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Original Paper

Patterns of Socialization among New Latino Immigrants in Comparative Historical Perspective

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Abstract

Education is a bridge enabling children of low-skilled immigrants to access higher tiered professions in a segmented labor force in order to experience socio-economic gains and social mobility. Historically, Catholic immigrants (Irish, Polish, Italian and German) have been served by the parish school which provided a basis for household integration and economic advancement in American society. This paper explores the relationship between the parish school as an agent of socialization and children of new Catholic Latino immigrants. Comparative historical analysis of old and new patterns of immigration serves to demonstrate how the mediating role of the parish school has changed. Qualitative analysis contributes to a theory of institutionally generated social capital which is operationalized by measures of communitarian socialization. Using data from the Consortium of Chicago School Research, I use ordered logit regression to measure the effect of high school socialization patterns on student's pro-social outcomes. I find that contrary to national data, Catholic high schools in Chicago are enrolling higher percentages of Latinos, a majority of whom are children of immigrants. A school climate characterized by affective support and inspirational ideology are significantly related to pro-social outcomes, while intergenerational closure is not. These findings are important because the parish school has a legacy of contributing to conditions necessary for children of immigrants to experience upward mobility.

Keywords

new immigration, segmented economy, educational attainment, socialization, intergenerational closure

1. Introduction

Although predicting immigration patterns is difficult due to the interaction of macro-structural and micro-social complexities (Lesthaeghe & Neidert, 2006; Longman, 2004), demographers are confident that populations will continue to shift from the undeveloped countries to developed countries.

Immigration can be attributed partially to labor shortages resulting from diminishing fertility rates in developed countries (Eberstadt, 2010; Passel, 2011; Gries & Grundmann, 2014) and to changes in labor and capital arrangements (Massey, 1998; Borjas, 2007; Barnes, Gumbau-Brisa, & Olivei, 2013). Southern population growth will continue to produce labor for the North because newly industrialized countries will send skilled workers looking for satisfactory work in the expanding service economy (Lockard & Wolf, 2012; Higgs, 2014). Although some researchers have forecasted the aging U.S. baby-boom generation combined with low fertility rates will lead to a slowing in the growth of the labor force resulting in marginal economic growth, others suggest that immigrant populations present the potential to counteract labor force contraction (Toossi, 2012b; Toossi, 2015; Alba, 2009; Tang, Choi, & Goode, 2013; Matheny, 2009; Mora, 2015). In contrast to a negative demographic composition effect, which takes years to materialize, immigration is the only component of population change having a direct impact on all age groups. An increase in the level of immigration within the different sex, age, race, and ethnic groups can vastly change the composition of the population and hence—that of the labor force (Lee & Mather, 2008; Toossi, 2012a; DiCecio et al., 2008). Immigrants come to the United States in search of job opportunities, higher wages, and brighter futures for themselves and their children. They are usually in younger age brackets with higher fertility rates, and because immigrants come to work, they have high work force participation rates (Mora, 2015; Gleave & Wang, 2013; Toossi, 2009; Passel & Cohn 2008). (Note 1)

According to the BLS, the national economy is projected to grow from a 2014 baseline of 150.5 million jobs to 160.3 million jobs in 2024 (Hogan & Roberts, 2015). Recent projections highlight the fact that the two largest occupational clusters are professional and related occupations and service occupations, which accounted for nearly half of all jobs, nationally—19.8% and 19.2%, respectively. Because these two clusters are projected to grow the fastest among the eight job clusters over the decade, they will account for a slightly larger share of all jobs—20.9% and 20.3% respectively, in 2016 (Hilton, 2008; Dohm & Shniper, 2007). The professional cluster and the service cluster are at opposite ends of the labor market in terms of education and wages. Most jobs in the professional and related cluster—such as healthcare practitioners and technicians; education professionals; and computer and mathematical science professionals—require at least a bachelor's degree and pay high wages. In contrast, most jobs in the service cluster—such as those in food preparation and healthcare support roles—require no more than a high school diploma and pay low wages (Woods, 2009; Lockard & Wolf, 2012; Hogan & Roberts, 2015). (Note 2) Simultaneously, the distribution of educational attainment of the immigrant labor force also takes a barbell shape with large shares of both highly educated and poorly educated individuals. However, the share of poorly educated individuals is slightly larger than the share of highly educated individuals, so that the overall average of educational attainment among immigrants is lower than that of the U.S.-born workforce, including the departing baby boomers (Liu, 2013; Tang, Choi, & Goode, 2013). Overall, current trends imply a slowdown in the supply of skilled, educated

workers, and, if demand for skilled, educated workers continues to grow, there will continue to be an imbalance in the national labor market (Scopelliti, 2014; Borjas, 2007; Gleave & Wang, 2013).

Given the context of a segmented economy and a growing demand for high-education professional and managerial labor, a key component to social mobility and improved labor status for new Latino immigrants is education (Note 3). Lacey and Wright (2009) identify the education or training typically needed to qualify for entry into various occupations over the projection period. They show that, among the 30 fastest growing occupations, nearly half belong to the professional and related group and have a bachelor's degree or higher as their most significant source of training. Education continues to serve as a bridge between the service economy and the knowledge economy. Theoretically speaking, cultural capital is a pathway to the type of social capital necessary to overcome a skills gap and bridge bifurcated labor markets successfully (Robles, 2009; Kim & Joo, 2013). However, the challenge for researchers is to understand how these macro-social realities affect patterns and practices on the micro-social level. The structural features of locally based social networks provide an entry point for researchers to understand how an improved status in labor markets and economic mobility can be achieved. Social networks themselves are bifurcated. Formal networks consist of linkages between service providers, organizations, and institutions. Informal networks, of friends and casual affiliations, are characterized by intimate and enduring relationships which provide valuable social capital. Research has shown that informal networks, at least for transnational Hispanic immigrants in the U.S., are the principle cause of migration (Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). Ties to parents, siblings and friends of the same community of origin form networks that constitute a valuable source of social capital that Latinos draw upon to gain access to foreign employment and the economic benefits it brings (Massey, 1998). The important mechanism within any type of capital is its convertibility (Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990**)**. Therefore, as new Latino immigrants acquire social capital—through affiliation with networks and institutions—they are able to convert social connections into employment opportunities (Lowe, Hagan, & Iskander, 2010; Massey, Durand, & Malone 2002), better jobs (Elliot, 2001; Elliot & Sims, 2001), housing (Chaney, 2010; Espinosa, 1997), and access to resources that can improve their social position (Gleave & Wang, 2013; Aguilera & Massey, 2003). Formal networks serve as significant neighborhood resources that collectively socialize and promote collective efficacy, as well as provide a context where social networks are facilitated and reinforced. Voluntary associations, schools, firms and clubs—because they operate within institutional constraints—contribute significantly to the social organization of its constituency and present an understudied component to economic advancement and social mobility among new Latino immigrants (Davis, Martinez, & Warner, 2008). One of the more important yet understudied sources of social and cultural capital among new Latino immigrants is religion (Note 4).

The New Immigrant Survey (NIS, 2007) has recently identified that among new immigrants, the most often cited religious preference is 'Catholic', predominately by immigrants from Latin America (42 percent). The proportion of self-identified Catholic immigrants is twice as large as the native-born (22

percent) (Massey & Espinoza-Higgins, 2011). In response to large numbers of immigrants from Mexico, Central America and other Catholic regions, the American Catholic church has become an advocate of immigrant rights institutionally while parishes have welcomed new immigrants into local religious communities (Menjivar, 1999, 2003; Mooney, 2006). We know that religion provides an important role in cultural adaptation. Religious centers offer both formal and informal social functions such as network formation (Foley & Hoge, 2007; Gleave & Wang, 2013; Massey, 1998), employment opportunities (Akresh, 2011; Bankston & Zhou, 1996; Bankston & Zhou, 2000; Connor, 2011), social capital (Massey, 1997; Hirschman, 2004), and civic skills formation (Smith, 1996; Foley & Hoge, 2007). First generation immigrants tend to be conservative, family-centric, traditional and mono-lingual. Therefore, religion tends to be strengthened by first generation immigrants who use religion to reinforce cultural identity and practices (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001). Although an ambiguous relationship, we know that the interaction of social structure and human behavior occur on three levels. Cultural context provides meaning through a particular worldview and is bridged to social units consisting of neighborhoods, households, voluntary associations, schools, and firms where social ties are established through kinship, friendship, neighbors, and work associates. All three levels must be considered when exploring variation in social processes such as labor force participation and social mobility. Therefore this study looks at the interplay of Catholicism, the parish school, and household networks that contribute to socialization patterns capable of creating conditions necessary for economic advancement and social mobility among new Latino immigrants.

