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No Margin for Error: Educational and Occupational Achievement among Disadvantaged Children of Immigrants

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The authors review the literature on segmented assimilation and alternative theoretical models on the adaptation of the second generation, summarize the theoretical framework developed in the course of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, and present evidence from its third survey in South Florida bearing on alternative hypotheses. The majority of second-generation youth are progressing educationally and occupationally, but a significant minority is left behind. The latter group is not distributed randomly across nationalities but corresponds closely to predictions based on immigrant parents' human capital, family type, and modes of incorporation. Members of the second generation, whether successful or unsuccessful, learn English and American culture, but it makes a big difference whether they assimilate by joining the middle class or the marginalized, and largely racialized, population at the bottom of the society. Ethnographic narratives put into perspective quantitative results and highlight the realities of segmented assimilation in current U.S. society.

Keywords: immigrant second generation; segmented assimilation; dissonant and consonant acculturation; modes of incorporation

Immigration since the 1960s has transformed the United States. Today, close to one-fourth of the American population is of immigrant stock—immigrants themselves or children of immigrants. The same rough proportion holds among young Americans, aged 18 or younger. Children of immigrants and immigrant children exceed 30 million and are, by far, the fastest growing component of this population. Hence, their destiny as they reach adulthood and seek to integrate socially and economically into the mainstream is of more than academic interest.

Past research into this burgeoning population has shown that a conventional assimilation model based on a unilinear process of acculturation followed by social and economic ascent

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and integration does not work well in depicting what takes place on the ground. Instead, several distinct paths of adaptation have been identified, some of which lead upwards as portrayed by the conventional assimilation model; other paths, however, lead in the opposite direction, compounding the spectacle of poverty, drugs, and gangs in the nation's cities. *Segmented assimilation* is the concept coined to refer to these realities. This alternative model has both charted the main alternative path of contemporary second generation adaptation and identified the main forces at play in that process (A. Portes and Zhou 1992; Zhou and Bankston 1998; A. Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

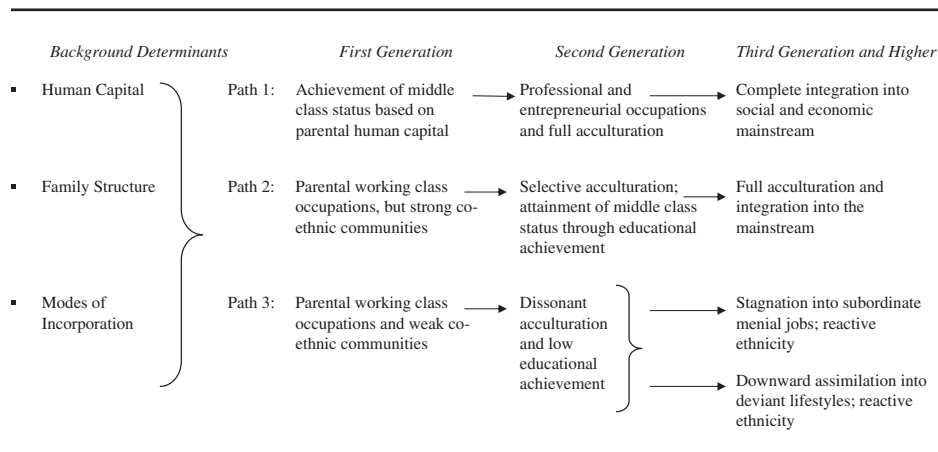
Specifically, three major factors have been identified: the human capital that immigrant parents bring with them, the social context in which they are received in America, and the composition of the immigrant family. Human capital, operationally identified with formal education and occupational skills, translates into competitiveness in the host labor market and the potential for achieving desirable positions in the American hierarchies of status and wealth. The transformation of this potential into reality depends, however, on the context into which immigrants are incorporated. A receptive or at least neutral reception by government authorities, a sympathetic or at least not hostile reception by the native population, and the existence of social networks with well-established coethnics pave the ground for putting to use whatever credentials and skills have been brought from abroad. Conversely, a hostile reception by authorities and the public and a weak or nonexistent coethnic community handicap immigrants and make it difficult for them to translate their human capital into commensurate occupations or to acquire new occupational skills. The *mode of incorporation* is the concept used in the literature to refer to these tripartite (government/society/community) differences in the contexts that receive newcomers (A. Portes and Rumbaut 2001, chap. 3; Hirschman 2001).

Lastly, the structure of the immigrant family has also proved to be highly significant in determining second generation outcomes. Parents who stay together

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FIGURE 1
PATHS OF MOBILITY ACROSS GENERATIONS



and extended families where grandparents and older siblings play a role in motivating and controlling adolescents, keeping them away from the lure of gangs and drugs, play a significant role in promoting upward assimilation. Single-parent families experiencing conflicting demands and unable to provide children with proper supervision have exactly the opposite effect (A. Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Fernández-Kelly and Konczal 2005).

Figure 1 graphically summarizes this discussion by outlining both the discrete paths and the key determinants of segmented assimilation.

Alternative Perspectives

Before the formulation of the segmented assimilation theory, the reigning orthodoxy of assimilation theory envisioned a fairly straightforward sequence of immigrant acculturation followed by integration into the “mainstream” of society. While exceptions were noted, the fundamental notion was that most children of immigrants would assimilate both culturally and economically, leading to the gradual disappearance of the original ethnicities (Gordon 1964; Warner and Srole 1945; Gans 1992).

Recently, there has been a revival of that perspective among authors critical of the segmented assimilation model. Those authors assert that no significant downward assimilation exists among today’s second generation and that whatever incidents of such trend exist tend to be random individual anomalies not a social phenomenon. Alba and Nee (2003) define an all-inclusive “mainstream” composed of the autochthonous upper, middle, and even lower classes and then

proceed to declare that, sooner or later, descendants of all immigrants will join in. They use historical evidence of linguistic acculturation, intermarriage, and identity changes among children and grandchildren of earlier European immigrants in support of their contention that assimilation is really the “master trend” in the history of immigration to America.

In addition, Waldinger and Perlmann (1998) argue that there is really nothing new in today’s process of second-generation assimilation, as earlier European immigrants also confronted barriers to their social and economic ascent that their descendants eventually overcame to become full members of American society. They argue that similar outcomes can be expected among today’s children of immigrants and that those stagnating in the lower class or joining the urban “underclass” are exceptional cases (Waldinger 2007).

