual event which has Federal recognition and celebrates El Salvador's post-war transition within the United States.

Commitment to next generation outreach

Transnational leaders did not communicate any resistance to incorporating more next generation individuals into their organizations. While many acknowledged that time and resource constraints limited their outreach, they at least recognised the benefits of reaching out to younger members of their communities and could appreciate their potential contributions. Transnational leaders were generally very aware of the limitations their respective organizations endured and perceived next generation inclusion to be a potential means of easing these constraints: individuals born and/or raised in the United States were often perceived as being better educated than first generation members with the skills and knowledge to improve organizational effectiveness in areas such as fundraising, project

implementation, and technological utilization. Organization leaders also recognised their outreach

potential and believed that Salvadoran-American and Mexican-American members could enable their

organizations to reach greater numbers of next generation individuals. This was particularly relevant in

Salvadoran solidarity organizations which are struggling to expand at a time when El Salvador no longer

commands significant public attention, and when those once active in the 1980s either age or join other

movements and campaigns. Salvadorans born or raised in the United States are therefore perceived as a

natural constituency who can re-energize solidarity movements:

> *It is very important as we see them as the future of the organization. I would say that we can*
>
> *clearly see a decline of the North American Anglo support, and this is normal because they have*
>
> *been doing it for thirty years, so someone that came out of the Vietnam War and then joined the*
>
> *Central American solidarity movement in the 80s...30 years later that person is way into their 70s*
>
> *and 80s. All others are switching to other issues because there are issues like El Salvador was 30*
>
> *years ago – like Haiti or Colombia, or Iraq. So there might be an attrition of that community, so*
>
> *we see the Salvadoran community as emerging, one that is vibrant and one that we would like to*
>
> *work with (Transnational Leader, SHARE)*

SHARE subsequently incorporated the interests and needs of the Salvadoran-American community into

its mission statement, stating that "*SHARE strengthens solidarity with and among the Salvadoran people*

in El Salvador and the United States in the struggle for economic sustainability, justice, and human and

civil rights" (SHARE website, *accessed 26/7/2012*). This new direction involves efforts to teach

Salvadoran-Americans about their history and heritage, and a new campaign to secure permanent

residency for Central Americans with Temporary Protected Status (TPS), a visa status subject to renewal

every 18 months. This is a slightly different development than that predicted by Jones-Correa (2005),

who argued that increasing Latino-American involvement in cross-border organizations would cause a

shift from transnational to ethnic concerns. In this case, an organization and its first generation members appear to be consciously pushing an ethnic agenda – in addition to the continued pursuit of transnational goals - in an attempt to attract Salvadoran-Americans, a demographic capable of ensuring its long-term sustainability (This strategy was made explicit by SHARES's Executive Director, Jose Artiga, during an informal conversation in Berkeley, California, in November 2010).

This need to reach out to Latino-Americans in response to the increasing absence of traditional members and allies was also communicated by Alexis Stoumbelis, Executive Director of CISPES:

I think the solidarity model is shifting – it has to shift. A lot of mostly white liberal or leftist organizers, a lot of people who started CISPES were part of the anti-war movement in the 60s and 70s. That has to change now. For those organizers their connection with El Salvador was as allies, as political allies, and not as compatriots. One thing we're seeing now is that Salvadoran youth who want to go on CISPES delegations really think that we need to be focusing on youth because they are youth and they are students and they want to meet with other students and other youth.

In organizations with a diverse membership and supporter base there is recognition that Salvadorans born or brought up in the United States can also help place activities in a specific context and explain Salvadoran realities to non-Salvadorans. For example, their cultural and societal knowledge can help Americans better understand the constraints that ordinary Salvadorans experience in their everyday lives. Dennis O'Connor, Director of CRISPAZ, described this role when referring to Latino-American contributions on previous delegations to El Salvador:

Without being too critical of people in the US but if you live in North America – maybe I wouldn't include Canadians in this as they're more enlightened – but in the US there's a certain amount of chauvinism and you can see this when people visit El Salvador and ask 'Why don't they do this?

Why don't they solve their own problems?' So the first and second generation people we work

with help us to understand their [Salvadoran] reality and help us understand the conditions that

we're operating under.

Conversely, Latino-Americans may also help first generation immigrant members navigate US society,

thereby contributing to the 'integrative' potential of transnational organizations (Rivera-Salgado et al.,

2005; Jones-Correa, 2005; and Somerville, W. et al., 2008). Somerville, W. (2008), in a research paper for

the Migration Policy Institute in Washington DC, argues that HTAs can assist the assimilation of their

members in the United States through language classes and encouraging their members to participate in

US political arenas, such as campaigning for immigration reform. This was confirmed by Efrain Jimenez,

President of the *FCZSC,* who argued that Mexican-Americans could potentially help new immigrant

members understand their new context in the United States and participate in the Federation's

programme of citizenship and English classes.

They have a lot of things to share and help us ... the ones that come from another country ... they

can help us understand how things operate in the US. I'm talking about culture itself. I mean ...

sometimes even the Spanish ... some words mean something different ... even the jokes. Once

they get integrated into the US ... they could bring us a lot of help for the young people and the

older people to understand how the culture in the US is. To help us integrate.

Beyond an expressed commitment, organizations are also developing their own outreach

strategies and initiatives that specifically target the next generation. In total, thirteen organizations

indicated that they had designed activities or programmes for US born and/or raised individuals within

their networks. These ranged from informal practices such as exposing young people to needs that exist

in Mexico or El Salvador, cultural workshops, or more formal transnational programmes such as

delegations. Many transnational organizations also focus on issues affecting Salvadoran and Mexican

communities in the United States, which may resonate with Latino-Americans at a time of heightened sensitivity towards immigration.

Transnational organizations are keen to promote Mexican and Salvadoran cultural practices among younger members of their communities. In their study of Mexican trans-migrants in California, Smith and Bakker (2008) raised the possibility of trans-generational HTA involvement when they referred to the fact that many HTA members in their study were bringing their children up as bi-national citizens. Similarly, this study also finds that HTA leaders are raising their children with a strong sense of their Mexican or Salvadoran ancestries: they encourage the retention of Spanish, take their children to Mexico or El Salvador frequently, and urge them to pursue Mexican and Salvadoran cultural practices. Jorge Granados is speaking for most members of COTSA when he says *"we would like our children to be bilingual, not to lose their language, not to lose their cultural beliefs, their understanding and love of our country [El Salvador]."*

HTAs are incubators of Mexican and Salvadoran culture and actively promote cultural programmes among younger members of their communities. The Jalisco Federation of northern California organizes *charerria* tournaments for young people and hosts teams from Mexico. It also provides music and folk dancing workshops, and plans to build a *Casa de Jalisco* which will host an expanded programme of cultural events. A majority of HTAs also participated in beauty pageants held in El Salvador or Mexico, and while it may be tempting to dismiss the importance of these events, pageants raise significant amounts of money and expose Latino-American participants to local culture and the community needs that HTAs are trying to address. Other activities such as soccer tournaments and higher education scholarship programmes expose young community members to HTA activities and help to embed them within HTA social networks.

Transnational organizations in the sample directly expose next generation individuals to needs that exist in Mexico and El Salvador and explain how their work attempts to address or alleviate these needs. In some instances this exposure is already resulting in a commitment to HTA causes, with some children donating their own money and assisting in the construction of community development projects. Some organizations have facilitated this exposure in a coordinated and formal manner by organizing delegations specifically targeting next generation Latino-Americans. CISPES organised their first Salvadoran-American delegation, *Radical Roots*, in the summer of 2010. The delegation was instigated and managed by US-born Salvadorans who felt that previous CISPES delegations had not addressed their specific interests and needs. A significant amount of time was devoted to exploring youth issues and meeting youth organizations and activists in El Salvador.

USEU also organised a delegation for Salvadoran-American students prior to the 2009 Presidential elections. Given that only one-third of the delegates had previously visited El Salvador, the delegation was designed to provide an introduction to Salvadoran history and politics, and was organised at a significant conjuncture in El Salvador's post-war democratic transition when the FMLN was poised to take power. The delegation attracted significant media attention in El Salvador, and was also covered in the *Los Angeles Times*. Although other Latino-American organizations have included next generation individuals in their delegations, these were not specifically tailored towards Latino-Americans. Aside from delegations, organizations are also trying to develop programmes which can facilitate the direct contributions of next generation individuals. SANA has considered developing a literacy campaign which will provide an opportunity for Salvadoran-American students to teach in rural communities in El Salvador; there is even the possibility that students may be given the option of teaching in their parents' home town. At SALEF, a small delegation of next generation Salvadorans was also taken to a rural school in El Salvador to expose them to conditions, and help facilitate an on-going relationship with the school and surrounding community.

The delegations and the responsibilities granted to Latino-Americans are attempts to carve a space for next generation individuals within the existing structures of transnational organizations. However, the FMLN Los Angeles base committee has gone a step further and actually established the *FMLN Juventud,* a youth wing of the Party. Although the group operates under the supervision of senior Party members, the youth wing gives Salvadoran-Americans the opportunity to function on their own terms and discuss issues directly relevant to them. It also helped ease some of the minor tensions that emerged between first generation immigrants and younger US-born members. Second generation FMLN Board member, Ernie, also the founder of USEU, explained the decision to establish an *FMLN Juventud* in Los Angeles:

> *So it [FMLN Juventud] was a separate organization in the sense that ... we function almost autonomously but it is still within the FMLN so everything was in contact, in coordination ... now the thing is that the first generation has ... you could say some of them don't ... and I am being very honest right now ... they haven't transcended a particular model of doing things and sometimes that model is inadequate for this time ... and apart from the generational differences the interests that we have here as a generation is very different and they can't identify with what the youth think is an effective way of organizing ...*

Campaigning on US issues

A significant number of transnational organizations in this sample also focus on issues that affect Mexican and Salvadoran communities in the United States. Twenty of the sampled transnational organizations reported that they had campaigned for comprehensive immigration reform, and fifteen confirmed that they had advocated for the passage of the DREAM (Development, Relief, and Education for Minors) Act, legislation that allows undocumented students who came to the United States at a young age to pay in-state fees for higher education. This support not only applied to Latino-American

organizations, which prioritise issues in the United States, but also organizations predominantly oriented towards Mexico and El Salvador. Activities involved lobbying political representatives and mobilizing their members to attend demonstrations and rallies. For example, COTSA helped turn out Salvadorans for a major demonstration on the national mall in March 2010 which called on President Obama to fulfil his pre-election pledge and push for a reform of the country's immigration system. Furthermore, the FMLN Northern California base committee may serve the interests of El Salvador's governing party, but the group has also helped to coordinate immigrant rights demonstrations in San Francisco. This is consistent with research elsewhere which has suggested that transnational organizations in settlement areas are shifting from a narrow focus on the country or community of origin to a more expansive agenda that incorporates prominent issues affecting migrant communities in the United States (for example see Jones-Correa, 2005; River-Salgado et al, 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008).

Arguably, the development of a bi-national agenda could facilitate next generation access to transnational organizations. An agenda incorporating issues that affect Latino communities may resonate more strongly with individuals who have been largely socialised within the United States: they may have experienced or observed the indignities suffered by undocumented immigrants; the discrimination and prejudice directed at Latino communities; or an education system that fails many young Latinos. Bi-national agendas could at least offer the possibility of trans-generational convergence around certain issues. Furthermore, if an HTA's activities in a distant or unfamiliar town may seem remote or irrelevant, the organization's integration work, or its campaigns around issues such as immigration reform, might seem more pertinent.

Bi-national agendas also offer Latino-Americans the chance to exercise their influence as US citizens and utilize their knowledge of the US political system. While this may of course be true of many first generation activists, next generation individuals may be an asset in organizations with large

numbers of undocumented immigrants or members who are not English proficient and have little

knowledge of, or ability to participate in, the US political process. As we have already seen, attention

has been drawn to the 'integrative functions' of HTAs – their welfare, legal advice, and education

programmes – and this suggests that associations could play an important role helping recent

immigrants adjust to life in destination countries.

7.4 Summary

As a study that analyses institutions and networks, this chapter considered the relevance, first, of

structural analysis for understanding the results from this research. Although, it appeared relevant for

individuals who were already connected to transnational groups, this theory was less convincing when

presented with alternative scenarios – those individuals who were not initially connected to

organizations through their social networks, or respondents who initiated their own transnational

opportunities. In many ways, structural analysis left a 'connectivity gap,' since in certain scenarios it was

unable to account for actual initiation into a transnational organization. Furthermore, it was argued that

structural analysis did not consider the qualitative nature of transnational organizations and the

institutional characteristics that can facilitate or constrain next generation inclusion. This same criticism

was also applied to 'institutional completeness.' Perceiving proximity to cross-border organizations to be

a key driver of next generation institutional transnationalism, this theory failed to consider the fact that

organizations or networks can exhibit a reluctance or inability to incorporate or reach out to new

members.

In an exploration of institutional characteristics, sampled organizations demonstrated both

inclusive and exclusive tendencies. For instance, some experienced significant resource constraints that

undermined the development of effective and targeted outreach strategies; whereas others, particularly

Salvadoran political networks, could instead benefit from the presence of members with significant

reserves of human capital and experience that they could apply to strategic outreach. Furthermore, while those dominated by first generation immigrants could demonstrate hierarchical tendencies that excluded younger community members and delegated only minor responsibilities to members of this demographic; others had created outreach programs that targeted the next generation and were willing to incorporate them into influential positions.

What does this suggest about the potential future trajectories of sampled transnational organizations? Given their distinct infrastructures, institutional cultures, and composition, the evidence would suggest that their trajectories are likely to vary, with some continuing to survive and evolve, and others dwindling and failing to regenerate themselves. Some demonstrated positive signs of potential regeneration: the presence of Latino-Americans; commitments to institutional reform; programs and strategies designed to appeal to the interests of Latino-Americans; and participation in US political arenas. Others, such as those that continue to operate with hierarchical structures, could potentially struggle to sustain their activities as the first generation ages. There was even evidence to suggest the potential for distinct patterns of next generation mobilization according to national-group: higher rates of mobilization in politicised Salvadoran networks containing relatively sophisticated infrastructures and above-average resource levels; less mobilization in HTA-dominated Mexican networks which may operate according to more informal infrastructures and more limited resource levels.

The varied characteristics could also have a bearing on the emergence of 'prominent' transnationalism, the conceptualization of a distinctly *institutionalized* form of next generation transnationalism outlined in Chapter 5, which is predicated on intense, frequent and essential contributions to a cross-border organization. The analysis suggests that certain conditions are more conducive to this form of connectivity than others: an open structure committed to the inclusion of new members or a well-developed infrastructure with the ability to include new members and delegate

responsibilities. It is therefore less likely to come about where hierarchical tendencies may undermine promotion or check an individual's ability to move up within an organization. If next generation transnationalism is to emerge in these situations, it is more likely to emerge in 'non-prominent' forms. This would suggest that prominent transnationalism, like next generation institutional transnationalism generally, is context-dependent.

Studies that predict transnational decline (for instance, Rumbault, 2002, and Jones-Correa, 2005) beyond the first generation miss a crucial point: rates of decline will not be even and are likely to vary according to organizational characteristics, cultures, and commitments to reform. Taken one step further, and considering the fact that some organizations are actively committed to Latino-American inclusion and have the resources and infrastructures to support this inclusion, the evidence suggests that decline may not be the only outcome as transnational organizations evolve over the coming years and decades. Survival is therefore a possibility, according to the evidence gathered for this study, suggesting convergence with the more optimistic positions of Kasinitz et al. (2002) who are not prepared to consider the demise of next generation institutional transnationalism just yet. To gain a more complete picture of next generation mobilization, however, we need to examine how the next generation responds to the overtures of cross-border networks. In the next chapter, the debate turns to individual agency, an analysis of the motivations and desires that drive transnationalism and encourage individuals born and/or raised in the United States to sustain institutional linkages with their countries of origin.

Chapter 8: 'Bringing agency in' – constructing a synthetic account of next generation institutional transnationalism

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the motivations and desires that drive next generation institutional transnationalism. Ascribing to the notion that individuals do not simply act in predetermined ways according to human attributes or structural conditions, the chapter is an attempt to 'bring agency in' and to construct a synthetic account of the factors that give rise to this phenomenon - one that builds on the strengths of structural theories presented in preceding chapters and adds to their intellectual weight by emphasizing the overlooked, yet crucial factor of individual volition. It therefore engages and critiques previous studies: those that emphasize the role of human attributes (Levitt, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Kasinitiz et al., 2002), processes of socialization (Levitt and Waters, 2002; Quirke et al., 2009; Wassendorf, 2010; and Soehl and Waldinger, 2012), and opportunity structures (Wellman, 1988; Levitt, 2002).

Leaning heavily on structural factors, the theories outlined in previous chapters help to frame the context in which next generation institutional inclusion/exclusion plays out. While useful, the chapter will argue that these theories can only provide a partial explanation of the factors driving institutional transnationalism. Considered alone, for instance, the emphasis on attributes as a possible explanation for next generation transnationalism (Levitt, 2002; Rumbaut, 2002; Kasinitiz et al., 2002) infers that individuals with a particular socio-economic profile may be predestined towards transnational endeavours, a position that does not adequately reflect individual volition and the freedom of choice. A similar argument could also be made against the 'transnational socialization' theory, for instance, put forward by Levitt and Waters (2002), which suggests that next generation

transnationalism emerges from situations in which individuals are subjected to, and absorb, home-country or transnational influences. While this subjugation may have been important, the theory infers that individuals absorb these influences without determining their own trajectories, a proposition that this study rejects.

By reflecting on, and considering human agency alongside structural factors, the chapter builds upon the important insights provided by structural theories and constructs a more synthetic and plausible view of the transnational reality confronting next generation individuals as they come of age in the United States. The chapter will argue that the narrow focus on attributes and socio-economic profiles can serve to obscure the motivations that drive next generation transnationalism, and theories such as institutional completeness and structural analysis can gain significant leverage through a greater appreciation and acknowledgment of individual volition. As a result this analysis shares the position adopted by Smith and Bakker (2008) and countless other studies of migration (for instance Conway, 2007; Marks and Rathbone, 1995; Findlay and Li, 1999) which argue that migration - or in the case of this study, transnational migration - lies at the conjuncture of structure and agency.

8.2 'Bringing agency in': The motivations driving next generation transnationalism

The following section explores individual agency through a detailed examination of qualitative evidence, outlining the explanations that respondents gave for undertaking political and philanthropic transnational acts, or not, in the case of individuals within the 'wider' sample. The testimonies reveal the motivations, desires, and reservations that propelled or constrained transnational action. Across the 'contributor' sample, these explanations were generally consistent and could be grouped according to three main motivations: a desire to 'give something back'; a stronger sense of obligation towards the country of origin; and a desire to 'reconnect' with a place that 'contributors' felt they had become too

detached from. All three appeared to be predicated on a strong emotional connectivity and sensibility that bound individuals to their country of origin.

'Giving something back'

Twelve respondents in the 'contributor' sample expressed an altruistic attitude towards their country of origin and explained that their activities were a means to help those less fortunate than themselves. These attitudes were not simply paternalistic, but revealed a sober appreciation of the gulf that separated the life-chances of 'contributors' with those of their counterparts in El Salvador or Mexico. Often respondents reflected on the education, knowledge, and skills they had acquired in the United States and viewed these as tools they could utilise to generate positive change:

> *Because ... I plan on a future in this country but I don't plan on spending the rest of my life here. Like I said when I go back home I feel that I'm really back home. Someday I would like to go back and make some kind of change and try to do something for El Salvador while I'm here. It's also the reason I'm studying education to get close and help out the poor (Imelda).*

Some were confronted by the stark contrast in conditions when they visited their countries of origin, and felt compelled to act when they reflected on their own fortunate situations in the United States:

> *I don't really know ... I guess for me it's already been ... I had a very ... I guess you could say that my trips to El Salvador were very ... I don't know how to explain this well ... I saw two worlds collide ... we were for the most part middle class and we were well-off here in the United States and when I went to go visit El Salvador I just saw a completely different world and I saw people on the streets asking for food and I saw how poor my grandmother was ... and I got to go to really rural areas and have life-changing experiences like meeting children who didn't know how*

old they were ... children that had never gone to school and I feel that has always been a big and

huge motivation for me to do something to change that reality (Ernie).

A sense of obligation

Beyond a desire to 'give something back,' a further eight individuals expressed a stronger sense of

obligation when asked to explain their transnational philanthropic and political activities. As individuals

with access to education and career options - coupled with the awareness that such opportunities did

not exist for most Mexicans and Salvadorans – some respondents felt compelled to exploit their human

capital and contribute to transnational political and philanthropic causes, assisting communities and

countries that had helped to shape and enrich their lives and personal development:

You know I always thought that I was very lucky to be born here and people had to sacrifice

coming here and seeking a better life for themselves so I feel that it's my duty to help my people

in El Salvador with whatever I can (Nancy).