Social reproduction among U.S. Catholic immigrants (Polish, Italian, German and Irish) is historically dependent on the collaboration of three institutions; the family, the local parish, and the school (Lazerson, 1977, p. 300). The parish school has historically contributed not only to religious socialization among immigrant populations, but has provided a link in community closure. Although originally conceived to isolate immigrant children from the dominate Protestant/English culture, children of earlier Catholic immigrants did slowly assimilate into mainstream culture and the parish school contributed to upward mobility and thereby indirectly to assimilation as well (Note 5). Previous patterns of ethnic immigration (Irish, German, Polish, and Italian) contributed to dramatic expansion of Catholicism in the US between 1880 and 1920 (Greeley, McCready, & McCourt, 1976; Finke & Stark, 2005). Catholic schools have played an important role in both social reproduction and socialization of immigrant Catholic youth. In the wake of "new immigration," this paper asks the question; what is the relationship between the parish school and socialization of second generation Latino immigrants? The purpose of this paper is to explore the degree to which Catholic schools are continuing to serve Latino immigrants that dominate the "new immigrant" population and contribute to their socialization. This purpose is achieved by analyzing comparative histories of old and new Catholic immigrants in order to identify cultural similarities and dissimilarities, to understand how the parish school contributes to community closure, and empirically determine the degree to which the parish school is contributing to the socialization of new Latino immigrant youth.

2. Qualitative Method: Comparative Histories of Old and New Catholic Immigrants

Although parish schools date back to the early 1800s, the period from 1880-1920 marked a watershed era of growth. By most accounts, the flashpoint corresponded to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 where the fourteen archbishops and sixty bishops in attendance called for every parish to have a school (Dolan, 1992; Buetow, 1970; O'Keefe, 1996). The era of growth parallels the second wave of Catholic immigration (1885-1920). By comparing the social context and patterns of settlement between old (1880-1920) and new Catholic immigration (post-1965), similar case comparisons can provide insight into events and their relationship to surrounding structural conditions that can yield theoretical clues that may help explain how and why religious schools play a significant role in socializing the children of immigrants in the U.S.. For the sake of comparative analysis, I will use the following categories; labor, fertility, discrimination (xenophobia), and religion (Note 6). In addition, this study will use the term "the parish school" both substantively to represent Catholic parochial school system and symbolically as a cultural form.

2.1 The Case of Irish Catholics

Social and economic historians note little change regarding entry into the US labor market between waves of Irish immigrants (Griffen & Griffen, 1978; Esslinger, 1975; Thernstrom, 1973). Because upward occupational mobility was infrequent among the first generation of Irish immigrants meant that the second wave also entered the labor market as unskilled laborers and occupied the bottom of the labor hierarchy (Dolan, 1992; Ferrie, 1997). Research shows that occupational mobility was dependent on location, literacy, and pre-migration skills (Ferrie, 1997). Since the majority of the Irish were poor illiterate peasants, who did not own property but worked as laborers on tenant farms, they arrived with low skills which limited their occupational opportunities to the urban labor markets (O'Day, 2005; Dolan, 1992). Semi-skilled artisans, who may have arrived with skills that had been displaced by the industrial production methods such as weaving, book binding, nail smiths also found themselves at the bottom of occupational structure (Ferrie, 1997). Incompatible transfer of skills meant downward mobility even for many semi-skilled artisans (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2002). Although as much as one-third of American born Irish (children of first wave immigrants) slowly entered the middle class after 1880, the majority of Irish remained in low-paid, low status occupations and as a group were slower to experience occupational and employment mobility than were immigrants from other northern European nations such as Germany or England (Ferrie, 1997; Guinnane, Moehling, & Grada, 2006).

Recent scholarship on the Irish fertility has attempted to clarify between myth and fact regarding the persistence of a distinctive Irish culture in the United States. The question studied by most researchers is whether or not immigrant Irish Catholics uniquely contributed to higher fertility rates than did their American born Irish counterparts and if so, did they collectively contribute to higher rates of fertility than did other immigrant groups and native-born women? Guinnane and associates (2006, pp. 482-483) used 1910 data from the Integrated Microdata Series and determined that the era's Irish immigrants had larger families than American born Irish, German immigrants and native-born American women. They

could not attribute the gap to any of the observable characteristics in their model, such as marital age, occupation category, nativity, etc. Using household-level manuscript census data, Wilcox and Golden (1982) explored ethnic, occupational and demographic differences between immigrants and native populations looking for determinants of fertility differentiation in fifteen New England communities. They found Irish Catholic immigrants to have higher fertility than their native born counterparts in the region. While occupational categories did not account for the ethnic differences in fertility, occupation was an important determinant of fertility; native born factory workers and unskilled immigrants had the highest fertility rate at a time when industrialization was growing in the Northeast. Wilcox and Golden (1982, p. 286) attribute high fertility to culture socialization that stressed the economic value of children's labor and religious support for a large family norm. These fertility studies are important because they verify with rigorous research what popular culture has always assumed. Using quantitative analysis allows researchers to confirm certain correlations while ruling out others thus providing a more descriptive impression of fertility patterns among Irish Catholic immigrants and their native born counterparts at the turn of the twentieth century.

Immigrants from countries less developed than the Unities States tend to experience a larger drop in status after arrival than immigrants from economies at a similar stage of development (Chiswick et al., 2002). Fewer Irish arrived to the U.S. with backgrounds that would have enabled them to become easily integrated in to the U.S. economy. Economic analysis of social mobility cannot make any other attribution for the slow progress of the Irish immigrants in comparison to other European immigrants apart from the conclusion that there was a negative effect of Irish origin (Ferrie, 1997). Discrimination against foreigners in this period is well documented, but nativists' attack against Irish Catholics was especially acute. Irish Catholics were depicted as both sub-human species unfit to live in America and as cleaver servants of the Pope who had been sent to undermine a Protestant destiny (Gerstle, 2000). Xenophobic associations emerged that were decidedly anti-Catholic and anti-Irish such as the American Protective Association to the Ku Klux Klan (Dolan, 1992). Bigotry against Irish Catholics resulted in economic oppression, religious discrimination and social exclusion.

If a large percentage of Catholic immigrants were socially and economically marginalized and were threatened by xenophobic discrimination, then how did they organize themselves in such a way that resulted in the exponential growth of Catholicism in the U.S. and eventual upward social mobility of Catholics? The growth of Catholicism can be attributed, in part, to sub-culture identity. Contrary to conventional thought, earlier waves of immigrants who came from Catholic areas of Europe were not necessarily ardently practicing Catholics; in fact they were nominal Catholics. The American Catholic Church, without church lands or tax support as had been the case in Europe, had to compete for its members in order to counteract vigorous attempts by Protestant sects to recruit immigrants (Stark & McCann, 1993). According to Finke and Stark (2005), the America Catholic Church in its early development was an embattled minority. Relying on Shaughnessy's account of Catholic expansion, Finke and Stark (2005, p. 122) show that the growth of Catholicism occurred much later than earlier

accounts and growth was more conservative. Growth is attributed to aggressive campaigns aimed at personal renewal and Catholic style revivalism (Dolan, 1992) that resulted in a "sect like" sub-culture. A major achievement of American Catholicism is that in the face of a dominant and sometimes hostile Protestant environment, parish churches were able to appeal to a broad spectrum of immigrants from varying ethnic backgrounds and create alternative structures that shaped the tone of associational life. Parish churches were encapsulated social structures allowing ethnic sub-cultures to retain certain aspects of their native culture while adapting slowly to the new environment (Finke & Stark, 2005).