Alba and Nee’s (2003) mainstream is so broad and their definition of assimilation so inclusive that it is difficult to see what is left out. In that sense, their resurrection of assimilation as a “master concept” can be readily accepted, but it does not advance knowledge and understanding of specific events and trends on the ground. From a long-term historical perspective, the descendants of earlier immigrants have on the whole assimilated, but this telescoped view ignores multiple cases of failure along the way.

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Given the momentous changes wrought in the structure of the American economy and labor market during the twentieth century, it is implausible that the difficulties and barriers faced by today’s second generation would be the same as those confronted by the children of Europeans. For one, many of the latter came of age during the period of industrial growth associated with World War II and the postwar period. Today’s second generation faces a labor market decisively transformed by deindustrialization, with opportunities becoming increasingly

bifurcated between the low-paid manual jobs accessed by first-generation migrants and occupations in the high-paid service sector requiring an advanced education (Massey and Hirst 1998; Harrison and Bluestone 1988).

In their own empirical analyses, Waldinger and Perlmann (1998) arrive at results that seemingly contradict their position. Thus, Waldinger's (2007) analysis of occupational attainment among children of Mexican immigrants documents widespread stagnation in the working class, with many second-generation Mexicans filling occupations not too different from those of their parents. This result corresponds exactly to what segmented assimilation would predict. Noting the extraordinary high levels of high school abandonment and low educational achievement among second-generation Mexican-Americans, Perlmann (2005) concludes that

Mexican-American dropout rates should bring to mind the warnings of the segmented assimilation hypothesis: that an important part of the second-generation will assimilate downwards. (Pp. 82-83)

Viewed from a long-term historical perspective, it may seem evident that the immigrant second and third generations have assimilated to American society. However, this view focuses only on the final "survivors" of challenges encountered in the process and neglects those who disappeared from view. Studying immigrant generations from this long-term perspective is not the same as investigating the second generation in the here and now, on the ground. It is at this level where the difficulties confronted by youngsters become evident and where patterns of upward as well as downward mobility can be properly identified. The next section presents evidence of these trends as they occur today.

Preliminary Evidence

One of the principal characteristics of contemporary immigration to the United States is that, unlike the European flows at the start of the twentieth century, present flows are bifurcated into highly skilled professional immigrants coming to fill engineering, programming, medical, and other occupations in high demand at the top of the labor market and unskilled manual workers coming to fill low-wage labor needs in agriculture, construction, personal services, and other sectors. A second characteristic of today's migration is that these bifurcated flows are closely associated with national origins: high-human-capital immigrants come predominantly from Asia—China, India, the Philippines, and South Korea; low-human-capital workers originate predominantly in nearby Latin American and Caribbean nations—Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and the West Indies.

Table 1 presents evidence of this bifurcation from two sources: pooled data from the U.S. Census Current Population Survey for various years and the parental survey of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), the largest ongoing project on the contemporary second generation. In 1996-1997,

TABLE 1
**HUMAN CAPITAL, MODES OF INCORPORATION, PRESENT SITUATION, AND EXPECTATIONS
 OF IMMIGRANT PARENTS, 1995-1996**

Nationality	Percentage Less Than High School ^b : CPS	Percentage College Graduates ^a		Modes of Incorporation ^b	Annual Average Incomes ^c : CILS	Percentage in Professional/ Executive Occupations		Percentage Intact Families ^d : CILS	Percentage Child to Graduate College: CILS	Percentage Child to Earn a Postgraduate Degree ^e : CILS
		CPS	CILS			CPS	CILS			
		CPS	CILS			CPS	CILS			
Chinese	4.4	64.3	41.9	Neutral	\$58,627	47.9	20.3	76.7	87.8	69.2
Cuban	38.3	19.4	20.9	Positive	\$48,266	23.3	19.1	58.8	74.3	61.0
Filipino	12.0	44.8	45.5	Neutral	\$49,007	28.5	16.8	79.4	92.2	33.0
Haitian	35.5	12.6	9.3	Negative	\$16,394	—	9.3	44.9	76.7	65.2
Jamaican/West Indian	20.7	18.0	20.0	Negative	\$39,102	24.7	22.3	43.4	80.8	55.2
Laotian/Cambodian	45.3	12.3	2.6	Positive	\$25,696	14.7	1.8	70.8	57.1	38.5
Mexican	69.8	3.7	2.6	Negative	\$22,442	5.1	2.9	59.5	54.5	39.2
Nicaraguan	39.6	14.1	32.5	Negative	\$32,376	7.2	17.0	62.8	73.3	55.0
Vietnamese	30.8	15.3	7.6	Positive	\$26,822	12.9	5.6	73.5	86.9	18.8

SOURCE: A. Portes and Rumbaut (2006, Table 39).

NOTE: CPS = Current Population Survey; CILS = Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study.

a. For persons sixteen years or older.

b. Modes of incorporation are defined as follows: Positive: refugees and asylees receiving government resettlement assistance. Neutral: nonblack immigrants admitted for legal permanent residence. Negative: black immigrants and those nationalities with large proportions of unauthorized (illegal) entrants.

c. Family incomes.

d. Children living with both biological parents.

e. Among those parents expecting their child to graduate from college.

CILS interviewed a representative sample of more than twenty-five hundred immigrant parents in Southern California and South Florida. The nine nationalities included in the table jointly represent more than 80 percent of the present immigrant population of the United States. Despite the different data sources, results converge in portraying stark differences in the educational and occupational profiles of national groups and in their corresponding employment and income levels.

At one extreme, we find Chinese and Filipino adult immigrants and parents with very low proportions of high school dropouts and correspondingly high proportions of college graduates. At the other extreme are Mexican immigrants and Laotian/Cambodian refugees. Modes of incorporation are operationally defined according to the tripartite typology described above, and represent, in summary fashion, the context of reception encountered by the average immigrant of a particular nationality. They range from “negative” for Mexicans, Haitians, and West Indians (because of nonwhite phenotypes and the association with illegal status for the first two groups) to “positive” for Cubans and Vietnamese (because of official resettlement assistance as escapees from communist regimes).¹

Differences in immigrant human capital and modes of incorporation translate, in turn, into monthly earnings, annual incomes, and occupational status. Professional occupations are rare among Mexicans, Haitians, and Southeast Asians because of very low human capital but common among Filipinos, Chinese, and Cubans. Income figures follow a similar pattern, with the same three nationalities at the top and Mexicans and Haitians at the bottom. Despite very low average education, Southeast Asians are not particularly disadvantaged in terms of income, a result that reflects their favorable mode of incorporation as refugees from communist regimes who had access to a series of government benefits.