In a minority of cases this sense of obligation emerged from the recognition that as citizens and

residents of the United States they held a unique and powerful position to influence events and

developments in Mexico and El Salvador. For example, given the prominence of the United States and

the advanced forms of media that operate there, causes could gain more coverage and leverage in a US

setting compared to similar activities in El Salvador and Mexico. More crucially, however, individuals

observed the close inter-connections between the US and their country of origin, understood the history

of US intervention, saw the impacts of regional economic policies emanating from Washington DC, and

recognised that they had both the access and the power to influence US policies towards Mexico and El

Salvador:

I would not be doing the work I'm doing if I didn't believe that and I think it's a very crucial role

because – not only do we have ties to countries that are being exploited and to movements that

are being oppressed – but we are part and have full citizenship of a country [the United States]

that makes the decisions that exploits our countries and that have historically constructed the

dynamics, the unequal dynamics between the United States and other countries. So we not only

have a crucial role but a responsibility to hold accountable our representatives and our

government officials for their actions [in El Salvador] (Rosa).

Similarly, Esther was attracted to the Latino-American organization SANA because the organization

made an explicit connection between US intervention, free trade economic policies, and migration from

El Salvador. She also gave a sense of the power she feels that Salvadoran-Americans embody:

I think they [Salvadoran-Americans] can play an instrumental role because ... a lot of us are

being educated here and becoming professionals ... and we are also voters, you know. We're US

voters and I think that a lot of us ... and this is what we're trying to explain to people ... there is a

lot of power in that ... and we can have a voice. Even though there are Salvadorans who were

not born here who are US citizens ... I believe that the US-born Salvadorans have some more

advantages ... and I think we have to use that privilege for our community here in the United

States and El Salvador (Esther).

A sense of obligation was particularly strong for respondents who identified primarily in indigenous

terms. Individuals born in Mixtec or Zapotec towns in Oaxaca were duty bound to commit money or

time to community development by indigenous *usos y costumbres* - despite the fact they were resident

in the United States and had lived north of the border most of their lives. Refusal to do so would see

them ex-communicated from the village. These individuals were active in HTA networks in California, as

well as the FIOB, and played prominent roles in the development of their communities of origin.

Contributions could also involve significant personal sacrifice: one individual had to leave his job and family in the United States for one year in order to perform duties in his village and help coordinate patron saint festivities.

The sense of obligation and the need to 'give something back' to countries and communities of origin demonstrates that altruism is capable of producing institutional transnationalism in the next generation – as it has been found to do for the immigrant generation (for instance see Guarnizo, 2003). This is significant and demonstrates that, at least for a minority of next generation individuals, emotional bonds to El Salvador or Mexico can be strong and sustained over time. While these bonds may be stronger for the first generation, it is also true that relations with the country of origin can be extremely important for individuals born and/or raised in the United States – important enough for these individuals to devote time, effort, and financial resources to transnational causes.

A desire to re-connect

As we have previously seen, Smith (2002) has argued that rather than undermine transnational attachments, assimilation pressures can generate transnationalism as the second generation seeks ways to define their distinctiveness in a host-country context. The evidence gathered here suggests that institutional transnational activity is not only driven by a need to distinguish oneself - assimilation can also generate a sense of disconnection with the country of origin. This experience of detachment prompted twelve individuals to become members of transnational organizations which they viewed as a means through which they could more closely re-engage with 'home.' Transnational networks provide an opportunity to work alongside co-nationals; to campaign on issues that directly affect countries, regions, or places of origin; to engage with home country culture and history; or contribute to community development. On a number of occasions transnational organizations provided a pretext to

return. The following quotation is taken from a US-raised Mexican who worked as an instructor at a summer camp organised by a Napa-based HTA from Zacatecas:

> *There was a need to re-connect. There was a part of me I felt ... I thought that I was losing touch with this other part of me that was there. I love to teach which is why I'm working towards being a teacher and I felt that I was involved here ... in tutoring programmes, doing community service, and other things, and I felt that I was helping here a lot but I was kind of neglecting my other heritage and so there was always a part of me that wanted to go down there and do something and help my community where I grew up. And so when the opportunity came up I thought 'this is great. I can go and do something that I love which is teach and it would be a great way for me to reconnect with everyone' ... So I felt that I needed to go back and give something back and at the same time re-connect with this other side that I hadn't been keeping up with (Eimi).*

For an individual who identifies primarily as an indigenous Mixteco, involvement in the FIOB was a way for Leoncio to reclaim indigenous values and differentiate himself from the negative values that he felt pervaded mainstream US society. The following quotation provides an interesting take on the 'reactive transnationalism' hypothesis (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Reynolds, 2008; Quirke et al., 2009; Levitt, 2002), suggesting that this may emerge, not only as a result of discrimination, but also as a result of negative perceptions towards the receiving society and its values:

> *I was getting away from the traditions that we had as indigenous people ... at that time I was thinking about individualism ... thinking about myself and not as indigenous people ... when we do things we'll do it collectively ... and I was getting away from that. So when I joined this organization I went back to my identity, I made myself stronger and looking back at what happened back then and now ... I don't regret anything in fact I feel very positive about being in this organization.*

A sense of disconnect was particularly strong for some Salvadoran respondents. While every Salvadoran respondent was exposed to the country's culture, some indicated that they had grown up with many unanswered questions and only a cursory knowledge of Salvadoran history. In some cases, their own family histories were not fully known. It is possible this was due to parental absence – parents were often forced to work long hours or multiple jobs – but there is anecdotal evidence to suggest this was also a deliberate strategy. Having fled the suffering and trauma of war, parents did not want their children to engage in anything connected to El Salvador beyond a rudimentary interest in Salvadoran culture. Six transnational organizations leaders suggested this upbringing strategy had frustrated their attempts to reach out to US born and/or raised Salvadorans. One informative interview with a social worker – the parent of a prominent transnational actor – discussed at length how strongly the conflict still resonated with Salvadorans in Washington DC. During the interview, held with her daughter, we spoke at length about the divide between young Salvadorans in the United States and their counterparts in El Salvador, and why this situation persisted:

> *From the adult perspective I do think it's complicated. I mean I do think Justine is right that*
>
> *parents do want to protect their kids at the expense of losing their culture which is very sad. We*
>
> *had the privilege – maybe it's the privilege – and we understood that information wasn't going*
>
> *to hurt our kids ... but I think there is a lot of post-traumatic stress still going on as a result of the*
>
> *war and I believe that a lot of the social service agencies that serve Salvadoran populations are*
>
> *to this day living with the impact of the war ... it's not over ... and so I think that's a lot of what*
>
> *parents think (Beth).*

With only a limited insight into household dynamics, it is difficult to accurately measure to what extent this parental strategy affected respondents in the 'contributor' sample. However, nine respondents indicated that their parents had been reluctant to discuss Salvadoran politics, and in some cases, had

deliberately tried to steer them away from transnational political activities. One respondent had been unaware until very recently that her father had been a leading FMLN commander during the country's Civil War; an FMLN member was repeatedly warned by her parents about the dangers of Salvadoran political involvement; and others suggested they had grown up with many unanswered questions. Janette participated in the study shortly after travelling to El Salvador for the first time, and spoke about the difficulties her parents had discussing the past:

> My parents are very … I wouldn't say conservative but they don't tend to talk about their experiences in El Salvador a lot … not because they're not necessarily proud of being Salvadoran or they don't want me to be proud … but it's just you know … trauma and what was going on in El Salvador at the time … it's just that silence that my parent's generation kind of has … you know they just don't talk about certain stuff.

Confronted with the realities of conflict in El Salvador - and the damaging consequences that still persist - delegates on USEU and CISPES delegations often experience shock, disbelief and then confusion: why hadn't they known the history of El Salvador? Why hadn't they taken an interest before? Why hadn't their parents told them about the conflict and their experiences? Ernie led a USEU delegation to El Salvador and describes the astonishment some delegates expressed when exposed to the realities of life in El Salvador and the consequences of the country's protracted civil war:

> … and so every single day there was something new, there was something you know … we would end up getting home at eleven at night and almost every single student was in their room talking until two, three in the morning and learning about what they had just experienced. And the same thing kept coming out … that the delegation was something that was life-changing … you know they had no idea that all this stuff was going on in El Salvador. And that they were grateful for being exposed to this (Ernie).

It could be argued, then, that self-interest played a role in the transnational trajectories of some respondents in the 'contributor' sample, providing these individuals with the means to re-engage and re-connect with their country or community of origin. However, the gathered evidence suggests a different dynamic to that noted in studies of the first generation, which suggest a form of self-interest predicated on a desire to maintain status in the communities that immigrants have left behind (Guranizo, 2003; Burrell, 2005). This was not the aim of 'contributors' in this study who did not have a community status that needed to be maintained - these were individuals born and/or raised within the United States who, therefore, would not have been considered members of the community in the same way their parents were. The only exceptions to this were the 1.5 generation indigenous respondents who were required to perform community obligations. The self-interest of next generation 'contributors' took an alternative form, derived as it was from a need to overcome the sense of disconnection that some felt towards the country of origin.

Additionally, this distinct form of next generation self-interest may have prompted 'contributors' to use transnational connections and institutions as a form of 'social capital' they could utilize to more effectively engage with 'home.' A similar pattern was previously observed in a study of second generation return among members of the next generation British Caribbean community (Reynolds, 2008). In this case, 'returnees' used family ties and transnational networks as a form of social capital, exploiting these networks as a means of facilitating a new life in the Caribbean. Although 'return' was not the focus of this study, transnational networks were utilised by respondents in the 'contributor' sample as a means of establishing and sustaining relations with Mexico or El Salvador. Conceived this way, transnational cross-border organizations in this study can be understood as a form of social capital that respondents pursued, allowing 'contributors' to fulfil a need or desire to re-connect, construct a meaningful relationship with their countries and communities of origin, and provide an 'opening' through which this relationship could evolve and deepen.

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A desire to reconnect was not communicated to the same extent by individuals in the wider

sample, where assimilation appeared to have generated distinct outcomes. Although a distancing effect

was still apparent, this had not prompted re-engagement or a desire to re-connect with the country of

origin. Instead, the absence of this need could have allowed a sense of disconnect to persist, thereby

undermining a propensity to engage in transnational activities. Although the actual numbers may have

been more significant, a small minority clearly indicated that assimilation had made them more

interested in the issues and problems affecting Mexicans and Salvadoran in the United States:

> *This is where I live, this is where I'm from, and ultimately I am tied to it. This is my home and I*
>
> *just think about this country more, and I am starting to think about this community more. When*
>
> *I was younger there was a lack of awareness. But moving forward, I find that I am thinking about*
>
> *becoming more involved in organizations working here. I'm making links with that and working*
>
> *with an organization that provides legal assistance to Mexican immigrants who are mostly day-*
>
> *labourers ... because my parents were also those people (Lupe)*

Furthermore, in contrast to 'contributors,' many respondents in the wider sample were simply not

driven to participate in political or philanthropic activities – either in Mexico/El Salvador or the United

States. The impulse to 'give something back,' to reconnect, or contribute their time, talents, or

experience to a worthy cause simply did not exist as it did among respondents in the controlled sample.

Unlike 'contributors,' respondents in the wider sample were significantly less likely to perceive

themselves as agents of change, capable of making a difference in their countries of origin. Eleven

respondents indicated a sense of disconnect or a lack of interest in helping transnational organizations

working in Mexico or El Salvador. Some claimed that contributing to a charity or political organization

was not something that was natural for them; others argued that such activity had never occurred to

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them. The following response, provided by Deiby, gives an indication of this disinterest towards

transnational causes:

> *I went over there and saw it but it was done and when I was done with that I came over here … it*
>
> *was only a thing that I saw … it wasn't daily life … it was not something that I was living … it was*
>
> *just something that I saw and I realized 'I'm lucky I'm not here.' And the minute I left … I*
>
> *wouldn't say I forgot about it but it wasn't something that was bothering me. It wasn't*
>
> *something that I was like 'Wow, I really have to do something.'*

8.3 Constructing a synthetic account of institutional transnationalism

The analysis presented above demonstrates that individual volition had a part to play in the

transnational trajectories of 'contributors' and should therefore be considered alongside the structural

theories presented in earlier chapters, a position consistent with Smith and Bakker (2008) and others

who have argued that institutional transnationalism lies at the conjuncture of structure and agency.

Obviously, as structural theories, 'institutional completeness,' 'structural analysis,' and transnational

socialization, all emphasize structural factors. Structural conditions are clearly very important – without

reflecting on structure we may neglect how context shapes, limits, or facilitates human behaviour – and

as we have seen these theories provide some explanatory potential for understanding next generation

institutional transnationalism. However, my analysis demonstrates that while certain structural

conditions may be necessary, a healthy dose of individual volition and agency is also required to produce

institutional transnational outcomes.

A proper consideration of agency would help to counter a tendency within the literature to lean

a little too heavily on structural factors, which currently limits its potential for social science explanation.

In terms of the structural theories presented in this study, individual volition not only helps to explain

instances when empirical findings do not support these theories, for instance the 'contributors' whose

transnational behaviours could not be explained by household socialization or social location; it also

strengthened the explanatory potential of structural theories generally, even in instances where

theoretical predictions appear to be valid. In the case of institutional socialization, for instance, it is

unlikely that next generation individuals passively absorb information without also determining their

own trajectories, and while social location may facilitate transnational action, this action is also driven

by personal motives. For some 'contributors' brought up by institutional transnational actors, parental

expectations may have been high, but the qualitative evidence presented in the preceding section

suggested that the vast majority of 'contributors' also chose to act transnationally, motivated by a need

to foment change in their countries and communities of origin. In other cases, parents may have

provided access to transnational networks, but individuals also responded to these opportunities with

their own drive and enthusiasm. Conversely, as we have seen in the case of some organizations,

individuals can also choose not to participate in transnational networks. At least nine first generation

transnational leaders complained that their children or the children of other organization members

demonstrated little or no interest in their transnational activities, despite being brought up in

households that participated in *institutionalized* forms of transnationalism.

A synthetic approach, a blend of agency – the motivations and desires that compel individuals to

act across borders – and a constellation of structural factors, including human variables, socio-economic

status, and social location is therefore crucial to ensure a full explanation of next generation institutional

transnationalism. This approach is also sensitive to the range of contexts in which next generation

institutional transnationalism emerges. While some structural conditions were quite consistent, such as

experience in higher education, others were not. For example, proximity to transnational networks and

socialization appeared to be important for some 'contributors.' Yet, for others, this appeared not to be

the case. A good illustration of this is provided by comparing two 'prominent' transnational actors

involved in CISPES, Rosa and Nestor, who are both senior members of the organization and organized

the 'Radical Roots' delegation that took a group of Salvadoran-Americans to El Salvador in 2010. Rosa's upbringing by an FMLN Coordinator who played a key role in resisting US intervention in El Salvador during the 1980s, when her house became a focal point of the politicised expatriate community, suggests the importance of social location, proximity to transnational networks, and institutional transnational socialization in her trajectory as a transnational actor. Nestor, on the other hand, who at the time of our interview was CISPES Coordinator in the San Francisco Bay Area, had a completely different upbringing. His parents were not involved in the struggle against El Salvador's military government during the Civil War and he did not know anyone growing up who was involved in a transnational organization. On the contrary, his parents appeared to be largely apolitical and he reported that during the 1980s, at the height of the violence in El Salvador, his father had been more interested in gang activity in the Mission District. Political influences and institutional forms of transnational socialization were therefore not present during his formative years. His institutional transnationalism was instead initiated by curiosity and a desire to 're-connect' with El Salvador, which involvement in CISPES facilitated.

A synthetic approach also helps to further our understanding of the circumstances and factors that give rise to distinct variations of next generation institutional transnationalism. An argument made in the previous chapter suggested that 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnational connectivity was context-dependent, emerging in distinct institutional environments. In the case of 'prominent' actors, for instance, their contributions tended to emerge in organizations which operated according to an open infrastructure in which the next generation could contribute directly to decision-making and organizational development. However, what of distinct patterns of connectivity which emerge within the same, or similar, organizations? Take CISPES, for example, which operates according to egalitarian principles and has successfully created a space for Salvadoran-American members, within which they have been able to make significant contributions. Some individuals, like Rosa and Nestor, have grasped

this opportunity to assume significant responsibilities; whereas others have instead remained on the periphery of the organization. Of course, other structural constraints in the personal lives of the latter, or prevailing structures within CISPES that favour certain individuals with a particular skill set may explain these distinct patters. However, it might also be the case that these distinctions reflect the stronger and more intense motivations and ambitions of 'prominent contributors,' who have responded to opportunities with greater drive and enthusiasm.

Finally, the distinctions in transnational outcomes and the divergent factors present in the transnational trajectories of 'contributors,' suggest the need for an 'actor-centred' understanding of next generation institutional transnationalism. This approach, while acknowledging the presence of prevailing structural similarities, is also appreciative of the distinct subjective contexts in which institutional transnationalism emerges, and the capacity for individuals to create their own transnational opportunities and trajectories.

8.4 Summary

Having argued that structural theories have to acknowledge individual agency to gain a more realistic interpretation of the factors driving next generation transnational activity, this chapter explored the desires and motivations that compelled respondents to reject or pursue transnational opportunities. Across the 'contributor' sample there was remarkable consistency demonstrated by respondents when they described their motivations for contributing to a specific transnational organizations. These motivations could be grouped into three categories: a desire to 'give something back,' a strong sense of obligation to the country of origin, and a need to reconnect. This last point was particularly interesting because it demonstrated how assimilation within the country of settlement could generate feelings of detachment towards the country of origin, which prompted some 'contributors' to seek ways of re-connecting. This is slightly different to previous studies which have explored the relationship between

assimilation and transnationalism, particularly Smith (2002), who argues that assimilation causes individuals to want to distinguish themselves from other groups and therefore adopt a strong identification with the ancestral country.

An interesting dynamic was observed in the Salvadoran community. Given that many Salvadorans residing in the United States fled a protracted civil war, and are still dealing with the trauma associated with the conflict, some parents appeared to have discouraged their children from engaging in anything Salvadoran – beyond a rudimentary understanding of basic Salvadoran culture. This was a deliberate protective strategy that parents deployed to keep their children safe, which was communicated anecdotally by a social worker and a prominent next generation transnational actor who led a delegation of Salvadoran-American students to El Salvador. A minority of 'contributors' also indicated that their own parents had deliberately tried to steer them away from any direct engagement with El Salvador or had not discussed anything related to their lives there –this had only made their children more curious and caused them to actively pursue ways in which they could fill this gap and re-engage.

With a more complete explanation of the forces driving next generation institutional transnationalism, testimonies provided by respondents in the 'wider' sample provided an opportunity to investigate the agency of individuals who chose not to become involved in transnational organizations operating in Mexico or El Salvador. Beyond ignorance and the fact that a significant minority of individuals were unaware that political or philanthropic cross-border organizations operated within their communities, individuals in the 'wider' sample were more likely to admit that they were not interested in issues within their country of origin or were more interested in issues that affected Mexican or Salvadoran communities in the United States.

Considering the role of agency and individual volition, alongside the structural theories discussed in preceding chapters, revealed the need to adopt a synthetic approach to understanding next generation institutional transnationalism. Incorporating human agency and the freedom to act provided a means to look beyond the narrow confines of structural theories, yet build upon their useful insights to construct a more comprehensive understanding of next generation institutional transnationalism. Considered separately, no one theory or factor is able to adequately account for the phenomenon, although they can undoubtedly advance our understanding of the processes and factors at play. Personal attributes and socialization within transnational households may be important, for instance, but they could not provide a complete picture; theories that leaned heavily on social location were inconsistent when applied to the entire empirical record; and while socialization in the households of first generation transnational actors was apparent in the backgrounds of many 'prominent' contributors, it was not a necessary condition. Put simply, the divergent transnational trajectories evidenced by respondents in the 'contributor' sample are not sufficiently explained by narrow interpretations that fail to see the multiple factors, contexts, and conditions that combine to produce next generation institutional transnationalism.

Chapter 9: Informal connectivity and its relationship with institutional transnationalism

9.1 Introduction

In an effort to explore transnational connectivity beyond institutional activities, this chapter examines actions conforming to wider, more expansive definitions of transnationalism that have previously featured in studies of the next generation such as emotional transnationalism and non-institutional cross-border activities. It therefore contributes to the growing body of work that is willing to carve out a transnational space for the next generation, and investigates what forms of connectivity emerge beyond the more formal structures of cross-border organizations. Proceeding sections investigate transnational physical actions – home-country visits, for instance, and remittance behaviours – and latter sections explore emotional forms of transnationalism. Qualitative analysis of respondent testimonies is used to gage the strength of orientations towards Mexico or El Salvador: their identification and sense of belonging; their perceptions and experiences in the country of origin; and the strength of their connections to relatives still residing in Mexico or El Salvador.