A second important factor contributing to Catholic growth is the parish school. As immigrants settled into ethnically mixed neighborhoods, separate national parishes became the accepted mode of institutional and social identity (Sanders, 1977). At first, parish schools emerged as an informal attempt to socialize children according to cultural norms and were extension of the family and church. They coexisted with "free schools" however, in many cases, the decentralized nature of the common school system meant that local ethnic communities frequently adopted their ethnic language, cultural forms and religious beliefs (Cross, 1965). 'School wars' first developed in the mid nineteenth century over the use of public money to support Catholic schools. The conflict is attributed to anti-Catholic sentiment by reformers who sought to impose middle class Protestant values on lower and working class ethnic children (Lazerson, 1977). Until this time, parish schools had not been a part of an organized plan to create a system of separate schools. However, tensions with the common school supported by compulsory taxes designed to appeal to the prospering middle class motivated members of the Catholic hierarchy to make separate schools an essential obligation for all Catholics (Cross, 1965). Even though many parishes could not comply—or in some cases did not have to because their community was so overwhelming Catholic that they controlled the public school—by 1916 more than a third of the parishes had schools and by the mid-1960s, two-thirds of Catholic parishes did so (Dolan, 1992).

The point of this abridged history of the parish school is to reinforce the idea that Catholics, as an embattled minority, have supported parish schools as a means of reinforcing their religious and ethnic identity in order to achieve differentiation from the dominant culture. The parish school became an important site for reinforcing immigrant Catholic solidarity and collective identity as a result of conflict with the educational establishment (Beyerlin, 2003). From an analytical viewpoint, the parish school functioned significantly in three ways. First, it contributed to institution building. Building institutions is important process in order to legitimize a community that is attempting to establish its identity as a minority. Building institutions creates social space whereby a minority group can express their cultural preferences, reinforce network ties, and build formal institutional relations with outside organizations. Institutions serve an important communitarian function by consolidating support and distributing benefits. Second, the parish school became an important symbolic marker in an attempt to maintain cultural and religious differentiation. Finke and Stark (2005, p. 139) point out that the most visible institution in the Catholic subculture was the parish grammar school. Small institutions can serve as

visual reminders of progress and achievement for minority communities that are struggling to achieve social status. Third, the parish school was part of a totalizing socialization strategy that included the family, the neighborhood and the church which acted collectively to provide multiple resources and social capital.

2.2 The Case of New Catholic Latino Immigrants

On a comparative basis, there are striking similarities between the immigration experience of new Latino immigrants and Irish immigrants; especially when compared on the axes of labor, fertility, discrimination and religion. Since new immigration, by most accounts, corresponds to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Hart-Celler Act, INS Act of 1965), forty years of immigrant history encompasses several smaller trends and trajectories. However, it is possible to utilize segments of this mosaic and render a composite sketch of the general experience. Economic survival and viability is a principal concern of immigrants since one of the strongest pull factors that motivates out migration is the hope of improved welfare. Regarding labor market incorporation, the positive trend for new Latino immigrants, according PUMS data, is that they show the highest rates of labor-force participation among foreign born adult workers at 66.1 percent in 2014 although are projected to decrease slightly by 2024 (Toossi, 2015, p. 18). This can be attributed to favorable and extensive co-ethnic networks (Lowe, Hagan, & Iskander, 2010; Aguillera & Massey, 2003). However, easy entrance into labor markets is mitigated by difficulty moving up the occupational structure. Advancement is handicapped by limited English proficiency, non-transferable job skills and low levels of education. These conditions make labor-intensive jobs easily accessible to immigrants; however low-skilled jobs do not provide living wages thus making survival more challenging. PUMS data show that of all foreign born workers, Latino immigrants are the highest group employed by low wages (Zhou, 2003). Economic transformations that have resulted in a bifurcated labor market are indicated by shifts from farm labor and industrial sector to service industries (Bustamante, 1994). Data from the Latin American Migration Project show that in 1998, hourly wages for Latin American migrants averaged $9.85 (Massey & Sana, 2003). Although this was almost double the minimum wage of the time, Latino immigrants showed the highest levels of partial employment compared to other immigrant groups (Zhou, 2003). In spite of economic transformations, the best estimates show that farm labor still accounts for one-third of all Latino immigrants who in 1998 earned an average hourly wage of $5.70 (Bustamante, 1994, p. 31). The overall impression created by the labor data suggests that Latino immigrants are aggregated at the bottom of the labor market. U.S. labor flexibility suggests that native unskilled laborers have either moved into skilled positions thus creating room for immigrant workers or that that the unskilled sector is elastic enough to accommodate the influx of immigrants (Hanson, 2001, p. 91). While co-ethnic and insider-referral networks are critical for gaining entry into the labor market among immigrants, research also shows that this advantage tend to be a disadvantage for climbing the labor hierarchy. Due to the homogeneity of the network structure, immigrants lack relationships with potential employers higher up the hierarchy resulting in clustering and persistent concentration around low-skilled and

low-paying jobs (Elliot, 2001; Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo, 2006). As with Irish immigrants, social mobility is a multi-generational process. Fertility among new Latino immigrant women is the highest among all immigrant groups (Parrado & Morgan, 2008). By a cross-national basis, female immigrants from Mexico and El Salvador are among the highest (Camarota & Zeiglerand, 2015). Researchers have found that immigration effects fertility in various ways. First, it is commonly assumed that immigrant women reduce the number of children born due to the disruption of migration and spousal separation, stress and insecurity associated with the initial settlement period, or due to marginality as couples preserve resources in order to recover social stability (Carter, 2000, p. 1076). However, Camarota (2015, p. 1) shows that immigrant women from Central America and Mexico tend to have more children in the U.S. than women in their home country. A high rate of fertility among Latino immigrants is important simply because progeny motivate and modify human action in varying ways that otherwise would be absent. Fertility rates provoke concerns and stimulate strategies of socialization that would otherwise be dormant. Socialization strategies have a profound effect on religion, schools and other social institutions that reinforce a communitarian orientation.

Chiswick's thesis (2002) that national asymmetrical relationships on economics axes contribute significantly to discrimination against immigrants is as true for new Latino immigrants as it was for Irish immigrants. While new Asian immigrants characteristically come to the U.S. with considerable education and marketable- transferable job skills, new Latino immigrants arrive with low education and non-transferable job skills (Zhou, 2003). Socio-economic conditions resulting in vulnerable communities are the pre-conditions for further exploitation and discrimination against new Latino immigrants. Discrimination against Latino immigrants has become institutionalized through ballot initiatives such as Proposition 187 that attempt to deny public services to illegal aliens in the state of California. Regardless of the intent of the proposition and public sentiment, when discrimination becomes institutionalized, its boundaries become difficult to define and prejudice is extended to anyone who "looks Mexican" (Bustamante, 2000). Institutional racism eventually affects human rights which are the basis of all human dignity and respect. Institutionalized racism has therefore become part of the existential narrative for new Latino immigrants (Fennelly, 2007).

Regarding religion and new immigration, we know that religion provides an important role in cultural adaptation. Religious centers offer both formal and informal social functions such as network formation (Vásquez & Williams, 2005; Massey, 1998), employment opportunities (Bankston & Zhou, 1996; Bankston & Zhou, 2000), and social capital (Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Hirschman, 2004). While religious centers can serve as a bridge to help immigrants negotiate life in a new culture, they can serve as a buffer by helping immigrants to preserve their language, ethnic customs, and to reassert their cultural identity (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, Warner & Wittner, 1998). The dynamic between bridging and buffering (Cadage & Ecklund, 2006) creates a tension between the first and second generation of immigrants. Due to the emergence of multiculturalism in the United States, "new immigrants" tend to legitimize a positive ethnic and cultural identity which encourages the retention of the cultural heritage

of origin and to resist pressures from the host country to assimilate (Min & Kim, 2005; Roof, 1994). First generation immigrants tend to be conservative, family-centric, traditional and mono-lingual. Racial discrimination can also function to create cohesion among first generation immigrants (Hirschman, 2004; Roof & Manning, 1994). Therefore, religion tends to be strengthened by first generation immigrants who use religion to reinforce cultural identity and practices (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001).