Family structure also varies widely across nationalities. The proportion of two-parent families ranges from 80 percent for Filipinos to slightly more than 40 percent for West Indians. There is a clear rank order along this dimension, with Asian immigrants the most likely to hold families together and Caribbean immigrants the least. Reasons for these differences have to do with family patterns brought from countries of origin and possibilities for family reunification in the United States associated with different modes of incorporation.²

These differences among first-generation immigrants go on to determine forms of adaptation in the second generation. CILS followed a sample of more than 5,200 children of immigrants from early adolescence to early adulthood, interviewing them at three key points of their life cycle: in junior high school, at average age fourteen; just prior to high school graduation (or dropping out of school), at average age seventeen; and at the beginning of their work careers (or continuing schooling), at average age twenty-four. Each sample wave retrieved approximately 85 percent of the preceding one. The latest wave produced data on 3,564 respondents or 68 percent of the original sample. Using data from the baseline survey, it was possible to develop a predictive equation of “presence/absence” in the following ones. Results presented next have been corrected for sample mortality using the Heckman method based on this equation.³

Table 2 presents results of the last CILS survey on indicators of different adaptation paths. These include educational achievement, employment, income,

premature childbearing, and incidents of arrest and incarceration. The table divides the large Cuban American sample according to whether respondents attended public schools or the private bilingual schools set up by exiles arriving in the 1960s and 1970s. Public school Cuban Americans are mostly the offspring of refugees who arrived during the chaotic 1980 Mariel exodus or afterward, whose levels of human capital were significantly lower than the earlier upper- and middle-class exiles and who experienced a much more negative context of reception in the United States. Of all the groups included in the CILS sample, Cubans are the only one to have gone from a positive to a negative mode of incorporation, marked by the Mariel exodus and its aftermath.⁴

While variations among second-generation nationalities in average educational attainment are minor, those relating to dropout rates or quitting study after high school are not. In South Florida, youth who failed to pursue their studies beyond high school range from a low of 7.5 percent among middle-class Cubans to a high of 26 percent among Nicaraguans. Public school Cuban-Americans do much worse in this dimension than their better-off compatriots.

In Southern California, Chinese and other Asians had extraordinary levels of educational achievement, while close to 40 percent of second-generation Mexicans and Laotian/Cambodians failed to advance beyond high school. A favorable context of reception for Southeast Asians proved insufficient to overcome the heavy educational deficiencies of the first generation. The proportion of second-generation Laotians and Cambodians with more than a high school education is not significantly higher than among their parents (see Table 1). Mexican Americans, on the other hand, have advanced significantly beyond the parental generation. Their below-average achievements relative to other nationalities reflect the very low family educational levels from which they started.⁵

Family incomes closely follow these differences. In South Florida, middle-class Cuban Americans enjoy a median family income of more than \$70,000 and mean incomes over \$104,000, while second-generation West Indians have median incomes of just above \$30,000 and Haitians even less. Approximately one-third of these mostly black groups have annual incomes of \$20,000 or less. In California, similar differences separate second-generation Chinese, Filipinos, and other Asian Americans with average incomes above \$57,000 from Mexicans and Laotian/Cambodians with mean incomes in the mid-\$30,000s. Median incomes of these Southeast Asian refugee families are the lowest in the sample.⁶

The dictum that the rich get richer and the poor get children is well supported by figures in Table 2. Only 3 percent of the middle-class Cuban American segment has had children by early adulthood. The figure is exactly 0 percent for Chinese Americans. The rate then rises to about 10 percent of the Vietnamese; more than 15 percent for Colombians, public school Cubans, and Filipinos; 25 percent among Haitians, West Indians, Laotians, and Cambodians; and a remarkable 41 percent among Mexican Americans. Hence, second-generation groups with the lowest education and incomes are those most burdened, at an early age, by the need to support children.

TABLE 2
KEY OUTCOMES OF SECOND-GENERATION ADAPTATION IN EARLY ADULTHOOD, 2002-2003

Nationality	Education				Prefers Foreign Language (%)	Prefers English Only (%)	Family Income (\$)		Unemployed (%) ^a	Has Children (%)	Incarcerated	
	Average Years	High School or Less (%)	Mean	Median			Total (%)	Males (%)				
											N	
South Florida	14.49	17.0	2.0	64.9	58,339	45,948	2.6	16.6	6.0	10.4	150	
Colombian	15.32	7.5	1.5	72.5	104,767	70,395	3.0	3.0	2.9	3.4	133	
Cuban (private school)	14.32	21.7	1.8	62.7	60,816	48,598	6.2	17.7	5.6	10.5	670	
Cuban (public school)	14.44	15.3	5.2	63.5	34,506	26,974	16.7	24.2	7.1	14.3	95	
Haitian	14.17	26.4	2.7	61.8	54,049	47,054	4.9	20.1	4.4	9.9	222	
Nicaraguan	14.63	18.1	0.0	90.8	40,654	30,326	9.4	24.3	8.5	20.0	148	
West Indian	14.55	20.8			59,719	40,619	7.3	16.4	4.9	8.3	404	
Other	14.47	20.1	2.3	65.0	59,797	44,185	6.6	17.4	5.4	9.6	1,822	
Southern California												
Cambodian/Laotian	13.3	45.9	3.8	43.2	34,615	25,179	9.3	25.4	4.3	9.5	186	
Chinese	15.4	5.7	0.0	74.3	57,583	33,611	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	35	
Filipino	14.5	15.5	0.3	90.2	64,442	55,323	7.8	19.4	3.9	6.8	586	
Mexican	13.4	38.0	6.5	37.9	38,254	32,585	7.3	41.5	10.8	20.2	408	
Vietnamese	14.9	12.6	0.5	56.1	44,717	34,868	13.9	9.0	7.8	14.6	194	
Other (Asian)	15.2	9.1	2.3	86.4	58,659	40,278	4.5	11.4	6.7	9.5	46	
Other (Latin American)	14.4	25.5	4.3	65.2	43,476	31,500	2.2	15.2	6.4	18.8	47	
Total	14.2	24.9	2.6	64.6	50,657	39,671	8.5	24.0	6.4	11.9	1,502	

SOURCE: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), third survey.

a. Respondents without jobs, whether looking or not looking for employment, except those still enrolled at school.