Throughout, the experiences of 'contributors' will be contrasted with those of their counterparts in the 'wider' sample. The reason for this is two-fold: to highlight distinctions – form, frequency, and durability - in transnational orientations, and to subsequently consider how these distinctions might relate to *institutional* forms of transnational activities. Does the accumulated evidence suggest a relationship between particular transnational orientations and formal contributions to a cross-border organization? Do 'contributors' demonstrate stronger emotional and non-institutional attachments to Mexico or El Salvador, and what role have these attachments played in the emergence of their institutional transnational commitments? Finally, do respondents in the 'wider' sample generally

demonstrate fewer and less intense orientations towards their countries of origin, and can this explain in any way their non-institutional commitments?

9.2 Non-institutional transnational activities

While there was little evidence of formal or institutionalized transnational activities within the wider sample, it would be inaccurate to describe these individuals as being detached or disconnected from the country of origin. The lack of formal activities did not necessarily mean that they disengaged entirely, and a continued orientation towards El Salvador or Mexico – albeit an orientation that assumed informal ties and connectivity – often conformed to wider definitions of transnationalism that have previously been applied to the next generation (Rumbault, 2002; Kasinitz, 2002; Wolf, 2002; Levitt, 2002). While few individuals sent remittances, contributed to political campaigns, or donated time or money to charities working in El Salvador or Mexico, significant majorities reported visiting their countries of origin, maintaining relations with relatives, and consuming Mexican and Salvadoran media (See Table 9.1).

It could therefore be argued that some individuals within the wider sample were 'transnational' in the sense that they maintained forms of engagement with the country of origin, albeit in a non-institutionalized form. For academics like Levitt, this transnational context is significant and should not be dismissed. For those individuals the country of origin – in this case Mexico or El Salvador – continues to hold relevance and provides a frame of reference for next generation individuals as they come of age in the United States. Enough, at least, to travel there, maintain contact with relatives, and remain informed about home-country developments, as evidenced by their relatively high media consumption (see Table 9.1). Whatever the qualitative nature of these attachments, the evidence does not suggest widespread detachment or a sense of dis-connect. It is tempting to also think of these maintained connections in an institutionalized context, as they could lead to periodic institutional activities –

donations or voluntary support – in response to events at a particular conjuncture in time, a possibility

previously considered by Kasinitiz (2002) and Guarnizo (2003).

Table 9.1: Non-institutional transnational activities among respondents in the 'wider' sample

	Yes	No	Frequency of activity (see notes to table)						
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Travel	24	2*	-	-	-	1	4	15	4
Remittances	5	21	-	-	1	1		2	1
Voted	0	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Politics	1	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Charity	3	23	-	-	-	1	1	-	1
Relatives	22	4	2	5	6	5	4	-	-
Media	20	6	7	5	4	2	1	-	1

Nb. (A) Daily (B) Weekly/Every few weeks (C) Monthly (D) Every 2-6 months (E) Every year (F) Less frequently than every year (G) Once/Twice in lifetime
*Relates to 1.5 generation individuals who cannot leave the United States because of visa restrictions

However, when we compare the non-institutional activities of respondents in the 'wider' sample

with their 'contributor' counterparts there is a noticeable distinction in the strength and frequency of

these commitments (See Table 9.2). 'Contributors' more regularly consumed Mexican and Salvadoran

media, and spoke to Mexican and Salvadoran relatives on a more frequent basis. Alongside their

contributions to their respective transnational organizations, a majority donated time or money to other

Mexican/Salvadoran charities, one half of all respondents had sent remittances, and a significant

minority contributed to transnational political campaigns.

Table 9.2: Non-institutional transnational activities among 'contributors'

	Yes	No	Frequency of activity (see notes to table)						
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Remittances	13	13	-	1	4	1	1	5	1
Voted	3	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Politics	7	19	-	1	2	-	1	2	1
Charity	17	9	-	-	1	4	3	8	1
Relatives	24	2	2	8	4	7	1	1	1
Media	26	0	13	7	1	1	2	1	1

Nb. (A) Daily (B) Weekly/Every few weeks (C) Monthly (D) Every 2-6 months (E) Every year (F) Less frequently than every year (G) Did not report.

Travel to the country of origin was also more frequent: every 'contributor' had visited El Salvador or Mexico at least once and a significant minority had visited on a regular basis - at least once every two years (see Table 9.3). A slight majority of sixteen respondents in the 'contributor' sample had also spent extended periods of time in their countries of origin: some were born in Mexico or El Salvador and came to the United States at a young age, and others were born in the United States but returned temporarily for several months or years. In comparison, only six individuals in the 'wider' sample had spent an extended period of time in either Mexico or El Salvador, and as we have seen, their travel to the country or origin was less frequent (See Table 9.1). This finding suggests that next generation institutional transnationalism is encouraged by a context of intensive exposure to the country of origin, providing a familiarity with the language and culture, strengthening familial ties, or revealing societal problems that could have a galvanizing effect and help mobilize individuals to a transnational cause. The analysis therefore shares insights with Soehl and Waldinger (2012) who argue that childhood extended home visits are a strong predictor of next generation transnationalism as they strengthen emotional attachments to the country of origin, increase the frequency of home-country visits in adulthood, and raise the possibility of involvement in homeland-oriented organizations.

Table 9.3: Frequency of home-country travel among 'contributors'

Frequency of travel	Number
More than once per year	4
Once per year	5
Once every two years	4
Less frequent than every two years	11
Once or Twice	2
N	26

The analysis also looked in more detail at home-country media consumption, specifically the frequency

of this consumption. The findings revealed that a majority of respondents in the 'contributor' sample

claimed to follow events in their countries of origin on a frequent or regular basis (See Table 9.4). It is

unclear whether this is a consequence of transnational activity, or whether this factor contributed to

their development as transnational actors, although the latter is certainly possible given that this

consumption could have provided a pretext for institutional transnational activities, exposing individuals

to various societal issues or problems.

Table 9.4: How often respondents follow home-country current affairs

Frequency	Number of 'Contributors'	Number of 'wider' sample
Frequent	11	2
Often	5	5
Regularly	4	4
Sometimes	5	10
Rarely	1	5
Never	-	-
N	26	26

This relationship between media consumption and institutionalized forms of transnationalism is further

supported by rates of media consumption within the wider sample, which revealed that only a minority

of respondents watched or read Mexican or Salvadoran media on a frequent or semi-frequent basis (see table 9.4). The lack of institutional transnational activity within this sample could therefore be partly explained by these lower rates of consumption, which could have meant less exposure to causes, grievances, or needs in the home-country.

Clearly, then, there does appear to be a relationship between institutionalized transnationalism and the frequency of non-institutional behaviours. In the case of 'contributors' it is unclear whether these strong patterns of orientation pre-date or post-date initiation into a transnational organization. However, it is possible to see how transnational orientations and formal institutional activities could mutually reinforce one another. The high consumption of media and frequent travel to the country of origin, for instance, provide exposure to transnational causes and issues, and in the case of travel, the opportunity to make contacts and network in a transnational setting. In a very general sense, a strong orientation towards the country of origin could galvanize individuals to seek ways of engaging more closely with the home-country through established networks or organizations. Having discussed physical forms of home-country connectivity, it is also important to explore the emotions that drive these behaviours and next generation transnationalism. This topic will be taken up in the following section.

9.3 Emotional connectivity

As discussed in Chapter 2 next generation transnationalism is often conceived at the level of emotions, a sentimental attachment to the country of origin or an imagined transnational space. In order to engage with this conceptualization and investigate to what extent emotional transnationalism can be applied to respondents in both next generation samples, and therefore help to explain the emergence of institutionalized transnationalism, the analysis explores the following: identification choices; the importance attached to Mexican and Salvadoran ancestries; perceptions and experiences of both countries; and the strength of family relations with relatives in Mexico and El Salvador.

Identification

This section investigates the strength of respondents' Salvadoran and Mexican identities, a discussion that is supplemented by a related exploration of US identities (American, hyphenated and pan-ethnic) and assimilation trends in Chapter 10. Analysis indicated that a significant majority of 'contributors' chose to identify as Mexicans or Salvadorans, regardless of birthplace, and a slightly smaller majority referred to themselves as hyphenated Americans, either Mexican-American or Salvadoran-American (see Table 9.8). This suggests a sense of belonging towards the country of origin among a majority of institutional transnational actors, indicating that institutionalised forms of transnational activity may be predicated on a perception of long-distance membership within the country of origin. It is easy to see how this sense of belonging would galvanize individuals to participate in a transnational organization, using formal networks as a means of contributing positively to a society they feel an integral part of. Also significant is the widespread rejection of American identification, which could imply an oppositional element to institutionalised transnational activity, a 'reactive transnationalism' (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002) derived from negative experiences in the United States. As we have previously seen, the connection between transnationalism and negative perceptions of the country of residence has been explored elsewhere, with some arguing that social immobility and discrimination can cause the next generation to reject full integration and cling to ancestral cultures and identities (Reynolds, 2008; Quirke et al., 2009; Bolognani, 2013; Levitt, 2002). The rejection of 'American' identification could therefore suggest a similar dynamic among individuals within the 'contributor' sample, a 'reactive' or 'compensatory' aspect to institutionalized transnationalism. This finding will be explored in much closer detail, from an assimilation perspective, in the next chapter.

As shown in Table 9.8, a significant majority of the wider sample of respondents also claimed Mexican, Salvadoran, or hyphenated Mexican-American and Salvadoran-American identities. However,

an important finding is that, in marked contrast to transnational actors, a more significant number used

American identification. Thus, approximately two-thirds of the institutional 'contributors' said they

never identified as American, while two-thirds of the wider sample said that they did. This could support

the suggestion that institutionalized transnational activities among some respondents in the

'contributor' sample may have emerged from negative experiences in the United States, a 'reactive'

form of transnationalism.

Table 9.5: Self-identification among respondents in the 'contributor' and 'wider' sample

	Contributors		Wider sample	
Identification	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
American	8	18	18	8
Mexican/Salvadoran	22	4	23	3
Latino	21	5	21	5
Hispanic	9	17	18	8
Hyphenated	17	9	20	6
Chicano (Mexicans only)	-	6	8	2
Other	2	-	2	-

Qualitative analysis of respondent testimonies provides an opportunity to explore these patterns in

more detail, allowing a more nuanced understanding of these trends. The majority of 'contributors' who

used the national identities of their countries of origin, offered various reasons for doing so. Those born

in Mexico or El Salvador emphasised their birthplace in both countries, for instance, but those born in

the United States also stressed the importance they placed on parental connections to both countries.

They often referred to the culture their parents raised them in, which they suggested had helped to

shape and strengthen their identification:

> *I identify as being Salvadoran because both my parents are Salvadoran and I've been raised*
>
> *within that culture. My community has been Salvadoran but I think that another aspect of it is*

that I recognise that if circumstances had been different and if my parents hadn't seen

themselves as forced to leave El Salvador I would have been born in El Salvador (Rosa).

The strong identification with Mexico or El Salvador was not only predicated on a parental connection to their countries of origin but also a historical lineage that extended beyond their immediate families. This perception conveyed a deep sense of 'rootedness' and an emotional bond which drew on an ancestral and primordial understanding of belonging (Isaacs, 1975; Geertz, 1963):

Because my blood is 100 per cent Salvadoran. There's not one drop of Anglo-Saxon … that I know

of … there's some Japanese on my mom's side and on my Dad's side there's some Spanish from

his father and you can tell that more clearly on my Dad's side of the family. But as far as … it's

kind of weird but as far as I know everyone goes back to … I'm a Mayan and I'm proud of that …

and so I do feel Salvadoran (Rosemarie).

A majority of nineteen respondents reported occasions when their Mexican or Salvadoran identities were contested by natives: they spoke like 'Americans,' dressed like 'Americans,' held 'American' values or professed 'American' views. In short, they lacked authenticity and were not considered Mexican or Salvadoran enough. This was painful for some individuals who identified primarily as Mexican or Salvadoran in the United States. While most conceded that natives had a point - they acknowledged they were different and accepted their distinct experiences and socialization in the United States – some rejected such assertions and articulated a strong defence of their Mexican or Salvadoran identities:

So I've had a few people who would just mess with me like 'Que pasa, Gringo?' They'll say that to

me and I'm like 'Nah, nah, nah man. I was born here. I was born in El Salvador' and I still hang

out with people from El Salvador. I have a lot of American friends … in the neighbourhood I grew

up in and the school I went to … but I don't think I've ever forgotten where I came from. You

know I was very young when I came here and a lot had to do with my parents too who kept us

grounded in that environment around us (Mauricio).

When one considers primary identification patterns of self-identification become more complex and multifaceted. Despite the widespread positive identification with El Salvador and Mexico, only nine individuals chose Mexican or Salvadoran as their primary or preferred identity. This compared to eleven individuals who chose hyphenated or pan-ethnic identities, three who preferred indigenous identities, and five who did not commit to one single identity. Emphasising the fluid nature of identification, this final group indicated that their identities were context-dependent. In one situation they could be Salvadoran or Mexican; in another they felt it appropriate to express themselves as Latinos or hyphenated Americans.

It is also worth noting the small minority who did not perceive themselves as Salvadorans or Mexicans (See Table 9.8). One second generation individual felt she did not qualify as Salvadoran because she had not acquired the same level of cultural knowledge or Spanish proficiency as a native-born Salvadoran. This demonstrates that institutional transnational activities are not always undertaken by individuals who express themselves primarily - or even at all – as Mexicans or Salvadorans, and that orientations towards the host-country, in this case the embrace of hyphenated or pan-ethnic identification, do not necessarily have to undermine formal Latino-American transnationalism. Finally, the testimonies of those who asserted sub-regional or indigenous primary identifications are also instructive. They demonstrate that transnational ties can be sustained by oppositional and antagonistic identities oriented towards the country of origin: challenging discrimination and on-going oppression in Oaxaca had encouraged these respondents to retain strong *Mixtec* and *Zapotec* identification.

Respondents in the wider sample often adopted the same identities for similar reasons: individuals born in Mexico or El Salvador stressed the importance of their birth or upbringing in the

country of origin; others emphasized parental connections to both countries; and a minority expressed

an ancestral connection to El Salvador or Mexico which drew on historical associations and the idea of

an unbroken and continuous blood connection. Patterns of primary identification were also similar:

equivalent numbers in both samples opted for national, pan-ethnic, or hyphenated identities. However,

there was one notable distinction. Although, like their 'contributor' counterparts, most individuals

reported incidences when their Mexican or Salvadoran identities were contested, there was no evidence

to suggest respondents had challenged these assertions, as some 'contributors' had. This could suggest

more ambivalence towards identification choices within the 'wider' sample, and as a consequence,

perhaps a more distant, less emotional relationship with the home country. This sense of ambivalence is

clear in the following quote, which demonstrates how external influences – in this case native

Salvadorans contesting the Salvadoran identity of a second generation individual - can prompt the

development of 'ascribed' identities (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998) or cause self-identities to shift.

> *I mean I don't really mind because at the end of the day I'm American. I wasn't born there*
>
> *regardless of what I want to believe and act and feel. I wasn't born in that country and I can see*
>
> *myself as Salvadoran ... but I'm Salvadoran-American. I was born here. I'm also half-white so it's*
>
> *like I'm not even a full Salvadoran born here ... so it's fine you know when Salvadorans come*
>
> *here they can't say just because you have citizenship that 'I'm American.' At the end of the day*
>
> *your country of birth is Salvadoran so I'm primarily American just because of place of birth*
>
> *(Liana)*

Importance attached to ancestries

In order to further explore transnational orientations and their influence on institutional activities,

respondents were encouraged to elaborate on the importance they attached to their ancestries in

Mexico or El Salvador. Every respondent in the 'contributor' sample attached importance to their

ancestries in Mexico or El Salvador, and their answers revealed two broad trends. The first acknowledged family struggle and sacrifice, describing the ordeals that their parents overcame to leave their homes, reach the United States, and assimilate to life in a new country. Close to one-third of respondents used this argument, including Eimi, a second generation Mexican-American who participated in a HTA summer camp held in Zacatecas:

> It's very important; very much. I'd like to think that we need to learn about our past to figure out our future. I mean we need to know where we come from in order to know where we're going … and to look at your family's background and ancestry I think is the best way to know where you're supposed to be going in life. All of us are saying 'Why was I put on this earth? Why am I here?' I think that looking back and seeing what your family has done and overcome is a good way to start. And it's a great way to know where you're going in life. And to get that kind of perspective that allows you to see what it is that you're meant to do with your life. And so it's very important for me to know all that.

Two Salvadoran respondents also extended this sense of struggle and sacrifice to the wider community and country, invoking historical memories of the country's protracted civil conflict which still resonated with them. The second trend emphasizes a strong connection to extended families and communities. This applied to seven respondents in the 'contributor' sample and is evident in the following quotation provided by Justine, a 'prominent' transnational actor from Washington DC, who relates the importance of close family relations and gatherings:

> I would say that growing up we always talked about the Salvadoran side of the family. We didn't really talk about my Mom's side of the family. So I would say … you know talking to my grandmother and grandfather and learning about their stories of El Salvador were important to me and Victoria [her sister] because our Salvadoran family were right here so every time we had

family parties it was always with them ... any time we did anything it was always with them

(Justine).

In keeping with their 'contributor' counterparts, the vast majority of respondents in the 'wider' sample also attached importance to their Mexican or Salvadoran ancestries, and for similar reasons. However, in keeping with observations made in the preceding section, there was more evidence of ambivalence towards Mexican and Salvadoran ancestries among a minority, suggesting that in some cases, a lack of emotional connectivity may have undermined an involvement in cross-border organizations. Lupe, a second generation Mexican-American from southern California, has rarely visited Mexico and has few relatives south of the Border. He answered affirmatively when asked whether he attached importance to his Mexican ancestry, but qualified his answer:

It's important but it doesn't play a major role in my everyday life. I'm aware of my family history but almost my entire extended family is here and they have been here for a while so my connections to Mexico are somewhat minimal. My Dad arrived in 1952 and my mom came in 1963 or 1964. The vast majority of the family now live here, mostly in Arizona and some in LA. My grandfather came back and forth for a while and was gone for an extended period so my Dad lived with an uncle of his. All my grandparents are now deceased. My maternal grandfather passed when I was in high school and the others passed a long time ago (Lupe)

A further inconsistency was the small minority – four respondents – who indicated that an initial sense of detachment from the country of origin had begun to shift in recent years. These individuals had grown up ashamed or dismissive of their immigrant backgrounds but had become more interested and appreciative as they grew older. For example, one respondent had refused to speak Spanish as a child; a respondent of mixed Puerto Rican and Salvadoran ancestry had emphasised only his Puerto Rican identity because the Island's culture – particularly its music – resonated more strongly with him; and a

third individual who grew up in Washington DC before the emergence of a large and vibrant Salvadoran community, dissociated himself from anything or anyone connected to El Salvador. In his own words, he *"wanted to be straight American. You know, Khakis, shirt with a collar. I just wanted to blend right in."*

This initial disconnection declined over time and the country of origin began to assume a more prominent place in individuals' lives. The individual who refused to speak Spanish as a child came to see the positive benefits of being bilingual; the respondent of mixed Puerto Rican-Salvadoran heritage followed the successful presidential campaign of Mauricio Funes in 2009 and began to take a more active interest in El Salvador; and the birth of his daughter, convinced the third respondent to explore his roots more fully so he could impart this knowledge as his daughter grew older. In these cases, it is possible that detachment at a formative age may have weakened attachments to the home country, and therefore undermined a propensity towards formal or alternative forms of transnational connectivity later in life.

Perceptions and experiences

In a further exploration of transnational orientations, respondents were also asked to relate their experiences and perceptions of Mexico and El Salvador. Within the 'contributor' sample, the vast majority of respondents – twenty five individuals in total - indicated that their experiences in El Salvador or Mexico had been positive. While four respondents reported negative experiences – hearing gunshots, witnessing crimes, or seeing poverty close-up – these were offset by the more positive aspects of their stays: enjoying the company of family or friends, exploring the country, or participating in cultural practices. There were also distinctions in the way that interviewees described their trips to Mexico or El Salvador. A small minority described these trips in more ambivalent or 'touristic' terms but twenty three respondents indicated a much deeper emotional connection. Some even referred to El Salvador and Mexico as 'home':

It was also just really great to just see my family and be 'home' for once. I didn't have anything

planned. I could just go and enjoy this incredible moment and being with the people that

mattered to me the most. It's always really incredible when I go home and I call it home because

it's where I spent the first years of my life ... and I feel like the strings of my heart just being very

torn when I am away. So being back there is just almost like being complete again ... it was really

wonderful (Gabriella).