However, there is substantial evidence that second generation immigrants experience acculturation differently. In an attempt to establish their own independent identity apart from their family of origin, Roof and Manning (1994) found that second generation Hispanics tend to develop a strong anti-institutional sentiment that weakens their Catholic beliefs and practice. McNamara (1992) found that second generation Hispanic teen agers were no more orthodox in religious beliefs than their Anglo counterparts, and found no statistical difference between social issues such as pre-marital sex or abortion. McNamara also found that language was ambiguous. Although second generation Hispanic youth, who retain Spanish, were more likely to acknowledge loyalty to the Catholic Church, those who adopted English as a first language prefer Anglo churches, because they feel a closer affinity to certain Anglo values. The collectivistic ethnic orientation of Latino immigrants was found to clash with the individualistic orientation of their North American peers, thus affecting the socialization of religious values by religiously orthodox immigrant parents (Ghuman, 1997). Although some researchers have suggested disaffiliation from the religious institution of their family of origin is high among second generation immigrants, others cite a lack of empirical evidence for apostasy (Chai, 1998; Kwon et al., 2001; Roof & Manning, 1994).

Another issue facing new immigrant religion is civic responsibility, penetration and influence on civil society? Does affiliation in religious institutions facilitate civic responsibility among immigrants and if so how do immigrants serve as carriers of religious values? For example, Catholic Charismatic churches in Georgia were found to not only restore alienated Mexican immigrants back to Catholicism, but to socialize them into civic engagement such as; political rallies, protests against the Ku Klux Klan, and enfranchisement (Marquart, 2008). Mooney (2006) has showed how the Catholic Bishops Conference in the United States has reasserted its voice and public role in society as an advocate of public policy favoring immigration reform that favors the rights of immigrants regardless of their legal status. Recent research has shown how local Catholic Churches and Dioceses mobilized members to participate in political rallies and marches to advocate public policy favorable to immigrants (Espinosa, 2007; Davis et al., 2008). Thus religion can serve not only as a vehicle for immigrant assimilation and adaptation but also as a vehicle for participation in U.S. civil society (Foley & Hoge, 2007).

Comparative analysis between old (European) and new (Latino) immigrants on the basis of labor, fertility, discrimination, and religion shows qualified symmetry in terms of demographics and experience. First, both groups consist of unskilled/semi-skilled workers and peasants who seek employment principally in urban industry or secondly, in agriculture. Although immigration is a means

to escape poverty and hardship in their own country; America's image as "a land of opportunity for all" is of little utility (Gerstle, 2000). Occupational status and rate of social mobility create concerns over economic viability and quality of life. As members of a vulnerable community, low socioeconomic status and low education provide limited opportunities and access to life's chances that can improve family welfare and social status. Second, comparatively high rates of fertility create urgent needs related to child care, education and a strategy for socialization. Third, facing ethnic discrimination and xenophobic campaigns create emotional stress and psychological conditions associated with inferiority and social incongruity outside of their ethnic niche. Lastly, religion is a means of retaining cultural identity and providing social capital through reciprocating relationships that facilitate selective adaptation to the dominant culture and reinforce primary relationships and values. Symmetry of demographics and experience should lead one to expect that new Latino immigrants would experience the benefits and salience of the parish school in a similar manner to old immigrants. As we have seen, the parish school was instrumental as a means of institution building; an important function for consolidating and legitimatizing immigrant communities. In addition, the parish school was a symbolic marker of achievement and status, and it was a part of a totalizing strategy of socialization of a community interested in transmitting core values.

The difference in the relationship between the two waves of Catholic immigrants and the parish school can be explained by a significant change in the context of Catholicism and the effect that these changes have had on the parish school. First, American Catholicism has undergone significant institutional transformations. Although some scholars (Convey, 1992) of American Catholicism would say that transformations began prior to Vatican II, there is no doubt that Vatican II produced an era of uncertainty and instability that profoundly affected Catholic schooling (Brown & Greeley, 1970; Greeley, McCready, & McCourt, 1976). Epistemological uncertainty resultant from aggiornamento and new openness to dissent, the scientific revolution and modern culture produced a loss of institutional confidence (Dolan, 1992). The popular church, including Catholic schools, were caught in the turbulence and cross-current provoked by an institutional identity crisis (Brown & Greeley, 1970). The affect of Vatican II can be seen in the immigrant community as well. The Council coincided with an awakening among Hispanics, Blacks and other minority groups in the U.S. fueled by the civil rights movements. Hispanic Catholics became militant and demanded better representation in the hierarchy and inclusion and recognition in the Church in general (Dolan, 1992; Gillis, 2003, p. 35). While Hispanic Catholic resistance toward homogenization into "white American Catholicism" led to greater institutional inclusion, their perceived militancy confused Latino immigrants who are decidedly more conservative and traditional due to their association with popular Catholicism of their home town. As a result, Latino immigrants are assimilating to a bifurcated church that is far more politicized and progressive on one hand; which has in fact become a mobilizing structure and advocate for the cause and rights of Latino immigrants themselves (Tomasi & Powers, 2000). While on the other hand, conservatism and traditional Catholicism competes for the heart and soul of the Church (Dinges, 1991).

Catholic demographic shifts have resulted in a double effect. Not only did white Catholics experience suburbanization, but ethnic minorities took their place in inner-city neighborhoods. Since the 1960's Catholic schools have been considered elitist and socially divisive (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993). Some of the elitist stigma has been minimized due to the fact that minorities who can benefit from Catholic schools tend to outperform their public school counterparts (Hoffer, 2000; Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Greeley, 1982). Whereas much of the cost of Catholic education was subsidized by the local parish, the cost has now fallen on the constituent families. Suburbanization of Catholic schools and their spiraling tuition costs have had two effects on new Latino immigrants. Either inner-city schools that can serve new immigrant families have either had to shut down because they cannot pay lay teacher salaries, or if inner-city schools remain open, immigrant families cannot pay the high costs of tuition and must opt for the public schools (Riordan, 2000).

The principle economic resource that has defined the parish school for past waves of immigrants has been the women and men religious who taught classes for room and board and a modest stipend (Harris, 2000). Religious brothers and sisters subsidized schools by their labor making it possible for even the poorest parishes to have schools (Finke & Stark, 2005). The reduction of Catholic vocations and religious orders has been the single greatest factor affecting the viability of parish schools. According to present estimates, about 10% of the 163,000 Catholic school teachers belong to religious societies and orders (Harris, 2000, p. 68). Without this subsidized labor cost, parish schools rely on tuition and fund raising to pay the institutional expenses. This biases new Latino immigrants for whom resources are scarce.

Changes in the context of American Catholicism however are not the only factors serving as obstacles to establishing ties between new immigrants and the parish school. The extent to which new Latino immigrants maintain active connections with their ciudad natal is an important marker of their attitudes toward the U.S., their native country and their own lives as migrants. Transnationalism is a particular dimension of new immigration which most scholars recognize; that new immigration consists of international networks of family units and communities, whose members engage in regular exchanges of social, human and economic capital with their homeland (Portes, 1997; Portes et al., 1999; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Modern mobility and communication have made the possibility of maintaining multiple sites increasingly probable. Trans-nationalization varies greatly however among immigrants making general patters difficult to analyze. Durand and Massey (1992), for example, have found that a large number of Mexican immigrants maintain homes, families and businesses in Mexico while moving back and forth seasonally. In addition Massey estimates that 86 percent of all illegal Mexican entries over the past 25 years are characterized by return migration (1997, p. 978). A Pew Hispanic Center survey however, found that among all Latino immigrants, just one-in-ten (9 percent) can be considered highly attached to their country of origin; these immigrants engage in all three transnational activities; remittance sending, weekly phone calls, and travel to the native country in the past two years

(Waldinger, 2007). However the report concluded that a clear majority of the immigrants surveyed see their future in the U.S. rather than in the countries from which they come.