Still more compelling are differences in incidents of arrest and incarceration. Young males are far more likely than young females to be arrested and to end up behind bars. Yet, among Chinese males in the CILS sample, no one was, and among middle-class Cubans just 3 percent were. The rate then climbs to one in ten among Laotian Cambodians and other Latins in Florida, 18 percent among Salvadorans and other Latins in California, and a full 20 percent among West Indians and Mexicans. To put these figures into perspective, the nationwide rate of incarcerated African American males, aged eighteen to forty, is 26.6 percent (Western 2002; Western, Beckett, and Harding 1998). With another sixteen years to go on average, it is quite likely that second-generation Mexicans, Salvadorans, and West Indians will match or surpass the African American figure.

In subsequent multivariate analyses, we constructed an aggregate index based on events indicative of downward assimilation—from school abandonment to arrests and incarceration. Models based on this index show the very strong effects of parental socioeconomic status (SES) and two-parent families in preventing such events, as well as the resilient effect of modes of incorporation associated with various nationalities. With family variables plus age and sex controlled, children from disadvantaged groups such as Mexicans, Haitians, and West Indians continue to have a significantly greater probability of downward assimilation relative to other groups. Even after controlling for subsequent school variables, such as grades and educational expectations, these effects do not go away: controlling for them, Mexican American youth continue to have a net 30 percent greater chance of downward assimilation, and the two predominantly black minorities in the sample—Haitians and West Indians—have more than a 50 percent chance (Haller and Portes 2007; Rumbaut 2005).

This is the most tangible evidence of segmented assimilation in the second generation available to date. It shows the durable effects of family and contextual characteristics as they create paths of advantage and disadvantage among children of immigrants. Events indicative of downward assimilation are neither scarce nor random since they concentrate disproportionately among the offspring of poor and poorly received nationalities. Poignant as these results are, they prompt additional questions bearing on theories of immigrant adaptation and on policies toward the second generation. We turn to these issues next.

Research Questions

Sociology deals with social facts, expressed in rates or averages, rather than with individuals. There are times, however, when the study of individual cases can say something important about how social outcomes come to be or how they can be modified. Segmented assimilation in the second generation offers a case in point. The structural forces leading to alternative paths of adaptation are clear and have been well documented. Yet, not all children advantaged by their parents' human capital, favorable contexts of reception, and stable families manage to succeed educationally, and not all growing up under conditions of severe disadvantage

end up in permanent poverty or in jail. Some among the latter even make it to the top, achieving a college degree and moving into the professions. Those individual cases have sociological significance for the lessons they offer in how to overcome the power of structural forces. Put differently, exceptions and outliers are important insofar as they point to alternative social processes obscured in sample averages that, when present, can lead to unforeseen outcomes.⁷

CILS is a uniquely suitable data source to address this issue. Because of its large sample size and longitudinal character, it is possible to identify within it a large number of children who grew up in highly disadvantageous conditions, operationally defined as (1) very low family socioeconomic status, (2) a negative context of reception, and (3) single-parent family. Attending an inner-city, low-SES school in early adolescence is another factor compounding disadvantages, but on average, such attendance is highly colinear with low parental SES and context of reception, sending us back to the original determinants.

We may thus ask whether any member of the original sample falling into this category managed to overcome handicaps to graduate from college and enter graduate school or a professional career. Data from the final CILS follow-up can answer that question. From the 1992-1993 sample of 5,262 cases, we were able to identify only 50 cases of individuals who managed to overcome significant disadvantages in early adolescence to reach college and receive their degrees. The number alone is a telling result: less than 1 percent of the original sample. Since these individuals had answered follow-up questionnaires in 2002-2003, it was relatively straightforward to locate most of them again through Internet-assisted searches.⁸

When approached, most respondents agreed to cooperate, not surprising given the purpose of the interview—to learn more about the reasons behind their educational and occupational success. Whenever possible, parents, siblings, and spouses were also interviewed. CILS cases were supplemented with interviews with additional respondents identified as representative of similar life trajectories in the course of fieldwork. In total, sixty-one interviews were completed. The narratives that follow, illustrating each of the major patterns uncovered by the study, are drawn directly from face-to-face or telephone conversations with these respondents.

First Narrative: Miguel Morales, Mexican, Aged Twenty-Eight, San Diego

Miguel was born and grew up in Inglewood, a working-class neighborhood close to South Central Los Angeles.⁹ His mother has a seventh-grade education and never worked after marriage. His father has a fourth-grade education and, for most of his adult life, has worked as a food preparer in the kitchen of the Los Angeles Airport Hyatt Hotel. Miguel has a B.S. with honors in physics from the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), and a master's in physics from San Diego State University. He will soon join a PhD program in computational

science at Claremont. His strength is math. He works as a high school and junior college instructor in math and physics.

Miguel's parents were born in rural Mexico, met and married in Tijuana, and managed to obtain legal U.S. residence through family ties. In Inglewood, Miguel grew up in a sheltered, Spanish-only community. Although born in the United States, he did not speak English when entering elementary school and suffered accordingly. On the other hand, his father was so committed to his son's education that he spent a third of his meager salary on tuition so that Miguel could attend a Catholic grammar school. The child eventually overcame his language deficit and started to get good grades.

Not only was Inglewood a Mexican cultural enclave, but the parents did not tolerate anything that escaped their reach. No sleepovers, no strange friends. Miguel Sr. took his sons everywhere he went. When Miguel rebelled in early adolescence, wanting to wear baggy clothes, he had a serious encounter with his dad's belt. Later on, at age eighteen, he tried to sneak out of the house through a window to attend a party, only to be physically dragged back into the house by his father.

This kind of isolation and discipline focused Miguel's attention on his studies but also left him woefully unprepared to cope with the world outside. He successfully completed his studies at St. Joseph's School and transferred to Stanley Junior High. The confrontation with the multiethnic environment of a public school and the embarrassment of having to take showers naked in front of others in the gym proved too much for the Mexican Catholic boy. He begged his father to pull him out. Miguel Sr. agreed. He sold his van, his only possession of value outside of the house, so that his son could attend South Port Christian Academy in National City.

By then, the family had moved to San Diego to be closer to relatives on the other side of the border. After completing junior high, Miguel moved to Point Loma High School, close to La Jolla, a school frequented mostly by children of affluent white families. He was the only Mexican taking advanced courses at Point Loma, and he succeeded in graduating with As and Bs. Through AVID (Achievement via Individual Determination), a program designed to facilitate admittance to college for poor minority students, he gained access to several summer internships doing research in biochemistry at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), under a faculty member. That was the single most important experience of his high school days and oriented him decisively toward medical school.