Time spent in the country of origin was also a motivating, inspiring, and transformational experience for

transnational actors: it reinforced their commitment to a cause, exposed them to issues or needs, and

enabled them to develop contacts with political actors and movements. The following quotes are taken

from interviews with two CISPES activists. The first refers to one individual's experiences as an election

monitor in the 2009 Presidential elections, and the latter, to the organization's 'Radical Roots'

delegation the following year. Both individuals returned to the United States committed to the pursuit

of social justice in El Salvador. Nestor later became the CISPES regional coordinator in the San Francisco

Bay Area, and Janette established a CISPES Chapter at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

I think it was really positive. I went as an observer for the elections and so it just ... I came back

really inspired by what was going on and so I experienced the celebration afterwards and I was

really motivated. I came back and that's when I started doing work as a coordinator. I started

the transition into the role I'm doing now. So, yeah, it was amazing and I had a great time

(Nestor).

Motivation, inspiration ... it opened up my eyes and I found that it's one thing to be here and

read about your history and it's another thing to go and see it with your own eyes. And so it

definitely opened up my consciousness and it definitely motivated me to do something to

educate others about what was going on in El Salvador (Janette).

Another emotional response was provided by a 1.5 generation Zapotec activist who described her

feelings after returning to her home village in Oaxaca:

> *My experiences in my home town are always very positive and as soon as I get off the plane in*
>
> *Oaxaca I'm like the happiest person ... OK, it's like here I come ... although there were good*
>
> *things and bad things that happened to me as a child ... I love the village and I'm so happy when*
>
> *I get there because I talk to my grandma ... I go there just for a few days and of course I have a*
>
> *lot to do there ... but just going back to my village recharges my energy and reminds me of who I*
>
> *am and where I come from and what I'm here for as an activist (Odilia).*

Although the vast majority of respondents in the 'wider' sample – twenty four - described their

experiences in El Salvador or Mexico in positive terms, responses lacked the emotional connectivity

often communicated by 'contributors.' 'Touristic' narratives were more common: respondents talked

about 'hanging out' with cousins and friends, spending time at the beach, visiting shopping malls in San

Salvador, or described the peculiarities of rural El Salvador. Edwin is the nephew of a HTA leader in

Washington DC who at the time of our interview had just left high school and was working in

construction. When I asked about his last trip to El Salvador a few years prior to our interview he made it

clear that he had enjoyed his time there and then proceeded to give me an itinerary of what he did.

Nowhere in his response was evidence of the 'life-changing' experiences evident within the 'contributor'

sample:

> *We go to the beach together ... we go on expeditions with the whole family. We just get in trucks*
>
> *and carpool all the way over there; it's really fun. We stayed at this really nice hotel the last time*
>
> *... I'm not sure if it's ... it's Costa del Sol ... it's not a hotel ... but alright ... it's a hotel but your*
>
> *rooms are little houses so you get a little house and you walk in there and there's AC, cable and*
>
> *everything.*

Individuals in the 'wider' sample were also more likely to deliberate on the negative realities of life in El Salvador and Mexico. Twelve individuals mentioned negative experiences such as prevalent crime, poverty and violence. In some cases these problems had affected respondents directly: one individual had a close friend killed in gang-related activities in San Salvador, and another had been forced to travel in an armed cavalcade because his aunt had been targeted by Mexican extortion gangs. In eight cases, these were simply dismissed as facts of life, but for four individuals such experiences had also created a sense of separation and detachment:

> *I got to see things that I'd never seen before. At the time there was tons of poverty and my parents were constantly watching me. I felt like I was going to be kidnapped or something. There were some areas that we went to that were really nice – like here [MARYLAND, USA]. But there were some places up in the mountains where I wouldn't go back.*
>
> *JD: Why would you never go back?*
>
> *It was that sense of not being secure; feeling like something was going to happen or could happen. I felt that my parents were constantly looking over their shoulders. You know maybe someone was following us where we were going. And I felt that everywhere we went we had to give people something (Deiby)*

In one final example a young Salvadoran woman who had spent a considerable amount of time in El Salvador during the Civil War experienced significant trauma as a child – she stayed with family in a region of the country where fighting was particularly fierce – and these memories prevented her from returning to El Salvador after the peace agreement had been signed and the conflict had come to an end. Again, it is possible to see how negative perceptions in formative years could undermine a propensity to engage in transnational networks, particularly in a Salvadoran context since next generation respondents may associate their country of origin with violence and the protracted Civil War

that caused so much destruction. Arguably, given the on-going coverage in the United States of Mexico's 'Drugs War,' and the indiscriminate killings that have recently destabilized large parts of the country, this effect might also apply to Mexican-Americans.

Family relations

Finally, the study investigated to what extent respondents maintained relations with family members still residing in Mexico or El Salvador, and whether the strength of these relations influenced institutional transnationalism. The relationship between institutional transnationalism could be multiple: contributions to a political or philanthropic cause could be predicated on a pre-existing concern for family members; relatives provide a pretext to return, thus exposing respondents to needs and grievances in the home country; and relatives also expose individuals to home-county cultural flows which could reinforce a sense of belonging and connection.

A majority of twenty five respondents in the 'contributor' sample reported maintaining relations with relatives in El Salvador or Mexico. Of these, eighteen indicated that these relations were close or very close. In many cases, respondents had parents, grandparents, and siblings living in the country of origin. One individual was once married to a woman in his father's home town and is the godfather to three children in El Salvador. As we have previously seen, regular travel to Mexico and El Salvador provided an opportunity to develop and sustain close relations. While Rosa has not been back to El Salvador as frequently as other respondents in the sample, her quote suggests that close family relations can also be sustained through regular family visits to the United States or modern communication technology:

> *Well I would say my relationship with my mother's side of the family is extremely close. My*
>
> *grandmother is officially a US Resident so she comes and goes every six months. But I'm really*

close to her and an aunt who still lives in El Salvador as well. We communicate by e-mail, phone

calls during birthdays and holidays and stuff.

Despite this positive relationship between transnational activity and the maintenance of close family

relations, seven individuals reported more ambivalent or distant relationships, and three respondents

stated that they maintained no contact with relatives in El Salvador or Mexico. This applied to both

'prominent' transnational actors who were both deeply embedded in transnational networks as well as

those who committed more in-frequent contributions. For example, a regional CISPES coordinator

described a distant relationship with his grandfather and an FMLN activist in Northern California stated

that most of her close family had already migrated to the United States and no longer lived in El

Salvador.

Although close family relations were also reported by the vast majority of respondents in the

wider sample, they tended not to attach the same emotional intensity to these relationships. Often,

close family relations were not sustained because elderly family members had passed away, or close

relatives had moved to the United States. In a small number of cases the maintenance of these

relationships were also perceived as a first generation responsibility: if individuals spoke to family

members on the phone, or visited them during trips to El Salvador or Mexico, it was often at the

insistence of their parents. Horatio, a second generation Salvadoran living in Washington DC had not

visited El Salvador in over 20 years when his mother insisted he travel there to visit her relatives in 2010.

He had just returned when we spoke and talked positively about his experiences and the opportunity to

meet his Salvadoran cousins, uncles and aunts. Despite this, he continued to maintain some distance

from Salvadoran relatives:

I haven't kept in touch with these folks. I'd get an e-mail address and I'd scratch my head and I'd

be like 'Wow, you have e-mail.' And I'd think to myself if I bothered to send you a picture it

probably wouldn't download right so I won't send a picture. I'd write an e-mail and it'd probably

lead to ... and I might not write ... so I met relatives but I haven't kept in touch with them.

JD: What about with close family? Do you have grandparents and first cousins over there?

I have first cousins and I have one cousin who will ... the one I spoke about who sat at the table

with me ... he'll still call the house and chat with my mom. And I kind of shy away from it for

whatever reason.

JD: Why do you think that is?

Jeez. You know I don't know if it's the type of thing where ... I think for myself there might be a

fear of maybe getting latched into a pen pal relationship so there's almost a safety bumper

having all the communication and updates come through my mom ... it's kind of like a safe

bumper that I've got. And you know what? I'm not really sure why I've got that wall up like that.

But maybe it's a thing of personal comfort and some type of safe zone that I've kept myself in

(Horacio).

What this all suggests is that institutional forms of transnationalism are consistent with the maintenance

of strong, emotional bonds with family members in the country of origin. It is perhaps easy to see why

this may be the case. As stated previously, the maintenance of these bonds could, for instance, provide

a pretext for regular return trips, thereby raising the possibility of an individual becoming exposed to

issues, needs, and causes in home-country contexts. Furthermore, given that a strong identification and

sense of belonging towards countries of origin can be predicated on familial connections, it is possible to

see how concern for relatives could be extended to communities or nation states more generally.

9.4 Summary

This chapter explored non-institutional forms of transnationalism, investigating to what extent respondents in both next generation samples committed cross-border activities that conformed to wider, more expansive definitions of transnationalism – definitions that have previously appeared in studies of the next generation and differ from the narrower criteria often applied to first generation activities. Hence, this chapter investigated emotional connectivity, language proficiency, and non-institutional activities such as sending remittances, travelling to the country of origin, and consuming Mexican or Salvadoran media. The evidence demonstrated that respondents from the 'wider' sample were not disconnected from the country of origin, despite their lack of involvement in transnational political and philanthropic causes. Many had travelled to the country of origin, maintained relations with family members in Mexico or El Salvador, identified as Mexicans and Salvadorans, and consumed Mexican and Salvadoran media. In many respects, therefore, the country of origin continued to assume a presence in the lives of these next generation individuals, providing a frame of reference as they come of age in the United States. The evidence therefore suggests consistency with other transnational studies of the next generation, which argue that definitions of transnationalism should accommodate non-institutional activities and even emotional states such as identification with a country of origin (Wolf, 1997, 2002; Levitt, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Gowrichan, 2009; Rumbault, 2002; Kasinitz, 2002).

Connectivity and orientations to Mexico and El Salvador were significantly stronger among 'Contributors,' however: their trips to Mexico or El Salvador were more frequent, they were more likely to send remittances and contribute to political and philanthropic causes beyond their specific organizations, and they followed events in either country more closely. While many in the wider sample identified with their home countries, maintained relations with family, and spoke fondly of their

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experiences in Mexico or El Salvador, the responses of 'contributors' were often communicated with more emotion and less ambivalence. Furthermore, while those in the 'wider' sample were more likely to adopt 'touristic' narratives when talking about their experiences in Mexico or El Salvador, contributors tended to convey a deep sense of connectedness and belonging, regardless of their place of birth. Reflecting on these differences, and the institutional forms noted in previous chapters, allows one to determine different grades or levels of next generation transnationalism - from 'narrow' or 'strict' forms of institutional transnationalism, prominent or otherwise, to 'broader' activities that can accommodate emotional states or more routine activities such as media consumption.

Finally, given the distinctions that existed between both groups, the analysis considered to what extent the stronger orientations demonstrated by 'contributors' could be used to explain their institutionalized forms of transnationalism. The evidence suggested that institutional forms of transnationalism were often predicated on strong emotional connections to the country of origin and the frequent pursuit of non-institutional activities. Emotions would undoubtedly have provided the fuel that powered institutional activities, galvanizing individuals to contribute to meaningful transnational causes. While much of the non-institutional activity may have post-dated initiation into a cross-border organization, taking place in a context conducive to more frequent engagement; it could also be the case that the maintenance of family ties, the regular consumption of media, and frequent trips to El Salvador or Mexico, could have exposed individuals to needs, grievances, and opportunities to participate in institutional transnationalism. If this were the case, then this finding demonstrates consistency with previous studies, and arguments made in preceding chapters of this thesis, which suggest that processes of transmission may play a role in the transnational mobilization of individuals born and/or raised in the United States.

Chapter 10: Exploring the relationship between transnationalism and assimilation

10.1 Introduction

Transnational ties challenge widely accepted notions of assimilation, largely based on conventional models of assimilation (Park, 1928; Chiswick, 1977; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Wytrwal, 1977; Gordon, 1964; Warner and Srole, 1945), which continue to inform the narratives of conservative commentators who perceive the maintenance of cross-border connectivity as an impediment to successful incorporation (for example Huntington, 2004; Brimelow, 1995; and Buchanan, 2006). The existence of a dichotomous relationship between assimilation and migrant transnationalism was also inferred by earlier transnational studies. When Glick-Schiller et al (1992; 1994) introduced the concept of 'transnational migration,' for instance, they justified its usage by referencing the perceived failures of conventional assimilation theories, arguing that prevailing models could not accommodate the increasing numbers of contemporary migrants living trans-border lives. However, this argument failed to consider revisionist assimilation theories capable of accommodating transnational migration (Alba, 1999; Bloemraad et al., 2008; Brubaker, 2001; DeWind and Kasinitz, 1997; Gans, 1997; Glazer. 1993; Nee and Sanders, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). More recent transnational studies have also further explored the relationship between assimilation and migrant transnationalism to discover and theorize a range of immigrant adaption strategies which suggest that both processes can proceed simultaneously (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003; Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000; Portes et al., 2008a; Rivera-Salgado et al., 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008).

This chapter is a further contribution to this literature, considering to what extent this simultaneity between assimilation and transnationalism also applies to the next generation. As individuals socialised in the United States, we can perhaps assume that the country of settlement is likely to assume a more central position in the lives of the next generation. Despite this, and the visible signs of acculturation, such as inter-marriage, home-ownership, and English proficiency (Myers and Pitkin, 2010; Alba, 1999; Tran, 2010; and Su et al., 2010), this demographic have also been perceived as accomplices in the 'Quebec model' (Chavez, 2008) narrated by conservative commentators, which views Spanish language retention and Latino spatial concentration as deliberate attempts to create separatist cultural *blocs* within the United States. Investigating next generation incorporation is therefore necessary to engage with this perceived resistance to assimilation.

Attempts will be made to answer the following questions: to what extent are assimilation and transnationalism simultaneous processes? Does one prevent or delay the other? And, is transnationalism a refuge for those resisting assimilation? The evidence presented mainly relates to identification and US political participation, tangible indicators of assimilation that could help to gage the extent to which individuals have become incorporated into a country of settlement. Identification reveals an emotional and more symbolic sense of belonging, whereas civic participation denotes an active interest in policies affecting a given society or polity. Finally, the intention to' return' is also considered. Reflecting a growing body of work on 'next generation return' (Potter, 2005; Reynolds, 2004, 2008; Quirke et al., 2009; King and Christou, 2008, 2010; and Wessendorf, 2007, 2010), analysis explores respondents' future intentions: do they see a future in the United States, or one in El Salvador or Mexico? Focusing on the everyday practicalities of incorporation, this will help to further reveal the complex interactions that exist between transnationalism and assimilation.

10.2 What does identification reveal about respondent assimilation/transnationalism?

In the previous chapter, analysis revealed that a significant majority of institutional transnational actors rejected an 'American' identification – only one-third reported using this term, compared to two-thirds in the 'wider' sample. This would seem to confirm the fears of commentators like Huntington (2004) who use American non-identification to prove their 'immigration without assimilation' hypothesis. For Huntington, the ultimate test of assimilation is identification and whether an individual identifies with the country of settlement. A refusal to identify as 'American' is therefore tantamount to a rejection of the United States and a refusal to integrate. This is doubly so if immigrants and their progeny continue to identify with the country of origin – in this case Mexico and El Salvador, which as we have seen a majority of 'contributors' opted to do. As argued previously, considered alongside the widespread acceptance of 'Latino' identification, and taking into account the oppositional element that has been applied to this particular identity (Oboler, 1992; Padilla, 1985; Calderon, 1992), these patterns could suggest something close to the 'reactive transnationalism' hypothesis put forward by Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002).

However, interpreted differently, the 'Latino' embrace could also complicate this discussion on assimilation. Whether in its 'oppositional' (Oboler, 1992; Padilla, 1985; Calderon, 1992) or 'methodological' form (Petersen, 1987; Massey, 1993), Latino identification could also suggest incorporation and adaptation since respondents are adopting a term that only carries significant meaning within the United States where it has emerged from civil society to encompass a large group divided by national origin and racial classification. A similar argument could be made about hyphenated identities – Mexican-American and Salvadoran-American – which denote a fusion of identities and cultural traits forged from both home *and* host settings (Faist, 2000; Sanchez, 1993; Macias, 2006). Even if individuals emphasize their Mexican or Salvadoran side, they are still taking on the lexicon of the

United States and by doing so suggest an acknowledgment of their socialization there. Taking this into account, therefore, it could be argued that the conservative association between American identification and assimilation is overly simplistic, failing to acknowledge the multiple ways in which individuals can express their upbringing and socialization within the United States.

Qualitative evidence gathered from respondent interviews provided an opportunity to investigate respondent identification choices in much closer detail. Interviews provided a space for respondents to explain their identification preferences, yielding invaluable information which could be applied to on-going debates regarding the identification choices of next generation Latino-Americans and the relationship between identification, assimilation, and transnationalism. The following sections, based on respondent testimonies, contribute to observations made in the previous chapter and provide a detailed analysis of the following identities: American, Pan-ethnic (Latino and Hispanic), hyphenated, and Chicano.

American Identity

The vast majority of 'contributors' – seventeen respondents – chose not to identify as 'American' because they perceived the identity in exclusive terms. Eight felt they did not conform to an 'American' culture or phenotype – a perceived Caucasian norm – or thought that mainstream US society did not acknowledge them as 'Americans.' A sense of physical difference is portrayed in the following quotation, which also suggests an exclusive cultural or class connotation to American identification:

> *I think that – given the current atmosphere with immigration – I think that American in the mainstream has a certain image, right? And I don't fit into that.*

> *JD: What is that image?*

> *I think it's white. In the mainstream ... I think its white, middle class ... (Rosa)*

This exclusive perception was also detected when respondents indicated that 'American' identification did not reflect their immigrant backgrounds. Four individuals argued that adopting an 'American' identification would not allow them to express their Mexican or Salvadoran ancestries and cultural heritage:

> *I guess I put no because ... it's not that ... like I see myself as an American citizen but that doesn't necessarily make me like a full-bloodied American I guess. And since I was born in El Salvador and I came here when I was young I still have a lot of connections to people at home and to the Salvadoran community here. And I've always helped them out. I've always just hung out with them too. I just feel that comes before everything (Mauricio).*

A further four individuals resented 'American' identities because they felt the term had been appropriated by the United States and did not include people living in Latin America. Demonstrating an oppositional dimension to their rejection, and suggesting some adherence to a reactive form of transnationalism, six individuals also expressed a resentful attitude towards the United States. Two felt they were designated a marginal status in the United States: they had experienced the sting of racial discrimination and prejudice, harboured resentments, and ultimately decided to reject an American identity in response.

> *For American I put 'no' because ... and this is something that even in USEU we talk about and discuss and just ... the children of immigrants or immigrants ourselves living in a country where we feel discrimination to some extent and this notion of not completely being accepted as American ... I don't consider myself American at all. I don't share the history ... I've grown up here but that's it. I don't have the political views; culturally I don't see things the same way. I just don't identify as American for all those reasons and for the experiences that my mom has had in*

this country have made me to some extent ... I can't say hate but I definitely feel that there's a

tension between ... or a resistance on my part to identify as American for those reasons (Claudia)

A further four expressed negative perceptions of American societal values and foreign policy.

Unsurprisingly – given the history of US intervention in El Salvador - these individuals were all embedded

within left-wing Salvadoran transnational networks, and had assumed an oppositional stance

representative of these networks. This could suggest that 'reactive' forms of transnationalism are likely

to be more common in politicised cross-border networks within communities that have an on-going, or

previously, antagonistic relationship with the country of settlement. The need to reject society on the

basis of present or past wrongs may conspire to push individuals in a transnational direction while

strengthening a sense of detachment towards the country of settlement. In the following quotation

Nestor, a CISPES regional coordinator in the San Francisco Bay Area, cites social immobility and the Iraq

War when asked to justify his decision not to identify as 'American':

I don't like that American ideal. I've never liked it. I think the all American Dream and all that ... it

didn't really make sense to me it was just like ... when I think of American I think of the American

dream and now I think of the War in Iraq and all that stuff. I have all these negative connotations

with it for some reason (Nestor).

However, while negative perceptions suggest a reactive form of transnationalism among some

individuals, this was not evident across the whole sample. In fact, eight respondents stated that they *did*

identify as Americans, confirming that transnational activity and identification with the country of

settlement are not always inconsistent. By adopting the identification of the United States, it is difficult

to see how transnationalism and participation in transnational networks have undermined or prevented

assimilation in these instances. Adoption – calling oneself an 'American' – would suggest that individuals

recognize they are a constituent part of US society, rather than positioning themselves outside the polity

of the United States. This would suggest consistency with previous studies of first generation

transnational actors which do not perceive transnationalism and assimilation as dichotomous processes,

but instead see them as simultaneous and even complimentary (Portes et al., 2008; Rivera-Salgado,

Bada, and Escala-Rabadan, 2005; Jones-Correa, 2005).