In contrast to the ambiguity of attachment and settlement patterns of new immigrants, patterns of remittance have been linear. Sana (2008) found that immigrant remittances to Mexico between 1990 and 2004 tripled that of Mexican oil exports during the same period. Economists have observed that over the last decade, inflation-adjusted remittances have grown an average annual rate of 15.6 percent, and by 20.4 percent since 2000 (Cañas, Coronado, & Orrenius, 2007). Remittances do more than simply provide additional income to poorer parts of the country (Michoacán, Guanajuato, and Jalisco). Hometown associations have emerged in various sites in the U.S. where clusters of immigrants from the same home region pool their remittances and collaborate with residents of their home town in the construction of public works projects such as roads, the town square, or community development projects—"all financed with the remittances from the brothers, sisters, children and parents of community members, living in the United States (Shannon & Chacón, 2004)." If institution building is a part of the religious community's relationship and engagement to the parish school, then that process is undermined by investing in communities abroad rather than the local community.

A second obstacle to constructing a relationship between the parish school and communities of new Latino immigrants is the entitlement they receive from the public schools. Although Massey has argued that new Latino immigrants do not migrate in order to take advantage of social services or public assistance, however, he did find a positive relationship between migration and U.S. schools (Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Massey, 1986). The rapid increase of new immigrant students in high growth areas such as North Carolina, Georgia and Arkansas, place a strain on the local school system. Nationally, children of immigrants account for one in five public school students (Conchas, 2001). Responses by public school administrators range from confusion over how to educate immigrants to designing elaborate programs to meet the educational needs of immigrant children and their family. An example of an elaborate program is a school in the suburbs of Atlanta (Wainer, 2006). The school went from 2 percent Latino to 16 percent in a 10 year period. Free lunch program jumped from 12 percent to 70 percent. Service programs include a 24-hour community center for Latino immigrant families, academic enrichment, tutoring programs, ESL classes for immigrant parents and health services (Wainer, 2006). An elaborate response may be atypical as most schools struggle to help immigrant students to graduate. The dropout rate for immigrant students aged 16-19 is approximately 40 percent (Fry, 2003). The point is that immigrant students have special needs and public schools are willing to invest heavily in special programs related to education, health and nutrition in order to help immigrant students succeed. In order for Catholic schools to compete for new immigrants students, they must compete against a public system that is entitlement driven. Although Catholic schools have a proven track record of helping poor minority children experience academic achievement (Bryt, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Lee & Smith, 1997; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Crosnoe, 2004), they need to provide a strong enough incentive to match competing offers of public schools.

2.3 Theorizing Institutionally Generated Capital

The purpose of comparative analysis is to make inferences from the effects of evidentiary variables on outcomes that show similarity and difference across cases. Labor, fertility, discrimination created certain hardships in the case of Irish immigrants and religion became a source of solidarity, identity and social capital that served to ameliorate the harsh reality of their adaptation to a new society. Functionally, the parish school became a component in a socializing strategy that provided community closure and indirectly contributed to the growth and social penetration of Catholic immigrants in the American society. While the same factors could serve as determinants of vitality among new Latino immigrants, who share a common experience with Irish Catholic immigrants, their relation to the parish school is quite different due to transformations in both American Catholicism and the social context surrounding contemporary immigration. Although adult immigrants show strong ties to the Church (Foley & Hoge, 2007; Cadge & Ecklund, 2006; Bankston & Zhou, 2000), access to the parish school as a socializing strategy and resource has been more difficult for new Latino immigrant households. In the interest of understanding how the parish school serves as a mobilizing structure for generating community building and economic advancement, it is necessary to explain the role of the school theoretically.

Although transformations within American Catholicism combined with urban demographic shifts have produced changes in the parish school, (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993, p. 301), there are principles to be learned from the relationship between the institution and the community that supports it. We know from previous research that the parish school, as a mezzo-level small institution, is a site that favors the development of social capital on the individual level (Lee & Smith, 1997; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). Since Coleman (1987) first raised the issue of functional communities and social capital's relation to academic achievement numerous studies have generated findings that have parsed elements of social capital's effect on human capital. Intergenerational closure is found to have positive effects on mathematics achievement and reduced high school attrition (Carbonaro, 1998). Even though intergenerational effects were found to be washed out by student friendship networks, it was learned that alter networks are also a source of social capital affecting student achievement (Carbonaro, 1999). Religious involvement is found to independently generate social capital in the family that contributes to pre-conditions essential for school success such as study habits, self-discipline and responsiveness to demands; all of which mediate social capital's affect on academic achievement (Muller & Ellison, 2001; Stokes, 2008). Religious involvement is found to generate additive social capital that, when mediated through friendship networks and sports activities, positively affects student outcomes (Glanville & Sikkink, 2008). Although Coleman (1988) defined social capital as having a "structural source", these studies typically operationalize the flow of resources that flow through atomized personal relationships; hence the micro-level. However, there is a larger ecology associated with schooling that takes place on the institutional or mezzo-level where by social resources are generated by the organization of the school. A school is more than the sum total of its relationships. Schools are organized to maximize the

transmission of social capital thru norms, information and affective support (Crosnoe, 2004). The delivery of these resources is usually associated with a communitarian orientation to schooling that was the underlying theoretical basis for Coleman and Hoffer's development of social capital (1987, pp. 3-4). A communitarian orientation views the school as an extra-familial institution where the values, norms and affective support that are transmitted and reinforced are just as important as cognitive development and academic curriculums.

From an organizational perspective, schools are mediating structures that have enormous significance for public policy and the realization of social good (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977). One purpose of mediating structures is to empower people in the face of the undermining effects of faceless institutions which generate a sense of powerlessness due to bureaucratic operations. Mediating structures are guided by the principle that "small is beautiful" because smaller social units facilitate efficiency as carriers of "real values" that affect "real people" in society (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977). The philosophical question that divides educational institutions as mediating structures concerns the goods and products that the institution should mediate. Liberalism's emphasis on individual freedoms and the defense of private rights seeks to produce individual citizens who can contribute to the welfare state which distributes society's goods equitably thus releasing individuals from the limitations imposed on them by virtue of birth, socio-economic status and ethnicity (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Etzioni, 1993, 1995). One effect of liberalism is the dismissal that private behavior can have public consequence. A communitarian approach is guided by a commitment to personal responsibility, to family, and community obligations guided by altruistic norms which contribute to the preservation of durable traditions (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987, Etzioni, 1993, 1995; Wuthnow, 1994). As mediating structures, schools are organized in order to promote and distribute an educational program that reflects a commitment to one of the philosophical orientations. Parish schools have traditionally adopted a communitarian approach in which the educational products have been offered in an institutional environment shaped by religiously inspired norms and values, or what Bryk refers to as "inspirational ideology" (1993, p. 301). An inspirational ideology is consistent with the socialization strategy of the community of families which support the school. Therefore, the socialization strategy that is embedded institutionally should be amenable to operationalization and measured quantitatively.

2.4 Working Hypotheses

The purpose of this paper is to identify the role that Catholic parish schools have as an agent of socialization among new Latino immigrants. Thus far, qualitative data has suggested the importance of community relationships and community networks that extend beyond the family but also contain the family. Recent work by school ecology researchers has attempted to bridge the family-community gap by recognizing the abstract function of schooling is socialization thereby applying family based socialization research to educational institutions (Pellerin, 2005; Hetherington, 1993). Assumptions of socialization are based in Baumrind's theory of parenting styles (1967, 1978, and 1997). These styles are determined by the bivariate interaction between responsiveness and demandingness. Research has

shown that the most positive pro-social outcomes result from parenting that is both responsive and demanding. This means that parents maintain moral and behavioral expectations for their children and reinforce expectations by placing corresponding demands on their children. Baumrind has found that when demands are accompanied by responsiveness in terms of affection, closeness and nurture that children respond positively to parental demands. Baumrind called this style socialization authoritative parenting (1966, 1967, 1968, 1971, 1978, 1997).

