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The Dynamics of Second Generation Remittances

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of
Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Armand Gutierrez

Committee in charge:

Professor David FitzGerald, Chair
Professor Abigail Andrews
Professor Juan Pablo Pardo-Guerra
Professor David Pedersen
Professor John Skrentny

2021

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University of California San Diego

2021

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the individuals who shared their personal stories with me. And for my family and friends for their support throughout grad school.

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Chapter 2, in part, has been submitted for publication of the material as it may appear in “The Dynamics of Brokering in Second-Generation Transnationalism.” 2020. Gutierrez, Armand. *Social Problems*. The dissertation author was the sole author of this paper.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Dynamics of Second Generation Remittances

By

Armand Gutierrez

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California San Diego, 2021

Professor David FitzGerald, Chair

This dissertation broadens the theoretical focus of transnationalism and remittances to include that of the second generation via brokered social ties. In particular, I focus in expanding the theoretical scope of the New Economics of Labor Migration by discussing how migrants actively facilitate the second generation within transnational household financial decisions with

nonmigrants in the ancestral home country. In so doing, this dissertation outlines the ways in which second generation cross-border ties are uniquely constructed and sustained in a manner that is different from that of first generation connections, both logistically and relationally. Throughout the first of half of the dissertation, the case of second generation Mexican and Filipino Americans remittances are used to illustrate the ways in which brokerage is centrally required to mediate both cross-border connections and financial remittances generally. By examining second generation Mexican- and Filipino-Americans, two groups that differ in linguistic proficiency, geographical proximity to the home country, and interpersonal contact with nonmigrants, this dissertation highlights the common role of a broker for both groups. These findings also reveal the ways in which brokerage can differ. One manner of brokerage is when the second generation utilize middleman brokerage, in which a broker is present throughout each connection. Differently, catalyst brokerage is also utilized in which a broker facilitates only the initial ties. Overall, these forms of brokerage are shaped by the type of cross-border connection, linguistic proficiency, interpersonal contact, and emotional attachments between nonmigrants and the second generation. Building on this theoretical expansion, this study illustrates the importance of social and familial relationships on a generalizable level by testing hypotheses derived from transnational scholarship to prove that the decision to remit among the second generation is shaped on a household-level, both financially and socially with household decisions manifesting uniquely within particular remittance corridors. Finally, utilizing the Latino National Survey, this dissertation concludes by examining the differential effects that factors have on first and second generation remittance practices. In so doing, this final section demonstrates how the first and second generation fulfill different financial roles within a remitting relationship. In addition, effects are not uniform in how they affect the differences in the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent in

each transfer across generations. As the second generation are much more rooted in their country of birth, aspects of social connections with those in the ancestral home country shape the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent in each transfer in a different manner compared to the first generation. In addition, the desire to recoup lost status or send money as a result of symbolic ties to the ancestral homeland have greater effects on the first generation than the second. In sum, this dissertation theorizes and tests the extension of household financial decisions across generations and borders to better understand the relational aspect of remittances in families when the second generation are brokered into connections with those in the ancestral home country.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 2013, Typhoon Haiyan wreaked havoc on the Philippines, leaving over 6,000 dead (CNN 2013). Witnessing the horrific devastation caused by the Category 5 Super Typhoon made me feel a sense of dread as I feared for my family and friends in the Philippines. For weeks, the focus in the media was on the rebuilding efforts of the country, concentrating on those affected by the typhoon and families living in destitute conditions. Despite not having been to the Philippines since I was six years old, I found myself wanting to contribute in some way to family members and others in need abroad. I felt a sense of guilt as I reflected on the privilege I had as a Filipino-American and how different my life was from those impacted by the typhoon. The magnitude and personal nature of the catastrophe produced complex feelings of guilt, privilege, and a sense of familial obligation. These emotions ultimately motivated my decision to send money, clothes, and food to family members and national relief efforts to help those in need. As my experience reveals, the decision to send support to those living abroad is wrought with complex emotions. Many second generation individuals, like myself, view their parents' native country with a sense of ambivalence as they lack the interpersonal and cultural connections to the ancestral home country. As a result, it can be a complex decision to determine if one should send monetary or material forms of support.

Similar to my experience, many second generation individuals carry this sense of ambivalence and it informs how they view their remittances, how they send remittances, and why they send monetary support. Overall, remittances are embedded in norms and obligations that are bound up in processes of identity formation and socialization (Carling 2014; McKenzie and

Menjivar 2011; Zelizer 2005a, 2005b). The logic of sending remittances is often tied with conceptions of being the ideal mother, father, son, or daughter to family members in the ancestral homeland (Thai 2014; Carling 2014; Parrenas 2005). Likewise, these conceptions extend to the second generation whose reference point has been established in the U.S., and whose familial relationships are often as nephews, nieces, cousins, grandchildren to those in the ancestral home country.

In this dissertation, I look to answer how the second generation even engage in transnational connections with family members in the ancestral home country despite the cultural, linguistic, and geographical obstacles to their connections. I then discuss the specificity of how brokered connections manifest particularly within financial ties. Following this focus on micro-level connections, I expand the scope of analysis to take into account how the conditions associated with remittance corridors come to shape the factors impacting the likelihood of remittances. I then compare generational cohorts to emphasize the unique nature of second generation remittances as it pertains to the average amount of money sent, and the likelihood that money will be sent. For the next section, I then explain the theoretical background and underpinnings of my dissertation as it pertains to remittances and familial networks.

Remittances

Though there is no single standard definition of “remittances;” scholars, policy-makers, governments, and international sources, such as the World Bank, United Nations, and International Monetary Fund generally view remittances as financial or in-kind transfers (Migration Data Portal 2018). Remittances can be sent to various entities, such as financial enterprises, local communities through hometown associations, as well as to friends and relatives in communities of origin (Goldring 2004). Overall, the act of remitting is inherently tied to the act of migration, so much

so, that these monetary transfers are sometimes referred to as “migrant remittances” (International Monetary Fund 2017). As such, scholars argue that migrants send remittances for a variety of reasons, which include investing in assets that they may own in a home country, to assist family members, and/or to build up capital (both financial and social) in case of return migration (Waldinger 2015). In addition to their monetary impact, remittances are embedded in norms and obligations that are bound up in processes of identity formation and socialization (Carling 2014; McKenzie and Menjivar 2011; Zelizer 2005a, 2005b).

Originally, remittances did not find a justification in the early neo-classical migration scholarship among first generation migrants, which argued that migration is purely an individual choice. In this perspective, income-maximizing individuals chose to migrate as a response to the geographical differences in the supply and demand for labor (Todaro 1969, Harris and Todaro 1970). However, the “New Economics of Labor Migration” (NELM) theory broadened the understanding of the determinants of migration. In this theory, migration is a decision made on the household level as a means of spreading income risks and overcoming local market constraints (Stark and Bloom 1985; Taylor 1999). Furthermore, their motives to remit can be categorized on a spectrum of motives ranging between altruism to self-interest. Altruism alludes to immigrants sending remittances to purely care for those left behind. According to this model, a higher amount of remittances flows to poorer households. Altruism decreases gradually over time and with familial distance, as well as with the number of migrants contributing to the household (Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2005, Cohen 2011). In contrast, migrants can be motivated by “pure self-interest,” in which migrants are driven to remit in order to maintain favor in the line of inheritance, to invest in assets in the home community, and/or to build up capital in case of return-migration (Rapoport

and Doquier 2006). Overall, across motives and theoretical explanations, remittances are inherently intertwined with the decision to migrate.

Scholars have built on Stark and Bloom's (1985) theory as they have mapped out the interconnections between the social and financial meanings of remittances within the household and local community of origin. Migration scholars analyzing the social meaning of money find that remittances play a crucial role within familial context as the logic of sending remittances is intertwined with conceptions in being the ideal mother, father, son, or daughter to family members in the ancestral homeland (Carling 2014; Parreñas 2005; Thai 2014, McKenzie and Menjivar 2011). By exemplifying the ideal family member, migrants can also look to build up social and financial capital in case of return migration and as a means of potentially earning a family's inheritance (Carling 2014, Waldinger 2015). Finally, the decision to remit can be a means of recouping lost social status and sidestepping the glass ceilings that may inhibit social and financial mobility in the host country (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007).

Scholarship has also recently broadened the scope to examine second generation transnationalism broadly, including that of remittances. These studies build on previous transnationalism scholarship, arguing that first-generation migrant parents pass down the motivations and capacity to their children via the household (Levitt 2009, Soehl and Waldinger 2012). While these studies have broadened the scope in sample, they still mainly paint the picture that second-generation individuals engage in ties with the same reasoning and capabilities as the first-generation. However, there are particular assumptions in the social network structure and remittance framework that incongruently apply to that of the second generation familial structure and network ties. First, as remittances are supposedly intertwined with migration, NELM fails to explain why second generation individuals would send remittances when they do not have core

familial members in the ancestral home country, nor even a sense of the ancestral home country's local market risks to know to diversify income sources. Furthermore, notions of altruism and self-interest fail to apply as their extended filial connections mean they had little chance to inherit funds nor do they have the obligation to support cousins, uncles, aunts, etc. Second, migrant offspring have only fleeting connections to those abroad, relatively low levels of linguistic and cultural proficiency, and typically no plans to return to the ancestral home country (Alba and Nee 2003, Portes 1999, Waldinger and FitzGerald 2004). Third, migrant offspring often perceive themselves as not fully members of the parental country due to cultural and class differences (Gutierrez 2018a; Wang 2016). Finally, second generation individuals have never lived in the ancestral homeland, and instead rely on brief visits in their childhood and narratives from their parents in order to formulate a perception of the country (Gutierrez 2018a). As such, theoretical explanations must revise NELM frameworks and the assumed dyadic transnational connection to adapt to these varied contexts and groups.

In response, this study bridges the scholarship of NELM, triadic networks and brokering, transnationalism, and immigration to reveal the ways in which the children of migrants engage in markedly distinct forms of remittance sending. I argue that remittances from second generation individuals must be reconceptualized as a triadic network brokered by migrants. In this financial transfer, second-generation individuals provide request-based, complementary forms of financial support. This is due to the different transnational context second generation individuals find themselves in, variations in how remittance obligations are perceived by nonmigrants, migrants, and the second generation; and the differing process in which remittances are sent. These factors are shaped by second generation individuals remitting through a first generation migrant broker. As such, second generation individuals perceive their remittances through the lens of their

extended filial relations and U.S.-based reference point. Subsequently, I argue that these variations are further affected by the ancestral country of origin among second generation individuals due to varied country-to-country conditions in which remittances occur, particularly in relation to financial characteristics in the household. On a generational scale, these key conditions lead into the final point that these household, financial, and filial factors differentially influence the decision to remit among the second generation versus the first generation, namely in relation to discrimination, transnational social and symbolic connections, as well as background factors, such as education and age. Finally, I discuss how these factors also help to explain the noted reduction in cross-border ties among the second generation.

The remainder of this chapter covers the theoretical underpinnings of the dissertation and my methodological approach. Chapter two explains the overall transnational context that shape the second generation. I discuss how migrant parents' strong ties with nonmigrants and the second generation lead to a transitive connection between nonmigrants and the second generation. In particular, I draw from social network scholarship to explain how the transnational structure is triadic, and how migrant parents act as a broker by mediating transnational connections

The third chapter discusses how these brokered transnational ties manifest specifically within financial connections. In particular, I reveal how the mediated remittance exchange reveals the limitations of NELM as currently constructed in explaining second generation remittance practices and the role of the second generation in an exchange. Rather than providing consistent income-based remittances, the second generation provides complementary funds largely in times of crisis to buttress the funds from first generation migrants.

In the fourth chapter, I test how factors commonly associated with remittances vary by the country-to-country remittance corridor. I highlight the ways in which parents pass down

competencies and loyalties necessary to engage in cross-border ties through exposing their children to the norms, values, and practices of the ancestral homeland. Finally, I find that the conditions associated with a specific country-to- country remittance corridor lead financial characteristics of the household to shape the decision to remit in different ways among the two groups.

In the fifth chapter, I test how factors associated with NELM vary by generational status. In particular, I examine the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent each transfer from first and second generation Mexican-Americans. The desire to recoup lost status, to build up social reputation, or send financial support as a replacement for filial care largely do not apply to the second generation, and only have effects on the first generation. Overall, I find that factors relating to discrimination, transnational social and symbolic connections, as well as background factors, such as education and age vary between the first and second generation. Establishing interpersonal contact is crucial for the second generation to initially remit as they do not have ties prior to migration, and sustained social ties increase the average amount of money remitted in an exchange.

In the final chapter, I summarize my findings and discuss the implications of my study as it relates to familial dynamics, household financial practices, and NELM. In addition, I highlight future opportunities for research, particularly as it pertains to ethnic identity.

Theoretical Framework & Literature Review

Remittances occur within a transnational social field in which migrants and nonmigrants constantly rework their relationships with one another (Carling 2008; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). NELM theory argues that remittances are intertwined with migration, as migrants leave as part of a household strategy to raise income, while spreading income risks and overcoming local

market constraints (Stark and Bloom 1985). Using a NELM perspective, there have been various arguments for how remittances affect development and shape the lives of those living in developing countries. Along the receiving end of the sender-recipient dyad, scholars and policy analysts have attempted to explain the micro-level effects of remittances on migrants' home countries. The discussion of remittance impact falls on a spectrum between two extremes. One pole, characterized as the "developmentalist extreme" (Taylor 1999), argues that migration decisions insure against potential income and production risks and that remittances can play a positive role in providing economic growth for both local communities and national economies. At the other extreme, remittances are argued to have negative effects, in which they widen inequality in the home country and increase dependence on emigrants, which then further perpetuates the migration process as remittances become the main source of income. Overall, there is evidence to support aspects of both extremes (Taylor 1999). On one end, some studies point to strong links between remittances and development in remittance receiving countries (Massey 1991; Mooney 2003). Other studies point to a dependence model as seen in studies, such as Rodriguez and Tiongson's (2001), which find that households with migrants turn to leisure rather than adding to the household income through employment in the local labor market.