Those accepting 'American' identities emphasised their birth or socialization in the United

States, or understood the term 'American' as one that encapsulated their nationality as US Citizens.

Some also expressed an adherence to perceived 'American' values and viewed the United States in

favourable terms. Seen through this lens, the United States was recognised as being more egalitarian: a

country of democracy and opportunity, for example, which experienced lower income inequality than El

Salvador or Mexico. Again, the evidence undermines the idea that a dichotomy operates between

transnationalism and assimilation. Contradicting the assertions of, for instance, Huntington (2004),

participation in cross-border organizations and being embedded within home-country networks and the

subjection to cultural flows this would entail, does not necessarily generate a distancing effect or

rejection of the United States. In some cases, 'prominent' transnational practices co-existed with

extremely positive views of the United States. Gabriella, a prominent transnational actor, expressed

strong support for the FMLN but premised her strong American identity on the more mature democratic

political system that operated in the United States:

> *Well I think I chose 'American' because I was born here and I'm a citizen, and I get the American*
>
> *privilege to vote, to benefit from this incredible – or at least semi-incredible - democratic system*
>
> *... if it works (Gabriella)*

Within the larger group of 'wider' sample respondents who embraced 'American' identification, most

individuals simply argued that they were born in the United States or had US Citizenship. Some

individuals also indicated a sense of cultural familiarity or resonance with the societal values of the

United States and its 'way of life.' A rejection of American identification – applicable to eight individuals in the 'wider' sample – was justified for similar reasons: individuals had experienced discrimination and did not feel they were accepted as Americans; some expressed a detachment from perceived American customs and values; and a Salvadoran respondent emphasised the history of US intervention in El Salvador. In addition, three individuals also suggested a generational qualification to 'American' identification. In this perception, only those whose families had been in the United States for several generations and had become sufficiently acculturated could claim American identities.

Hyphenated identities: Mexican-American and Salvadoran-American

Despite the significant rejection of 'American' identification in the 'contributor' sample, a larger group – eighteen individuals - chose hyphenated Mexican-American and Salvadoran-American identities. While an 'American' identification was often perceived in exclusive terms, hyphenated identities allowed respondents to express both their Mexican and Salvadoran ancestries and their socialization within the United States, suggesting a form of syncretism and fusion (Faist, 2000; Sanchez, 1993; Macias, 2006).

> *Mexican-American … I feel that I'm also part of that because I was born here but at the same time I have that double culture where I'm Mexican but at the same time also American. So I feel that I'm connected with both (Yolanda)*

In a small number of cases hyphenated identities were accepted because of their familiarity and common usage in the United States, suggesting an 'ascribed' form of identification:

> *I think Salvadoran-American is probably the most accurate in my opinion … I think I have grown accustomed to this hyphenated nationality as reflecting people like me who were born in the US with some other ethnic background – African American, Salvadoran-American, Mexican-American. So … I think it's accurate. In terms of my familiarity with that actual term I was a*

Board member of an organization called the Salvadoran-American Chamber of Commerce and so

that combination is very familiar (Daniel)

This acceptance of hyphenated identities would seem to suggest there are limits to the argument that cross-border connectivity is necessarily a 'reactive' form of transnationalism,' as was evidenced among a minority of those individuals who rejected 'American' identification - a decision that was based on perceived discrimination, marginalization, and negative associations with the United States. The evidence gathered here suggests that Institutional transnationalism can also emerge from different contexts, which assume less negative associations with the United States and an acknowledgement of membership within US society.

Conversely, nine individuals in the 'contributor' sample rejected hyphenated self-identification. Four respondents emphasised Salvadoran or indigenous identities and refused to commit to any identity that deflected from these, or suggested assimilation into mainstream US society. Three 1.5 individuals thought hyphenated identities could only be applied to those born in the United States; two Salvadoran respondents were unfamiliar with the term 'Salvadoran-American'; and one individual who identified as both Salvadoran and American thought that using hyphenated identities undermined the importance she placed on both national identities.

Demonstrating similarities with their institutional transnational counterparts, the vast majority of respondents in the 'wider' sample – twenty in total - reported that they had used hyphenated Mexican-American and Salvadoran-American identities. Most of these individuals also used the same explanations to justify their use of the terms: fifteen stated that hyphenated identities allowed them to express both their Mexican and Salvadoran ancestries and their socialization within the United States, and two individuals also used the term because it was familiar and part of the American societal lexicon. Like the 'contributor' sample, there was also a small minority of individuals who did not embrace

hyphenated identities. A small number of Salvadorans indicated that Salvadoran-American was not a term they were familiar with, and one 1.5 respondent suggested that hyphenated identities only applied to those born in the United States.

Pan-ethnic identification

As we have seen, previous research on Latino identification has offered two broad explanations for its usage in the United States: a methodological explanation that reflects a simple acceptance of societal terminology and the way racial and ethnic data are compiled (Peterson, 1987; Massey, 1993; Martin 2002; Suro, 2002); and a meaningful explanation which denotes a more substantive understanding and deeper connection with the term (Morrow, 2003; Foner, 2000; Oboler, 1992; Matsuoka, 2006; Golash-Boza, 2006; Padilla, 1985; Calderon, 2002). Most individuals in the 'contributor' sample – sixteen respondents - provided meaningful explanations, often expressed with reference to geography or politics. Many adopted the term simply because it encompassed a people with roots in Latin America; others emphasised a linguistic connection to other Latin Americans. In its political or 'oppositional' formation, Latino represented a term that denoted a shared struggle among people of Latin American descent in the United States:

> *[H]ere in the United States the people of those different countries in Latin America ... you know some of us are being excluded or discriminated ... those are the people that are coming together. And I have a lot in common with them as I do with people living in El Salvador (Ernie).*

The minority of respondents who expressed a methodological interpretation demonstrated greater ambivalence. Five individuals accepted the term but gave little indication to suggest they placed any importance on its use. Often it was simply a term they ticked on official documents:

I don't know. You know when you fill out the surveys and they're like 'Are you Latino or

Hispanic?' And I just put 'yes'... just because I don't second guess it (Veronica).

Six respondents rejected the term 'Latino' altogether because it was considered too broad and did not reflect their specific backgrounds. These individuals primarily chose to identify in national or hyphenated terms or expressed strong adherence to an indigenous identification. One individual was confused about the exact definition of Latino and was therefore unsure whether he could adopt the term to describe himself.

In comparison, respondents in the 'wider' sample generally invested less importance in Latino pan-ethnic identification and were more ambivalent when asked to explain their reasons for adopting the term – a distinction that may reflect the more overtly political sensibilities of individuals in the 'contributor' sample and their participation in transnational political networks. A slight majority of fifteen respondents in the 'wider' sample provided methodological explanations when explaining their 'Latino' identification. They primarily adopted the term when filling out official documentation or simply accepted the term because it was prevalent in American society. However, a smaller group of ten respondents did provide meaningful justifications for adopting Latino identification. They provided similar explanations to those found in the closed sample, referring to the term's political, cultural, or geographical dimensions.

In comparison to 'Latino,' there was a widespread rejection of 'Hispanic' identification among 'contributors.' Around two-thirds refused to use 'Hispanic' identification: seven respondents perceived it to be an ascribed identity, which unlike 'Latino' had not originated from Latino-Americans themselves, and ten did not like the Spanish connotation, which they felt did not acknowledge the indigenous or mixed ancestries of Latin Americans. For a small minority the term resurrected historical memories of conquest and oppression:

Hispanic is a trigger word for me. I'm not a descendent of Spain ... our people were conquered by

Spain and I don't have any ties with Spain and if we do it's because we were colonised ... it's not

something that I choose to identify with (Claudia).

The minority of respondents who reported using a Hispanic identification accepted the term's

prevalence in wider US society, and with the exception of one individual who perceived the term to be

synonymous with 'Mexican,' provided methodological explanations. Unlike 'Latino,' few attached any

emotional importance to 'Hispanic' and were largely ambivalent about its usage:

So the whole Hispanic/Latina kind of debate ... I grew up identifying as Hispanic because that

was the nomenclature during the 80s and 90s ... you were of Hispanic descent. So then the whole

debate entered when I was at high school and college about ... Hispanic was a term that was

imposed on us but Latino also comes from Latin which was from the Spanish who were also

colonizers ... so for me I don't have a problem and they're interchangeable for me ... (Rosemarie).

While Hispanic was more accepted among individuals within the 'wider' sample, very few respondents –

only five in total – attached any importance to its usage. Two individuals argued that the term

encompassed those with cultural roots in Latin America; two liked the Spanish connotation because it

reflected their families' roots in Spain; and one individual spoke of having 'Hispanic pride.' For the most

part respondents offered largely ambivalent methodological explanations. Furthermore, the widespread

reaction against Hispanic identification within the 'contributor' sample was also less evident within the

'wider' sample. In total, only six respondents rejected 'Hispanic' identification. This may again reflect the

generally less politically-charged sensibilities of individuals in the 'wider' sample. Created by the Nixon

administration as a means of classifying people of Latin American descent (Oboler, 1992), the term

'Hispanic' can be controversial in the United States since it did not derive from Latino-Americans

themselves, and suggests Spanish connotations. For instance, note the views of Claudia above, a

'prominent' transnational contributor in the FMLN, who argued that Hispanic was a 'trigger word' for her and went to on to justify her rejection of the term by referencing Spain's conquest of the Americas.

Chicano identification

Among Mexican 'contributors,' not one reported using a Chicano identification: some were 1.5 generation and thought the term was only applicable to individuals born in the United States; another second generation respondent argued that the term was now out-dated and applied only to politicised Mexican-Americans in the sixties and seventies; and three individuals did not feel the term encompassed their indigenous backgrounds. However, this pattern was not replicated in the 'wider' sample where most Mexican respondents used the identification. While three individuals simply understood the term to mean the children of Mexican parents born and brought up in the United States, a slightly larger group argued that the term denoted a politically conscientious individual who celebrated their Mexican roots:

> *It's a specific definition of the son of or the daughter of an immigrant … someone who was born*
>
> *in Mexico and then you were born here. And there is a connection of politics to that. You are*
>
> *politically aware and you're active and you're educated in general (Oliver)*

In one case, however, this political association prompted a respondent to reject Chicano identification since a Chicano political orientation was considered too militant; in another it was rejected because Chicano conveyed a sense of Americanization and the loss of an individual's Mexican roots or Spanish language proficiency.

What does this all suggest about the relationship between identification, assimilation, and transnationalism? It suggests that the relationship between identification and assimilation is more complex than conservative commentators like Huntington would have us believe. Their emphasis on

'American' identification as an indicator of assimilation ignores a more nuanced reality. Firstly, respondents did not simply reject 'American' identification because they chose to resist assimilation or perceived US society negatively – although negative associations were expressed by a minority. This rejection was more likely to reflect the exclusive nature of 'American' identity, which respondents mostly associated with white Caucasians and individuals whose families had been in the United States for generations. Secondly, the adoption of hyphenated and pan-ethnic identities indicate that 'contributors' are assimilating, at least in the sense that by adopting these identities they are acknowledging their socialization in the United States and their place in American society, often alongside their continued identification with the parental country of origin. In terms of the relationship between assimilation and transnationalism, these patterns of identification would also suggest a simultaneous relationship rather than one that was dichotomous. These findings are therefore in line with a growing body evidence on the first generation, which suggests that transnationalism does not hold back or delay incorporation (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003; Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000; Portes et al., 2008a; Rivera-Salgado, et al., 2005; Smith and Bakker, 2008). This relationship is further explored in the proceeding section, which investigates civic participation in a US context: voting behaviour, contributions to political campaigns, attendance at political rallies, and participation in advocacy campaigns.

10.3 Civic participation in the United States

As part of his narrative on transnational migration, in particular the phenomenon's perceived threat to assimilation, Huntington (2004) argues that the consequence of continued involvement in the affairs of the home-country is limited civic participation in the United States. Transnational migrants, it is argued, will not have the time or energy to participate in both home or host settings. However, this 'zero-sum' argument has been progressively undermined by empirical evidence which demonstrates that, in fact,

transnationalism and civic participation in a country of settlement can occur simultaneously (Itzigsohn

and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003; Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000; Tamaki, 2011). For

instance, rather than marginal, recently arrived immigrants, transnational networks appear to be the

domain of long-term residents who have had time to settle down, accumulate resources, and become

English proficient (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003; Tamaki, 2011; Portes et al., 2008). These

findings appear to fundamentally contradict conventional theories of assimilation, which would instead

suggest a gradual re-orientation away from transnational commitments. This section contributes to this

debate by considering how and to what extent *institutional* forms of transnationalism affect the civic

participation of the next generation. Does the 'zero-sum' equation apply to their transnational activities,

or does institutional transnationalism proceed alongside political activities in the United States? The

evidence clearly demonstrates, at least for this small sample of institutional transnational actors, that

the latter is more relevant. 'Contributors' were active in US political arenas and these activities were

often sustained over extended periods (see Table 10.5).

Table 10.1: 'Contributor' civic participation within the United States

	Yes	No	Sustained	Not sustained	No report
Voted in US elections	23	3	-	-	-
US political campaigns	10	16	4	5	1
US political rallies	16	10	8	7	1
US advocacy campaigns	11	15	10	1	-

Invariably, 'contributors' understood their responsibilities as US citizens and were dedicated to political

change in the United States. Analysing respondent testimonies provided an opportunity to explore

political activities in more detail. Immigrant rights were a common focus, but respondents also reported

interest in a range of other issues, including education, labour, and the environment. These activities

were sometimes facilitated through transnational organizations which have been shown to also operate

in US political arenas and promote integration (Jones-Correa, 2005; Rivera-Salgado et al., 2005; Somerville, W. et al., 2008; and Rivera-Salgado and Wilson, 2009). However, transnational actors also sought opportunities through non-transnational advocacy and political campaigns, ethnic organizations, and trade unions. A minority had also participated in mainstream political processes: four individuals confirmed sustained involvement in state and presidential elections, and two had lobbied US political representatives.

Although respondents were not asked directly to explain their interests in US civic participation, qualitative analysis provides some insight into factors that may have galvanised these activities. Given El Salvador and Mexico's close economic, political, and social inter-connections with the United States, a small number of individuals felt their objectives in the country of origin could be furthered in a US political context. This non-conventional transnational tactic involved campaigning against free trade agreements, opposing US political intervention, and securing immigrant rights in order to sustain the flow of remittances. This form of '*indirect* transnationalism' (Shain, 1999) – as opposed to *direct* transnationalism which directly targets the country of origin – refers to a conscious and deliberate action in pursuit of transnational goals. Although not confined to the activities of next generation transnational actors, it is a form of institutional transnationalism that the next generation could potentially pursue in a position of comparative advantage. Their English proficiency, political rights, knowledge of the US political system, and an ability to present themselves as 'Americans,' could help next generation individuals to more effectively navigate US political systems, at least in comparison to some first generation immigrants who may not be English proficient, lack the relevant cultural and political knowledge, and in the case of undocumented immigrants or non-citizens, exercise fewer political rights.

The next generation are therefore, potentially, in a position to exploit the inter-connectedness between sending and receiving communities and countries - in this case between the United States and Mexico or El Salvador – which represents an increasingly complex web of cultural, economic, and political ties. What happens in the United States is likely to generate increasingly significant impacts in Mexico and El Salvador. Take immigration reform as an obvious example. Providing a path to citizenship for the millions of undocumented immigrants working in US fields, factories and restaurants would have enormous implications for the income and mobility of this demographic. Coming out of the shadows could end their 'truncated' forms of transnationalism (Bailey et al., 2002; Miyares et al., 2003), which place limits on the cross-border activities of undocumented workers, and would help them to instead play a more active and economically-significant role in their communities and countries of origin, facilitated by a greater freedom of movement. Next generation individuals could become principal actors in this struggle. In the following quotation a respondent articulates the power that next generation individuals can mobilize through indirect forms of transnationalism:

> *I think they can play an instrumental role because ... a lot of us are being educated here and becoming professionals ... and we are also voters, you know. We're US voters and I think that a lot of us ... and this is what we're trying to explain to people ... there is a lot of power in that ... and we can have a voice. Even though there are Salvadorans who were not born here who are US citizens ... I believe that the US-born Salvadorans have some more advantages ... and I think we have to use that privilege for our community, here in the United States, and in El Salvador (Esther)*

That said, it is important to not lose sight of the fact that the next generation are individuals largely socialized within the United States, who will invariably remain there to make a living and raise families. As Kivisto (2001) has argued, place matters, and the issues and politics of the country of settlement are

likely to assume relevance in the lives of those born and/or raised in the United States. In fact, compared to those motivated to pursue transnational objectives indirectly, a more significant number expressed a commitment to address grievances within the United States. In addition, analysis indicated that these grievances were not only driven primarily by a need to improve the situation of Latino-Americans - approximately two-thirds communicated interest in issues that affected immigrant *and* mainstream communities. After all, in addition to being transnational actors, 'contributors' were also voters, workers and parents in the United States. A sense of investment in the United States is conveyed in the following quotation by a young woman, a 'prominent' transnational actor who volunteered for a campaign against sweat shops and poor working conditions in New York City:

> *I also got to work with Students Against Sweatshops … I interned one summer for a labour union*
>
> *up in NYC and I went on organizing campaigns with them and I got to become aware of the*
>
> *garment shop issue … and this isn't only a Hispanic issue … you know so many of them are*
>
> *immigrants … in Brooklyn it was all Asian Americans and several of them were locked in these*
>
> *huge warehouses and it's incredible because you walk in and you think all this doesn't happen in*
>
> *the United States but that's a lie (Rosemarie)*

Although not widespread, there was also evidence of strong cynicism or dissonance towards the United States and its policies and values, which may also have had a galvanizing impact on political activities within the United States. Seven individuals criticised US foreign policy and/or expressed hostility towards discrimination and the rising anti-immigrant backlash across the United States. At the time when interviews were being held, the Arizona state legislature had recently passed state law SB 1070 which granted Arizona state police the right to detain anyone suspected of being in the state illegally. The law had received significant media coverage and provoked a large grassroots backlash:

Those types of laws infuriate me. Because there is a failure to recognise people that are

contributing to this country and that's the hypocrisy of this country I think. You have people here,

you need them to work, and also treaties like CAFTA and NAFTA push people out of their

countries, completely destroy their economic infrastructure, they push them out and then when

we're here we are targeted with those kinds of laws and so it's hypocritical (Claudia)

In addition to political activities, a further four individuals had been involved with local philanthropic

organizations in their communities. Two had volunteered to work with Latino youth; one had

volunteered at a medical clinic for low-income families in the Mission District of San Francisco; and

another respondent had previously been President of the Salvadoran-American Chamber of Commerce.

This evidence again repudiates claims that transnational activity, at least for this sample of next

generation 'contributors,' impedes the incorporation of institutional transnational actors.

As we have seen, political activities were sometimes facilitated through transnational

organizations. In keeping with trends noted in previous studies (Rivera-Salgado et al., 2005; Jones-

Correa, 2005), sampled organizations revealed evidence of participation in US political arenas, much of

this activity related to immigrant rights. Survey results reproduced in Table 10.6 demonstrate political

activities related to four issues that have been prominent within the United States in recent years. The

DREAM (Development, Relief, and Education for Minors) Act relates to legislation that allows

undocumented US-raised students who came to the United States at a young age to pay in-state fees for

higher education and gives the Attorney General the power to block deportation proceedings for this

demographic. The CLEAR Act required local police agencies to enforce civil immigration laws, a move

that opponents feared would lead to wrongful arrests and civil rights abuses. The proposed REAL ID Act

forced states to issue driver licenses only if individuals could prove legal residency, preventing many

who were in the United States unlawfully from travelling or working. Finally, comprehensive

immigration reform is a broad term that encompasses a range of objectives, including a pathway to

permanent residency for the approximately 12 million undocumented immigrants living in the United

States, and guarantees that the human and civil rights of undocumented immigrants will be respected

during deportation proceedings and detention.

Table 10.2: The US political activities of sampled transnational organizations

Issue	DC (N=10)	CA (N=13)	OTHER (N=1)	MX (N=6)	ES (N=18)
DREAM ACT	6	8	-	5	9
CLEAR ACT	2	-	-	-	2
REAL ID ACT	3	1	-	-	4
Comp. Reform	9	8	1	5	13

In terms of comprehensive immigration reform, a clear majority of surveyed organizations

demonstrated involvement. A smaller majority also demonstrated commitment to the cause of

undocumented students through participation in campaigns in support of the DREAM Act. Involvement

in activities related to the CLEAR Act and REAL ID Act were much less significant – possibly related to the

fact that these issues were less prominent and therefore would have mobilized fewer campaigners.

