Introduction

Immigrant Families in Contemporary Society

Marc H. Bornstein, Kirby Deater-Deckard,
and Jennifer E. Lansford

The world, it seems, is in motion. Locally, the United States continues to live up to its historical reputation as "a nation of immigrants," a country of immigrating and acculturating peoples, with the countries of origin and the numbers of its naturalizing citizens constantly in flux. Immigrants now make up 12.4% of the U.S. population. That amounts to an estimated 35.7 million people. During the past three decades, for instance, the Asian population in the United States grew from 1.5 million in 1970 to 11.9 million. Latinos are now the largest U.S. minority population (12.5% vs. 12.3% for African American); 35.3 million Latinos live in the United States (an increase of 58% since 1990); and Latinos are 52% of the foreign-born population in the United States (from 31% in 1980 to 42% in 1990). The number of immigrants living in U.S. households has risen 16% over the last 5 years. From 1990 to 2000, the total population showed a 57% increase in the foreign-born population, from 19.8 million to 31.3 million. Current U.S. Census statistics indicate that one out of every five children under the age of 18, or 14 million children, in the United States are either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrant parents.

In 2000, of the individuals residing in the United States who were at least 16 years old and in the workforce, 14% were foreign born (9% noncitizens and 5% naturalized citizens). From 1990 to 2002, overall growth in the size of the workforce was 17%. Of this growth, 76% is attributable to increases in the number of foreign-born workers. In 2002,

about two-thirds of the population of foreign-born workers occupied jobs in service, retail, labor, manufacturing, and agriculture sectors of the economy. In contrast, about two-thirds of the population of native-born U.S. workers occupied positions in technical, sales, administration, management, and professional sectors (Migration Policy Institute, 2004a, 2004b).

There are many foreign-born workers who are undocumented or unauthorized. Although estimates vary widely, most center on 11–12 million currently in the United States, with two-thirds of all unauthorized immigrants residing (from the largest to smallest numbers) in California, Texas, Illinois, New York, and Florida. North Carolina witnessed one of the most explosive increases, on the order of nearly 700%, from 1990 to 2000 (up to an estimated 206,000—a number that has only continued to grow dramatically since 2000; Migration Policy Institute, 2003).

There are multiple mechanisms through which foreign-born individuals arrive in the United States. The largest pathway by far (accounting for about two-thirds of permanent immigration) is through family reunification. For citizens, there are few constraints for authorized immigration of immediate family members (e.g., spouses, unmarried children, and parents). There are annual caps and long waiting periods for family-sponsored applications for the immigration of citizens' adult children (single or married) and siblings, and for spouses of noncitizen permanent residents. Ninety-five percent of authorized immigration to the United States from Mexico occurs through family reunification, as it does from India (43%), Taiwan (59%), the Philippines (77%), and Vietnam (68%), the five nations that send the most immigrants to the United States. Other programs that account for the remaining one-third of immigrants each year include employment-based programs (i.e., temporary workers), diversity-based immigration (the "green card lottery"), and humanitarian programs for refugees and asylum seekers. There is a massive backlog of applications, which is in and of itself a disincentive for many families when it comes to authorized immigration (McKay, 2003).

Going beyond U.S. borders, immigration is a major transforming force worldwide. Migration has been a fact of the human condition ever since peoples of the African savannah began moving to new lands and did not stop until they had inhabited virtually all of the livable land on Earth. According to the International Organization for Migration and estimates from the United Nations, in 2000 approximately 160 million people were thought to be living outside their country of birth or citizenship, up from an estimated 120 million in 1990. Intercountry migration may be viewed as a natural and predictable response to differences in resources and jobs, differences in demographic growth and financial insecurity, and exploitation of human rights in immigrants' countries of origin and/or destination.

Despite all of this movement, immigration and acculturation as scientific phenomena are underresearched and still poorly understood. At the individual level, immigration and acculturation entail affective, behavioral, and cognitive components, as well as health and economic concerns that change over time. Immigrants face multiple challenges in acculturating within their new dominant or existing society. Migration is one of the most disorganizing individual experiences, entailing as it does thoroughgoing changes of social identity and self-image. Immigrants must learn to navigate different systems of speaking, listening, reading, and writing even to communicate effectively in their new communities. Indeed, they need to negotiate whole new cultures. Learning those systems requires gaining new knowledge, as well as adjusting responses of life scripts to compensate for cultural differences, language use, and disruption of familiar family roles. At the aggregate level, immigration and acculturation involve social change in demography, sociology, medicine, and economics, as well as the civic, educational, social service, and legal systems in the society. As a consequence, immigration and acculturation engage multiple perspectives and disciplines.

Our chief intention in issuing this volume is to open a dialogue on the interdisciplinary connections and social ramifications of immigration and acculturation in families. These are issues of pressing contemporary concern as extraordinary forces both push and pull on the emigration–immigration continuum. Peoples in both sending and receiving countries and cultures are affected by decisions to immigrate and by emigration and immigration alike. On one side, immigration is typically tragic for sending countries in terms of waning population and also in terms of loss of entrepreneurial spirit and talent, as normally émigrés are motivated and resourceful people who possess the élan to start a new life in a new context. On the other side, receiving countries benefit from the influx of resourceful and spirited individuals, but those individuals and their new societies must mutually accommodate. It is interesting to note that, while increasing numbers of individuals worldwide are today immigrating, receiving countries are usually democracies of one or another sort. That is, receiving cultures tend to be open (if not welcoming) societies to immigrating peoples. Even still, immigration is a source of cultural tension as single individuals bring their culture of origin into contact with a novel culture of destination. Are the most assimilated individuals the freest and most empowered among immigrants? Logic tells us that there are only a certain number of strategies immigrants may adopt. Immigrants may cast off the culture from which they came and embrace the culture of their new land, a strategy (once known and desired) called assimilation. As a direct alternative, immigrants may continue to cling to their culture of origin, isolating themselves from their

new culture of settlement. These two whole-cloth options are complemented by two others. In one, immigrants do not maintain their culture of origin, but neither do they adopt the culture of settlement, and consequently find themselves in a position of social marginalization. Finally, immigrants can both maintain their original culture and integrate it with their new one, making the best of both worlds.