Scholars build on this scholarship, complicating the discussion of if remittances can be classified as consumption purposes (Taylor 1999, Taylor and Martin 1998). First, they argue that consumption can help to stimulate productive investments by stimulating incomes in the households that supply particular goods and services. Second, studies tend to have arbitrary definitions of what is considered a productive investment. In particular, schooling and housing expenditures are not considered productive despite the important effects they have on a household. Finally, remittance studies often ignore the effects that local institutions have in aiding

development. As such, it is unreasonable to expect migrants to play the simultaneous roles of workers, savers, investors, and producers in their home communities across all contexts when it can vary in large part by the interaction with local institutions (Taylor 1999). Rather, scholars should understand that these roles are not clearly delineated and that financial and social roles in a community vary according to context.

On the sending side of the remittance transfer, Lucas and Stark (1985) lay out the motives for why migrants send remittances, arguing that the decision to remit is shaped in large part by the familial household. In the altruistic model, immigrants purely care for those left behind. According to this model, a higher amount of remittances flows to poorer households. Altruism decreases gradually over time and with familial distance, as well as with the number of migrants contributing to the household (Amuedo-Dorantes et al. 2005, Cohen 2011). In contrast, migrants can be motivated by “pure self-interest,” in which migrants are driven to remit in order to maintain favor in the line of inheritance, to invest in assets in the home community, and/or to build up capital in case of return-migration (Rapoport and Doquier 2006). Lucas and Stark (1985) argue that both pure altruism and pure self-interest fail to properly explain the motivations behind remittances. Instead, migrants tend to fall in the middle of the spectrum in which remittances serve a mutually beneficial, implicit contractual agreement between migrants and remittance-recipients.

Scholars have built on this scholarship, further breaking down how social, financial, and familial obligations are intertwined with the decision to remit. In particular, these works address challenges associated with Lucas and Stark’s arguments, namely the implicit assumption that motives are unchanging and that it is possible to capture motives on a purely linear continuum from altruism to self-interest (Carling 2014). In addition, they move beyond prioritizing the motives of the sender to include the ways in which remittances are intertwined with notions of

familial obligation, compensation for services rendered, gift-giving, investments, and that of even blackmail (Hage 2002, Carling and Petterson 2014). Overall, remittances are intertwined with social meanings and roles that can overlap and differ between sender and recipient, over different contexts, and across time. Assimilation into a receiving country complicates and further transforms these relationships as first generation migrants grow distant from family members over time, lose connections, and have financial obligations that take away from financial obligations in the home country (Carling 2008; Unheim and Rowlands 2012). The fluid social meaning of remittances underscores the importance of understanding the larger familial context in which individuals are remitting.

Both senders and recipients are also affected in large part by the specific pair of countries in the exchange, referred to as a country-to-country remittance corridor (Carling 2008). Differences associated with migration dynamics, along with the norms and values relating to the country of origin and host country come to shape remittance patterns between a specific pair of countries. Furthermore, the facility and cost of remitting is often corridor-specific; it may be easier and relatively cheaper to send money from one country, but more difficult and expensive from another. For instance, remittances are easier and cheaper to send from the United Kingdom to Somalia, but more expensive and difficult to send remittances from Norway to Somalia (Taylor 1999). Overall, there is variation in the facility, cost, and conditions that shape the decision to remit differently among countries.

The Second Generation

While there are plentiful amounts of studies that delve into the social, familial, and financial aspects of economic contributions between first generation migrants and family members abroad, scholarship on second generation migrant contributions are still emerging. There are

several important contextual factors that complicate second generation migrant remittances. As mentioned earlier, notions of obligation that inform remittances differ for second generation individuals as they are typically sending economic support to families and communities that they have only fleeting connections to. In addition, when engaged in cross-border ties with family, they tend to be extended family members, such as cousins, uncles, and aunts (Nguyen-Akbar 2014). Second, migrant offspring often perceive themselves as not fully members of the parental country due to cultural and class differences (Gutierrez 2018a; Wang 2016). Third, second generation individuals have never lived in the ancestral homeland, and instead rely on brief visits in their childhood and narratives from their parents in order to formulate a perception of the country (Gutierrez 2018a). As a result, the existing theoretical explanations pertaining to familial obligation and a dyadic network structure found in NELM fail to apply within this framework.

Due to these contextual factors, parents and other first generation migrant family members play a key role in influencing cross-border ties between their children and those abroad (Byng 2017, Lee 2007, Soehl and Waldinger 2012). Soehl and Waldinger (2012) argue that first generation migrant parents pass down the competencies and loyalties needed for both 1.5- and second generation migrant children to engage in cross-border ties during childhood by modeling the behavior in the household and passing down the linguistic proficiency. While it is apparent that parents play a key role, there are challenges with the current explanations. First, scholarship, such as Luthra, Soehl, and Waldinger (2018), as well as Soehl and Waldinger (2012) argue that parents passing down linguistic proficiency is key for second generation individuals forming cross-border ties. Using the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) survey, they argue that those who grow up in households where only English is spoken are not likely to engage in cross-border connections, especially remitting. Exposure to the native

tongue is argued to provide both a means of communicating with those in the ancestral home country and a stronger attachment to the country. However, the authors base their arguments on aggregated racial data that do not control for country of origin. As such, their assertions largely obscure how groups with relatively low levels of exposure to the ancestral native tongue engage in cross-border connections. Only approximately 33 percent of second generation Filipino-Americans were raised in a household where a language other than English was spoken, the lowest among all major groups sampled in the IIMMLA survey (Rumbaut et al. 2004). This is in stark contrast to approximately 90 percent of Mexican-Americans having been raised in a household where a language other than English was spoken. Despite this wide differential in linguistic proficiency, second generation Filipino-Americans have among the *highest* remittance rates of all groups sampled. Approximately 1/3 of second generation Filipino- and Mexican-Americans report sending remittances. This number climbs to approximately 40 percent for both groups remitting when 1.5-generation individuals are accounted for. While linguistic proficiency may play a role in shaping cross-border connections, scholars have overemphasized its function.

Though scholarship on the children of migrants' remittance practices are emerging, there is a general lack of theoretical understanding of which factors lead second generation individuals to remit, how they remit, or why they remit. As a result, scholarship has not examined how financial, social, and household factors together influence the decision to remit particularly among specifically second generation individuals. Studies on second generation migrant transnational connections notably omit how financial and background characteristics can affect the likelihood to remit. Though factors, such as income, employment, age, gender, etc. have been widely studied among first generation migrants, this has been largely ignored in studies on second generation migrant transnationalism, let alone remittance practices. Furthermore, studies on transnational

practices often lump together 1.5- and second generation individuals (Smith 2006; Soehl and Waldinger 2012). Though 1.5- and second generation migrant groups differ widely as it pertains to educational attainment, socioeconomic status, English language comprehension, and various other aspects of acculturation, studies have neglected to focus specifically on second generation individuals (Rumbaut 2004). Paying attention to generational cohorts is important as it also suggests varied understandings of parents' native language and relationships with those in the ancestral home country. Finally, there is a scarcity in studies comparing country-to-country remittance corridors in shaping the likelihood to remit among second generation individuals. Studies have either constructed theoretical understandings of second generation individuals based on one group or have aggregated countries together, thereby missing out on specific conditions that may be associated with a particular remittance corridor (Soehl and Waldinger 2012).

In order to address the theoretical challenges faced in explaining the second generation transnational context and their remittance practices, I turn to social network scholarship to help provide theoretical insight into how these ties unfold.

Triadic Networks and Brokerage

In this section, I seek to address the notion that the second generation do not engage in transnational ties, as well as the problems of arguing that the second generation engage in cross-border ties in the same fashion as that of the first generation. First, I address the theoretical explanation that the second generation do not engage in cross-border ties (Alba and Nee 2003, Waldinger and FitzGerald 2004). It is argued that even if the second generation do engage in such ties, it is to such a limited degree that it does not warrant scholarly examination. However, this perspective belies the prevalence of second generation cross-border ties and the contradictory

nature of such a claim against social network concepts of triadic relations and the transitivity of strong ties.

Sociological interest in social network triads has been longstanding, dating back as far as Simmel's (1950) argument that social processes are inextricably transformed when a third person enters a dyadic network. The relative strength of a dyadic tie ultimately brings together other individuals related to those within a dyad. The proportion of individuals drawn to the individuals in the dyadic connection varies by the emotional intensity of a given connection, depending on if the dyadic tie is strong, weak, or absent (Davis et al. 1971, Granovetter 1973). As such, if Actor A and Actor B have strong ties, and Actor B and Actor C have strong ties, then there is a strong transitive potential for Actor A and Actor C to develop a tie, as well. The absence of a tie between actor A and actor C represents what Granovetter (1973) calls the "forbidden triad" and is the least likely of all triads to occur in social networks. Given the overwhelming evidence of strong ties between migrants and their children, as well as migrants and the family living in the home country, migrants' strong ties have a high potential of transitivity to connect nonmigrants with the second generation. This is further aided by the fact that within a triad, a third actor can act as a broker to further smooth relations between two unrelated actors. Brokerage arises when two or more distinct social entities are both insulated and proximate, lacking the potential for themselves to develop connections on their own (Granovetter 1995, Stovel and Shaw 2012, Burt 1992, Small 2009). A broker helps to remedy gaps in the social structure, as well as help goods and information flow across that gap by serving as an intermediary between two otherwise unconnected actors or groups. (Stovel et al. 2011). As first generation migrants look to connect their children with migrants' core familial members, they encourage and facilitate second generation transnational connections.

In the field of migration, discussions of brokerage have mainly surrounded the ways in which 1.5- and second generation individuals serve as brokers between their first generation migrant parents who may lack proficiency in English, and various institutions within the host country (Kwon 2015, Katz 2014, Orellana et al. 2003). A child in the family serves as a broker by using their linguistic and cultural skills to serve as a translator and to help interact with social institutions for other family members. Rather than inhabiting a neutral position, these children largely act as representatives of the family (Stovel et al. 2011). Similarly, I extend the general concept of brokerage to broadly examine how first generation migrant parents facilitate second generation migrant relationships with nonmigrant family members. Brokerage can manifest in a variety of ways, with brokers serving either as middlemen or catalyst brokers. Middleman brokers facilitate connections between otherwise unconnected actors that lack direct contact with one another (Stovel and Shaw 2012). Conversely, catalyst brokers facilitate introductions and bring actors into direct relation with one another. After initiating this connection, the broker may not be essential to the other two actors communicating with one another (Gould and Fernandez 1989, Obstfeld 2005).

Just as first generation migrants do not necessarily require full linguistic proficiency or knowledge of how to interact with social institutions in the host country when they have the assistance of a broker, second generation individuals are not solely dependent on having the cultural and linguistic capital themselves to engage in connections with family members in the ancestral home country. First generation migrants help to fill the gaps in social structure, as well as mitigate a lack of linguistic and cultural proficiency by serving as translators, if needed. In addition, they help to traverse regions that second generation individuals lack familiarity in. Brokers also know of the resources and institutions required to send remittances, engage in social

ties, and visit the ancestral home country. Finally, brokers are able to better understand the cultural, familial, and financial obligations of family in the ancestral homeland.

The concept of brokerage also helps to explain why ties wane over time. While brokered ties can bridge two disparate groups, connections are ultimately less durable than ties supported by a multitude of reinforcing relationships (Granovetter 1995, Stovel et al. 2011, Burt 1992). Over time, first generation migrants can help to facilitate only so many ties and as relationships between first and second generation individuals transform over time, responsibilities shift away from parents to that of second generation individuals' own families and personal demands (Stovel and Shaw 2012, Stovel et al. 2011). As such, second generation individuals are less likely to be in a social context that encourages cross-border connections. Similarly, brokered connections are dependent on first generation migrants maintaining strong ties with nonmigrants. As such, infrequent interactions and lack of consistent reinforcement between first generation migrant brokers with nonmigrants and second generation individuals ultimately weaken the likelihood of cross-border ties being brokered. Finally, nonmigrants could have simply died, or could have migrated to the same country as that of first generation migrants and second generation individuals, thereby making their once transnational connections into domestic ties.

Overall, there is a robust set of scholarship examining the financial magnitude of remittances, the motives of remitters, and the social meaning of remittances that bind nonmigrants and migrants. However, the structures in place are inherently intertwined with migration and fail to account for how those born in migrants' country of settlement are sending remittances. While the magnitude of second generation remittances is smaller than that of the first generation, their role within a transnational economic relationship provides greater theoretical richness in understanding familial networks and remittance practices overall. In addition, social network

scholarship has long discussed the need to understand the diffusion of information and resources across weak ties (Stovel and Shaw 2012). Further, the economic impact of remittances on countries that greatly rely on remittances as a source of GDP from these individuals warrant examination. A report on the Current Population Survey found that approximately 10% of the remittances, approx. \$1.2 billion, sent to foreign countries came from households made up completely of native-born individuals (Grieco et al. 2010). Given that more of the second generation are contributing from households also with foreign born individuals, the 10% is a minimum of how much funds are being remitted from native born individuals. As such, this dissertation looks to address theoretical and empirical challenges in being able to explain how and why the second generation remit, how factors associated with the remittance corridor shape these patterns and practices, and how the transnational context shapes remittance practices differentially across generation.

Data and Methods

This dissertation will include four main chapters that utilize a mixed-methods approach involving both quantitative and qualitative data. For simplicity, I first discuss the interview data, then I move on to discuss data used from the IIMMLA survey, and then I finally discuss data from the Latino National Survey (LNS).