Invariably, participation amounted to involvement in protest rallies, and to a lesser extent, attempts to

mobilize other immigrants to a cause or lobby political representatives via telephone or direct-mail

campaigns. One could have predicted that institutional involvement in US politics would have been

greater in the Washington DC Metropolitan area, given the proximity to Congress and the national

headquarters of prominent Latino organizations. However, this is not borne out by the survey results

which suggest an equal amount of involvement in both regions. This is possibly due to the decentralized

nature of the US political system, and the ability to exercise political activities at the state-level in

California, as well as the nationwide reach of immigration reform campaigns. The 2006 protests against

Congressional attempts to impose harsh penalties on undocumented workers, for instance, occurred

throughout the country in both traditional gateway cities and new destinations (Benjamin-Alvardao, 2009; Barreto et al., 2009). Furthermore, organizations in the Washington DC region, even those that confirmed involvement in US political arenas, did not report any collaboration with established Latino organizations or mainstream political allies, possibly suggesting that these political forces and migrant-led transnational organizations operate in largely 'discrete universes, 'as Jones-Correa (2005) has previously argued in a study of migrant civic participation in the US Capital.

Given the small sample sizes, distinctions between Salvadoran and Mexican organizations displayed in Table 10.6 may not be of any analytical significance. However, the findings do demonstrate that mobilization around US political issues was evident in both communities, particularly mobilization around the DREAM Act and comprehensive immigration reform. US political commitments were certainly evident in the more politicised Salvadoran transnational networks, possibly facilitated by experienced campaigners and organizers: the leaders of the FMLN in Washington DC and the San Francisco Bay Area, as well as the Directors of SANA and SALEF, indicated a commitment to immigration reform that goes back several decades. However, commitments were also evident in the institutionalized transnational spaces of the Mexican community, which tend to be dominated by HTAs, a finding in support of previous research that has documented the domestic interests of HTAs in the United States (for instance Bada, 2003; Nunoz, 2010).

Whatever the driving force behind political participation within the United States, whether through transnational, ethnic or mainstream political organizations, individuals in the 'contributor' sample actively contributed to political processes in the United States. In fact, analysis reveals that institutional transnational actors were generally *more* involved in US civic participation than their counterparts in the 'wider' sample (see Table 10.7). Although the more frequent voting patterns demonstrated in the 'contributor' sample may be misleading – the 'wider' sample included more

individuals who were too young to vote in previous elections – other indicators are more revealing. In

terms of contributions to political campaigns, attendance at political rallies, and participation in

advocacy campaigns, individuals in the 'wider' sample exhibited significantly fewer commitments to US

political causes. This finding therefore challenges Huntington's (2004) contention that interests and

contributions in one arena inevitably lead to non-commitment in another.

Table 10.3: US civic participation among respondents in the 'wider' sample

	Yes	No	Sustained	Not sustained	No report
Voted in US elections	19	7	-	-	-
US political campaigns	4	22	1	3	-
Attended US political rallies	11	15	6	5	-
US advocacy campaigns	6	20	4	2	-

According to qualitative evidence (slightly different from results in the table above), only six individuals

in the 'wider' sample reported any sustained involvement in US political arenas, and only three in

charitable organizations. In terms of political involvement, two reported contributions to presidential

and state political campaigns, and five had previously contributed to advocacy campaigns in the areas of

education, health, and labour. What could account for the distinct patterns of US political engagement

between 'contributors' and individuals in the 'wider' sample? In addition to an institutional context in

which transnational organizations facilitate involvement in US political processes – relevant in a minority

of cases – and the pursuit of 'indirect' transnationalism, the political agency of 'contributors' could be

instructive. We have already established that many 'contributors' saw themselves as 'agents of change'

in the country of origin, and I think it reasonable to assume that this same motivation, drive, and

predisposition could be applied to a US context, prompting these individuals to also take an interest in

issues there. Conversely, if we apply the same logic to individuals in the 'wider' sample, a lack of interest

in transnational causes could reflect ambivalence to causes generally, including those in the United

States. Furthermore, given the often impressive transnational commitments of 'contributors,' it is possible that their involvement in US politics could be facilitated by a 'transferability hypothesis,' advanced by Rivera-Salgado and Wilson (2009), who suggest that capabilities, commitments, and principles developed in one setting can be utilised in another.

10.4 Hypothetical charitable contributions

In an effort to further analyse political and philanthropic orientations towards the United States I asked respondents to imagine they had a sum of money and to decide whether they would donate that money to a cause in El Salvador/Mexico or one that affected the Mexican/Salvadoran community in the United States. A significant majority of seventeen respondents in the 'contributor' sample indicated that they were more likely to contribute to causes in either Mexico or El Salvador than in the United States. Most simply argued that there was greater need in their parents' 'home' countries, or believed their financial contributions would have a greater impact there. Some respondents also stated that Mexican or Salvadoran organizations were in greater financial need than organizations operating in the United States, which had access to more sources of finance. However, this decision was not always easy and four individuals clearly struggled to provide a definitive answer when asked to demonstrate their commitment. Gabriella eventually decided that she wanted to contribute more to causes in El Salvador – she explained that the needs were greater there – but her quotation also demonstrates a connection to issues facing Salvadoran or Latino communities in the United States:

> That's really hard. That is something that I've been struggling with myself. Well, the local community I think is important. It definitely comes in to play with my daily life. It's something that's in your face and so I tend to want to help address it as much as I can immediately. But, I think in terms of my life work I'll probably want to work more with Salvadorans in El Salvador rather than here.

Some responses clearly demonstrated the dual orientations that respondents expressed towards both the United States and El Salvador/Mexico, mediating any tension by committing themselves to causes in both contexts. Even when pressured to choose one over the other, three respondents resisted and insisted on dividing their contributions:

> *My work is with all the people of El Salvador but I feel the stuff that ... I mean what I've had the opportunity to do is work with the Salvadoran people in El Salvador. But, in planning all this stuff we've been throwing this word around ... like an exchange. In my mind I don't see why I would have to choose one or the other and I can't see why one and the other can't work together (Justine).*

There was also a small minority – four individuals - who preferred donating money to organizations working on US-centric issues. They felt that issues affecting their communities in California and Washington DC were more tangible and they were in a better position to affect change; others believed that helping Mexican or Salvadoran communities in the United States was an indirect but effective way of contributing to the country of origin. As I mentioned in the preceding section, some respondents felt that empowering migrants in the United States would help both countries: challenging adverse foreign policies or securing legal rights for undocumented immigrants so they could continue sending remittances to their families. Again, separating national from transnational causes is, in this regard, not a straightforward process, given the close inter-connections between the United States and Mexico and El Salvador:

> *I would say they are [both] pretty important. And I think it's a mistake to separate just because they are so inter-connected. I mean on all levels: economically, socially, and politically. I mean if you think about how much the Salvadoran communities abroad contribute to the country then it's hard to separate. So it would be hard to say I'm only interested in what happens to the*

communities here because what happens to the communities here affects El Salvador. The

economic crisis is a perfect example of that: remittances went down to a lesser amount which

obviously is going to have a big impact on the economy in El Salvador, and likewise over there, I

have family over there so I'm extremely invested in what happens.

JD: And if you were forced to choose?

That's hard. I guess I would say ... I mean if I were hard-pressed I would say here because we're

talking about the United States being the central focal point for this domino effect that happens

all around us. My work here would have a deeper impact in relation to El Salvador as opposed to

directly focusing on El Salvador (Rosa)

While the majority in the 'wider' sample also favoured home-country over US causes, believing needs to

be greater in Mexico or El Salvador, a preference for charitable causes in the United States was more

prevalent among non-institutional transnational actors. Eight individuals indicated that they would

contribute time or money to organizations working within Mexican and Salvadoran communities in the

United States, and provided different justifications for doing so. Rather than seeing these contributions

as indirect ways to assist their countries of origin, individuals were more likely to argue that issues

affecting their communities in the United States were more visible and held greater relevance. There

was also evidence of distrust towards transnational organizations, and a small minority of respondents

suggested this would prevent them contributing to organizations working in El Salvador or Mexico.

Some respondents claimed to have heard first-hand accounts of money being appropriated by

unscrupulous individuals. Tony gave a sense of this scepticism towards transnational organizations when

he was asked why he wouldn't donate money to an organization operating in Mexico:

I think that in my perception when you send money down there to any sort of charitable

organization you really don't know where your money is going. When you have them locally here

and they're trying to help people here you can see it and you can feel it and get reports back on

where your money went and how it was given (Tony)

10.5 Future intentions: a US or Mexican/Salvadoran future?

Adopting the perspective of next generation 'return,' the study asked participants whether they had considered living in Mexico or El Salvador, and how they saw their future – one that would be spent in the United States, or one that would be spent elsewhere, in their country of origin. This choice was deemed important because it could potentially, not only encompass an emotional connection based on a desire to return, but also reflect day-to-day practicalities – where respondents could feasibly earn a living, for instance, bring up a family, or live a life to which they were accustomed. Would a dream to return, therefore, be undermined by everyday realities and the realization that leaving the United States would present an adjustment that was too difficult, or impractical? Or, did living in the country of origin present a realistic endeavour that presented few difficulties and sufficient options to fulfil the economic, educational and health needs of individuals and their families? Answers to these questions help to reveal the practical realities that underlie incorporation and the economic choices that could progressively bind immigrant communities to the country of settlement.

It was interesting to find out that the majority had considered such 'return.' Prompted to speculate on their futures, twenty two 'contributors' stated that they would consider living in Mexico or El Salvador for an extended period of time. Some individuals suggested this would benefit their personal development; others argued that their work experience could be applied in a Mexican or Salvadoran setting; and some wanted to use this experience and knowledge to assist communities in Mexico and El Salvador. Of the twenty two, seven individuals had given re-location serious thought, or had made tentative steps towards establishing themselves in the country of origin by looking for property or employment opportunities.

However, nine respondents indicated reservations or limits to the amount of time they would spend in Mexico or El Salvador, and only a minority indicated that they would live in Mexico or El Salvador indefinitely. They understood that responsibilities in the United States –jobs, homes, and children – could prevent prolonged stays. Rosa, a leading member of CISPES, had considered living in El Salvador and attending university there, but when I asked her if she would settle down in El Salvador, she hesitated to give an emphatic answer:

> I think if you'd asked me that question a couple of months ago I'd have said 'yes.' No doubt about it, that's the plan. But I think that I've also invested in social movements in the United States now and at this point I don't know what that answer will be. I'd say that ... could I do it? Yes. But would I do it? I don't know. I think I'm at that crossroads trying to figure out what comes next. But I think that doing this work within the immigrant rights movement has pretty much cemented my life here for some time. But I don't know if that's permanent or not.

Some believe that a lack of opportunity in Mexico and El Salvador will keep them in the United States:

> I have actually [considered living in El Salvador] when I first got married but ultimately no, I wouldn't. It's a place I love to visit and I can see myself maybe living there for six months or a year but not permanently for my whole life. One reason is because of work ... I can't make the same money doing what I'm doing here ... (Mauricio).

These views show how, while some foresee a potential future in Mexico or El Salvador, this option can also be reassessed when individuals confront the responsibilities, commitments, and opportunities related to life in the United States. For many, 'return' is impractical and incompatible with the lives they have built in the United States. However, that said, this impracticality may vary according to individual circumstances. Both individuals quoted above had established careers and work commitments. Their situation would differ to a recent graduate, for instance, who might have fewer responsibilities and

therefore fewer reasons holding them back. In fact, one 'prominent' contributor moved to El Salvador shortly after graduation (subsequent to our interview) to work on community projects she had initiated through a program at university.

Beyond the practical implications of relocation, negative perceptions of El Salvador and Mexico also influenced people's views. The high crime rates and gang violence in both countries often feature in US news reports, and some respondents were reluctant to expose themselves or their families to this perceived danger. One older second generation Mexican respondent was soon due to retire to the house she had constructed with her first generation husband in Zacatecas, but the couple were now reconsidering their retirement plans because of the drug violence in Mexico. She explained that even in her husband's small rural community there had been murders, extortion and kidnappings related to the drugs trade. Those with children were also concerned about the provision of education and healthcare, and believed their children would have much better opportunities in the United States.

Respondents in the 'wider' sample also expressed an interest in relocating to Mexico or El Salvador. Individuals often indicated that they wanted to explore their personal identities, learn more about the culture and history of the country of origin, or were inspired by a sense of adventure and the opportunity to experience a foreign culture. A similar number also placed limitations and conditions on their return, suggesting this would depend on opportunities for professional or educational advancement, or voiced reservations due to personal security fears. A minority also stated that the negative realities of life in El Salvador and Mexico were too harsh for them to consider living in either country. In addition to security concerns, individuals blamed a lack of material comforts, the climate, and different cultural values. Despite the fact that this sample included individuals who had grown up in El Salvador or Mexico, or had spent extended periods in these country neither El Salvador nor Mexico

seemed able to offer the future they had defined for themselves. Furthermore, unlike the 'contributor'

sample not one individual had actually made tentative steps towards relocating to the country of origin.

That said, the desire among many individuals within the 'wider' sample to return and spend an

extended period of time living in El Salvador or Mexico – albeit with limits – complements an

observation made in the previous chapter, namely that this is not a group detached from the country of

origin. Their curiosity and interest, despite their non-involvement in *institutionalized* forms of

transnationalism, is indicative of an emotional form of transnationalism, and considering their interest in

temporary 'return,' it is perhaps not beyond the bounds of possibility for stronger, perhaps more

physical acts of transnational involvement, to emerge over time. For 'contributors' an intention to

'return' confirmed their generally strong orientations towards Mexico or El Salvador. However, the limits

placed on time spent in the country of origin were indicative of a complex interaction between

incorporation and transnationalism, within which responsibilities and commitments in the United States

– the practicalities of everyday existence – could undermine a propensity to return. In answer to the

question posed at the beginning of this section, and taking into account the majority who would not

commit to an indefinite life in either Mexico or El Salvador, the evidence suggests a US life with

transnational overtones. Hence, once again, a life of simultaneity.

10.6 Summary

The conservative critique which promotes the idea of a dichotomy governing transnational and

assimilation processes is undermined by the evidence gathered for this research. Contradicting the

predictions of conventional assimilation theories, which suggest that transnational commitments

prevent political involvement in the country of settlement, analysis reveals that respondents in the

contributor sample were actually *more* committed to US political and philanthropic activities than their

counterparts in the wider sample. The data therefore points to compatibility rather than incompatibility,

and even suggests that transnational engagements may facilitate involvement in US political and civic arenas. This is not a new finding and shares similarities with previous studies on the first generation who have also been found to participate in both national and transnational spaces within the United States (Portes et al., 2008; Portes, 2003; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Guarnizo et al., 2003). Another finding that complements previous studies is the fact that civic participation in a country of settlement can be facilitated through involvement in transnational arenas and networks (Jones-Correa, 2005; Rivera-Salgado et al., 2005; Somerville et al., 2005; and Rivera-Salgado and Wilson, 2009).

How do we account for this simultaneity between transnational and US activities? Among transnational actors the evidence suggested interest towards issues affecting immigrant and mainstream communities; negative perceptions of US society and policies which could have had galvanizing effects; and the recognition that activities in the US could generate positive transnational consequences. As we have seen in previous chapters, 'contributors' also had an impressive array of skills and experience which may have been transferable to US political and philanthropic arenas. Occasionally, as I have stated above, this process was facilitated by transnational organizations, particularly those with bi-national commitments mobilized by issues such as immigration reform. The analysis also considered the political agency of 'contributors,' suggesting that the motivations and drive to foment change in a transnational context could also apply to a national one.

Identification patterns also complicate the transnational-assimilation dichotomy presented by conservative commentators. Although a significant majority of transnational actors did not identify as 'American,' this decision was *not* mostly predicated on a strong rejection of the United States or its societal values. Rather than a reactive tendency (although this appeared to exist in a minority of cases), it was more likely to reflect the fact that respondents perceived the identity in exclusive terms, denoting someone with white Caucasian ethnicity whose family had been in the United States for several

generations. Furthermore, a majority of transnational actors adopted ethnic identities that are only widely accepted or understood in the United States. It can be argued, therefore, that by taking on the nomenclature of the host society and adopting pan-ethnic (Latino) and hyphenated identities (Mexican-American/Salvadoran-American), respondents were not demonstrating a refusal to integrate or a tendency to perceive themselves as outside society.

There was some limited evidence among institutional transnational actors of animosity towards the United States and negative perceptions of American society, suggesting that among a subset of 'contributors,' individuals may have adopted reactive forms of transnationalism (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002). While conservative commentators would jump on these antagonistic attitudes as evidence of dissimilation, it is important to point out that these attitudes only applied to a minority. Furthermore, their response would reveal one of the key shortcomings of incorporation theories that guide conservative narratives. These arguments perceive assimilation in extremely narrow terms: American identification, adherence to 'American' values, and an undivided loyalty to the United States. They are also guilty of setting the assimilation bar too high, and unfairly so, since they challenge immigrants – and their progeny - to conform to a set of idealised behaviours that are not applied to other Americans. The 'antagonistic' attitudes expressed by transnational actors – the concerns about US foreign policy and intervention, or the negative perceptions of discrimination against Latino or minority youth – are shared by many liberal progressives, regardless of ethnicity or national origin.

Adopting wider definitions of assimilation allows us to overcome this shortcoming and see alternative signs of incorporation that the narrow definitions of conservative thought may obscure. Even beyond civic participation and US identities, individuals also expressed work and family commitments, discussed their future plans, and inferred a wide variety of obligations and commitments that demonstrated a strong orientation towards the United States. As we saw in the last section,

commitments and responsibilities in the United States can put constraints on any apparent propensity

to 'return,' a complex interaction that reflects the practical realities of assimilation: immigrants and the

next generation make choices that progressively bind them to the country of settlement and make

'return' increasingly difficult. However, the experience of 'contributors,' in particular, suggests that

these aspects of incorporation have not necessarily diminished transnational connectivity. This all

repudiates the suggestion that transnational involvement retards incorporation. It may influence the

trajectory that incorporation takes, but a simple narrative that equates transnationalism with a refusal

to assimilate or commit to the country of settlement misses the complexity that governs the lives of

many contemporary migrants and their children. The findings presented in this chapter suggest that

transnationalism should not be seen as an alternative – or a resistance to – assimilation, but perhaps a

strategy that can form part of an individual's overall incorporation.

This position is in keeping with revisionist theories of assimilation which reject conventional or

orthodox ideas and propose alternative incorporation paths that are capable of accommodating

continued transnational connectivity: *gradual* declines in distinctiveness (Alba, 1999), the fusion of

'home' and 'host' cultural trends (Gans, 1997), and 'agency-centred' models that allow immigrants and

their children to create their own adaptation strategies (Gans, 2007, 1997; Glazer, 1993; Kivisto, 1999).

The idea that incorporation and transnationalism can proceed simultaneously is also made explicit in

studies of migrant transnationalism. Hence, the findings presented here share the insights of Faist

(2000), who has argued that a transnational lens can enrich our understanding of assimilation, and

Kivisto (2001), who stresses that while issues in the host country may assume greater priority over time,

the creation and maintenance of transnational ties may actually form a variant of assimilation.

Chapter 11: Conclusion – findings, implications and recommendations for further studies

11.1 Summary of findings and contributions to next generation transnational studies

The findings presented in this study suggest that a distinctly *institutionalized* transnational space can be applied to the next generation. This is a major contribution to the field of transnational migration studies and demonstrates that 'formal' modes of connectivity exist within this demographic – beyond the non-institutional activities and emotional transnationalism most often applied to this group (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran, 2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005; Rumbault, 2002; Kasinitz et al., 2002). Although a small handful of studies have previously considered formal examples of next generation transnationalism (for instance Smith, 2002, 2006; Smith and Bakker, 2008), these have been single cases studies or observations and do not go into significant detail. In contrast, this study provides a much deeper probe into institutional connectivity, considering a more comprehensive set of data and information to inform on-going debates. Across the sample of 'contributors' the analysis discovered variations in the type and frequency of cross-border activities, helping to conceptualise 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' transnationalism, terms introduced to capture the distinct dynamics of next generation *institutional* transnational connectivity. While the former denotes regular, intense, and essential contributions; the latter refers to a more irregular involvement that assumes only supportive functions. These patterns, and the numbers of next generation individuals involved, varied within sampled transnational organizations: while some appear to be incorporating no or few next generation individuals; others are incorporating larger numbers and assigning these individuals significant responsibilities. A minority of 'contributors' had also initiated their own transnational opportunities outside established transnational networks, forming their own groups and NGOs.