Our volume opens the important discussion of immigration and acculturation across disciplines. Until now, studies of immigration and acculturation have been reserved to one insulated field or another, each discipline conceiving of the topics and issues concerned with immigration and acculturation as its own and construing its challenges and benefits as specific to that discipline. However, it is clear to us, as it is to a growing body of experts in academia, government, and social policy, that immigration and acculturation are at base interdisciplinary problem spaces that need to be both addressed and understood through multidisciplinary approaches. In consequence of this belief, this volume organizes the contributions of individuals who are acknowledged leaders in their respective disciplines to represent their discipline, their work, and the intersection of their discipline and their work with significant issues in immigration/acculturation.

The volume is organized in three parts. In Part I, contributors from demography, medicine, psychology, sociology, and economics discuss how each discipline articulates with immigration and acculturation in immigrating families. The book opens with a chapter by Hernandez, Denton, and Macartney that provides a detailed demographic profile of immigrant families in the United States. Mendoza, Javier, and Burgos's chapter then describes the health status of immigrant children and recommends policies to improve their health. Next, Phinney and Ong review research on ethnic identity development in immigrant families. In the following chapter, Berry outlines four acculturation strategies (which we have already met) that vary in the extent to which immigrants continue to maintain connections with their heritage as well as the extent to which they embrace aspects of the culture to which they have immigrated. Tyyskä then writes from a sociological perspective on how immigrant families have been studied, suggesting that traditional sociological models may not fit well with immigrants' experiences. Part I concludes with a chapter by Kaushal and Reimers that offers a perspective on how economists have approached immigrant families.

Part II recounts case studies of immigrant families of diverse types at closer range. Contributors who have looked at more specific phenomena of immigration in specific groups of immigrants share what they have learned. The section is organized developmentally across the life course. In the first chapter, Bornstein and Cote describe Japanese

immigrant, Korean immigrant, and South American immigrant mothers' knowledge of child development and how such knowledge is related to their parenting behavior. Chase-Lansdale, D'Angelo, and Palacios next present a multidisciplinary model that incorporates characteristics of parents and children as well as interactions within families and community contexts to account for the social and cognitive competencies of very young children of immigrants. Bradley and McKelvey then review early education programs such as Head Start and Even Start with particular emphasis on how effective such programs are for immigrant children and how early education may be improved to enhance benefits to immigrant children. Waldfogel and Lahaie continue the focus on education by examining the role that preschool and afterschool programs have in promoting the school achievement of children of immigrants. Then, Ross-Sheriff, Tirmazi, and Walsh present a qualitative examination of how South Asian immigrant Muslim mothers in the United States socialize their adolescent daughters. Finally, Wong provides an anthropological perspective on an elite group of transnational Chinese migrants whose family structures have been transformed by the parents' extensive international travel for work. Taken together, these chapters provide an in-depth look at developmental issues that are salient at different points in the life span and for different immigrant groups.

Part III presents chapters that address the interface between immigrant families and a number of civic, economic, and social systems such as public education, the workplace, social services and intervention programs, and the law. This final part begins with a chapter by Fuligni and Fuligni who address the particular needs and impediments to fair access to public education for foreign-born children and their parents. Updegraff, Crouter, Umaña-Taylor, and Cansler discuss the stresses and strains of workforce participation for the parents of children and adolescents, with particular attention given to factors that may be specific to foreign-born workers and their families. Gonzales, Dumka, Mauricio, and Germán then provide an overview of community-based intervention programs that seek to promote optimal educational and psychological outcomes for immigrant youth and their families. Part III ends with Coleman's chapter on immigrant families and the legal system, with particular emphasis on clashes that occur between foreign-born parents and child protective services systems—conflicts that arise from cultural differences in beliefs about parenting practices that may be deemed neglectful or abusive by the predominant native culture and the law.

The volume closes with our thoughts and the reflections of Suárez-Orozco on the state of the science, policy, and practice regarding immigrant families. This includes a summary of the main findings and major

implications from each part of the volume, some broad conclusions about what we know, and emphasis on lingering questions and concerns about the work that remains to be done.

In the 18th century, when the American colonies proclaimed independence from Great Britain, the colonists were *all* immigrants clinging to the narrow strip of land on the continent's Eastern Seaboard. Assembled in Philadelphia, the colonists' representatives charged Thomas Jefferson to write out their Declaration of Independence. That Declaration is divided into two main parts. The first is a brief theory of democratic government. In the second part, Jefferson enumerated 18 grievances the colonists held against the king of England. In Number 7 of the 18, the colonists, being immigrants and wanting to promote immigration, remonstrated King George for "endeavoring to prevent the population of the States; obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands." Immigration has been with us always, and will always be with us.

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