After high school, he was admitted to UCSD, sponsored, among others, by Percy Russell, dean of UCSD's Medical School. An African American, Russell was an active supporter of AVID and organized the summer internship program in which Miguel took part. At UCSD, Miguel accumulated a 3.7 GPA in the sciences and an overall 3.5 GPA, graduating with honors. In his junior year, he shifted his major to physics. Before leaving UCSD, Miguel became an AVID tutor teaching other minority students in nearby high schools.

After receiving his B.S., Miguel went straight for his master's at San Diego State. As a high school and junior college physics instructor, he earns \$67,000 a

year. Despite his high income, he is determined to join a doctoral program in computational sciences in the fall. He lives on his own, but several times a week he visits his parents' home, where the interview was conducted, with Miguel Sr. arriving just as the conversation was about to end. Having told his life history, our respondent turned toward his father and told him, "Gracias, Papa, porque me disciplinaste; me enseñaste bien." ("Thanks, Dad, because you disciplined me, you educated me well.")

Stern Families, Selective Acculturation

The childrearing and educational psychology literatures in the United States have converged in preaching to parents a tolerant, patient, nonauthoritative attitude toward their offspring and in promoting openness to new experiences and intensive socializing among the young.¹⁰ In parallel fashion, schools and other mainstream institutions pressure immigrants and their children to acculturate as fast as possible, viewing their full Americanization as a step toward economic mobility and social acceptance.

A recurring theme in our interviews was the presence of stern parental figures who controlled, if not suppressed, extensive external contacts and who sought to preserve the cultural and linguistic traditions in which they themselves were reared. Talking back to such parents is not an option, and physical punishment is a distinct possibility when parental authority is challenged. These family environments have the effect of isolating children from much of what goes on in the outside world; they are expected to go to school and return home with few distractions in between. While such rearing practices will be surely frowned upon by many educational psychologists, they have the effect of protecting children from the perils of street life in their immediate surroundings and of keeping them in touch with their cultural roots.

In other words, while freedom to explore and tolerant parental attitudes may work well in protected suburban environments, they do not have the same effect in poor urban neighborhoods where what there is to "explore" is frequently linked to the presence of gangs and drugs. Furthermore, and contrary to conventional wisdom, full Americanization has the effect of disconnecting youth from their parents and depriving them of a cultural reference point on which to ground their sense of self and their personal dignity. As we shall see, this reference point is also an important component of success stories.

Maintenance of parental authority and strong family discipline has the effect of inducing *selective acculturation*, as opposed to the full-barreled variety advocated by public schools and other mainstream institutions. Selective acculturation combines learning of English and American ways with preservation of key elements of the parental culture, including language. Previous studies based on CILS show that fluent bilingualism is significantly associated with positive outcomes in late adolescence, including higher school grades, higher educational

aspirations, higher self-esteem, and lesser intergenerational conflict (A. Portes and Rumbaut 2001, chaps. 6, 9; A. Portes and Rumbaut 2006, chap. 8). CILS-IV interviews confirm this result, indicating that instances of success-out-of-disadvantage are almost invariably undergirded by strong parental controls, which leads to selective acculturation. By early adulthood, young people like Miguel Morales can recognize the benefits of such practices and thank their parents, in their parents' own language, for having educated them well.

Second Narrative: Raquel Torres, Mexican, Aged Twenty-Nine, San Diego

Raquel is the oldest daughter of a Mexican couple that emigrated illegally to San Diego after living for years in Tijuana. Her mother has a ninth-grade education and did not work outside the home while her three children were growing up; her father has a sixth-grade education. While living in Tijuana, he commuted to San Diego to work as a waiter. At some point, his commuter permit was confiscated and the family decided to sneak across the border. They settled in National City, a poor and mostly Mexican neighborhood where Raquel grew up monolingual in Spanish. As a result of her limited English fluency, she had problems at El Toyon Elementary, but she was enrolled in a bilingual training program where children were pulled out of classes for intensive English training. "My teachers were wonderful," she says.

It was while attending elementary school that she realized how poor her family was. She wanted jeans, tennis shoes, and popular toys that she saw other children have, but her parents said no, stating that they did not have the money. On the other hand, discipline at home was stern: "My parents, they brought us up very strict, very traditional, there was no argument; you just got the look and knew better than to insist." In middle school, she made contact with the AVID program. While she was still struggling with English, AVID provided her with a college student tutor and took her on field trips to San Diego State University: "It was a fabulous field trip; we were paired up with other students and sat in class. Mine was on biology. Still, I hadn't thought of going to college."

The decisive moment came in her first year at Sweetwater Senior High in National City after she enrolled in Mr. Carranza's French class. Carranza, a Mexican American himself and a Vietnam veteran, took a keen interest in his students: "I mean, it wasn't so much the French that he taught, but he would also bring Chicano poetry, and within the first month, I remember he asked me, 'Where are you going to college?'" At Open House that year, Carranza took her mother aside, "Usted sabe que su hija es muy inteligente?" (Do you know that your daughter is very intelligent?) "De veras, mi hija?" (Really, my daughter?), asked the mother. "Yes," the teacher replied, "she can go to college." "All of a sudden, everything made sense to me; I was going to college."

Raquel graduated with a 3.5 GPA from Sweetwater and applied and was admitted at UCSD. At the time, her family had moved to Las Vegas in search of

better work, but Raquel wanted to be on her own. She had clearly outgrown parents who, at this time, had started to become an obstacle. "When I was studying late at night in senior high, my mother would come and turn off the light. She would say, 'Go to sleep, you'll go blind reading so much.'" Raquel entered UCSD in the last year of the Affirmative Action Program in California. While she was criticized by several fellow students for getting an unfair advantage, she strongly defended the program: "Without Affirmative Action, I probably would not have made it into UCSD. Besides, the program made me work harder. Other students took their education for granted and didn't study as much, instead going to parties and fooling around."

Raquel graduated from UCSD with a 3.02 GPA and immediately went for a master's degree in education at San Diego State. After graduating, she took a job as a counselor in the Barrio Logan College Institute, a private organization helping minority students like herself attend college. She is planning to enroll in a doctoral program in education. Her advice to immigrant students: "Stop making excuses; there's always going to be family drama, there's always gonna be many issues. But it's what you want to do that matters."

Really Significant Others; Outside Help

Despite these "where there's a will, there's a way" parting words, it is clear that Raquel moved ahead by receiving assistance in multiple ways. First, the same strict upbringing that we saw in the case of Miguel Morales kept her out of trouble, although it set her back in English. Her own selective acculturation had to be nudged along by those "wonderful" language teachers at El Toyon Elementary. Then, like Morales, she encountered the AVID program, which provided her with personalized educational assistance and the first inklings of what college life would be like. Finally, she encountered Carranza and her future took a decisive turn. The French teacher went beyond motivating her to recruiting her mother to support Raquel's new aspirations. Stern immigrant parents may instill discipline and self-control in their children, but they are often helpless in the face of school bureaucracies and can even become an obstacle.