In trying to uncover the causes of next generation institutional transnationalism, the analysis took into consideration a wide range of factors. First, it considered aggregated data gathered from two next generation samples: institutional actors and non-institutional actors. This comparison provided interesting and highly useful insights because it helped to identify the attributes that singled out respondents who were institutionally involved, from those who were not. It revealed, for instance, how important language proficiency was, or to what extent the backgrounds or socio-economic status of institutional actors differed for institutional transnational actors. To my mind, this methodology has not previously been applied to an investigation of next generation transnationalism. Taking a 'resource-based' approach, analysis revealed that human attributes, socio-economic status, and Spanish-language proficiency had some explanatory potential – but only up to a point. Institutional transnationalism appeared to be consistent with upward social mobility and relatively high educational attainment, potentially providing the knowledge and skills that could enhance their inclusion within cross-border organizations. Additionally, the high levels of Spanish proficiency among 'contributors' could have also helped these individuals to navigate transnational networks in which Spanish was the prevalent language. However, the fact that most respondents in the 'wider' sample shared these same characteristics, somewhat undermined the significance of these findings, suggesting that caveats need to be placed on the importance ascribed to these variables in previous studies (for instance Levitt, 2002; Rumbault, 2002).

A similar point could also be made about cultural forms of socialization and its contribution to the emergence of institutional forms of transnationalism. A cultural form of socialization did not appear to be significant because majorities in both next generation samples reported similar degrees of cultural transmission. However, another form of socialization at a different level of abstraction demonstrated more explanatory potential. Looking beyond cultural transmission it was possible to detect the influence of *actual* transnational practices since analysis revealed that close to half of the respondents in the

'contributor' sample were brought up by institutional transnational actors. It could therefore be argued that these next generation individuals would have been subjected to the sense of obligation that drove transnational acts within the parental generation. This suggested some consistency with Soehl and Waldinger (2012) and their conceptualization of discrete transmission pathways, which considers the influence of distinct parental behaviours on next generation transnationalism. Hence, alongside the importance they place on sending remittances, home-country visits, speaking home-country languages, and performing home-country customs, we can add formal participation in a cross-border organization as an influence on a distinctly institutional form of next generation transnationalism.

Having explored the potential of human attributes, socio-economic status, and socialization, the analysis turned to opportunity structures and the characteristics of transnational organizations. In order to more fully explore the context in which institutional transnationalism might appear, the study engaged with two influential theories that had previously been used to explain mobilization and opportunity structures that condition the formal or institutional behaviours of individual actors: 'structural analysis' (Wellman, 1988) and a transnational form of 'institutional completeness,' taken from Breton (1964) and developed by Levitt (2002). Structural analysis demonstrated some explanatory potential for individuals already connected to transnational organizations, and the theory's emphasis on indirect ties was also instructive since individuals not directly connected to transnational networks used friends or acquaintances to gain access. However, the theory was less convincing when presented with alternative scenarios – those individuals not initially connected to organizations through their social networks, or respondents who initiated their own transnational opportunities. Institutional completeness was found to have limited explanatory appeal, given that it failed to consider the qualitative nature of organizations and the institutional characteristics that can facilitate or constrain inclusion – a charge that could also, in fact, be levelled against structural analysis.

An examination of sampled organizations demonstrated both inclusive and exclusive tendencies. For instance, while some faced extreme resource constraints that undermined the development of effective and strategic outreach; others could instead benefit from the presence of members with significant human capital and experience that could be applied to organizational development, including efforts to target the recruitment of the next generation. Furthermore, while some demonstrated hierarchical tendencies that excluded new members or delegated only minor responsibilities; others were actively cultivating next generation leaders. This suggested that 'prominent' transnationalism is context-dependent, emerging in specific institutional environments where a more 'open' infrastructure and a general willingness to encourage next generation contributions existed. Where infrastructures are closed and constraints on next generation agency more powerful, it is likely that only 'non-prominent' forms of transnationalism will evolve.

Given their distinct infrastructures, institutional cultures, and composition, the evidence suggested that the trajectories of transnational organizations are likely to vary, with some continuing to evolve, and others dwindling and failing to regenerate themselves. This is a crucial point and one that makes an important contribution to an on-going debate regarding the future of transnational organizations and whether they will survive (Kasinitz et al., 2002; Levitt, 2002), or decline as the immigrant first generation ages (Jones-Correa, 2005; Rumbault, 2002). Taking into consideration that new arrivals are likely to be busy establishing themselves, the varied institutional characteristics, cultures, and commitments to reform, suggest that rates of decline will not be even, and survival is a distinct possibility within some networks.

To sum up, then, human attributes appeared to have only limited explanatory potential, and while institutional transnational socialization appeared relevant for some respondents, it was absent in the backgrounds of others. The insights provided by structural theories concerned with opportunity

structures – structural analysis and institutional completeness – were also limited, failing to take into

account the qualitative nature of transnational organizations. As structural theories, their analyses were

further weakened in another respect: they failed to give proper attention to agency and individual

volition. Reflecting the premise that individuals do not act in premeditated ways according to human

attributes and structural conditions, the study therefore also considered the desires and motivations

that compelled respondents to reject or pursue transnational opportunities. In actual fact these

motivations were remarkably consistent across the 'contributor' sample: a desire to 'give something

back,' a strong sense of obligation to the country of origin, and a need to reconnect. Hence, while

structural conditions are important – after all, context can shape, limit, facilitate, and constrain human

behaviour – the analysis presented here suggested that structure requires a healthy dose of volition to

produce institutional transnational outcomes. This synthetic approach provides a more realistic

interpretation of this phenomenon, and as we have seen, reflects previous research on migration and

transnationalism (for example, Smith and Bakker, 2008; Findlay and Li, 1999; Conway, 2007; and Marks

and Rathbone, 1995; Potts, 2010). Additionally, the study calls for an 'actor-centred' synthesis, which

while acknowledging prevailing structural conditions, is also appreciative of the distinct subjective

contexts in which institutional transnationalism can emerge, and the capacity for individuals to define

their own transnational trajectories.

Beyond formal cross-border connectivity, the analysis was also interested in uncovering

alternative forms of next generation. Respondents in both the 'contributor' and 'wider' sample

demonstrated forms of emotional transnationalism (Levitt, 2002; Wolf, 1997, 2002; Le Espiritu and Tran,

2002; Reynolds, 2004; Falicov, 2005) and non-institutional cross-border activities such as trips 'home'

and sending remittances (Rumbaut, 2002; Kasinitz, 2002). For those in the 'wider' sample, the study

confirmed that respondents were not disconnected from their country of origin, despite the lack of

institutional activities. Given that the country of origin continued to assume a presence in the lives of

next generation individuals, the evidence suggested consistency with other transnational studies of the next generation, which argue that transnationalism should accommodate non-institutional activities and emotions. However, non-institutional activities were significantly stronger among 'contributors' who conveyed their experiences, perceptions, and commitments to El Salvador and Mexico with more emotion, leading the analysis to consider whether these forms of connectivity had a bearing on the emergence of next generation institutional transnationalism. It was argued that while emotions would have provided the fuel that powered institutional activities; it was also possible that the maintenance of family ties, the regular consumption of media, and frequent trips to Mexico or El Salvador could have exposed individuals to needs, grievances, and opportunities to participate in institutional transnationalism.

Finally, the study investigated the relationship between assimilation and transnationalism. In one respect, assimilation had actually been found to promote institutional transnationalism, creating a sense of detachment from the country of origin, which some respondents sought to overcome through participation in a transnational organization. However, the study was principally concerned with the question as to whether the relationship between transnationalism and assimilation was dichotomous, as those on the right contend (for instance, Huntington, 2004), or simultaneous as empirical studies of first generation 'trans-migrants' have instead suggested (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2003; Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Faist, 2000; Tamaki, 2011). In answering this question, the analysis considered identification and civic participation within the United States. Contradicting ideas of conventional assimilation, which predict that transnational commitments are likely to prevent or undermine political involvement in the country of settlement, analysis revealed that respondents in the 'contributor' sample were actually *more* committed to US politics and philanthropic activities than their counterparts in the 'wider' sample. Qualitative and survey data revealed that their contributions to US political processes could be significant and sustained over time. In fact, in a minority of cases

institutional transnationalism may have facilitated civic participation in the US – either through 'indirect'

forms of transnationalism or because organizations had developed bi-national agendas.

Identification also complicated the transnational-assimilation dichotomy. Although a significant

majority of contributors did not identify as 'American,' this decision was *not* mostly predicated on a

strong rejection of the US or its societal values. Rather than a reactive tendency, it was more likely to

reflect the fact that respondents perceived the identity in exclusive terms, denoting someone with white

Caucasian ethnicity whose family had been in the United States for several generations. Furthermore, a

majority of transnational actors adopted ethnic identities that are only widely accepted or understood in

the United States. It was argued, therefore, that by taking on the nomenclature of the host society and

adopting pan-ethnic and hyphenated identities, 'contributors' were not demonstrating a refusal to

integrate or a tendency to perceive themselves as being outside society. Hence, rather than a

dichotomous relationship, the evidence suggested that assimilation and institutional transnationalism

are simultaneous processes capable of proceeding together.

By investigating institutional transnational activities in two communities (Salvadoran and

Mexican) and two locations (Washington DC and California), it was also possible to explore differences in

cross-border connectivity according to national background and geographical location. In fact, there

were broad similarities noted across all these contexts: the numbers of next generation individuals

involved in transnational organizations tended to be small, for example, and organizations mostly

delegated supportive roles to this demographic. Organizations in both communities and location were

also equally involved in US political arenas, actively campaigning on issues such as immigration reform

and the DREAM Act. However, analysis also revealed some distinctions. There were more senior next

generation members in California-based organizations who had assumed roles such as Presidents, Board

members, or Treasurers. It was argued that this distinction could result from the historical longevity of

Mexican and Salvadoran migration to California, which would ensure access to more mature members of the next generation (and thus individuals with higher skill levels and economic resources) and possibly provide organizations sufficient time to accumulate resources and develop infrastructures more conducive to effective out-reach. However, given the small sample size, and the limitations this places on extrapolation, these arguments were made with some degree of caution.

The transnational terrain that confronted next generation individuals also differed according to national context. It was argued that the higher prevalence of politicised, relatively resource-rich networks within the Salvadoran community, as opposed to the voluntary, relatively resource poor HTA networks that dominated Mexican transnational spheres, could generate distinct consequences for next generation transnational mobilization, not least the effectiveness of outreach efforts. This could potentially mean that a higher proportion of Salvadorans are mobilized in comparison to their Mexican counterparts. The more experienced reserves of human resources within the sampled politicized Salvadoran organizations could also have an impact on next generation retention, providing a positive mentoring environment in which Salvadoran-Americans could benefit from the experience, knowledge, and skills of veteran transnational activists.

11.2 Implications of the findings

In 2010, the US Census Bureau confirmed that over 50 per cent of births occurred in non-white minority families – the first time this demographic shift has been recorded in US history (US Census Bureau, 2011). Given the impressive growth in immigration in recent decades, this suggests that an increasing proportion of children growing up in the United States will have links to a foreign country, particularly those located in Asia and Latin America. Much of the analysis exploring this demographic shift has discussed implications within the United States, particularly the policy impacts of a diversifying electorate. However, in an era of rapid technological change when communication innovations can

facilitate the retention of home-country ties, it is also worth considering *transnational* implications. Technological advancements mean that the potential to engage in transnational activities has never been higher: donating to disaster appeals, promoting transnational causes, or simply communicating with relatives is often just a 'click' or a phone call away. While the majority may never realize this potential, the size of the contemporary second generation means that utilisation by even a minority could generate important consequences for both the United States and for countries of origin.

Implications for Mexico and El Salvador

From an institutional perspective, continued Latino-American involvement in cross-border organizations suggests the possible survival of transnational networks and causes beyond first generation immigrant actors. This could be particularly important for Mexican organizations at a time of declining net migration, since it is possible that some groups may no longer be replenished by new immigrants in the years ahead.[2] Beyond survival, analysis indicates that this demographic could potentially enable transnational networks to more effectively deliver positive change. Evidence gathered for this study implies that continued transnational involvement is most likely to be driven by an educated, socially-mobile, and connected cohort of next generation individuals, a group that can use their significant reserves of human capital to improve the performance of organizations that often face considerable capacity constraints (Orozco, 2006; Orozco and Lapointe, 2004; Portes et al., 2005; Bada, 2003).

The skills and knowledge of this demographic could be applied across a range of activities. Their technological expertise, for example, could be exploited to take advantage of new media opportunities which offer multiple platforms to engage with actual and potential members and donors. New technology maximizes the reach of transnational causes, projecting initiatives, information, and

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[2] The decline in net migration from Mexico in recent years has been attributed to two major trends: a decrease in immigration rates to the United States and a corresponding increase in the number of Mexicans re-migrating to the United States (Passel et al., 2012).

grievances to significantly larger groups of people, and enabling organizations to respond more quickly

to opportunities. Having an on-line presence could also enhance legitimacy, providing visual evidence of

activities and development projects that could help to undermine some of the scepticism and negative

perceptions that respondents in the 'wider' sample expressed towards transnational philanthropic

groups. Furthermore, native-level English fluency could enable transnational organizations to appeal

more effectively to potential donors and partners in the United States.

Institutional transnational activities could also emerge in alternative forums and arenas. Given

the close political, social, and economic interactions that span the United States and its southern

neighbours, the transnational implications of political and economic developments in the United States,

and the linguistic and cultural ties that bind many Latino-Americans to their parents' country of origin,

this demographic represents a useful resource for home-country governments and causes. Their native-

level English fluency, political rights, and knowledge of the US political system could provide the means

to exploit media platforms and lobby US politicians more effectively, thereby promoting home-country

positions on a range of issues including trade, immigration, and foreign policy. Although interests may

not always align exactly, contemporary developments suggest a number of issues around which

convergence could occur. One is immigration reform, a salient and highly contentious issue in the United

States that continues to galvanize large numbers of people despite resolute Republican opposition, and

thus limited prospects of progress or compromise in Congress. While the next generation might

approach immigration reform from a human rights perspective, opposing deportations and the

separation of immigrant families, for example, the Salvadoran or Mexican government might also want

to maintain and strengthen remittance flows.

Furthermore, Latino-Americans could promote narratives that rarely surface during immigration

debates in the United States, such as the consequences of neo-liberal trade reforms that may negatively

impact the livelihoods of small-producers and force many to migrate in search of work. The US-backed

Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR) continues to destabilize El Salvador's agricultural

sector, for instance, and in recent months a grassroots campaign – a transnational effort encompassing

allies in both El Salvador and the United States – has emerged to allege that the US State Department is

pressuring the Salvadoran government to end a popular seed-distribution program. Arguing that the

seed distribution program contravenes provisions established in CAFTA, US officials are accused of

pushing an agenda that would allow multi-national agribusinesses greater access to El Salvador's

agricultural sector (Biron, 2014).

A recent upsurge in asylum applications from Mexico and Central America, and the arrival of

thousands of unaccompanied children at the US-Mexico border, has also energized debate on the

consequences of the US government's 'War on Drugs' in Mexico and Central America. A grassroots

movement has emerged to raise awareness about the links between migration and regional

militarization under the guise of the Central American Regional Security Initiative (CARSI), gaining the

support of major Latino-American organizations such as the National Alliance of Latin American and

Caribbean Communities (NALACC). The US government has given significant amounts of money to

regional governments in recent years – spending approximately 466.5 million USD in Central America

(Meyer and Ribando-Seelke, 2012) and over 1.6 billion USD in Mexico (Ribando-Seelke and Finklea,

2011) – in an attempt to control the illicit trade in narcotics. However, there is evidence to suggest that

the transfer of arms and military training is a contributing factor to the region's escalating violence and

fuels the human rights violations of regional law enforcement agencies (Mesoamerican Working Group,

2013). Efforts to oppose existing policies would benefit from an engaged collective of Latino-Americans

who could conceivably help to present an alternative agenda, mobilize support, and lobby US elected

representatives.

Contributions to development and the country of origin could also take place in less direct, more 'informal' ways, outside established philanthropic and political networks. Although very few individuals in the 'wider' sample participated in institutionalised forms of transnational activity, alternative transnational connections, on an aggregate level, could still generate important economic outcomes in Mexico or El Salvador. In addition to the small minority who sent remittances, a majority conformed to other transnational behaviours that have the potential to generate economic effects: travel to the country of origin, communicating with friends and relatives, and the consumption of home-country products could all create a demand for goods and services that drive economic growth and create jobs.

Despite this, future trends are likely to depend upon the contextual environment. As we have seen the outreach capacities of transnational organizations could be decisive, for example their visibility or their willingness and ability to integrate new members. Context can also be fluid, causing opportunities and constraints to shift over time. Transnational commitments could intensify in response to developments in the country of origin: rising in the aftermath of a natural disaster, for example, or increasing during the run-up to an important election. Individual circumstances can also determine participation, since transnational behaviours can often compete with the shifting demands of university, family, and work (Levitt, 2002; Smith, 2002).

As we have previously seen, one must also consider the context of departure and the forces that compelled the community to migrate. Next generation Mexicans and Salvadorans may confront very different transnational terrains, the result of their distinct migration histories – economic for the former, and economic and political for the latter. While Mexican transnational arenas tend to be dominated by HTAs and their community development interests, Salvadoran arenas profess more distinctly political and partisan allegiances. Both present opportunities and constraints for stimulating next generation institutional transnationalism since the specific geographical and political orientations could generate

inclusive or exclusive effects depending on subjective sensitivities. Evidence also suggests that El

Salvador's violent past may have had a distancing effect, generating political cynicism (Baker-Cristales,

2004), or encouraging Salvadoran parents to deliberately avoid the perceived dangers of transnational

networks, something that emerged in the analysis for this study. Conversely, the gathered evidence

suggested that the outreach efforts of Salvadoran politicized networks could be enhanced by higher

resource reserves and human capital.

Despite difficulties accessing transnational organizations, evidence also demonstrated that next

generation transnational actors can create their own transnational opportunities outside established

cross-border networks. This suggests that transnational arenas can evolve and more effectively

galvanize the interests of this demographic. For example, USEU has spread to eleven university

campuses across California and provides a forum in which members can discuss their identities as

Salvadoran-Americans, debate their position and role within the Salvadoran Diaspora, and cultivate ties

with social justice and youth movements in El Salvador. This suggests a dynamic element to

transnational social fields. While contemporary arenas dominated by first generation immigrants may

not currently appeal, more attractive transnational spaces could emerge over time.

Implications for the United States

A next generation oriented towards their countries of origin could also generate important

consequences for the United States. Given the central role played by the United States in global

economic and political systems, it is tempting to consider how this demographic might promote US

interests abroad. Adopting a similar approach to Shain (1999), this viewpoint assumes a compliance to

American values and ideals, which as individuals socialized in the US, many are likely to profess. To

illustrate how such a partnership might emerge, it is worth considering US government commitments to

overseas development, made a priority under the Obama administration, which views development as a

key component of US foreign policy and consistent with national security and economic objectives.[3] The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) currently spends 28 million USD in Mexico and 60 million USD in El Salvador on a range of programs, including education, health, and violence prevention initiatives (USAID website, accessed 8/9/2012). At the time of writing the US government is also considering a further aid package for El Salvador, worth an estimated 277 million USD. This is part of an effort to fund community development projects and stem migration flows, and a response to the many thousands of unaccompanied Salvadoran minors who have arrived at the US-Mexico border in recent months.

Furthermore, at a time of deficit accumulation and increasing pressures on Federal budgets, the US government is also exploring ways of leveraging the resources and commitments of new development actors, including Diasporas. Then Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, launched the International Diaspora Engagement Alliance (IDEA) in 2011, an initiative that encourages and supports migrant contributions to development, including entrepreneurship, volunteerism, and philanthropy. It is not difficult to see how US government initiatives and programs in these areas could be enhanced by individuals who are Spanish proficient, culturally sensitive, and knowledgeable about conditions in Mexico and El Salvador.