Researchers have realized that school ecology has structural implications for student outcomes. Students must incorporate themselves in a complex organization determined by the aggregate of relationships between peers, faculty, administrators and parents who are collectively engaged in the process of socialization. School climate is conditioned by the institutional values, mission, strategies and personnel which contribute to the types of information, norms and affective support generated by the institution. Information, norms and affective support then become the resources and capital that are transmitted in thru the conduit of personal interaction but also reinforced institutionally. According to school climate theorists, information, norms and affective relationships can be operationalized according to Baumrind's categories of demandingness and responsiveness (Pellerin, 2005; Hetherington, 1993).

Qualitative and theoretical considerations previously noted collectively suggest certain expectations and predictions considering the role of the parish school as an agent of socialization among new Latino immigrants.

Hypothesis 1: Given the social context of both American Catholicism and new Latino immigration, I should expect to find that new Latino immigrants are underserved by Catholic schools. The collective impact resulting from the reduction of women and men religious who had subsidized the parish school historically, the spiraling costs of maintaining a lay work force, and the competition of entitlement programs offered by the public schools will predict low enrollment of new Latino immigrants in Catholic schools.

Hypothesis 2: To the degree that children of new Latino immigrants are enrolled in Catholic schools, I would expect to find a significant and positive relationship to pro-social outcomes, measured by religious commitments. Immigrant-based religious participation is important for adaptation to new arrivals because the relationship to formal structures, such as the church and the school, compensate for the tightly integrated informal social networks that immigrants may have lost in the process of migrating. If the church and parish school promote and facilitate adaptation and assimilation to a new homeland, the do so by providing a compensatory form of social capital in which both support and encouragement are a consequence of less dense social networks (Bankston & Zhou, 2000).

Hypothesis 3: School climate factors can be operationalized as measures of responsiveness and demandingness. These measures will approximate parenting and family styles referenced in socialization research. Socialization patterns and their correspondence to a communitarian orientation is what differentiate parish schools from their public school counterparts. Therefore, it is reasonable to

expect that measures of responsiveness and demandingness will be positively and significantly related to measures of religiosity.

3. Quantitative Method: Data and Modeling

The data in this analysis come from the Consortium on Chicago School Research (CCSR) directed by the University of Chicago. The CCSR is designed to gain deeper understanding of the conditions and outcomes of the Chicago Public Schools (CPS). The sample that I use is the Survey of Catholic Schools containing two waves of data (2002 and 2004); a representative study of 8th and 10th graders in Chicago's secondary parochial schools that are member schools of the Archdiocese of Chicago. The archdiocese includes the city of Chicago and some of the Chicago suburbs, and is one of the largest Catholic school districts in the United States in terms of enrollment. Information was collected by survey. Pro-social outcomes, measured by religious commitments, are estimated in different dependent variables, each a solidarity measure obtained from the adolescent at the second wave of data collection. First, I consider attendance of the Mass, which is an ordinal measure (1-6), that gauges public religiosity. Its response categories range from never (1) to more than once a week (6). The second measure reports self-identified religiosity, a private and subjective measure. The question asks respondents, Do you consider yourself a religious person? This also is ordinal (1-3) and its response categories range from No, not at all (1) to Yes, very religious (3).

Responsiveness is the degree to which school climate is characterized by warmth expressed toward students, effective communication, fairness and the perception that teachers care. Affective support is measured by several items in the CCSR survey. First students are asked if they agree with the following; (1) My teachers really care about me; (2) My teachers always try to be fair; (3) I feel safe and comfortable with my teachers in this school; (4) My teachers always listen to student's ideas. Responses ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). These fours items were constructed into a summed index with an alpha coefficient of reliability of 0.68 at Wave 2. In addition students were asked; How many teachers at this school know you by name? Response categories were; None (1) to All (5). Finally, students were asked to grade the school climate according to; how much teachers care and the school feels like a close, family like community. Responses were "F" (1) and "A" (5).

Demandingness is the degree to which the school climate is characterized by values and norms on one hand and "academic press" on the other. I developed measures of norms and values from four items that asked students to grade their school performance according to; (1) religious studies and activities; (2) teachers who share their values; (3) a sense of right and wrong; (4) the opportunity to learn values. Responses ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). These four items are constructed into a summed index with an alpha coefficient of reliability of 0.73 at Wave 2. School press is developed by constructing a scale of 5 questions that measure the degree to which students are expected to work hard and are challenged by their teachers. Items regarding math and language arts include; (1) My teacher encourages me to do extra work when I don't understand something; (2) My

teacher praises me when I work hard; (3) My teacher expects me to complete my homework every night; (4) My teacher thinks that it is important that I do well in class; (5) My teacher cares if I get bad grades in this class. Responses ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). These five items were constructed into a summed index with an alpha coefficient of reliability of 0.86 at and Wave 2.

Because I am interested in knowing if children of new Latino immigrants are more likely than other Latinos or non-Latinos to engage in religious behavior and consider themselves religious, I have included a variable identifying their immigrant status by the location of their mother's birth. The following variables are included in the analyses in order to control for biased estimates which would otherwise give inflated coefficients if controls were left out. Among controls are community social capital variables which reflect Coleman's concept of friendship network and intergenerational closure. These items ask students "how many of your best friends;" (1) attend this school; (2) attend your church; (3) do your parents know? And "How many of your best friends parents know your parents? Responses ranged from strongly none (1) to all (4). Because I have reason to believe that, socialization and exploratory variables may be correlated with factors other than religious participation, the analysis below controls for a number of demographic variables for age, gender, socio-economic status and mother's education. These control variables enable the isolation of pro-social influences net of other possibly correlated factors. Because religious research has shown that prior commitments are subject to reinforcement or habit formation, it is appropriate to control for Wave1religiosity. Therefore I control for prior Catholic school involvement (Perl & Gray, 2007) and Wave 1 church attendance and self-reported religious identity (Regnerus & Uecker, 2006). Ranges, means, and standard deviations are reported in Table One. Because the dependent variable is ordinal, ordered logit regression is used to report estimated ordinary least squares coefficients comparing Latinos and non-Latinos and predicting church attendance and self-reported religious identity. A second model is used containing a lagged dependent variable which examines change in church attendance and religious identification between waves by employing the Wave 1 measure in assessing change in the dependent variable. By looking at how the coefficients of variables increase or decrease across models, I can test if the introduction of Wave 1 religiosity will suppress or enhance the relationships between the other independent variables and the dependent variable.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for all Variables