Interview Data

The first two chapters draw on interview data with second generation Mexican and Filipino Americans. These chapters draw from eighty-six interviews carried out with forty-six Filipino-Americans and forty Mexican-Americans in the Southern California region between October 2015 and September 2018. Mexican- and Filipino-Americans are the two largest immigrant populations in California, and both groups have their highest concentrations within Southern California (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The high density in the Southern California region allowed me to recruit

respondents in a variety of ways. First, a snowball sample of study participants was recruited via personal contacts. Second, I recruited from a number of organizations, some of which actively engaged in international political actions, while others focused purely on domestic affairs in the U.S. Initially, the decision to recruit from these organizations was made for the purpose of including respondents who engaged in forms of transnational connections as well as those who did not. However, involvement in these organizations did not have any apparent impact on how and why respondents engaged in transnational ties with family as those in transnational organizations were from disparate social networks. In fact, many respondents expressed that these interviews were the first time they had reflected on their connections with family in the ancestral homeland.

Second generation Mexican- and Filipino-Americans were selected as they engage in cross-border ties despite differing in many respects thought to be crucial to second generation transnationalism. First, the two groups differ widely in linguistic proficiency in the familial and extrafamilial context. Mexican-Americans are raised in households where Spanish is spoken (approximately 90 percent) and often live within ethnic enclaves that have a continual influx of Mexican immigrants (Rumbaut et al. 2004, Jiménez 2010). Due to this influx and the proximity of the U.S. to Mexico, it is common for second generation Mexican-Americans to be exposed to an extrafamilial context that reinforces Spanish usage on a daily basis (Jiménez 2008, 2010). By contrast, only a third of second generation Filipino-Americans are raised in households where the native tongue is spoken, let alone understood and spoken by the respondent (Rumbaut et al. 2004). Furthermore, they are less likely to be exposed to an extrafamilial context that reinforces cultural linkages to the ancestral homeland, as they often do not reside in ethnic enclaves (Vergara 2009). By examining these two groups that engage in remittances despite these class and linguistic differences, these results reveal the key indicator of parents facilitating ties.

Among Filipino-American respondents, eleven were born in the Philippines and migrated before the age of five, thirty-two were born in the U.S. from Filipino migrant parents (second generation), and three were the grandchildren of migrants (third generation). Those born in the Philippines migrated at an average age of three years old. Due to their young age at migration, these individuals, also referred to as 1.75-generation, have adaptive outcomes close to that of the U.S.-born second generation (Rumbaut 2004). Given the similarities between those that migrated at a young age and those born in the U.S., I include them in the analyses of second generation Americans. Respondents ranged in age between 21 and 47 years old. Interviews were conducted with twenty-nine men, sixteen women, and one individual that did not identify as either a man or a woman. In line with the median profile of Filipino-Americans, respondents tended to come from highly educated and middle-class families, with the median household income of respondents between \$60,000 and \$80,000 (McNamara and Batalova 2015).

Among Mexican-American respondents, one was born in Mexico and migrated as an infant, thirty-three were born in the U.S. from two Mexican migrant parents (second generation), and six respondents were the grandchildren of Mexican migrants (third generation). Respondents ranged in age between 19 and 67 years old. Interviews were conducted with eighteen men and twenty-two women. In line with the median profile of Mexican-Americans, respondents tended to come from working-class families in which their parents did not have a college education, with the median household income of respondents between \$20,000 and \$40,000 (Zong and Batalova 2016).

Interviews were conducted in person and lasted between forty minutes and two hours. Questions dealt with all forms of transnational connections, including remittances, social ties, material contributions, and involvements in transnational organizations. While I interviewed those

of varying generational statuses, this chapter mainly focuses on those that migrated at a young age and second generation Americans as they were seventy-seven out of the eighty-six respondents. As such, the lack of respondents along the lines of generational status prevented a comparison between second and third generation Americans. These chapters primarily focus on financial connections with family in Mexico and the Philippines through monetary contributions, as well as social ties through telecommunication and social media. All interviews were conducted in English with some Tagalog and Spanish phrases and words used. Interview transcripts were coded using the software Atlas.ti. All names have been replaced with pseudonyms and potentially identifying information has been removed or changed.

IIMMLA Data

Throughout the background information in the dissertation and particularly in chapter 3, I draw on data from the IIMMLA survey to assess my hypotheses. As a survey of one of the main immigrant destinations in the U.S., the IIMMLA provides a strategic survey to assess how second generation individuals are incorporated within the transnational social field. Collected in 2003 and 2004, the IIMMLA surveyed approximately 4,500 adults of ages 20-40 in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Surveys were conducted in 35-minute long structured telephone interviews with random samples of first generation migrants who arrived prior to the age of 13 (and therefore could be classified as 1.5-generation) as well as with second and third generation adults, ages 20 to 39. Interviews focused on a number of topics, such as socio-cultural orientation and mobility, economic mobility, geographic mobility, civic engagement, and transnational ties. In regards to the ancestral country of origin among the respondents, IIMMLA contained respondents from mainly six foreign-born or foreign-parentage groups: Mexicans, Vietnamese, Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, and Central Americans. As mentioned earlier, given the prevalence of remitting among

the two groups despite their differences, the focus of analyses was narrowed down to focus on Mexican and Filipino-Americans. Vietnamese- and Salvadoran-Americans, two other groups that remitted at similar rates as Filipino- and Mexican-Americans, were grouped with others (Salvadorans with other Central-Americans, Vietnamese containing both Chinese-Vietnamese and Vietnamese ethnic groups). As a result, when disaggregated, their sample sizes were not large enough for a robust analysis.

1.5-generation migrants were removed from analyses given the differences in proficiency of their parents' native tongue, socioeconomic outcomes, etc. between them and second generation individuals. In addition, there are such stark differences between generational cohorts as it pertains to which factors influence the decision to remit, as well as how those factors influence the decision to remit, it calls for a separate analysis apart from one focused on country-to-country remittance corridors specific to the second generation. The resulting sample utilized for this study consists of a total of 626 respondents: 463 Mexican-Americans and 163 Filipino-Americans. Observations were constant across all models. Those that did not answer a question, felt a question was not applicable, or did not know information relating to the selected variables were removed from analyses. In chapter 3, I detail the particular hypotheses, as well as response and explanatory variables that I use for my analyses in greater detail. To test my hypotheses, I ran a series of logistic regressions to examine which factors influence the decision to remit.

LNS Data

I use data from the LNS to determine the factors that impact the decision to remit among first and second generation Mexican-Americans. The LNS contained 8,634 interviews with self-identified Latino/Hispanic residents in the U.S. The sample was stratified by geographic designation; each state sample was a valid, stand-alone representation of that state's Latino

population. In addition, the survey included respondents across various generational statuses. The survey contained approximately 165 items, covering such topics as demographic characteristics, political attitudes, as well as connections to the ancestral country of origin. Respondents were offered the choice between English and Spanish. Among the sample, I selected only first and second generation Mexican Americans to test how factors commonly associated with migrants fared in explaining remittance practices among the second generation, and what differences there were between the two groups. In addition, I controlled for Mexican Americans specifically to control for any variations in remittance corridors that could have arisen by testing other groups, particularly due to the specific proximity of Mexico to that of the U.S.

This chapter uses logistic regression and robust regression models to identify the effects on the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent each transfer, respectively. For both dimensions of remitting behavior, I test the effects of all explanatory variables and how they differ by generational status. The resulting sample of analyses assessing the likelihood of remittances consisted of a total of 1,984 respondents made up of 1,252 first generation migrants and 732 second generation individuals. Among those that remitted, the resulting sample of analyses to assess the average amount of money sent in a given transfer consisted of a total of 1,045 respondents made up of 836 first generation migrants and 209 second generation individuals.

CHAPTER TWO

BROKERING TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Brandon is a second generation Mexican-American who works as a wine sommelier for upscale restaurants in downtown San Diego. He describes his daily life as him being immersed within the Mexican American community and is fluent in Spanish, speaking the language on a daily basis both with his family and coworkers. Yet, when asked how his two visits with his mother to Mexico had been, he voiced that they were “horribly awkward” due to the differences between he and his family:

I felt a sense of alienation and there's a lack of comprehension of one another's lives. Again, very impoverished family out there... I feel alien to them and they feel alien to me, in terms of our lives are so different that I don't think they can understand.

According to Brandon, the economic differences were so distinct he had a difficult time relating to them even if he did have linguistic proficiency in Spanish. Yet, when Brandon's mother requested that he help to send money to his family in Mexico, he sent over money and a laptop to his family in the country.

For many second generation individuals like Brandon, they often feel a sense of separation from those in the country even though they may relate to their ancestral home country culturally. To transnational scholars and the dominant framework of how such ties unfold, this sense of distinction would suggest that the second generation would not engage in cross-border ties. However, first generation migrants play a powerful role in being able to mend even the widest of ties between the second generation and nonmigrants.

Scholars have long examined the phenomena of transnational relationships between migrants and those who remain in the ancestral country of origin. The connections in which they

engage are multi-layered and multi-sited, affecting not only migrants and nonmigrants, but also the larger communities from which they hail (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004, Carling 2008). Familial cross-border ties often entail relationship dynamics that intersect with the effects of migration. As such, transnational connections are often imbued with notions of familial obligation (Waldinger 2015, Orellana et al. 2001). Though migration complicates these dynamics due to political and geographical borders, strong interdependent ties can be maintained between migrants and nonmigrants. Migrants look to nonmigrants to oversee important assets such as properties and investments, as well as children and elderly family members. (Levitt 2001). Conversely, migrants provide support, such as economic assistance and helping to facilitate migration for those in the home country (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007).

While scholarship has examined the cross-border ties between migrants and nonmigrants, second generation individuals'¹ transnational connections have not been as deeply interrogated. In earlier writings on transnationalism, the second generation was not expected to engage in any cross-border ties as they often have only fleeting connections to those abroad, relatively low levels of linguistic and cultural proficiency, and typically no plans to return permanently to the ancestral home country (Alba and Nee 2003, Portes 1999). However, subsequent scholars have demonstrated that though there is a reduction in cross-border connectivity compared to the immigrant generation, there continues to be a contingency of the second generation that maintains transnational ties (Soehl and Waldinger 2012, Levitt 2009, Smith 2006). The immigrant generation plays a significant role socializing their children to cultural norms and transnational practices in the household. In addition, they work to pass down the necessary linguistic proficiency to second

¹ The terms “immigrant generation” and “second generation” are used to signify migrants and their children, respectively. In particular, I use “second generation” rather than the term “second generation migrant” to accurately categorize them as these individuals did not migrate.

generation individuals so that they may engage in cross-border ties themselves (Soehl and Waldinger 2012, Luthra et al. 2018).

Despite the emerging literature on second generation cross-border ties, there are still challenges to fully explain how ties are initiated and sustained. First, the means and reasoning for why the second generation engages in cross-border ties is often framed as being the same as that of the immigrant generation. However, there are several factors that alter the second generation's Americans' ability to engage in cross-border ties due to a lack of competencies and obligations. Second, scholars argue that linguistic proficiency is key for the second generation forming cross-border ties (Luthra et al. 2018, Soehl and Waldinger 2012). It is argued that cultural and linguistic proficiency passed down via parental socialization provides both a means of communicating with those in the ancestral home country and a stronger attachment to the country. While impactful, scholars' descriptions of parental socialization do not fully explain how the second generation would have the competencies, obligations, and logistical information necessary to traverse a foreign country or engage in social and financial ties with those that they may have never met prior. This article argues that the discussion of parental socialization has omitted the key step of brokering, in which the immigrant generation actively organizes and facilitates connections between their children and nonmigrants.

First generation brokers play a central role compensating for second generation individuals' lack of linguistic proficiency, familial obligations, and/or logistical knowledge necessary to engage in connections. Brokering strategies include serving as *catalyst brokers* where immigrant family members are present throughout the initial triadic connection(s), which then transition into a dyadic connection; and/or as *middleman brokers* where they actively initiate ties and are present throughout each subsequent connection. Whether a connection is a catalyst or

middleman brokered tie relies on the type of connection, consistent interpersonal contact, the relationship between the nonmigrant and second generation individual, as well as the linguistic proficiencies of the individuals in the connection. Overall, the concept of brokerage explains how ties between second generation individuals and nonmigrants have proliferated and are sustained.

This chapter draws on eighty-six interviews with a focus on second generation Mexican- and Filipino-Americans' micro-level transnational connections with family members. Second generation Mexican- and Filipino-Americans differ in many important regards stemming from the migration and incorporation process. Mexican- and Filipino-Americans vary widely in their linguistic proficiency, exposure to coethnics, and interpersonal contact with those in the ancestral home country. Despite these differences, there are a strong contingency among both groups that engage in cross-border connections. Though Filipino-Americans are less likely to speak the ancestral native tongue, as well as have less exposure to coethnics and interpersonal contact with those in the Philippines, a similar proportion of second generation Filipino-Americans (34 percent) report having sent remittances than Mexican Americans (32 percent) (Rumbaut et al. 2004). In addition, while a greater proportion of Mexican-Americans have visited the ancestral home country as adults (approximately 72 percent), over half of second generation Filipino-Americans have visited the Philippines as adults (55 percent), pointing to the persistence of cross-border ties into adulthood among both groups (Rumbaut et al. 2004). By examining these two seemingly disparate groups, I am able to identify the common link of a broker to facilitate second generation transnational ties. In addition, I find that their disparate conditions shape the nature of transnational brokerage in unique ways.

Both Mexican- and Filipino-Americans generally utilized middleman brokerage in some capacity, particularly among financial ties and when visiting. However, second generation

Filipino-American respondents generally had a low capacity to utilize catalyst brokerage due to the lack of linguistic proficiency, emotional bonds, and interpersonal contact. As a result, they often relied on middleman brokerage. In contrast, Mexican-Americans had a greater capacity to utilize catalyst brokerage due to generally having a higher linguistic proficiency, more frequent contact, and emotional attachments to those in Mexico. The reliance on a broker is so intensive for Filipino-American respondents that many did not know who they had spoken with or who had received their economic contributions. Conversely, Mexican-American respondents always knew who they were socializing with and knew who had received their economic contributions. Overall, this research highlights the importance of adapting the transnational framework to include the role of a broker when discussing second generation cross-border connectivity. In addition, it reveals the importance of examining second groups by their ancestral country of origin so as to examine the ways in which integration and migration outcomes continue to shape second generation transnational connections.