A constant in our interviews, in addition to authoritative, alert parents, is the appearance of a *really* significant other. That person can be a teacher, a counselor, a friend of the family, or even an older sibling. The important thing is that they take a keen interest in the child, motivate him or her to graduate from high school and to attend college, and possess the necessary knowledge and experience to guide the student in the right direction. Neither family discipline nor the appearance of a significant other is by itself sufficient to produce high educational attainment, but their *combination* is decisive.

The second element that Raquel's story illustrates is the important role of organized programs sponsored by nonprofits to assist disadvantaged students. Whether it is AVID; the PREUSS Program, also organized by UCSD; Latinas Unidas; the Barrio Logan College Institute; or other philanthropic groups, such

organizations can play a key supplementary role by conveying information that parents do not possess: how to fill out a college application, how to prepare for SATs and when to take them, how to present oneself in interviews, how college campuses look and what college life is like, and so on. The creation and support of such programs is within the power of external actors and can be strengthened by policy. While the character of family life or the emergence of a significant other is largely in the private realm, the presence and effectiveness of special assistance programs for minority students is a public matter, amenable to policy intervention. The programs and organizations that proved effective were grounded, invariably, in knowledge of the culture and language that the children brought to school and in respect for them. They are commonly staffed by coethnics or bilingual staff.

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Unlike the full assimilation approach emphasized by public school personnel, these programs convey the message that it is not necessary to reject one's own culture and history to do well in school. On the contrary, such roots can provide the necessary point of reference to strengthen the children's self-esteem and aspirations for the future. In this sense, programs like AVID both depend on and promote selective acculturation as the best path toward educational achievement.

Third Narrative: Martin Lacayo, Nicaraguan, Aged Twenty-Nine, Miami

Martin's mother, Violeta, was a businesswoman in her native Nicaragua until the Sandinista regime confiscated her properties. His father was a professional and, for a time, mayor of the city of Jinotega. The Sandinistas jailed him as a counterrevolutionary, and he left prison a broken man. When Violeta made the decision to leave the country to escape the conscription of her sons in the

Sandinista army, Martin's father refused to leave. Violeta managed to send her two oldest sons to Miami to the care of relatives. She then used her savings to buy tickets to Mexico City for Martin, her younger daughter, and herself. They then traveled by land to the border and crossed illegally with the help of two *coyotes* (smugglers).

Arriving in Miami, they found themselves without money, without knowledge of the language, and without access to government help because of their illegal status. To survive, Violeta started cleaning houses for wealthy Cuban families. She rented an apartment in the modest suburb of Sweetwater, and Martin enrolled in the local junior high school. Having studied at the private Catholic La Salle School in Jinotega, he found the *One Potato, Two Potato* book he was assigned to read offensive. "It seemed that the teacher wanted us all to go work at the Burger King," Martin said.

At Sweetwater Junior High, he finally came under the protection of Mrs. Robinson, an African American teacher who took an interest in the boy. She managed to have him receive a "Student of the Week" award, and his picture was displayed prominently in the school's office. That meant the world to Martin, who had never received any distinction in the United States. Eventually, the family regularized its legal status under the NACARA law, engineered by Miami Cuban American congressmen for the benefit of Nicaraguan refugees. Violeta found a job as a janitor at Florida International University and combined it with her private maid service. The family's economic situation improved, although Violeta never rose above the status of a janitor and her husband never rejoined her.

Martin venerates his mother for the strength and decisiveness that she displayed in those difficult years and for her unwavering support of her children. After the family moved to a better part of town, he attended Ruben Darío Senior High School where he excelled, graduating with honors and immediately enrolling at the University of Miami. There, he completed a bachelor's degree in economics and accounting. He currently works as an accountant for Merrill Lynch and has just bought a luxury condominium in Miami Beach.

The Importance of Cultural Capital

Aside from the elements already noted, the most important feature illustrated by Martin Lacayo's story is the transferability of social class assets and their use in overcoming extremely trying conditions. The son of separated parents, with a cleaning woman as a mother, and living as an illegal migrant, Martin still managed to avoid the lures of gangs and street life, stayed in school, graduated from high school, and then swiftly completed his college education.

The LaSalle School that he attended as a young child and the memory of the middle-class life that he and his brother enjoyed before escaping to Miami provided key points of reference as he confronted poverty and the prospect of going

no further than a fast-food job. He knew the meaning of the dull books put in the hands of limited-English students in public school and set his sights on escaping that environment. His mother not only supported him in that goal but also never allowed him to forget his family's origins. She could be a cleaning woman in Miami, but she remained, despite appearances, an educated, middle-class person.

A recurrent theme in our interviews is the importance of a respectable past, real or imaginary, in the country of origin. Parents repeat stories of who they or their ancestors "really were" as a way to sustain their dignity despite present circumstances. Children exposed to such family stories often internalize them, using them as a spur to achievement. We heard references to uncles and grandparents who were "doctors" or "professors" in Mexico, to ancestors who were "landowners in California and put down an Indian rebellion," and to parents who were high government officials before having to leave to escape political persecution.

The "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1979, 1985) brought from the home country has actually two components. The first is the motivational force to restore family pride and status. Regardless of whether the achievements of the past are real or imaginary, they can still serve as a means to instill high aspirations among the young. The second is the "know-how" that immigrants who come from the upper or middle classes possess. This know-how consists of information, values, and demeanor that migrants from more modest origins do not have. Regardless of how difficult present circumstances are, formerly middle-class parents have a clear sense of who they are, knowledge of the possible means to overcome difficult situations, and the right attitude when opportunities arise. These two dimensions of cultural capital converge in cases like Martin Lacayo's where both family lore and the *habitus* of past middle-class life are decisive in helping second-generation youth overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

Although not part of the CILS sample, the case of Dan-el Padilla provides another suitable illustration. Dan-el is the 2006 Latin Salutatorian at Princeton University where he majored in classics, graduating with the highest honors. He is a black Dominican migrant who grew up in the Bronx with his mother and siblings. His father returned to the Dominican Republic and never came back. Dan-el's family alternated between spells of homelessness, sleeping in shelters, and public housing while he attended the worst public schools in the Bronx. A junior high school teacher gave him a book on classics, and that little gesture set his course. The boy persisted, graduated from high school with high honors, and gained admission to Princeton University. Shortly before delivering his address in Latin in May 2006, he proceeded to announce that he himself was an illegal alien.