	Latinos (N=698)			Non-Latinos (N= 3811)		
Variables	**Range**	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Range**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Teachers Care	1-4	2.930	.6045	1-4	2.999	.6016
Teachers Are Fair	1-4	3.097	.5775	1-4	2.770	.6221
I Feel Safe with Teachers	1-4	2.768	.5990	1-4	3.179	.6106
Teachers Listen	1-4	2.804	.6527	1-4	2.738	.6739
Teachers Know Name of S	1-5	3.514	.9170	1-5	3.553	.8381
School Feels Like Family	1-5	3.954	.9236	1-5	4.034	.8988
Religious Studies	1-5	2.652	1.027	1-5	2.634	1.099
Shared Values	1-5	3.235	.9653	1-5	3.398	.9735
Right from Wrong	1-5	3.656	.9931	1-5	3.760	.9292
Learn Values	1-5	3.666	.9827	1-5	3.663	.9929
Teachers Encourage Work	1-4	2.766	.7875	1-4	2.768	.7741
Teachers Have High Expectations	1-4	3.130	.6594	1-4	3.138	.6383
Homework is Required	1-4	3.207	.6343	1-4	3.205	.6355
Teachers Want S to Succeed	1-4	3.149	.6703	1-4	3.140	.6451
Teachers Demand Good Grades	1-4	2.996	.7513	1-4	2.973	.7328
Friends Attend School	1-4	2.503	.8691	1-4	2.652	.8399
Friends Attend Church	1-4	1.534	.7143	1-4	1.693	.7499
Parents Know Friends	1-4	2.869	.9545	1-4	3.143	.8279
Parents Know Parents	1-4	2.288	.8663	1-4	2.575	.8439
Gender (Female)	0-1	.6175	.4863	0-1	.58.23	.4932
Year of Birth	1985-87	1986.20	.6892	1985-87	1986.16	.7076
Mother Born Outside of USA	0-1	.6318	.4826	0-1	.1357	.3425
Mother's Education Level	1-6	3.096	1.579	1-6	4.295	1.435
Family Owns Computer	0-1	.9183	.2740	0-1	.9627	.1894
Family Owns 50 Books	0-1	.5874	.4926	0-1	.8213	.3831
Prior Catholic Education	0-9	5.670	3.603	0-9	6.831	3.337
Mass Attendance Wave I	1-6	3.522	1.561	1-6	3.759	1.494
Mass Attendance Wave II	1-6	3.230	1.598	1-6	3.404	1.597
Importance of Religion Wave I	1-3	1.918	.5622	1-3	1.963	.5651
Importance of Religion Wave II	1-3	1.894	.5845	1-3	1.903	.6090

Data Source: Consortium on Chicago School Research (2002 and 2004)

Table 2. Ordered Logit Regression of Lagged Dependent Variable Estimates of Church Attendance and Self-Religious Identification on Wave 2 Respondents

Effect	**Attendance**				**Self-ID Religious Per.**			
	Latinos Only		Non-Latinos		Latinos Only		Non-Latinos	
		Lagged		**Lagged**		**Lagged**		**Lagged**
Teach. Responsive	.044	.044	.045***	.031*	.003	.025	.046***	.047***
Teacher Know S Name	.178**	.114	.052	.018	.008	.009	.085***	.0917***
School is Like Family	.191**	.191**	.252****	.189****	.449****	.426****	.250****	.211****
Values Scale	.138****	.149****	.173****	.140****	.255****	.231****	.247****	.208****
Demands Scale	.001	-.013	.002	-.002	-.021	-.025	-.007	-.011
Friends Attend School	-.003	-.035	.085***	.045	.086	.085	.009	.010
Friends Attend Church	.438****	.429****	.332****	.248****	.163***	.150***	.159****	.131***
Parents Know Friends	.150	.062	.058	.050	.046	.063	.105***	.106**
Parents Know Parents	.063	.040	.044	.037	.133	.114	.015	.008
Children of Immigrants (Mom is Born Out USA)	.264*	.246	.103	.153	.051	.046	.030	.059
Gender	.238	.100	.117**	.056	-.084	-.069	.220****	.228***
Year of Birth	-.086	-.089	.124****	.078**	-.088	-.087	.020	-.034
Mom's Education Level	-.035	-.032	.169****	.094****	.074	.095*	.060***	.057**
Has Computer in House	.031	.028	.026	-.032	.203	.327	.043	-.0729
Family Has 50 Books	.258	.137	.297****	.057	-.112	-.168	.109	.020
Prior Catholic Educ.	.002	.019	.054****	.018**	.050***	.044**	.032****	.017*

Church Attend W1		.661****		.901****				
Religious Salience W1						1.082****		1.55****
BIC/ df	2468 / 17	2302 / 18	12312/ 17	10892/ 18	1267 / 17	1222 / 18	6595 / 17	6032 / 18
Pseudo R^2	.0383	.1099	.0437	.1564	.0661	.1082	.0770	.1589
	N = 698		*N=3811*		*N = 698*		*N=3811*	

* p<.10 ** p<.05 ***p<.01 ****p<.001

Data Source: Consortium on Chicago School Research (2002 and 2004)

4. Results

Table two displays unstandardized coefficients from the ordered logit regression models predicting self-reported church attendance and religious identity, for both Latinos and non-Latinos, by regressing religious outcomes on a number of theoretically important predictors including control variables. The relationship between teachers who care and teaching values are clearly the strongest among the principal explanatory variables. Other variables designed to measure affective support are inconsistent across cases, although curiously, the summed teacher responsiveness index was significant for non-Latinos but not for Latinos. Academic press showed no unique effect other than a negative relation to religious outcomes. Children of immigrants also did not show any unique effect to religious outcomes.

Several noteworthy relationships appear among the control variables. First, among variables introduced to capture social capital among relational networks, friends who attend church are significantly related to religious outcomes across groups. Measures designed to capture intergenerational closure by comparison were not significantly related to religious outcomes. These results are consistent with other research which also found that intergenerational effects can be washed out by student friendship networks, thus suggesting that alter networks are also a source of social capital affecting student outcomes (Carbonaro, 1999). Prior Catholic school affiliation (elementary school) is an important determinant of religious salience and church attendance which affirms the socializing role that the parish school plays in the lives of developing youth. The second model is the lagged dependent variable which documents influence on change in teenage religious outcomes. The three strongest determinants of pro-social outcomes are not minimized even after controlling for previous religious commitment at Wave 1. Therefore, the influence of caring teachers, teaching values, friendship networks and prior Catholic school affiliation is not only about affecting a baseline pattern of religious behavior, but also maintaining such patterns over time.

To briefly revisit the three hypotheses, support was weak for the first hypothesis. National statistics indicate low percentages of Latinos in general and immigrants specifically in Catholic schools. Data

from 1997-1998 school enrollment by sector shows that within Catholic schools, only 10.6 percent of the student population consists of Latinos (Reardon & Yun, 2002). Betts and Fairlie (2001) report that differences among racial, ethnic and immigrants show that native-born Latinos and Latino immigrants experience the lowest rates of private school attendance. Yet data from the Chicago School research project show that of a representative sample of 4509 secondary students, 15 percent (698) are Latino. Of this fifteen percent, 63 percent (441) are children of immigrants. Although these figures correspond to a representative sample and are only indicative of the Chicago Archdiocese, they are encouraging. Second, no support was found for the second hypothesis. Apparently children of immigrants are no more likely to be religiously engaged then their native born counterparts. Results affirm the third hypothesis suggesting that demands placed on students by teaching values and norms are found to be an important determinant of pro-social outcomes, as is responsiveness and affective support. This hypothesis is subjected to rigor using a lagged dependent variable, yet their joint effect appears consistent and stable across groups.

5. Discussion and Findings

In the wake of "new immigration," this study has investigated the relationship between the parish school and socialization of children of new Latino immigrants. We know this has been an important yet overlooked relationship in previous waves of Irish, Polish, Italian, and German Catholic immigration. The parish school became a significant component in a socializing strategy that provided community closure that included the family and the church which acted collectively to provide multiple resources and social capital. Organizationally, the parish school served as a mediating structure to empower immigrant students in the face of discrimination and hardship. Understood as a pro-social outcome, religious participation and salience have been important measures in this study because religious involvement is found to independently generate social capital in the family that contributes to pre-conditions essential for school success such as study habits, self-discipline and responsiveness to demands; all of which mediate social capital's effect on academic achievement and the type of skills necessary to enter higher echelons of the segmented labor force (Muller & Ellison, 2001; Stokes, 2008). Hence, the parish school has indirectly contributed to the growth, penetration, and upward mobility of Catholic immigrants in American society.

This study has found that in Chicago's parish high schools; 1) children of Latino immigrants are better represented in Catholic high school than expected; 2) children of immigrant parents were no more or less engaged in religious behaviors than their native born counterparts; and 3) in Catholic schools, measures of teacher responsiveness combined with religious oriented values are important for pro-social outcomes measured by religious participation and salience. These findings are encouraging to the degree that Catholic schools are still relevant for children of Catholic immigrants in spite of changes in American Catholicism, immigrant constituency and certain contingencies that distinguish old from new patterns of immigration. We know that human capital formation remains one of the most

important characteristic necessary to bridge the labor gap in a segmented economy and that parish schools are effective sites for such formation, especially among underrepresented urban minorities (Stern, 2007; Hoffer, 2000; Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Lee & Smith, 1997; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Crosnoe, 2004; Coleman, 1987; Reed, 2008; Holzer & Nightengale, 2007; Robles, 2009; Brasington, 2010).