The immigrant generation's transnational connections with family members are a dyadic connection, as seen in Figure 1 (Carling 2008). However, second generation ties are complicated in that the immigrant family members often play a role in organizing and facilitating connections. As a result, second generation individuals engage in a triadic network at some point with migrant family members serving as catalyst brokers by facilitating initial connections, or by serving as middleman brokers, facilitating and organizing most, if not all, aspects of a connection. Transnational connections that were facilitated via middleman brokerage can be seen below in Figure 2. In contrast, catalyst brokered transnational connections begin as seen in Figure 2, but then transition to a dyadic connection as seen in Figure 1. Overall, immigrant family members served as catalyst or middleman brokers depending on the form of connection, the competencies

of nonmigrants and second generation individuals to communicate with one another, and the emotional attachments between respondents and nonmigrant family members.

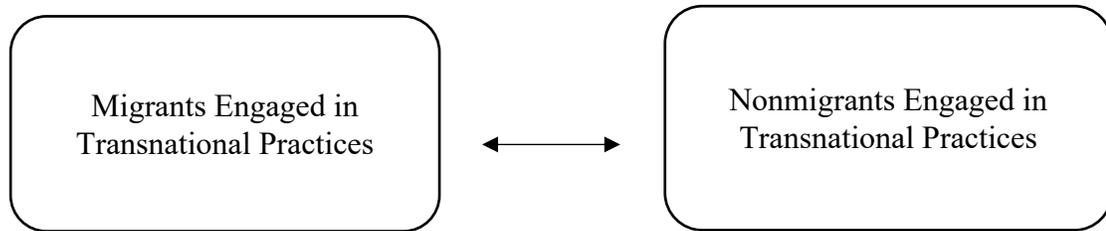


Figure 1. Schematic Representation of Dyadic Transnational Connections

Source: Carling, 2008

If respondents and nonmigrants had the linguistic proficiency to communicate with one another, had frequent interpersonal contact and developed a close bond with a family member, respondents could transition into dyadic connections. In contrast, if a respondent was missing one of these given elements, they generally required a immigrant generation family member to serve as a middleman broker. The ways in which migrants brokered connections also depended on a given tie as some connections required greater logistical knowledge versus others. For example, visiting the ancestral homeland was often done with a broker as migrants knew who to visit, how to traverse through the region, as well as other logistical information such as addresses. In contrast, transnational social communication through applications such as WhatsApp or Facebook allowed for easier dyadic connections as there were relatively less logistical hurdles. Given the number of factors that shape transnational connections, respondents did not have to purely utilize one brokerage strategy versus the other. Rather, a mix of different brokerage strategies were utilized depending on the type of connection, as well as competencies and intimacy between nonmigrants and the second generation.

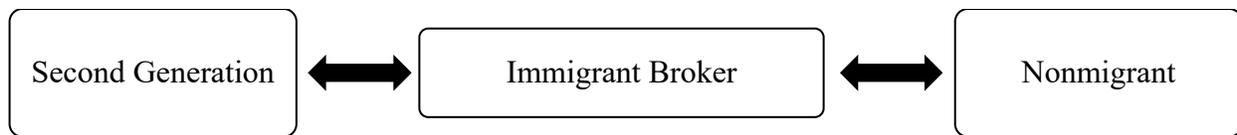


Figure 2. Schematic of Second Generation Transnational Connections

Migrants' Role as Broker

There are three factors to account for this reliance on immigrant family members to serve as a broker. First, migrant parents have the necessary linguistic resources to serve as translator, if needed, between nonmigrants and second generation individuals. Second, immigrant parents can compensate for the lack of familial obligation to engage in cross-border ties. Finally, immigrant family members often account for logistical steps necessary to engage in transnational ties, such as knowing addresses and phone numbers, how to get around in the country, as well as how to send money. Throughout this section, there is discussion of how and when respondents utilized middleman or catalyst brokerage.

Serving as a Translator

While many second generation individuals can understand and speak the ancestral native tongue in some fashion, this was usually in a form of “Taglish” or “Spanglish,” a combination of Tagalog and English, as well as Spanish and English, respectively. Due to this, those able to speak and understand the ancestral native tongue in the U.S. could have difficulty keeping up with the slang and pace in which the language was spoken in the ancestral home country. As such, it was common for migrant parents to mitigate communication difficulties. Brittany, a second generation Mexican-American, who was conversational with Spanish in the U.S., felt uneasy speaking Spanish in Mexico and often had her parents help to translate:

I always felt really embarrassed. I'd get really nervous. [Those in Mexico] look at you funny and say, “What is she trying to say?” And then I would say, “Sorry, my Spanish isn't perfect.” And then either my mom or dad would get involved and say, “She's trying to say this.”

In addition, while some were fluent in Tagalog or Spanish, communication was difficult for those who had family members from various provinces in the Philippines where a provincial language was spoken or areas in Mexico, such as Oaxaca, where some family members may speak Mixtec. For those that could not speak or understand Tagalog or Spanish, they required brokers to translate most of what they were saying. Angela, a second generation Filipino-American, explained: “I just spoke in English, and I was hoping they understood me. My grandpa or dad would then help speak for me.” For those that could not speak the native tongue with high proficiency and/or when interacting with family with low levels of English proficiency, they often had to rely on middleman forms of brokerage to communicate with nonmigrant family members.

Respondents that had the competencies to speak the ancestral native tongue fluently had an easier time transitioning into dyadic connections. Jordan, a second generation Mexican-American who spoke fluent Spanish and visited Mexico consistently, explained how he was able to converse with his grandparents consistently: “[My grandparents] were my first caregivers, so for me, it was more than just a ‘hey, how are you?’” Though not as common, if nonmigrants were able to speak English competently, then connections were eased in requiring a broker. Nina, a second generation Filipino-American, had difficulty speaking with nonmigrant family members which prevented close ties, but a few English-fluent cousins were the exceptions: “So I’m embarrassed to speak Tagalog, and [my cousins] are embarrassed to speak English, but of the cousins that do speak English, or, have a better understanding, they are the ones I’m close to.” As earlier scholarship has pointed out, linguistic proficiency is vital to understanding cross-border ties, but these results reveal specifically that it mainly shapes the form of brokerage required for second generation transnational connections.

Lack of Emotional Ties

Immigrant family members could help to mitigate the initial or consistent lack of familial obligations that respondents may have to those in the ancestral homeland. Brokers could encourage respondents in two ways. Migrants could highlight respondents' obligation to that family member and/or respondents' obligation to the migrant broker (often a parent) who requested that they engage in the transnational connection. As a result, second generation individuals often mentioned the importance of migrants motivating connections.

Brokers could encourage ties by stressing that respondents should maintain connections with family members out of familial obligation to them. Jane, a 1.75 generation Filipino-American, explained how her parents facilitated ties between herself and family back in the Philippines:

It's hard because I didn't grow up with [my family in the Philippines], we're not as close, but we still make the effort to get to know each other. We feel the need to try to get to know each other because it's always instilled by all of our parents. Whether it's my dad's side or my mom's side, they're like, "family is all you're going to have always, blood is blood. These are the people that you need to depend on, these are the people that will be there for you."

Likewise, Michael, a second generation Mexican-American, explained how his mother wanted him to maintain ties to family to have a connection to his Mexican heritage:

It would be hard [to talk to them], because I would talk to an aunt or an uncle or my grandpa, and since my Spanish was very limited—I know Spanish; but there were some terms and words I couldn't even say. I would talk to my grandpa, my cousins that I have over there, and they would ask me, "How's the U.S.? Are you in school? Are you working?" And that's how the conversation was. Because my mom really wants me to have a close tie to our Mexican heritage.

Similar to Michael's comments, other respondents stressed the ways in which immigrant family members encouraged ties with nonmigrant family members. In doing so, respondents indicated the importance of maintaining ties with family members in the ancestral homeland, as well as the ways in which immigrant family members still factored in that motivation.

Respondents also voiced that they engaged in connections mainly out of obligation to their parents. Teresa, a second generation Filipino-American, explained why she sent money to those in the Philippines despite not even knowing the family members present:

I think my mom would never specifically say, “Hey, send money.” She’ll say the family needs this, and my *utang na loob* would be like “okay, let me send money, let me help them out...” It was like, okay, it’s weird I’m sending money to people I don’t really know.

In this context, Teresa used the phrase “utang na loob” (debt of gratitude, usually to parents) to refer to a sense of familial obligation to her mother. These transnational connections could also be on a more consistent basis as immigrant family members would generally ask respondents to talk to family in the ancestral homeland by passing the phone around when talking with a nonmigrant. Alfred, a second generation Mexican-American explained how his mother would tell him to gather old clothes to send to Mexico since early childhood: “Whenever I would outgrow pants or shirts, my mom would have me sort through them and then she would give them to my aunt when she travels down [to Mexico].” While migrant parents may have intended respondents to engage in these ties out of obligation to nonmigrant family members, respondents were primarily motivated by obligation to their migrant parents.

Depending on the connection and high linguistic proficiency, strong dyadic ties could emerge between respondents and those in the ancestral homeland. This was often due to strong emotional connections forged during visits, or when either respondents and nonmigrants lived with each other. Often times, these were grandparents who helped to raise respondents or cousins close in age. Emmanuel did not maintain cross-border ties with family members in the Philippines after a falling out between them and his mother. However, he made an exception with his grandmother, sending her remittances after she had been deported from the U.S. to the Philippines:

She was the one who raised me, so it’s not like I’m sending it to someone I don’t know. It’s like... this is my grandma who raised me since we’ve been [in the U.S.]

since the 1970s or 1980s ... so it was like for the reason that my grandma can't really fend for herself anymore.

Emmanuel had a particularly unique case among respondents in that his grandmother formerly lived in the U.S. for a lengthy amount of time, but his situation demonstrates the importance of how his strong emotional attachment to his grandmother motivated ties. Similarly, Jordan, a second generation Mexican-American, typically visited Mexico more than once a year and lived in the country for a year. As a result, he developed strong ties with his grandparents:

My grandparents were the first people that taught me how to speak; the first people that took me into my first day of school. They were very much my parents. So that's home... there's a lot of going back to visit people and cousins that I grew up with. Other cases of dyadic connections could emerge with nonmigrant cousins that were of a similar age as respondents. Eduardo, a second generation Mexican-American, explained his close ties with cousins in Mexico as a result of consistent interpersonal contact:

It's the continual annual visits, they kind of like expect to see you there. They expect to see you and they kind of know you because you've been going, they've watched you grow up just as you've seen them grow up. I mean you continually feel every year like you don't miss much.

As seen throughout these cases, emotional attachments are buttressed by consistent interpersonal contact between nonmigrants and respondents. When this was lacking, immigrant family members helped to shape and relay the particular obligations to family members in the ancestral home country.

Logistical Information

Finally, brokers are necessary because they know certain logistical information such as addresses and phone numbers, how to travel throughout the country, as well as how to send money. As such, brokers were often necessary at some point to carry out certain steps of a connection. Overall, the ways in which immigrant family members brokered connections depended on if they were facilitating financial connections, visits, or transnational communication.

Financial Ties

For financial connections, immigrant family members knew who and where to send it to, as well as the institutions through which to send money. As it is more efficient for immigrant family members to send money at one time, they often collected contributions from various family members to then send. This can be seen from respondents such as Grace, a 1.75 generation Filipino American, who explained: “A lot of the times I don't send the money myself, I give it to my parents to send it. It's usually my parents tell me how much to contribute.” Immigrant family members would then oversee the logistical process of sending money through various financial institutions or when visiting the ancestral home country.

If nonmigrants and respondents had the competencies and desire to maintain ties, there could be a direct request for financial support. Nonmigrants could reach out online or via telecommunication for economic assistance. If respondents chose to do so, they would then give economic contributions to their parents to then send to nonmigrants. However, as second generation individuals often did not know where and how to send money alone, respondents only engaged in giving direct financial support without a broker when respondents visited the country. Michael, a second generation Mexican-American explained: “I gave money only when I would go and visit. I would give it if they were to ask, because I knew how my family was living. The majority was to my grandpa... he just needed that extra little push to stay afloat.” Aside from visits, respondents’ financial ties tended to rely on immigrant family members in some fashion when it came to initiating connections and carrying out the logistical steps of delivering financial contributions to nonmigrants.

Visiting the Ancestral Homeland

Second generation individuals often had to visit at some point with a guide who could assist them in navigating the institutions and social networks within the ancestral home country. Julie, a

second generation Filipino American, explained how she was not open to the idea of visiting the Philippines alone due to her inability to speak Tagalog fluently: “I wouldn’t want to do it alone. I won’t feel comfortable alone because I don’t understand the language as well.” In addition, respondents often stressed that they would not know how to traverse through the country. Peter, a second generation Filipino-American, could not speak Tagalog and had never been to the Philippines as his family was predominantly in the U.S. As such, he explained that he would need someone to guide him in the Philippines: “I would only be able to go if someone was comfortable sharing their experiences and guiding me.” In addition to logistical matters, immigrant family members helped to introduce respondents to areas with familial and emotional importance. Daniela, a second generation Mexican-American explained:

My dad would like sometimes take us on walks in the evening and give us a brief history. He’d show us spots where he used to go when he was younger. This last time we just stopped by the cemetery where my grandpa is buried.

Furthermore, visits to the ancestral homeland were generally with other family members due to the concern that the country was unsafe. Michael, a second generation Mexican-American, explained that whenever he was traveling, he made sure to be with another family member due to the perception of violence: “I wouldn’t go out or anything like that because there was certain areas and certain time frames where it was a bad place to be. My grandpa would be like, ‘that place is not that good around this time, so just stay here.’” Women often had to navigate the perception of danger in the ancestral home country as migrants would insist on guiding them as a form of protection. Julie, a second generation Filipino-American explained how her mother felt it necessary for her to be accompanied: “I feel like they treat me more of a kid there, they’re literally like ‘Julie hold my hand!’ and I’m like ‘mom, you’re tripping right now, I’m an adult. I think I’ll be okay.’” Overall, the logistics and safety concerns associated with visiting prompted respondents to generally travel with a broker.