What saved the day in Dan-el's case was again the solid middle-class status of the family in the Dominican Republic. Both parents were university-educated government employees prior to migration. As in the case of Martin Lacayo, Dan-el's father refused to stay in the United States, where he saw a future toiling in menial jobs as beneath his dignity. In both instances, it was the mothers who migrated and faced dire circumstances in America for the sake of the children. Despite terrible conditions in the Bronx, Dan-el always kept alive the memory of life and schooling in his native country. When that teacher gave him the book on classics, he fully understood what it meant.

Immigrant youths in similar situations possess an advantage that native minorities seldom have. Adrift in a white-dominated world, poor African Americans and other minority students seldom have recourse to an exalted family past on which to base their pride, much less to the habitus of middle-class manners and discipline to guide their studies and their relationships with the outside world. In cases like Lacayo's and Padilla's, the proverb that "when there's a will, there's a way" holds, but only because that "will" is anchored on a solid cultural memory.

Fourth Narrative: Ovidio Cardenas, PhD; Cuban, Aged Twenty-Eight, Stanford, California

Ovidio Cardenas's family came from Cuba during the chaotic Mariel exodus of 1980 and settled in Union City, New Jersey. He was a young child then and barely remembers life in Cuba. His mother promptly separated from her wayward husband and eventually moved to Florida, settling with her son in the working-class city of Hialeah, next to Miami. With a grade-level education, she could not go far and eventually settled for a job as a seamstress in a local factory. She eventually remarried another Cuban man who worked as a janitor.

Ovidio attended public schools in Hialeah, some of the worst in Miami. Gang fights, the open sale of drugs, and a prison-like environment at school were everyday experiences. "Most students were lazy. I was different because my mom and stepdad drilled into me the idea that I should not end up like them." The parents worked long hours, often at two jobs. The stepfather was a strict, traditional Cuban man who spoke little but strongly supported Ovidio in his studies. At Hialeah High, an English teacher, a white American woman, also made a deep impression on the young man. She conveyed to him the fact that "Hialeah was not the world" and eventually took time to work with him on his college applications and personal statement.

Ovidio focused on the sciences, especially biology, and graduated with a near-perfect GPA. He was one of the few among his graduating class at Hialeah High to go on to college and the only one to gain admission to an Ivy League institution. He was seriously depressed during his first days at Cornell. Hialeah may not have been the world, but it was the only world that he knew. He felt himself torn from his roots and certain that he would fail. He even attempted suicide on one occasion. After that event, somehow Ovidio pulled himself together and focused on his work. "All I did was study, morning, afternoon, and night. No sports, little recreation." After four years, he graduated from Cornell with a major in biology with honors and was admitted to Johns Hopkins Medical School. Originally, motivated by the suffering of his grandmother who died of cancer, he wanted to be a doctor. Eventually, however, he shifted to the biological sciences and, after completing his dissertation research, received his PhD in cellular and molecular biology. He is currently a postdoctoral fellow at Stanford Medical School.

Ovidio's career aspiration is to pursue research on leukemia at a private lab and eventually make a contribution to eradicate that disease. He also wants to help

“Hispanics” (meaning young Hialeah Cubans) improve their education and their careers, but he does not know quite how. A devout Catholic, he makes sizable donations to the church. He is single, but he lives with a partner, also a PhD student.

Ovidio’s advice to young Hispanics: “Stay focused; education is everything.” He does not agree, however, that in life you get what you deserve: “There is too much variation in the situations surrounding people; some good people face dire problems and many who don’t deserve success prosper.” Another of his projects is to complete his family tree through genealogical research on his ancestors in Cuba. His mother never tired of telling him that his family had deep roots and that her ancestors had been among the founders of the city of Cardenas, which was named after them.

The Motivating Fear of Failure

The story of Ovidio Cardenas is included here for several reasons. First, he is arguably the most successful member of our disadvantage-to-achievement sample, having reached the doctorate and attained a substantial income before age thirty. Second, his case summarizes all the themes explored previously: traditional authoritative parenting, a really significant other encountered in adolescence, and a cultural memory from the home country on which to base his self-esteem and reinforce ambition. While Ovidio has never been back to Cuba, his sense of self is inextricably linked to the hometown that he barely remembers from his early childhood. He plans to return to the ancestral land to complete the family tree to establish firmly who his ancestors were.

The new dimension illustrated by this story is a final theme common to many respondents: fear of remaining in the same class position as parents. Along with stern discipline, immigrant parents often dispense the advice that education is the only way to rise above the menial jobs, long hours, and modest housing that has been their own fate—a message that youth absorb. While it can lead to downward assimilation among those dropping out of school and seeking alternatives to poverty in deviant activities, a more common result is to spur youngsters to higher achievement. There is a *defensive success* that owes as much to personal ability as to rejection of their present status.

Thus, if memories of a real or imagined exalted past in the home country lead *proactively* to higher ambition and effort, fear of stagnating into the lower classes strengthens resolve *reactively*. Both mechanisms are privy to the internal dynamics of immigrant families and, hence, less amenable to external intervention than others noted previously.

Other Dimensions

Community colleges

A profuse literature exists on the subject of community colleges, especially since the 1960s when those institutions began to proliferate in the United States

in response to public demand for accessible and affordable higher education. Expert accounts about the worthiness of such institutions are divided into two camps. Some see them as a quasi-fraudulent means to distract working-class youngsters from attending four-year institutions and note the propensity of students to drop out of community colleges for financial reasons. Others see them as viable bridging mechanisms that enable youngsters with limited resources to continue their education and then transfer to four-year colleges or universities.

Unequivocally, our study supports the second school of thought. Many of the youngsters interviewed in San Diego first attended Mesa Junior College or Rosemont Junior College before transferring to San Diego State University, UCSD, or other four-year schools. Similarly, many members of our Miami sample attended Miami-Dade Community College (MDCC), which is arguably the single most important institution enabling immigrant children in South Florida, regardless of their national backgrounds, to gain access to higher education.

Mapping the family: Birth order, social role, and gender

Our interviews also showed the significant part played by social roles within the family. Many of the respondents in our sample are part of families in which other children did not do as well in school. Aside from individual characteristics, such as personality and intelligence, other factors were at play. For example, in families where parents worked long hours outside the home, an older sibling might fill critical mentoring responsibilities vis-à-vis a younger brother or sister.