A bilingual population with strong connections to countries of origin also provides the United States with a distinct advantage in an age of global capital, facilitating access to global markets and helping US corporations and other institutions more effectively navigate obstacles, whether cultural, lingual, or political. Beyond business, this demographic might also help US government bodies navigate

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[3] President Obama signed a Presidential Policy Directive on Global Development in September 2010, the first US President to do so. It prioritised action in the following areas: supporting emerging markets, developing new innovations to overcome development challenges, building the capacity of public sectors in partner countries, and improving the transparency of US foreign assistance (White House website, accessed 8/9/2012).

international arenas, and given their former antagonisms, improve relations between the United States and El Salvador and Mexico, thereby helping to construct a new era of positive collaboration across a range of transnational issues, from trade and commerce to immigration. However, this new era is likely to depend upon dynamic geo-political shifts and government or corporate commitments to diversify their workforces.[4]

In addition to activities in international arenas, analysis suggests important consequences within the United States as the country comes to terms with its increasing diversity. Previous studies have pointed to the adaptive functions of transnational connections (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997), suggesting that strong connections to countries of origin can reinforce parental authority, promote positive values such as hard work, and help individuals avoid some of the negative influences that pervade US society. Hence, it would seem that contrary to the narratives of conservative commentators, the retention of transnational ties could, by helping individuals build productive lives in the United States, create a more cohesive society, rather than the fragmented one that many on the right predict. Furthermore, rather than undermine US civic participation, analysis suggests that transnational activities could even facilitate greater societal involvement. Skills and knowledge accumulated in one arena could be transferred to another, and given the many inter-connecting issues that traverse the country and its southern neighbours, transnational goals might also be pursued within the United States. Mobilization around immigration reform, neo-liberal trade agreements, and foreign policy could all generate important transnational consequences in countries of origin. While a majority

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[4] A report by the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission concluded that women and minority workers in the US Federal government were still under-represented in proportion to wider economically active populations. Latinos currently make up only 7.9 percent of Federal employees (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2010). However, President Obama has since issued an Executive Order (Executive Order 13583) to create a coordinated, government-wide initiative to promote greater diversity within its workforce (US Office of Personal Management, 2011)

of Latino-Americans are likely to be galvanized by grievances affecting their communities in the United States - they are after all socialized within the country and likely to remain there - a subset of this demographic might also perceive the transnational impacts of US political and economic developments and respond accordingly, as they did for a minority of 'contributors.'

Conversely, it is also possible that political developments in the United States could undermine transnational commitments. In recent years, issues directly impacting immigrant communities have become increasingly salient, mobilizing significant numbers of Latino-Americans. As Latinos emerge as a growing political force in the United States, it is possible that increasing commitments in US political arenas could make it difficult for individuals to balance interests in both contexts, causing them to focus less intensely on transnational concerns. Equally, movements that gain traction in the United States could encourage individuals to become more active in a host-country context, particularly if US goals appear more accessible than those in home-countries, where distance and weaker political rights may undermine potential impacts. The cause of immigration reform, for instance, is highly salient and pro-campaigners continue to press their claim for a pathway to citizenship for the approximately 12 million undocumented immigrants living in the United States, and guarantees that the human and civil rights of undocumented immigrants will be respected. The cause is winning broad support among mainstream political actors, including many in the Democratic Party and its allies within labour unions and community groups.

Support is also emerging from a more radical faction, increasingly frustrated by legislative failures and the slow pace of reform, who are instead participating in 'direct action' as a means of raising their voice and pushing for change (Gonzalez, 2013). One notable group are the 'DREAMers,' an increasingly vocal movement of undocumented youth and their documented collaborators, who emerged in recent years to push for implementation of the DREAM Act, legislation first introduced into

Congress in 2001, which benefits undocumented youth in two main ways: it gives the Attorney General

the authority to block deportation and grant permanent residency to individuals raised in the United

States, and ensures that these individuals only have to pay in-state tuition fees to access higher

education (although in recent years the interests of the movement appear to have broadened to include

comprehensive immigration reform generally). Undocumented youth have also put themselves at

considerable risk of deportation: organizing high-profile walks across the country (Zimmerman, 2011),

for instance, participating in hunger strikes at Obama campaign offices (Ingold, 2012), or doing media

interviews in high-profile news outlets such as Time Magazine (Vargas, 2012).[5] They are also exploiting

new communication technologies and social media platforms extremely effectively, thus raising the

visibility of their cause(s) and galvanizing further support (Zimmerman, 2012).

There has also been mobilization against anti-immigration measures which have emerged at a

time of economic contraction and rising public anxiety. Arizona State Law SB 1070, which gave local

police officers the powers to identify, prosecute, and deport individuals they suspected were

undocumented, attracted significant criticism after its introduction in 2010. The legislation, which

inspired similar measures in other states such as Utah, Indiana, and Alabama, prompted the

establishment of a broad coalition spearheaded by the National Immigration Law Center (NILC), which

held protests, lobbied elected representatives, and brought a class action lawsuit against SB1070. In

June 2012, although declaring that sections of the law were unconstitutional, the Supreme Court did not

invalidate the powers that enabled police officers to check the immigration papers of anyone they

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[5]This pressure appeared to pay off when Secretary Napolitano announced on June 15 2012 that under a Directive
from the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), undocumented immigrants who came to the United States as
children would be permitted to stay in the country and legally obtain work permits. Those who met certain criteria
– people who were younger than 30 and brought to the United States under the age of 16; had been in the United
States continuously for five years; had no criminal records; and had a high school diploma, GED accreditation, or
had served in the military – could avoid deportation for two years, subject to renewal (Napolitano, 2012).

stopped or detained, suggesting that this struggle will continue. During the field research for this study,

the issue was highly pertinent, and in a small subset of transnational 'contributors,' the law appeared to

have contributed to a 'reactive' form of transnationalism.

Finally, despite the Obama administration's public statements in support of comprehensive

immigration reform (President Obama, for instance, gave a public briefing at the White House in June,

2014, to underscore his support for immigration reform, criticize Republicans in Congress for stalling

reform, and declare his intention to circumvent Congress and implement measures of reform by

executive decree), his record on the issue reveals a striking paradox: his presidency has seen more

deportations than any other. The two million-plus deportations (Vicens, 2014) – which have already

surpassed George W. Bush's total over two terms –have mobilized a backlash, galvanizing and winning

support for causes such as '#NotOneMore,' which has also exploited online media and is articulating an

increasingly powerful voice against the Obama administration's deportation policy.

To what extent these US political developments affect next generation transnational

mobilization is still an open question. Outcomes are likely to be context-dependent, and determined by

a range of variables. Evidence gathered for this study suggests that transnational actors can balance

commitments in both home and host contexts. Equally, the analysis also suggests that country of

settlement interests can override transnational concerns, as they had for some in the 'wider' sample,

and that institutional factors may conspire to undermine involvement in cross-border networks.

However, advancements in transport and communication technology mean that transnational activities

– institutional or otherwise – are an option for Latino-Americans coming of age in the United States.

While some may choose not to take advantage of transnational opportunities, for others there no longer

has to be a harsh separation from 'home'. In an increasingly mobile world, transnationalism may be a

natural mode of adaptation for many Latino-Americans, whose loyalties, identities, and interests may traverse two or more countries, challenging us to re-think accepted notions of belonging.

11.3 Recommendations for further research

The field research for this study covered a distinct 12-month period from the spring of 2010 to the spring of 2011. It therefore provides a relatively brief insight into next generation institutional transnationalism, a glimpse of this phenomenon at a particular conjuncture in time on both an institutional and individual level. An examination of next generation formal connectivity would therefore benefit from more longitudinal studies that are able to capture additional information and data and document the evolution of transnational trends over time. A more in-depth analysis of transnational organizations would help to further capture the dynamics that confront the next generation within an institutional setting, and provide an insight into how this demographic negotiates transnational spaces dominated by the first generation with prevailing cultures drawn from the country of origin. This will help to further identify contexts in which next generation transnationalism – 'prominent' and 'non-prominent' – emerge and develop.

Longitudinal studies will also help to further inform debates related to the long-term trajectories of transnational organizations and predictions of survival or demise. A sustained examination of cross-border organizations over several years, for instance, could yield invaluable data related to next generation mobilization and retention. Is there evidence of individuals born and/or raised in the United States rising up the ranks of organizations to take on more senior roles and exercise more responsibility, or not? And, to what extent does a more 'prominent' inclusion of next generation individuals cause organizations to shift – in terms of priorities, infrastructure, composition, or causes? Finally, is there a general trend towards more 'ethnic' or US-centric issues over time, as some have predicted, or do transnational causes continue to take precedence?

Longitudinal studies could also be important on an individual level to help determine how the transnational connectivity of 'contributors' evolves over time, helping to further isolate the important life-course factors that help to determine the transnational trajectories of institutional actors. Will the demands of college, work, and families lead to a decline in institutional transnational commitments, or will 'contributors' persevere and continue to pursue their transnational goals regardless? Furthermore, as they mature, will the accumulation of economic resources and the development of relevant knowledge and skills facilitate next generation inclusion within cross-border organizations, and contribute towards the emergence of more 'prominent' forms of transnationalism?

Finally, our understanding of next generation formal transnationalism would also benefit from a more expansive investigation that examines other immigrant communities. Although a comparison of Mexican and Salvadoran communities helped to isolate contextual factors specific to each group, additional insights could emerge if the nationalities under study were expanded. Does institutional transnationalism also apply to the next generation in African or Asian communities, for instance, where longer distances present more complex logistical challenges for organizations, and thus the potential for a less significant presence in communities and countries of origin? What of the children of refugees who may not be able to visit the country of origin, or may face a hostile reception if and when they return? Does the impossibility of return create a distancing effect, or galvanize the next generation to become active in homeland-oriented causes? And what is the attitude of the receiving country: do they tolerate the nationalist aspirations of exiles, or seek to limit their activities? Analysis would also benefit from an examination of immigrant communities in countries of settlement other than the United States where societal norms generate distinct assimilation patterns and transnational outcomes. Does an intolerance of multiculturalism, or fears of ethnic and national differentiation, for instance, restrict opportunities for transnational engagement?

Hence, while this analysis of institutional transnationalism offers distinct and original contributions to the study of next generation cross-border connectivity, there remain unanswered questions. Longer-term studies and more expansive analyses that capture trends within alternative national groups and countries of settlement would help to increase knowledge and improve our understanding of this phenomenon. In an era of global instantaneous connectivity, when immigrant communities have the ability to sustain ever closer relations with their country of origin, this would advance our understanding of contemporary migrant experiences and help to foresee the implications that transnationalism could potentially engender for both 'home' and 'host' societies in the years and decades to come.

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Appendix 1: Survey for HTA leaders

Name...

Name of Organization...

Year established...

Location..

Brief description..

Contact details..

Q1: Please estimate the percentage of your members/supporters who were born in the United States or were brought to the United States aged 0 - 14*

> 50 %	
30 – 50%	
15 – 30%	
0 -15 %	
0	

*These include individuals who attend events, donate money, or provide occasional support

Q2: Please tick the **boxes** that best describe how US-born members/supporters contribute to your organization:

	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Sometimes	Regularly	Frequently
Attending social events						
Attending meetings						
Organizing events						
Outreach						
IT/Website						
Planning and coordination						
Fundraising						
Management						
Donating money						
Financial control						

Other (Please state)..

Q3: Do second generation members/supporters occupy any of the following positions:

	Yes	No
President		
Treasurer		
Secretary		
Board member		

Are they able to act independently/make decisions? YES/NO/SOMETIMES

Q4: How regularly do **most** US-born members/supporters contribute?

	Time	Money
Often		
Regularly		
Sometimes		
Occasionally		
Rarely		

Q5: How important are US-born members/supporters to your organization?

Very important	
Important	
Slightly important	
Not important	

Q6: If you answered 'important' or 'very important' what qualities do US-born members/supporters contribute?

Please explain..

....

Q7: To what extent do you agree with the following statement: **"US-born Mexicans/Salvadorans are not interested in helping our communities in Mexico/El Salvador. They are American and only care about what happens in the United States."**

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Agree slightly	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

Q8: Some of your US-born members are related to members/supporters born in Mexico/El Salvador. Can you estimate what percentage?

90% - 100%	
75 – 90%	
60 – 75%	
45 – 60%	
30 – 45%	
15 – 30%	
0 – 15%	
0	

Q9: In the last few years have you campaigned on any of the following US political issues:

	Yes	No
DREAM ACT		
CLEAR ACT		
REAL ID ACT		
Comprehensive immigration reform		

Other (Please state)..

Appendix 2: Survey of closed sample 1.5 and second generation transnational actors

Section 1: Personal details

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Parent's birthplace (country):

Occupation: Parent's occupation:

Marital status/children: Ethnicity of spouse:

Education: Parent's education:

Language spoken at home:

Spanish proficiency: **LOW/INTERMEDIATE/GOOD/FLUENT**

Is your parent a member of the same transnational organization? **YES/NO**

Section 2

How often do you contribute to the organization?

	Time	Money
Frequently		
Often		
Regularly		
Sometimes		
Occasionally		
Rarely		

What best describes your position within the organization (Choose one)?

Senior member	
Member	
Contributor	
Occasional contributor	
Supporter	
Occasional supporter	

Have you done any of the following:

	YES	NO	When was the last time?	...the second last time?	... the third last time?	Estimated frequency
Travelled to El Salvador						
Sent remittances to family in El Salvador						
Voted in Salvadoran elections						
Contributed time or money to Political campaigns in El Salvador						
Contributed time or money to Charities working in El Salvador						
Spoken to family members in El Salvador						
Read/Watched Salvadoran media						

How closely do you follow issues and events in El Salvador?

Frequently	
Often	
Regularly	
Sometimes	
Rarely	
Never	

Section 6

Are you registered to vote in US elections? YES/NO

Have you done any of the following?

	Yes	No	When was the last time?	… the second last time	… the third last time	Estimated frequency
Voted in US elections						
Contributed to US political campaigns						
Attended US political rallies						
Participated in advocacy campaigns in the US						

Section 7

Which of the following identities do you use to describe yourself (choose as many as you think appropriate?)

	Yes	No
American		
Salvadoran		
Latino		
Hispanic		
Salvadoran-American		

Other (please describe):

Section 8

How would you describe the neighbourhood you grew up in? Choose one.

Mostly Salvadoran	
Mostly Latino	
Mostly White	
Mostly African American	
Ethnically diverse	

Section 9

How would you describe your close circle of friends? Choose one.

Mostly Salvadoran	
Mostly Latino	
Mostly White	
Mostly African American	
Ethnically diverse	

Appendix 3: Survey of open sample 1.5 and second generation transnational actors

Section 1: Personal details

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Parent's birthplace (Country):

Occupation: Parent's occupation:

Marital status/children: Ethnicity of spouse:

Education: Parent's education:

Language spoken at home:

Spanish proficiency: **LOW/INTERMEDIATE/GOOD/FLUENT**

Section 2

Have you done any of the following:

	YES	NO	When was the last time?	...the second last time?	... the third last time?	Estimated frequency
Travelled to El Salvador						
Sent remittances to family						
Voted in Salvadoran elections						
Contributed time or money to Political campaigns in El Salvador						
Contributed time or money to charities working in El Salvador						
Spoken to/E-mailed family members in El Salvador						
Read/Watched Salvadoran media						

How closely do you follow issues and events in El Salvador?

Frequently	
Often	
Regularly	
Sometimes	
Rarely	
Never	

Section 4

Are you registered to vote in US elections? YES/NO

Have you done any of the following?

	Yes	No	When was the last time?	… the second last time	… the third last time
Voted in US elections					
Contributed to US political campaigns					
Attended US political rallies					
Participated in an advocacy campaign in the US					

Section 5

Which of the following identities do you use to describe yourself (choose as many as you think appropriate?)

	Yes	No
American		
Salvadoran		
Latino		
Hispanic		
Salvadoran-American		

OTHER …

Section 6	

How would you describe the neighbourhood you grew up in?

Mostly Salvadoran	
Mixed Latino	
Mostly White	
Mostly African American	
Ethnically diverse	

Section 7	

How would you describe your close circle of friends?

Mostly Salvadoran	
Mostly Latino	
Mostly White	
Mostly African American	
Ethnically diverse	

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview with Transnational Organization leaders [NOT SEEN BY RESPONDENTS]

| Section 1 |

How do second generation members/supporters contribute to your organization?

| Section 2 |

How important is it to attract second generation Salvadoran-Americans/Mexican Americans into your organization?

How do you try to attract US-born members into your organization?

Have you established programmes/projects specifically targeting the second generation?

| Section 3 |

How do second generation members/supporters benefit from this experience?

What do they tell you about their experiences?

| Section 4 |

Is there an expectation within the Salvadoran/Mexican community that second generation individuals contribute to the development of El Salvador/Mexico or their community of origin

| Section 5 |

Should more second generation individuals in the Salvadoran/Mexican community become involved in community development?

What do you think prevents them becoming more involved?

Are there any obstacles preventing them becoming more involved?

<div style="border:1px solid">Section 6</div>

Do you think your work in Mexico/El Salvador will be continued by second generation Mexican-Americans/Salvadoran-Americans?

<div style="border:1px solid">Section 7</div>

What effect has second generation participation had on the organization?

What difference does their participation make, if any?

Do they bring something new, or a different perspective?

<div style="border:1px solid">Section 8</div>

To what extent do you agree with the following statement: **"US-born Mexicans/Salvadorans are not interested in helping our communities in Mexico/El Salvador. They are American and only care about what happens in the United States."**

Please explain.

<div style="border:1px solid">Section 9</div>

Has your organization begun to advocate on US political issues in recent years, such as immigration reform?

What do you attribute this to?

Who was responsible for this change in direction?

<div style="border:1px solid">Section 10</div>

Any further comments...

Appendix 5: Semi-structured interview with closed sample respondents [NOT SEEN BY RESPONDENTS]

Section 1

How important is your Salvadoran/Mexican ancestry to you?

Please explain your answer.

Section 2

Have you been to El Salvador?

If the individual has been to El Salvador/Mexico:

Tell me about your experiences there: what did you personally gain from the experience?

How do people respond to you as someone born or brought up in the United States?

If the individual has never been to El Salvador/Mexico:

What is your perception of El Salvador/Mexico?

Why have you never visited? Do you have any reservations?

What do your parents tell you about their community/country of origin?

Section 3

Do you have family in El Salvador/Mexico? YES/NO

How close are you with your family in El Salvador/Mexico?

Have you supported them financially, or had to make a 'sacrifice' when your parents or family members in the US have supported them?

Do you have children? YES/NO

What language do you use with them?

How aware are they of the traditions and culture of El Salvador/Mexico?

Did you speak Spanish at home with your parents, and were you brought up to respect the tradition/culture of El Salvador/Mexico?

Section 5

Could you explain your answer(s) to Question 5 on the survey?

Does your identity change according to the situation you are in?

Section 6

Have you ever contributed time or money to a political organization in El Salvador/Mexico or a Charity working in El Salvador/Mexico? YES/NO

If yes, how did you get involved? Are you still participating? If not, why not?

What are your responsibilities?

Section 7

Do you have relatives/friends who are involved in such organizations? YES/NO

Please explain what type of organizations they are involved in…

Section 8

What is more important to you: the welfare of people in your parent's country of origin, or people in your community here in the United States?

And if you were forced to decide between the two?

OR: Imagine you have a sum of money. Would you donate this money to a cause in Mexico/El Salvador or the United States?

Section 12

Would you ever consider living in El Salvador/Mexico for an extended period of time? YES/NO

Please explain your answer.

If no, what could make you re-consider?

Section 13

Would you ever consider investing your own money in businesses or development projects in El Salvador/Mexico?

If no, what could make you re-consider?

Section 14

Any further comments…

Appendix 6: Semi-structured interview with respondents in the open sample

Section 1

How important is your Salvadoran/Mexican ancestry to you?

Please explain your answer.

Section 2

Have you been to El Salvador?

If the individual has been to El Salvador/Mexico:

Tell me about your experiences there: what did you personally gain from the experience?

How do people respond to you as someone born or brought up in the United States?

If the individual has never been to Mexico/El Salvador:

What is your perception of Mexico/El Salvador?

Why have you never visited? Do you have any reservations?

What do your parents tell you about their community/country of origin?

Section 3

Do you have family in Mexico/El Salvador? YES/NO

How close are you with your family in El Salvador?

Have you supported them financially, or had to make a 'sacrifice' when your parents or family members in the US have supported them?

Do you have children? YES/NO

What language do you use with them?

How aware are they of the traditions and culture of Mexico/El Salvador?

Did you speak Spanish at home with your parents, and were you brought up to respect the tradition/culture of Mexico/El Salvador?

Section 5

Could you explain your answer(s) to Question 5 on the survey?

Does your identity change according to the situation you are in?

Section 6

Have you ever contributed time or money to a political organization in El Salvador or a Charity working in El Salvador? YES/NO

If yes, how did you get involved? Are you still participating? If not, why not?

If no, why have you never participated in such an organization?

What would convince you to become more involved?

Section 7

Do you have relatives/friends who are involved in such organizations? YES/NO

Please explain what type of organizations they are involved in…

Section 8

What is more important to you: the welfare of people in your parent's country of origin, or people in your community here in the United States?

And if you were forced to decide between the two?

OR: Imagine you have a sum of money. Would you donate this money to a cause in Mexico/El Salvador or the United States?

Section 12

Would you ever consider living in El Salvador for an extended period of time? YES/NO

Please explain your answer.

If no, what could make you re-consider?

Section 13

Would you ever consider investing your own money in businesses or development projects in El Salvador?

If no, what could make you re-consider?

Section 14

Any further comments…