Telecommunication and Social Media

Communication with nonmigrant family members has evolved over time. Respondents often emphasized the difference in their communication before and after the widespread usage of social media and online forms of communication. Before, immigrant family members would purchase telephone cards and loop respondents into phone calls. After the emergence of online video communication, respondents could similarly have their parents initiate video conference calls as explained by Jane, a 1.75 generation Filipino-American: “Most of our communication is through my parents, usually my mom Skyping and if they're there I just say hi.” However, a notable difference in communication emerged as a result of applications, such as Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp.

Once parents had initiated relationships between respondents and nonmigrants, relationships could continue through communication over social media applications. Through Facebook, some respondents were able to establish familial connections that they otherwise would not have been able to form. Some respondents were directly sent friend requests and invited to online groups made up of extended family members spanning the U.S. and the ancestral homeland. However, these types of ties alone generally did not transition into substantial connections. Christian, a third generation Mexican-American, explained how his communication was nonexistent before Facebook and how it changed, while also mentioning that the ties were mainly kept to short comments:

I'll comment on their pictures, so it'll be very minimal conversations. It's like a comment, and then a comment back, and a comment back like that. It's not a truly extensive [conversation]—where we're really talking and learning about each other as we should be, but it's a lot more communication than we had before.

Obstacles such as linguistic differences and a lack of familial attachments limited social ties to brief exchanges. Although respondents and nonmigrants were “Facebook friends” or “Instagram

followers,” it was not necessarily indicative of a close relationship. Alex, a second generation Filipino-American, explained his ties with nonmigrants:

It’s funny. Before we started talking, this random person with my last name added me on Facebook. I usually screenshot the name, ask my mom, “Who is this?” And then she confirms or denies if we know them. So, if my mom recognizes them, I’ll add them, just cause I think they want to keep in contact with Joanna’s son. I only talk to them really with my mom.

Although social media and online applications formed a key element in understanding respondents’ communication, brokers still played a vital role in shaping how this communication developed. If social ties were not brokered interpersonally, these connections were largely superficial.

If respondents developed emotional bonds, maintained consistent interpersonal contact, and had the competencies to engage in dyadic connections, they could communicate with nonmigrants via WhatsApp and Facebook without a broker. Valerie, a second generation Mexican-American, maintained constant communication with her cousins in Oaxaca, Mexico via WhatsApp after she had visited them in adulthood with family: “I had never really spoken to any of my family until I [visited] them. It was not until I finally met or re-met my cousins. Then it was like “oh, I have Facebook, I have WhatsApp to talk.” Overall, social media was an important change in how respondents communicated. However, these connections were fairly limited if not reinforced with in-person communication.

How Brokerage Manifested Differently for Mexican- and Filipino-Americans

While there are many similarities in how brokerage manifests for both Mexican- and Filipino-Americans in the sample, there are key differences between the two groups. Individuals from both groups exhibited the capacity to engage in catalyst and middleman brokered ties. However, due to Filipino-American respondents’ general lack of linguistic proficiency, infrequent interpersonal contact, and less emotional attachments to family in the ancestral home country, they

generally had a limited capacity to engage in catalyst brokered connections. As a result, they often had to rely on middleman brokered ties. In contrast, Mexican-American respondents had a greater capacity to engage in dyadic connections after the initial brokerage and it was more common for them to do so.

As mentioned earlier, less second generation Filipino Americans visit the ancestral home country compared to Mexican-Americans as adults and many Filipino Americans are not exposed to the ancestral native tongue in the household. Similarly, among Filipino-American respondents, twelve of the forty-six had never visited the Philippines. In contrast, all forty of the Mexican-American respondents had visited Mexico. In addition, Mexican-American respondents often had family members visit them in the U.S., or even temporarily live in the U.S. As a whole, Mexican-Americans had greater linguistic proficiency, were able to visit family members easier, and had more familial bonds with nonmigrants. This was especially pronounced among second generation Mexican-American respondents who lived in border towns near their family in Mexico.² Though there were a few Filipino American respondents that were able to develop dyadic connections, this was less common than among Mexican-American respondents.

Many second generation Filipino-Americans lacked intimate connections to the point that they did not know who they were in contact with, or who had received their economic assistance. Nelson, a second generation Filipino American, explained that he did not know who he had sent money via his mother: “It was strange because you would think it’s significant, but I don’t know who he is ... second cousin? He’s somehow related to me.” This could also come through in transnational social interactions as explained by Jaime, a second generation Filipino-American:

My dad joined me in one conversation and it's really awkward to talk to someone you have never met. It was like I never met this person, is this my auntie? I don't

² Though their familial connections resembled other respondents when it came to maintaining ties with family members who lived outside of the border region

know. I've never heard of her. This person he was having me talk to—I don't know who she is.

In contrast, all second generation Mexican-American respondents knew who they were connected with as they had generally met the family member.

Furthermore, some second generation Filipino-Americans voiced frustration or disconnect when engaging in ties or being asked to engage in cross-border ties. This was especially apparent when it came to monetary contributions. Filipino-American respondents explained this frustration, while drawing on the relative privation of nonmigrant family members. Bunchey, a 1.75 generation Filipino-American, who had not visited the Philippines prior, explained how he felt about his nonmigrant family's request for money:

I don't know if it's made up. They cultivate this urgency like, "we need this money now, more than ever!" It's sad because they're using their suffering to get money and they're using that to their advantage.

Similarly, Pete, a second generation Filipino-American, said that he would never send remittances to his family in the Philippines who he had never met, explaining: "once you keep giving them money, they're going to keep on asking for more. It's like a begging dog." Though there was a general difference in economic privilege between Filipino- and Mexican-American households in the sample, respondents from both groups often stressed that they had much more financial resources relative to those in the ancestral homeland. Yet, despite this, none of the Mexican-American respondents voiced frustration interacting with family members in the country. Katrina, a second generation Mexican-American, sent her family remittances and further explained her attitude giving contributions to family in Mexico:

I would give it to all my cousins. It's funny because people [in Mexico] thought we were really well off, but we weren't. Even here we were still struggling, but we had more than they did. I grew up with like a sense of obligation of always giving, always giving.

In general, Mexican-Americans voiced a degree of empathy towards nonmigrants and did not express the same discontent towards requests to send economic support. Overall, Mexican-

Americans had greater interpersonal contact and tended to have strong connections in a way that many Filipino-Americans did not. Interestingly, the lack of intimate connections among Filipino-Americans did not necessarily deter them from cross-border ties. Rather, these conditions changed the meanings ascribed to these ties and the role that brokers served in the connections.

Factors that Limit Second generation Transnationalism

Several factors can limit second generation transnationalism. First, there must be relatives of first and second generation individuals residing in the country of origin. As migrants can facilitate the process of migration to the host country for relatives, it is not a given that family members will be present in the ancestral home country (Carling 2008). Mary, a second generation Filipino-American, did not have any family in the Philippines as a result of migration: “I asked my mom why we stopped, and she was like ‘well, we don’t have family there anymore’... they all moved here eventually.” Relatives in the ancestral home country could have also passed away or lost connection with migrants (Gutierrez 2018). Stephanie, a second generation Mexican-American, explained: “My grandma died maybe four or five years ago, maybe even more than that, the phone calls there kind of stopped after that.” For second generation individuals, transnational connections could simply transition into being domestic ones, or they could have lost contact with nonmigrant family members.

Second, limitations in immigrant family members’ capacity to engage in certain cross-border ties came to inhibit second generation connections. Brokers still had to be alive or have contact with second generation individuals to facilitate connections. Bruce, a second generation Mexican-American, explained how his ties to those in Mexico would cease without his mother: “If my mom was not around anymore, I don't know if I would stay that connected with them. She is really the main tie.” Given the collective nature of visits, costs were often shared among family

members when it came to paying for airfare, securing lodging, and traveling within the country. As such, a lack of financial resources among the immigrant generation and/or second generation could pose a challenge to visiting the ancestral home country. Teresa, a second generation Filipino-American, explained why she and her family had not visited the Philippines in several years: “Money. It's so expensive. If we could afford it, I would go.” Despite Filipino-Americans often coming from higher-income households than Mexican-Americans, the issue of travel alone being too expensive was generally brought up by Filipino-American respondents. Possibly due to the close proximity between the U.S. and Mexico, Mexican-American respondents generally did not mention the issue of expenses alone when discussing the limitations of their cross-border ties.

The legal status of brokers could also inhibit ties. This was an issue particularly voiced by Mexican-American respondents due to more of them having undocumented parents, and the intensity of border security committed to the U.S.-Mexico border. Phoebe, a second generation Mexican-American, explained why she could not ultimately make the trip:

My parents never went to visit and they still haven't because they're still undocumented, so they didn't want to risk going back and not being able to come back. That was something that they lived with—and we lived with. I've always wanted to visit, but it was just parental restrictions.

Some respondents were able to visit with undocumented parents in a time when border security was not as intensive. However, as border security escalated, connections often faded. The issue of expenses came up among Mexican-Americans when associated with legal status. Mayelli, a second generation Mexican-American, had visited her father's hometown in Mexico every year during the summer until age fourteen when it became too expensive to pay a *coyote* to help her mother cross: “My mom, she was never legal, so we had such a hard time bringing her back... It was like unaffordable to be doing this every year and it was such a risky pass for her.” As a result, these respondents would often have to engage with nonmigrants remotely.

Third, transnational ties were dependent on immigrant brokers having strong ties to both second generation individuals and nonmigrants, particularly for middleman brokered connections. Emmanuel, a second generation Filipino-American, had engaged in social and financial ties with family members in the Philippines via his mother, but he ceased ties as a result of family infighting:

It was family drama. Like she would send boxes, then whoever she sent it to would take everything, not distribute it [to the rest of the family]. My mom was like, “Fuck you guys, this isn’t worth it anymore.” My mom has pretty much given up on the Philippines ... It was just like I could see where my mom was coming from at that point.

Respondents also voiced that there could be a shift in familial obligation away from their parents and nonmigrants to their own core familial members (spouse and/or children). Most respondents stated that there was a decline in their connections to those abroad, particularly when they reduced contact with their parents and/or started their own family. Alice, a second generation Mexican-American, explained how she went from annual visits until the age of 24 to not visiting in general: “I think the last time that I was there was probably in 2009. It's been a while, and I think it's just that I've been in school. I was in a master’s program, I'm currently in a Ph.D. program, [and] I've moved out of the state of California. I'm married, I have a child, so life is different.” Similarly, Martin, a second generation Filipino-American, explained:

My priority is on my own family’s needs. As the family obligation shifts towards maintaining my own family, that priority displaces the need to send money to other family members [in the Philippines]. It’s kind of like the natural thing that happens. As a result of the shift in obligation, respondents voiced that they were less likely to seek out cross-border connections or to be brokered in ties by their parents.

Altogether, respondents’ transnational connections were shaped by the competencies and obligations of immigrant family members, nonmigrants, and the second generation. If these factors were not ultimately present, transnational ties could fail to initiate and/or fail to be sustained.

Summary

Past scholarship on second generation transnational connections have rightfully emphasized the importance of parental socialization (Soehl and Waldinger 2012, Levitt 2009). However, this chapter demonstrates that this socialization is not limited to indirectly passing down cultural and linguistic proficiency. Rather, migrants also serve as brokers between the second generation and those in the ancestral home country, actively organizing cross-border connections. In particular, this chapter utilizes the concepts of middleman and catalyst forms of brokerage to explain how second generation cross border ties emerge despite not having the same competencies and obligations as immigrant family members. Brokers played a crucial role by mediating challenges associated with linguistic proficiency, emotional attachments, and logistical information. Depending on the type of connection, if respondents were to have high linguistic proficiency, frequent interpersonal contact, as well as a close bond with a family member, then they could transition into dyadic ties.

By focusing on second generation Mexican- and Filipino-Americans, two groups with differences in linguistic competency and distance to the ancestral homeland, these findings demonstrate the common importance of a broker. While both groups often utilized middleman brokerage, second generation Mexican-Americans had a greater capacity to develop dyadic connections after the initial brokerage. An interesting aspect of these findings lie in that second generation Filipino-Americans continued to engage in cross-border ties, even in situations when they did not know who was on the receiving end of their connections. A lack of linguistic proficiency, intimate familial connections, and institutional knowledge does not necessarily cease connections. Rather, these findings demonstrate that it changes the structure of the connections and emotions associated with such ties. Though these results also suggest that it may be easier for Mexican-American respondents to sustain their cross-border ties over a longer period of time as

they may not require a broker at all times. Furthermore, immigrant parents play an active role in creating and fostering connections, serving often as the primary reason and mechanism for engaging in transnational ties. Due to this, second generation cross-border familial ties are shaped by the competencies and attachments of three actors: immigrant brokers, the second generation, and nonmigrant family members in the ancestral home country.

Overall, these results further indicate the importance of a broker in transnational connections. Groups and individuals that seemingly have low competencies in being able to engage in cross-border ties are able to still engage in connections if they have a broker, regardless of whether or not they are a family member. Though not a focus in this chapter, there were respondents involved in transnational organizations that were then able to visit the ancestral home country and develop relationships with nonfamilial individuals in the ancestral home country. Further research should be conducted to examine the particular ways in which brokerage manifests among transnational organizations and how they initiate and sustain cross-border ties, particularly among later generation individuals. In the following chapter, I detail how this transnational structure drastically changes the structure of remittance practices. In doing so, this variation in transnational structure reveals how remittance scholarship regarding NELM and familial obligation transform in a triadic structure and extended familial relations.

Chapter 2, in part, has been submitted for publication of the material as it may appear in “The Dynamics of Brokering in Second-Generation Transnationalism.” 2020. Gutierrez, Armand. *Social Problems*. The dissertation author was the sole author of this paper.