Such was the case of one of our Cuban interviewees who grew up with a serious chronic ailment and whose mother worked long hours and was married three times throughout her daughter's childhood and adolescence. It was the girl's older sister who assumed responsibility for her educational progress, helping her with schoolwork, meeting with teachers, and setting high standards. When the younger girl graduated from high school, her older sister took her to MDCC and made sure that she was properly enrolled. In this instance, such a close and mutually reinforcing relationship worked well for both young women—one was forced to set a good example; she could not endure the thought of failure for fear of wrecking her image in her younger sister's eyes. The latter could not afford to disappoint an older sibling who had worked so hard on her behalf. The older sister became a clinical psychologist while the younger is an elementary school teacher planning to pursue a master's degree in education.

Significantly, the only boy in this family, born between the two sisters, never graduated from high school. He had his first child in late adolescence and now works as a messenger for a delivery service. It is likely that this young man "slipped through the cracks" in the absence of a clear role to fulfill within the family. His intermediary position, lack of supervision, and fragile connection with adult males in the household may have rendered him especially susceptible to negative outside influences.

Equally significant, in a different way, is the case of the Nicaraguan young man described earlier. His two older brothers had migrated several years earlier when they were in midadolescence. Their move was prompted by their mother, who

wanted to protect them from certain military conscription in the Sandinista army. After the woman and her younger son finally joined the two brothers in Miami, the firstborn, eighteen at the time, prematurely had to assume the role that his father had left vacant when refusing to accompany the family. In Nicaragua, this young man had hoped to become an engineer. He read avidly and was described by his mother as the brightest of her children. In the United States, he was unable to advance his education. Instead, he worked hard as an electrician to provide his younger siblings with proper instruction, but at great personal cost. He never married, became an alcoholic, and, in his late thirties, died an untimely death from a thoracic hemorrhage. His last request was to be buried in Nicaragua, the place where his hopes had been born, not in Miami, where they had died. His younger brother became a thriving professional.

In synthesis, the fate of immigrant children—as of children in general—is also shaped by their relationship with other siblings and by the resulting roles assigned to them. In some cases, that role may bolster ambition and develop responsibility; in others, it may erode aspirations and thwart a sense of self. The two cases recounted above also entail gender dimensions, but with different outcomes. In the first instance, the two sisters buttressed one another, creating a mutually satisfactory solution. In the second case, the achievements of the younger sibling were perceived by his older brother as the product of his own sacrificed ambition. The success of one took place at the expense of the other, with tragic consequences. Although we do not know enough about the delicate balance between birth order, gender, and social roles within immigrant families, our study suggests that these factors can also be of critical importance, leading to different outcomes among children of the same family.

Conclusion

While our interviews raised additional themes showing the complexity and diversity of individual adaptation paths, the cases highlighted above represent common threads running through the lives of successful young men and women who faced daunting obstacles as children. Given the smallness of the sample and the retroactive character of our interviews, the causal factors identified by the study can be read as hypotheses in need of further validation.

As noted earlier, several of the factors identified are internal to immigrant families and, hence, not readily amenable to external intervention. The presence of authoritative parents capable of controlling children and protecting them from outside perils; the existence of family retrospectives and middle-class cultural capital brought from the home country; the motivational messages that parents transmit to children; and the number, order, and gender of siblings are all dimensions about which little can be done from the outside.

On the other hand, organized voluntary programs to assist and inform minority students in inner-city schools, the presence of teachers and counselors who

take a direct interest in these children and drive them to pursue their studies, and the availability of community colleges that provide skills for decent employment and serve as stepping stones to four-year institutions are all factors that can be strengthened by policy, including incentive schedules for school personnel and financial support for effective outside programs.

Finally, even with the best-intentioned policies and the most effective interventions in place, not all immigrant children who grew up in conditions of severe disadvantage will make it to college. Even fewer will repeat Ovidio Cardenas's feat of converting a Hialeah High education into an entrance ramp for an Ivy League degree. In addition to helping other exceptional students follow the path of these high achievers, it is necessary to understand and address the needs of others not so motivated and not so gifted. A good vocational education, such as that dispensed by many community colleges, is probably the most feasible path for immigrant youths who may manage to avoid downward assimilation but who lack the skills or drive for a university degree. We suspect that the average educational achievement registered by the CILS sample in our last survey—fourteen years—is indicative that this path has been the one followed by a large number of immigrant children.

Notes

1. A more detailed explanation of the concept of "modes of incorporation," and national differences in these modes, is found in A. Portes and Rumbaut (2006), chapters 2 and 4.

2. A more detailed explanation of these differences is found in A. Portes and Rumbaut (2001), chapters 4 and 5.

3. The Heckman correction for selectivity is based on a logistic regression of "presence/absence" in the third Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) survey on the following first-survey predictors: age, family structure, and grade point average. A composite measure, λ , was constructed on the basis of these predictors and used for adjusting substantive results. For details of this method, see Berk (1983).

4. For greater details, see the section on "Two Achievement Paradoxes" in A. Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 258-67).

5. The proportion of second-generation Mexican Americans with high school education or less is approximately half the corresponding figure among their parents in the CILS survey, 70 percent. This indicates both the very low level of human capital of Mexican immigrant parents and the considerable educational strides made by their children in the U.S.

6. The Laotian/Cambodian figures indicate that extensive governmental assistance for these refugee groups did not suffice to lift them out of poverty, at least on average. The very low levels of parental human capital appeared to have trumped in this case a favorable mode of incorporation linked to their refugee status. The fact that second-generation Laotians and Cambodians have not appreciably improved on the low average educational levels of their parents does not bode well for the future socioeconomic adaptation of these youth.

7. This is a clear case of "sampling on the dependent variable," a research strategy adopted deliberately in this case. Results of this exercise cannot be used to "test" particular propositions but can be valuable in suggesting patterns and relationships testable in future studies.

8. With approval from Princeton's Institutional Review Board, we selected a professional company, Choice Point, to carry out these Internet searches. Signed agreements were worked out with this company to protect the confidentiality of the information about each respondent and its exclusive use for achieving the study's goals.

9. Most of the names of persons in this article are fictitious.

10. The educational and social psychological literatures on this point are too extensive to cite. They start with followers of various brands of psychoanalysis, such as Bettelheim, Fromm, Erikson, and Redl and Wineman and culminate in a veritable library of practical, how-to books addressed to parents. See Bettelheim (1955), Fromm (1945), Erikson (1959), and Redl and Wineman (1951). For an example of a recent practical guide, see P. Portes (1995).

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