The city of Chicago is a good microcosm of the difficulties that children of Latino immigrants face in terms of developing human capital convertible to social gains. Like many US cities, Chicago is trying to fit into the new global economy by developing comparative advantages in telecommunications, electronics and financial industries (Glaeser, 2011; Moberg, 2006). As part of a citywide plan to attract producer services, corporate, and financial headquarters to relocate in Chicago, new academically challenging schools and programs in Chicago Public Schools (CPS) were supported by corporate and financial leaders. Chicago's civic leaders recognized that to achieve a vision of becoming a "multi-centered region of knowledge, expertise, and economic opportunity" school reform—that focused on educational preparation for a skilled workforce—had to be realized (Lipman, 2006; Chicago Metropolis, 2020). Since implemented in 1995, new programs and schools however can be mapped onto existing patterns of gentrification and geography of race and class polarization such that by the fall of 2002, only 11.5 percent of all high schools students were in selective college prep programs, most of who were white middle and upper-class students (Lipman, 2006). In sum, Chicago educational policies have only exacerbated economic and spatial inequality along lines of race, ethnicity and social class. We know that in Chicago, Hispanic immigrants have lower levels of education, measured by rates of high school and college completion rates, in comparison to other immigrant and native-born populations while experiencing the significantly higher poverty rates and participation in service and laborer occupations (Paral, 2006). While the narrative described above is the product of complex factors which include education, language ability and access to social networks, it is not an uncommon narrative for immigrant populations in the past. The purpose of this study is to empirically understand the degree to which the parish school is serving new Catholic Latino immigrant families in ways that it has empowered previous waves of Catholic immigrants.

There is no doubt that parish schools have struggled to continue serving urban constituents in major US cities. In Chicago alone, since the Consortium of Chicago studies was executed, The Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago has closed or consolidated five schools due to budgetary deficits (Chicago Business Journal, 2013). The greatest challenge to reviving the parochial system is to reduce costs for minority students (Harris, 2000). Alternative strategies to charging tuition, such as government subsidy, put schools at risk of losing a Catholic distinction (Okeefe, 1996). Part of the struggle has been a result of moving to the suburbs. Suburban schools may be able to attract upper-middle class families who can pay tuition; however parish schools have become ineffective as agents of Catholic socialization (Smith & Denton, 2005). The other risk is finding a way to make urban schools financially viable without

losing their Catholic distinctiveness by accommodating to uncritical multiculturalism and pluralism (Cattaro, 2002).

The institutional struggles of American Catholicism are only half the story. The transnational character of new immigration has implications for communitarianism. Portes (1997) suggests that transnational communities raise issues of duplicity and loyalty, of segmented assimilation, and of a more technologically sophisticated and tuned in class of immigrants. Civic engagement of transnational communities has been found to favor the community of origin through Home Town Associations (HTA) which finance infrastructure projects back home (De la Garza & Lowell, 2002). Ebaugh and Chafetz's (2003) study of transitional churches found the outflow of resources back to the homeland to be a consistent characteristic among them. Local Catholic parishes with concentrations of new Latino immigrants struggle with this tension. Pastoral work is essentially communitarian and seeks to build bridges to the local community through community oriented outreach. A parish school is frequently a part of the equation. Yet when congregations of new immigrants show greater interest and financial commitment to supporting community development in their home town, loyalties become politicized (Menjívar, 1999). Institution building is an important component of communitarianism. For new Latino immigrants, the question is, which community are they going to invest in?

Communitarianism, as a theoretical orientation, is still operative in the Chicago Catholic schools represented in this study. The resources that are important for Catholic socialization are flowing on an institutional basis. Religious norms and affective support are reinforced through school organization and stressed in the professionalization of teachers who ultimately determine the climate of learning through their daily contact with students and parents. Religious norms and affective support contribute to Catholic distinctiveness and are shown to have a positive effect on religious outcomes. The fact that the Archdiocese can create space for a relatively large percentage of Latinos and children of immigrants makes this parochial system a desirable object of future study.

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Notes

Note 1. The Hispanic labor force has grown from 10.7 million in 1990, 16.7 million in 2000, 20 million in 2005, and nearly 23 million representing 15 percent of the U.S. labor force in 2011. By 2020, Latinos are expected to comprise 19 percent of the U.S. labor force. This trend is projected to continue its strong presence in the U.S. labor force and reach 47.3 million in 2050, 24.3 percent of the total labor force (Toossi, 2009; US Department of Labor 2012). The annual growth rate of the Hispanic labor force is expected to average 2.0 percent during the 2005–50 projection periods, or approximately 80% of the projected labor force growth (Toossi, 2012a).

Note 2. In contrast to researchers who discuss the bifurcation of the labor market as “dual” or “segmented” (Alba, 2009; Autor, Katz, & Kearney, 2006), there are some (Capps et al., 2010) who believed that prior to the recession, many immigrants were filling “middle-skilled jobs” which required more than a high school education but less than a college degree and offered family-sustaining wages.

However, since the recession, Scopelliti (2014) has cited that many of the middle-skill jobs are disappearing due to automation of tasks, scarcity of workers with appropriate skills, and to a lesser extent, relocation of jobs to foreign countries.

Note 3. While human capital formation includes all forms of skill development, higher levels of education in particular can cushion the blow of labor transformations and improve the labor market prospects of those displaced by offshoring and automation suggesting another reason that higher education may become even more valuable to workers. If growing demand for skilled labor is not matched by a comparable trend in supply, then market inequality will likely continue to grow in the United States. Therefore, both equity and efficiency considerations suggest that policies to promote education and skill development among U.S. workers is an important response to the confluence of demographic shifts and human capital formation (Holtzer & Nightengale, 2007).

Note 4. By making economic and labor issues among new immigrants an exclusive relationship, researchers run the risk of presenting a thin ethnographic account of immigrant concerns. Unfortunately, broader cultural dynamics such as religious affinities have been largely absent from discussions of immigration; specialty journals being the exception (see the work of Cadge and Ecklund, 2006, 2007, 2005; Ebaugh, 2000, 2003; and Warner, 1998). What is offered in this study is a thick analysis that looks at immigration more holistically (Geertz, 1973; Comaroff & Comaroff, 1985; Scott, 1985). Economic motivation may in fact be the principle reason for migration; however, because low-skilled immigrants are a vulnerable community, religion becomes an important factor shaping behaviors, attitudes, and values warranting analysis. Authentic immigrant culture means that immigrants have their own sense of order, justice, and meaning, shaped by religion which serves as a basis for responding to harsh realities associated with transnational status (Ortner, 1995; Smith, 1996).

Note 5. The author fully recognizes the conflict under which many immigrant schools emerged which were designed to preserve ethnic, linguistic, and cultural distinctiveness and resist dominate culture. In this sense, closure has a negative connotation because it is associated with an ethnic enclave. The positive side of closure allowed immigrant minorities to reinforce cultural, linguistic and religious norms which helped to stabilize ethnic communities and facilitate their protracted integration into U.S. society.

Note 6. It is well documented that the second wave of urban Catholic migration consisted of Irish, Germans, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians and other European ethnicities. Although the Irish Catholics were the dominate group, it is difficult to maintain analytical integrity by focusing exclusively on the Irish Catholic experience, even though it is somewhat representative of all the ethnic groups (Dolan, 1985). The same blurring of ethnic categories is true of Mexicans, being the dominate group among new Latino immigrants. Therefore, I will be emphatic when I refer exclusively to Irish immigrants (or Mexican immigrants) and when I am referring to the composite of Europeans (or Latinos).