CHAPTER THREE

REMITTING WITHIN THE TRIADIC NETWORK

Second generation individuals require an agent to ultimately facilitate familial connections so that they can address the first criteria of meeting nonmigrants. Thus, while first generation migrant transnational ties with family members only require a dyadic connection (Carling 2008a), second generation transnational connections are at some point triadic, involving immigrant family members (typically parents) to broker connections between nonmigrants and second generation individuals (Gutierrez 2019, Gutierrez 2018a). In the following chapter, I build on this argument as remittances are inherently a triadic connection linking first and second generation individuals with nonmigrants. Second generation individuals often send money on the basis of request from first generation migrants who are looking to complement their own financial contributions, and/or nonmigrants looking to complement money received from first generation migrants. These requests tend to be reserved for times of crises, such as a family member's death or the illness/disability of a relative necessitating medical costs (Rumbaut 2002, Lee 2007). Second generation individuals are not sending remittances that serve as a constant flow of income as past research on first generation migrants indicates. Rather, second generation individuals are sending money to complement existing remittances during times of need. I engage with scholarship on transnationalism, social networks, and remittance theory to ultimately explain how and why second generation individuals' remittance practices transform our understanding of NELM.

Parents Facilitating Remittances

Second generation remittances are inherently tied into the remittance practices and familial connections binding the first generation with family in the ancestral home country. First, migrants facilitate remittance connections, connecting the second generation with nonmigrants in the home country and establish social ties. Second, second generation funds are meant to complement funds sent from first generation migrants, particularly during times of crises. As such, second generation remittances are not income-based funds sent on a regular basis, but rather are sent by request (either from migrants or nonmigrants). This prolonged, occasional remittance pattern imbues remittances with a paternalistic, donation-like meaning in which second generation individuals view their remittances as coming from privileged individuals to provide money to those stricken with poverty in the ancestral home country. While this dynamic underlies the reasoning for why they sent remittances, it can also complicate familial ties in that second generation individuals feel they want to exercise some degree of control as to how their remittances are spent. This is particularly apparent for Filipino-Americans who had fewer intimate connections with family in the Philippines and less methods of accountability given the lack of interpersonal contact with family in the country.

When examining the second generation remittance context, respondents they do not simply replace first generation migrants as a remittance sender. Instead, the first and second generation, as well as nonmigrant recipients are often present in the exchange. This inclusion of a third party in the transnational social field is due to second generation individuals relying on first generation migrants to remit. This can be seen in comments made by respondents, such as Grace: “A lot of the times I don’t send the money myself, I give it to my parents to send it. It’s usually my parents that tell me how much to contribute.” Four factors account for this reliance. First, the first generation migrant parents have the necessary linguistic resources to serve as translator, if needed,

between nonmigrants and second generation individuals. Second, geographical distance, travel expenses, and not knowing who to visit restricts respondents from travelling themselves and developing intimate ties with non-migrant family members. Third, first generation migrants know where to send the money. Finally, first generation migrants can understand and convey the nonmigrants' requests as seen in Arabella's comments: "It's not like a structured thing, but I would send money back when I heard like my mom talking about like how my grandpa like needs like a heart rate monitor or something like that." This is especially important in determining how much money is desired. These factors result in second generation individuals tending to give money to first generation migrants. First generation migrant parents then pool together the money from other first and second generation migrant family members to send to the Philippines and Mexico. Overall, this additional transfer from second generation individuals to their parents modifies the sender–recipient dyad to include a transitional stage before remittances are sent to non-migrant family members (see Figure 1). Just as first generation migrants and non-migrants occupy different positions in the transnational social field, second generation individuals occupy different positions in relation to the moral dimensions of migration and transnationalism, meaning that they have unequal access to information, as well as unequal levels of resources (material, linguistic and cultural) as the other two parties.

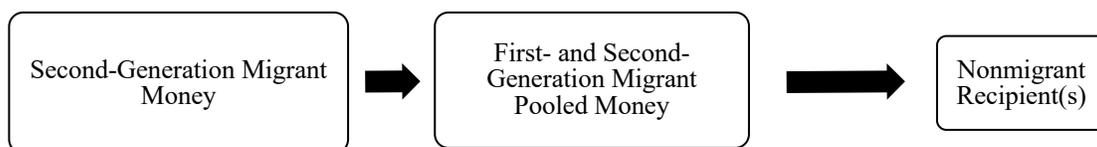


Figure 3: Mediated Remittance

Obligation to Immigrant Parents

The second generation often had an obligation primarily to parental figures who requested that their children send monetary support. First generation parents often facilitated economic ties

and relayed requests from nonmigrants to the second generation. Given the lack of close ties to those in the Philippines, respondents often stated that they sent remittances out of obligation to their parents, rather than to the nonmigrant recipients. This can be seen in Teresa's comments for why she sent money:

I think my mom would never specifically say 'hey send money'. She'll say the family needs this, and my *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) would be like okay, let me send money, let me help them out...It was like okay, it's weird I'm sending money to people I don't really know.

In this context, Teresa used the phrase '*utang na loob*' to refer to a sense of obligation she had to her mother. Although many respondents felt a degree of discomfort in sending money to those that they did not have close familial bonds with, the obligation to their parents led respondents to send money. Many respondents voiced that if their parents did not encourage cross-border ties, let alone remittances, connections would cease with those in the Philippines. When asked if Lorena would continue to send balikbayan boxes or talk to those in the country, she responded, "I don't think so. I'm not very close with them. I think if my parents were still alive, I probably would. But I don't keep contact with people. I don't see them often." The inclusion of first generation migrants in mediated remittances complicates how we understand the logic associated with economic contributions as obligation can be directed towards those other than recipients.

In some cases, respondents felt obligated to those in the ancestral home country, but this tended to still revolve around the act of parenting. Individuals would feel obligated to send money to grandparents and other family members that helped to raise respondents in their childhood. Carrie sent her father money as he had moved to Mexico and was in need of funds: "So clothes, food, money for a doctor, whatever it was because... he doesn't have this or, you know, he's in trouble or things like that." Emmanuel explained why he would send money to his grandma when his mother would request money to be sent:

Because she was the one who raised me, so it's not like I'm sending it to someone I don't know. It's like... this is my grandma who raised me since we've been [in the U.S.] since the 1970s or 1980s... so it was like for the reason that my grandma can't really fend for herself anymore.

In ethnographic literature, repayment entails repaying one's parents for the overall gift of life (Hage 2002). In addition, the obligation frame among first generation migrants usually alludes to adult children having a duty to provide for their aging parents (Carling 2014). However, these findings contribute to past findings by describing how second generation individuals can fulfill an obligation to the mediator and/or the recipient. As such, the second generation did not typically remit consistently as the conditions of the recipient were not what necessitated remittances.

Remittances as Complementary Contributions During Times of Need

Remittances are overall meant to complement the financial contributions sent from first-generation migrants. Respondents voiced that remitting was the responsibility of migrants, as Stephen explains that familial hierarchies are intertwined with who is able to request money and give money:

I think my parents would get mad, like if my uncle were to ask me on Facebook asking for money. If my parents found out, my parents would get mad at [my uncle]. I think it's a generational thing. Like, you would go to the brother rather than your niece or nephew.

As such, parental figures were the prime individuals to request funds from respondents. For many, this was a breach in the typical financial exchange. Second generation individuals were often brought into the exchange only to alleviate a particular crisis and was often done in tandem with migrant. Katrina explains how she sent money in tandem with her parents to an aunt in Mexico who also served as a parental figure to Katrina:

[My aunt] doesn't have a husband so everybody is, like, "we need to take care of her. She doesn't have kids, she doesn't have a husband," that whole bullshit. So, I remember every paycheck, I would send her like \$40.00, I remember doing that yeah to my aunt. But those were the only times, and it's because she raised me, I could be her daughter.

Similarly, Grace sent money to her grandmother due to a medical operation: “My [lola] is very sick right now, she’s not doing well. My parents are going to the Philippines in January for like a month to see her. It's not looking very good. In times when they really need money, they ask.” These instances of remitting highlight the key differences between second generation contributions and that of the first generation: First, generational hierarchies influence the perception that remittances are to come primarily from migrants. Second, the second generation is brought into the financial exchange via a parental figure typically for a financial crisis that requires all funds available in which remittances come from both first and second generation individuals. Finally, remittances from the second generation are sent intermittently and via request.

Remittances Fueled by Distinction

Second generation individuals’ key frame of reference is that of the U.S. As such, the connections with those in the ancestral home country are influenced by a sense of ambivalence, in which second generation individuals understand their connections to the ancestral home country and their family in the country, but whose identities and perspectives have been shaped by their upbringing in the U.S. Even with parental socialization, the children of migrants returning to the ancestral homeland often feel distinct as a result of differences in cultural and linguistic proficiency, as well as the financial differences. Geographical separation, divisions along the lines of culture, class, national membership, and family ultimately produce a feeling of separation between the children of migrants and nonmigrants. However, these distinctions are also key to the rationalization for why second generation individuals remit. Rather than remittances signifying the intimate connections that represent what it means to be the ideal conception of a parent or a child, remittances from the second generation signify a distinction in which wealthier, privileged second generation Americans are giving money to poorer individuals in the ancestral home country.

Respondents explained sending remittances as a means of providing for those less fortunate, even if they had little to no connection to family in Mexico. Brandon, a second generation Mexican American, had only visited his family once in the country, but felt compelled to send money. When asked why he sent money, he explained his sense of privilege while connecting his career as a wine sommelier to his family's experiences:

Guilt. Again, [they are a] very impoverished family out there... I don't think they could even begin to fathom the fact that there are people in this world that I spend time with that will spend thousands of dollars on a bottle of wine for dinner, when they themselves probably see thousands of dollars in an entire year... I felt like it was a token gesture that benefited my conscience more than it benefited them.

Similarly, Elaine, a second generation Mexican American, explained why she contributed to her family while visiting in Mexico: "oh my god—you can't really imagine the poverty... I wanna give you something because I just didn't—I'm not fully comprehending the life that you all are leading here." These reasonings ultimately belie the distinction that respondents made between life in the U.S. and in the ancestral home country. Dolores reflected this sentiment when explaining why she assisted her family members in the Philippines:

I feel really grateful that I can give back, like I know I'm more fortunate than they are. So, I think I need to just help them in any way. I just feel blessed in that sense that I can help and they're just really thankful for it, they're not living very well.

These rationalizations reveal the ever present perception that second generation individuals live different lives than that of their family in the ancestral home country.

While these explanations indicate a compassion to those less fortunate, they also reveal a paternalistic sentiment in which respondents can feel a sense of responsibility to give to those less fortunate. Particularly apparent among Filipino Americans who had fewer intimate connections and interpersonal contact with family in the Philippines, some respondents felt they should exercise a degree of power in how their financial contributions should be spent. While looking

through Instagram, a social media application, Patrice found that her cousin in the Philippines had been partying and felt that she was not using funds appropriately:

I want [the money] to be spent on basic needs, but sometimes she also spends it on extra luxuries... you know for like *alak* (alcohol), partying, going out. I mean I know that my cousin has a daughter and it's like instead of taking care of [her] own kid. It's like come on, you're a mother now.

Rather than defining what remittances should be spent on, respondents tended to detail ways in which they felt that remittances should not be used. Bell echoed this sentiment, explaining how she believed the money that she and her family sent was used inappropriately by her family in the Philippines:

My auntie had a stroke, but apparently, they weren't using the money for her medical bills. They were using it for pleasure—like always—buying laptops, and new phones, and stuff. They bought the materialistic things. We were sending that kind of money because we wanted them to be okay, and they thought it was okay to take advantage of that.

In truth, most respondents had a vague notion of what remittances should be spent on, but these reasons reveal that things, such as healthcare expenses and money for basic needs are seen as a productive usage of remittances. However, respondents felt that money should reflect the dire circumstances that recipients are believed to be enduring.

Summary

Remittances are intertwined with familial obligations, hierarchies, and dynamics. While past scholars argued that remittances are part and parcel with migration, diffusing income risks, and investing in assets in case of return, these reasons only apply to migrants. As such, the application of a dyadic connection to the second generation as established within NELM fundamentally misunderstands the role of the second generation in remittance practices. The second generation are not in a dyadic connection, rather the role of migrant parents are ever present due to a number of reasons. First, the second generation often lacks the understanding of linguistic and cultural proficiency to communicate, as well as general logistical information, such as

addresses, phone numbers, and what funds would be used for. This then often necessitates the role of the migrant parent to facilitate communication and remittance processes for funds to be sent to nonmigrants.

Second, just as remittances are intertwined with the conceptions of being the ideal mother, father, spouse, or child; they are also intertwined with the distant familial relationships of being a nephew, niece, or cousin that does not bear as intimate of a connection. As such, the second generation does not have a responsibility to financially support these family members in a consistent manner, nor do other family members typically request funds from these individuals for income-based remittances. To deviate from such remittance patterns would signal a violation of a familial tie in which migrant parents are supposed to be chiefly responsible for remittances. The second generation would send remittances only in instances in which it was requested by parental figures and when communication could be effectively mediated. These were instances of financial crises that could emerge from a variety of factors, such as natural disasters and medical operations.

Finally, with the U.S. being the primary frame of reference for second generation Americans, the sense of economic difference and the distant filial relations between the second generation and nonmigrants ultimately influence the meaning of remittances to take on a donation-like meaning to those less fortunate. This distinction does not damper remittances necessarily, but rather is used as a justification for why the second generation remits funds.

Chapter 3, in part, has been submitted for publication of the material as it may appear in “The Determinants of Remittances among Second-Generation Mexican- and Filipino-Americans.” 2020. Gutierrez, Armand. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43(9): 1711-1731. The dissertation author was the sole author of this paper.

CHAPTER FOUR

REMITTANCE CORRIDORS

The previous two chapters have used two economically, linguistically, and geographically distinct groups in Filipino and Mexican Americans, to expand the scope of NELM to include the ways in which migrants facilitate the temporary inclusion of their children into the household model of economic support in the ancestral homeland. In doing so, the previous chapters provide justifications for why brokerage, rather than linguistic proficiency, were central in transnational and financial connections; provided an alternative triadic remittance structure; and shown how distinction is used as a justification for why remittances occur among the second generation. In the following chapter, I zoom out to delve into the ways in which macro-level remittance corridors shape second generation remittance practices. In addition, I utilize public survey datasets to ultimately understand which factors shape the decision to remit, and the extent to which they do so.

As transnational and remittance scholarship on the second generation has been rather scattered, I draw from a variety of literature to inform my hypotheses. I argue that second generation individuals' social and familial relationships serve as the foundation for why they remit. Across a various set of contexts, including the parental household during childhood, financial household characteristics, and their ties with nonmigrants in the ancestral country of origin, second generation migrant remittances are embedded in forms of social ties. Through my analysis, I reveal the second generation migrant transnational social field as it pertains to remittances involves relationships among three groups: first generation migrants, second generation individuals, and

nonmigrants. These findings contribute to scholarship on second generation transnational connections which highlights the ways in which parents pass down competencies and loyalties necessary to engage in cross-border ties through exposing their children to the norms, values, and practices of the ancestral homeland (Soehl and Waldinger 2012). Finally, I find that the conditions associated with a specific country-to-country remittance corridor (ex. U.S. to Philippines, U.S. to Mexico) lead financial characteristics of the household to shape the decision to remit in different ways among the two groups. In this chapter, I first discuss the hypotheses developed from scholarship in the literature review in the beginning of my dissertation. I then discuss the data, methods, and analyses in greater detail.

Hypotheses

This article seeks to remedy the gaps in scholarship by developing a theoretical understanding for what drives second generation individuals to remit. I accomplish this by testing how financial capacity, transnational social connections, the role of the parental household during childhood, and country of parental origin shape Mexican- and Filipino-Americans' remittance patterns in potentially unique ways. Models are tested on an individual and household level, looking to encompass second generation individuals, first generation migrant parents during childhood, and nonmigrants in the ancestral home country. By centering my study within a broad framework, I am able to examine how second generation individuals' remittances are influenced by factors throughout the entire transnational social field. Given the relative lack of remittance scholarship on second generation individuals, I utilize literature that draws on the social and familial meanings of remittances in first generation migrant financial exchanges, and second generation transnationalism to provide direction as to what I expect will influence second generation individuals' decision to remit.

Financial capacity to remit

Among first generation migrants, remittances are not decided by individual actors alone, but within larger units of interrelated people, including families and households (Lucas and Stark 1985, Massey 1991). As such, the financial capacity of an individual cannot be examined solely on an individual basis, but must include household-level characteristics. One of the key variables related to financial capacity, forming one of the key reasons for migration, is employment. Immigrants who are employed tend to be in a better position to remit because they have a stable source of income (Unheim and Rowlands 2012, Menjivar et al. 1998). In addition, the decision to remit is generally influenced by the level of household income, with high-income migrants having a greater pool of money that can be sent (Carling 2008). Meanwhile, a low level of income means that respondents may require what few financial resources they have to subsist, and, hence, may have difficulty accumulating enough money to send to their families in their country of origin. I anticipate that second generation individuals will exhibit similar behavior. Conversely, greater financial obligations in the household of remittance senders tends to correspond with a drop in the likelihood of remitting due to it taking away from the financial resources that can be sent to nonmigrants. This can be seen in that a greater household size generally corresponds with a drop in the likelihood to remit (Carling 2008). This is due to first generation migrants' financial obligations shifting away from those in the country of origin to their spouse, children, or parents that may be present with them in the host country (Unheim and Rowlands 2012). Similarly, I anticipate that second generation individuals will have a greater obligation to support family members living with them in their household and as a result, will be less likely to remit to those in the ancestral homeland.

H1: The greater the financial capacity of second generation individuals, the more likely they will be able to allot the financial resources necessary to send money to family members in the ancestral homeland.

Transnational social connections

Just as remittances among first generation migrants are imbued with the actions, roles, and statuses of both sender and recipient based on the relationship between the two, it would be expected that second generation individuals' decision to remit is affected by the transnational social ties they have with nonmigrants. While the children of migrants undoubtedly have less of a connection to the ancestral homeland, some second generation individuals are able to connect and communicate with those abroad (Levitt 2009, Soehl and Waldinger 2012). Previous studies have shown that visits to the ancestral homeland help to immerse second generation individuals in the values and practices of the country (Levitt 2009, Smith 2006). Visits to the home country allow migrant offspring the opportunity to establish familial connections with those in the ancestral homeland, further developing their repertoire and ability to engage with those in the country (Powers 2011, Levitt 2009). These social connections are also largely influenced by relatives living in the ancestral homeland. Scholarship on why second generation migrant transnational ties lessen relative to first generation migrants, tends to rely on factors relating to acculturation into the U.S. and a disconnect with the ancestral home country (Alba and Nee 2003). However, this ignores an additional explanation, in that family members in the ancestral home country could have passed away, lost contact with those in the U.S., or migrated to another country over time (Gutierrez 2018). Thus, an examination of social ties relies on not only examining the factors associated with second generation individuals, but also on factors relating to nonmigrants in the ancestral home country.

H2: Respondents who are engaged in transnational social connections will be more likely to remit to nonmigrants due to these ties helping to shape the actions, roles, and statuses associated with remittances.

Parental household during childhood

In addition to forging a line of communication with those in the ancestral homeland, first generation migrant family members pass down the competency to engage with family members in the household. (Soehl and Waldinger 2012; Lee 2007; Gutierrez 2018). From an early age, the parental household plays a powerful role in shaping second generation migrant ties. First generation migrant parents transmit cultural and familial bonds with those in the ancestral homeland to their children in the household. Even among the children of migrants that never travel back to their homeland, they are exposed to settings that reference the homeland on a daily basis (Levitt 2009, Gutierrez 2018). This can manifest in a variety of ways, mainly through the usage of the native language in the parental household. Though second generation individuals are not necessarily as fluent in the ancestral language as that of their parents or nonmigrants, being raised in a household where the parental native tongue is used can raise competencies to engage with those in the ancestral home country while exposing them to ideas and values that are representative of their parental culture (Smith 2006, Byng 2017).

In addition, given that many second generation individuals have not resided in the ancestral home country for an extended period of time, they initially lack intimate relationships with family members, as well as the knowledge of logistical information, such as contact info of family members abroad, how to send remittances, or the specific needs of family members in the parental home country (Gutierrez 2018, Levitt 2009). As a result, second generation individuals must initially rely on first generation migrants to facilitate economic ties linking them to nonmigrants.

This includes first generation migrants teaching second generation individuals how to engage in cross-border ties (Soehl and Waldinger 2012). As a result of these factors, I anticipate that the actions of the parental household throughout a second generation migrant's childhood shapes the decision to remit among second generation individuals.

H3: First generation migrant family members transmit the cultural and social capital required to remit during a respondent's childhood, passing down the competency to send money to nonmigrants in the ancestral homeland.

Interaction effects

Finally, I wish to see whether remittance behavior differs between the two groups and whether the strength of the variables discussed differ between the two groups. As observed in first generation migrant remittance patterns and practices, the specific country-to-country remittance corridor differs (Carling 2008). Determining which specific factors will differ in shaping the decision to remit is difficult to pinpoint given the lack of research comparing second generation migrant transnational behavior by country.

However, the two groups' demographic differences provide some indication of how they may be affected differently surrounding the parental household during childhood. Due to the continual influx of Mexican immigrants into the U.S. and the proximity of the U.S. to Mexico, it is common for second generation Mexican-Americans to be exposed to an extra-familial context that reinforces cultural linkages, such as the usage of Spanish and ethnic forms of identification in their daily lives (Jiménez 2010). In contrast, Filipino immigrants do not have the same level of migration into the U.S. or exposure to cultural forms of identification to the same degree (Ocampo 2014; Vergara 2009). Thus, second generation Filipino-Americans are less likely to be exposed to an extra-familial context that reinforces cultural linkages to the ancestral homeland (Vergara

2009). As a result, I anticipate that Filipino-Americans' decision to remit will be largely influenced by their parental household context, which serves as their central means of establishing cross-border ties to the ancestral homeland (Gutierrez 2018). In contrast, Mexican-Americans have greater exposure to a variety of external factors, possibly diffusing the impact of familial ties on the decision to remit relative to other factors (Jiménez 2010). Due to this, I hypothesize that the positive influence of the parental household during childhood will be weaker for Mexican-Americans than for Filipino-Americans in regards to the decision to remit.

H4: Mexican-Americans are influenced by a variety of surrounding factors that increase competencies and loyalties, which work to diffuse the impact of the parental household on the decision to remit compared to Filipino-Americans.

Response variable

My measure of the likelihood to remit is based on the following question in IIMMLA: "Do you ever send or give money to anyone living in (your) (your father's) (your mother's) (your parents') native country?" Of the respondents that answered, 206 indicated that they sent remittances, approximately thirty-three per cent. Finally, though IIMMLA looks into the frequency that remittances are sent, as well as the amount of money sent, the observations for those questions reduced dramatically to 203 total respondents and 148 total respondents respectively, thus limiting potential analyses. As a result, this study only examines factors related to the decision to remit.

Explanatory variables

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the explanatory variables considered in this analysis separately for second generation Filipino-Americans and Mexican-Americans. As Table 1 indicates, the children of Filipino- and Mexican-American migrants in this study differ in their individual, family, and household characteristics, as well as in their connections to their ancestral

home country. In this section I provide additional details regarding these explanatory variables considered in this analysis.

Control variables

Throughout my models, I control for a variety of socio-demographic variables, including country of origin, age, gender, and education as a set of background characteristics often tested in remittance scholarship. Country of origin was coded a binary variable. Since all respondents were adults at the time of the survey, age is measured continuously starting at 20 and ending at 40 years old. Gender is measured dichotomously (Man=1). In regards to education, IIMMLA has

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Filipino-Americans (N=163)		Mexican-Americans (N=463)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Send Money ¹	0.344	0.476	0.324	0.468
Parents Send Money ¹	0.761	0.428	0.648	0.478
Close Relative Living in Ancestral Homeland ¹	0.853	0.355	0.754	0.431
Number of People Living in Household ²	3.681	1.784	4.067	1.574
Age ²	27.092	5.669	27.822	5.762
Gender (Man=1) ¹	0.491	0.501	0.497	0.501
Number of Years of Education ²	15.202	1.896	13.456	2.067
Visited Ancestral Homeland ¹	0.552	0.499	0.728	0.445
Raised Speaking Language Other than English in Household ¹	0.337	0.474	0.901	0.299
Household Income ²	94.595 (Over \$100,000)	72.758	61.035 (\$50,000 to \$69,999)	56.920
Currently Employed ¹	0.712	0.454	0.721	0.449

¹Dichotomous variable

²Treated as continuous variable

a variety of questions that measure educational attainment. I utilize a continuous measurement of years that respondents were educated.

Financial capacity

To capture both the collective and individual nature of financial capacity, I measure household income, employment status, and household size. In regards to household income, respondents' earnings were originally measured in seven categories, beginning with less than \$12,000 and ending with an open-ended category of greater than \$100,000. The six closed

categories were recoded to the midpoint, while the value for the open-ended upper-income category was estimated using Pareto curve techniques (Parker and Fenwick 1983). As it pertains to employment, respondents were asked a series of questions related to employment status: “Are you currently working, on leave but have a job, temporarily laid off, looking for work, keeping house, going to school or unable to work/disabled?” This study utilized the question that sought to identify if they were working or not. Though IIMMLA includes other variables related to financial capacity, such as personal income, this reduced the overall sample size dramatically and was not statistically significant when included. Finally, household size is measured to take into account the financial obligations that may take away from respondents being able to remit.

Transnational social connections

To assess the effects of transnational social connections on the decision to remit, I included a dichotomous measure examining if respondents visited their parents’ home country as an adult. While based on a question that measured the number of times respondents visited continuously, this was recoded as a binary variable to take into account the varying ages of respondents who may have had a certain number of visits in large part due to their age. In addition, this gives an indication as to the influence the ancestral home country has on a respondent that they have visited the country and have some form of connections into adulthood.

Further, in order to indicate if social ties have been established with nonmigrant family members, a dichotomous measure of whether close relatives reside in the ancestral home country is included. Having established a relationship with close relatives in the ancestral home country is indicative of establishing the roles and statuses between the two family members. Examining if second generation individuals have a close relative in the ancestral home country also serves as an indication of some sort of interaction with nonmigrants. At the very least, this also indicates there

is a relative residing in the ancestral home country that second generation individuals can connect with. Though the survey lacked information on the more ubiquitous forms of social ties, such as phone calls, skype sessions, letters, etc., this variable helps to remedy these limitations by indicating that some form of a relationship has been established between second generation individuals and nonmigrants.

Parental household during childhood

My indicators of the parental household focus on first generation migrant parents' actions during a respondent's childhood. In particular, I focus on language and remittance practices. In regards to language, I consider whether a respondent was raised in a household where a language other than English was spoken. This variable helps to encapsulate the ways in which first generation migrants exposed them to the language and the associated values, ideas, and beliefs associated with the culture of the ancestral home country. In addition, the measure indicates that there is some level of proficiency among respondents in being able to understand another language. In addition, whether or not a parent remitted during a respondent's childhood is taken into account. This is vital as scholarship on transnationalism points to first generation migrants playing a central role in passing down the competencies and ties associated with a specific cross-border tie (Soehl and Waldinger 2012).

Results

To test my hypotheses, I ran a series of logistic regressions to examine which factors influence the decision to remit. Model 1 is intended to serve as a bivariate baseline for comparison in which I examine the impact of country of origin on the decision to remit. Model 2 is used to test control variables in addition to respondents' country of origin. Model 3 is used to test my first

hypothesis assessing the ways in which financial capacity is associated with the decision to remit. In Model 4, I test my second hypothesis examining how respondents' transnational social ties influence the decision to remit. In Model 5, I test my third hypothesis assessing how the parental household during childhood affects the decision to remit. Model 6 tests all explanatory variables simultaneously. Finally, in Model 7, I examine how my models interact with country of origin to assess how they affect the likelihood to remit in different ways.

Table 2 presents results from all seven models. In Model 1, predictably (given that both groups have similar remittance rates), there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups in terms of their likelihood of remitting. In Model 2, there is a statistically significant relationship between age and the likelihood of remitting with respondents being less likely to remit as they age ($p < .05$).

In Model 3, I test my first hypothesis: that respondents with a greater financial capacity will be more likely to remit. I find some support for the hypothesis and a result that runs counter to my expectations. First, there is again no statistically significant relationship between country of origin with the decision to remit. Age continues to be associated with a decrease in the likelihood of remitting. There is some support for my hypothesis that financial capacity will increase the likelihood to remit as there is a statistically significant relationship between household income on the decision to remit ($p < .05$). Having employment is not associated with a significant increase in the likelihood of remitting. Surprisingly, each additional member of a respondent's household is associated with an increased likelihood of remitting ($p < .05$).

In Model 4, I test my second hypothesis that if respondents are engaged in transnational social connections, they will be more likely to remit as it helps to flesh out the actions, roles, and

statuses between nonmigrants and second generation individuals. I find strong support for my hypothesis when it comes to respondents' social ties increasing the likelihood of remitting.

I find that having visited the ancestral homeland is associated with a statistically significant increase in the respondent's likelihood to remit ($p < .001$). Furthermore, a close relative in the ancestral homeland corresponds with a statistically significant increase in the likelihood of remitting ($p < .001$). Finally, when controlling for such connections, age continues to be associated with a decrease in the likelihood of remitting ($p < .10$).

Model 5 tests my third hypothesis: that the parental household in the U.S during childhood plays a vital role in second generation migrant remittances. I find support for the hypothesis. As expected, respondents are more likely to remit when their own parents sent remittances while respondents were growing up ($p < .001$). Respondents who were raised speaking a language other than English in the household are also more likely to remit than if they were raised in a household where only English was spoken ($p < .01$). When controlling for these factors, there is also a statistically significant relationship between country of origin and the decision to remit, in which Mexican-Americans are less likely to remit than Filipino-Americans ($p < .10$).

In Model 6, I combine all of the prior models to test the robustness of my findings. I find that Mexican-Americans are again less likely to remit than Filipino-Americans ($p < .10$). In regard to variables associated with financial capacity, household income and having employment do not

Table 2. Effects of variables on likelihood of sending remittances among Mexican- and Filipino-Americans.

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<u>Country of Origin</u>							
Mexican	-0.088 (0.193)	-0.023 (0.208)	0.038 (0.215)	-0.171 (0.222)	-0.493† (0.274)	-0.567† (0.293)	1.470 (1.394)
<u>Control Variables</u>							
Gender		-0.144 (0.171)	-0.158 (0.174)	-0.210 (0.178)	-0.081 (0.179)	-0.161 (0.187)	-0.162 (0.189)
Age		-0.036* (0.016)	-0.040* (0.016)	-0.028† (0.016)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.019 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.018)
Years of Education		0.022 (0.043)	0.011 (0.046)	-0.019 (0.045)	-0.006 (0.045)	-0.043 (0.049)	-0.046 (0.051)
<u>Financial Capacity</u>							
Household Income			0.003* (0.001)			0.003 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Household Income X Mexican							0.029 (0.094)
Employed			0.001 (0.202)			-0.017 (0.219)	0.294 (0.445)
Employed X Mexican							-0.458 (0.514)
Number of People in Household			0.116* (0.057)			0.120† (0.061)	0.328** (0.122)
Number of People in Household X Mexican							-0.285* (0.141)
<u>Transnational Social Connections</u>							
Visited Ancestral Home Country				1.013*** (0.219)		0.851*** (0.227)	0.619 (0.412)
Visited Ancestral Home Country X Mexican							0.316 (0.498)
Have a Close Relative in Ancestral Home Country				1.060*** (0.270)		0.850** (0.281)	1.729* (0.829)
Have a Close Relative in Ancestral Home Country X Mexican							-0.989 (.881)
<u>Parental Household</u>							
Parents Remit					1.222*** (0.224)	1.031*** (0.232)	1.113* (0.558)
Parents Remit X Mexican							-0.084 (0.616)
Raised Speaking Language Other than English in Household					0.957** (0.292)	0.915** (0.304)	1.034* (0.400)
Raised Speaking Language Other than English in Household X Mexican							-0.058 (0.653)
Constant	-0.647*** (0.165)	0.057 (0.745)	-0.424 (0.853)	-1.075 (0.808)	-1.216 (0.793)	-2.514** (0.947)	- 4.203* (1.449)

†Significant at p<.10
* Significant at p<0.05
** Significant at p<0.01
***Significant at p<0.001

have a significant effect on the decision to remit. Furthermore, again in contrast to the hypothesis, I find that each additional family member living in the household corresponds with an increased likelihood in remitting ($p < .10$).

I find support for my hypothesis that transnational social connections are associated with an increased likelihood to remit. Having visited the ancestral homeland ($p < .001$) corresponds with a greater likelihood of remitting. In addition, having a close relative in the country is associated with an increase in the likelihood to remit ($p < .01$).

Finally, I continue to find support for my hypothesis that the parental household of the respondent plays a role in shaping the decision to remit. There is a significant increase in the likelihood that a respondent will remit if their parent has sent money to those in the ancestral home country during a respondent's childhood ($p < .001$). In addition, respondents are much more likely to remit if they were raised in a household where the ancestral native tongue was spoken ($p < .01$).

In Model 7, I examine the ways in which variables affect the two groups in potentially unique ways. In regards to transnational social connections, visiting loses significance, but having a close relative in the ancestral homeland continues to be associated with an increased likelihood of remitting ($p < .05$). Across the variables relating to the parental household, parents remitting ($p < .05$) and being raised in household where a language other than English is spoken ($p < .05$), continues to be associated with the decision to remit. In regards to how the two groups are impacted differently in their decision to remit, I do not find support for my expectation that the parental household during childhood plays less of a role in shaping the likelihood of remitting among Mexican-Americans than Filipino-Americans. However, I find that each additional family member living in the household is associated with less of an increase in the likelihood of remitting among Mexican-Americans versus Filipino-Americans.

Summary

This study highlights the importance of social and familial bonds in shaping the decision to remit. Building on scholarship on second generation migrant transnationalism, this study provides support that first generation migrant parents play a vital role in transmitting the competencies and loyalties necessary in sending remittances through language and the act of remitting. In addition, this furthers scholarship on remittances by revealing that social connections play a vital role in helping to shape the roles, actions, and statuses of nonmigrants and second generation individuals thus shaping the decision to remit. In relation to financial capacity, this continues to show that the decision to remit is shaped by household characteristics and relationships. Though the influence of household size runs counter to what we would anticipate based on first generation migrant remittance scholarship, these results could potentially be in line with the overall findings highlighting social ties and familial relationships as these additional family members could serve as a form of social capital with those in the ancestral homeland. Finally, scholars must examine specific country-to-country remittance corridors beyond the first generation to take into account the unique ways in which second generation migrant groups are affected by the specific conditions associated with a corridor.

Overall, these results show the importance of social and familial relationships as the foundation for why second generation individuals remit. In regards to financial capacity, factors related to the household, rather than individual-factors alone, are associated with an increased likelihood of remitting. In regards to the surprising finding that each additional family member corresponds with an increased likelihood to remit, this may be due to other family members serving as a form of social capital, connecting them to family members in the ancestral homeland. While parents play a key role in facilitating second generation migrant connections, other first generation

migrant family members, such as grandparents, can help to mediate cross-border ties, as well (Gutierrez 2018). In addition, later-generation family members may be able to serve as a form of social capital with those in the parental home country if they have had cross-border ties mediated by a first generation migrant. This aligns with the other findings of this analysis that show remittances are tied into social and familial dynamics that link first and second generation individuals, along with nonmigrants.

Building on previous scholarship, these results highlight the importance of transnational social roles, actions, and statuses associated with a remitting relationship. Remittances are not simply financial connections for second generation individuals, but also exchanges that are bound up with social obligations (Carling 2008). In transnational scholarship, second generation individuals are often engaged in connections with those in communities that they have limited contact with and non-core familial members (parents, spouses, children, etc.). But, these results suggest that a similar social dynamic of intimacy is associated with the decision to remit. Future scholarship should look into how social ties through telecommunication, video teleconference, and social media also play a role in developing the intimacy associated with the decision to remit beyond interpersonal visits.

The parental household during childhood plays an important role in influencing the decision to remit. This finding contributes to previous scholarship that highlights the ways in which parents impart the competencies and loyalties to remit through language and remitting themselves (Soehl and Waldinger 2012). Though the financial connection may be between second generation individuals and nonmigrants, these findings reveal that this exchange cannot be fully understood without examining the actions of first generation migrants. This further highlights that when it comes to remittances, the transnational social field consists of three actors: first generation

migrants, second generation individuals, and nonmigrants, rather than the typical sender-recipient dyad commonly seen in remittance scholarship on first generation migrants.

Finally, these results showcase the importance of examining country-to-country remittance corridors among second generation individuals. Rather than aggregating ethnoracial groups consisting of several countries or generalizing remittance practices from a single group, scholars must control for the parental country of origin in analyses. In particular, I find that when controlling for financial capacity, social connections, and the parental household, Mexican-Americans are less likely to remit than Filipino-Americans. In addition, the weaker association of each additional family member in the household shows that the groups can be affected by their country-to-country remittance corridor in unique ways.

Overall, I have discussed the social structure that underpins remittance dynamics, discussed how this shapes remittance practices, and delved into the ways in which the context associated with the country-to-country remittance corridor differentially shapes remittance practices. Next, I provide a bigger picture understanding of how these theoretical contributions and deviations from the first generation shape the ways in which factors influence remittance practices.

Chapter 4, in part, has been submitted for publication of the material as it may appear in “Mediated Remittances: Transnational Economic Contributions.” 2018. Gutierrez, Armand. *Global Networks* 18(3): 523-540. The dissertation author was the sole author of this paper.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFERENCES ACROSS GENERATION

By highlighting the unique brokered relationships among the second generation compared to the first generation, expanding the scope of NELM to include the second generation, and highlighting the importance of examining country-to-country specific conditions, I have sought to reformulate our understanding of the remittance framework. In this final results chapter, I build on previous sections by examine the ways in which factors differentially affect first and second generation remittance practices within the country-to-country specific conditions between Mexico and the U.S. I do so by assessing the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent each transfer from first and second generation Mexican-Americans. Hypotheses based on remittance scholarship and transnationalism scholarship among both generations are tested. By comparing how factors shape the differential effects of variables on first and second generation remittance practices, this study reveals that factors relating to discrimination, transnational social and symbolic connections, as well as background factors, such as education and age. However, the effects are not uniform in how they influence the likelihood of remitting or the average amount of money sent each transfer. Finally, this study provides further evidence that second generation individuals serve a different role within the remitting relationship than that of immigrants. Recent transnationalism scholarship suggests that second generation individuals largely provide a complementary role in which they primarily send money on the basis of request from first generation individuals and/or nonmigrants, rather than sending a steady income-based cash flow meant to support a household over a period of time (Rumbaut 2002, Lee 2007, Gutierrez 2019).

Building on second generation transnationalism and remittance scholarship, this study tests factors related to first generation remittance scholarship on both migrants and the second generation. I hypothesize that the theoretical reasoning and expected effects differ between first and second generation individuals given the varied contexts they find themselves in. Given the complementary role that the second generation plays within remittance exchanges, their distant ties to extended family, their lesser linguistic and cultural capital, as well as single frame of reference, they are likely to differ across factors central to remittance practices. As there have been limited studies comparing the two generations' remittance practices, I will broadly examine the effects of respondents' characteristics commonly seen in remittance scholarship related to NELM and ethnographic findings.

Data and Methods

Of the sample, I focus my analyses on first and second generation Mexican-Americans to control for ancestral country of origin. First generation migrants include those born in another country and migrated to the U.S. Similar to previous scholarship. However, 1.5 generation migrants were dropped from the analysis as theoretical frameworks are derived mainly from first generation migrants. The second generation is defined as those with at least one immigrant parent (Zhou and Gonzales 2019). While there were third generation individuals (those with at least one immigrant grandparent) included in the survey, only a small number had sent remittances. As a result, comparisons across generational status, especially when assessing how much money was sent, third generation sample sizes were not large enough for robust analyses. Similarly, though there were respondents from other countries, the sample size would not yield robust analyses when examining how much money was sent. Given the importance of controlling for country-to-country remittance corridor conditions when examining cross-border ties (Gutierrez 2018b, Carling

2008b), the focus on Mexican-Americans was prioritized over analyses of Latinos as a whole. Mexican-Americans also make for a good sample to analyze given the importance of remittances within Mexico as seen as they are the 3rd largest remittance receivers in the world (World Bank 2019). Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for those assessed in determining the likelihood of remitting separately for the first and second generation. Table 3 presents descriptive statistics for those that sent remittances. While the focus of the study is on the determinants of remittances and the average amount of money sent each transfer, I include the frequency of remittances for further context in the tables

Response Variables

The dependent variables in these analyses assess the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent each transfer. My measure of the likelihood to remit is based on the question: “How often do you send money to (country you trace your Latino heritage)?” was recoded to construct a dichotomous variable assessing if a respondent sends remittances (1=yes, 0=no). The measure of the average amount of money sent each transfer is based on a best estimate or exact dollar amount to the follow-up question: “What is the average amount you send each time?”

Explanatory Variables

I use the survey to construct control variables for generational status, gender, age, highest education level, and language preference during interview. In regards to the last variable assessing language preference, studies typically examine self-reported linguistic proficiency. However,

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics: Sample Means to Determine Likelihood of Remitting

Variable	First generation Immigrants (n=1,252)	Second generation (n=732)
Sends Remittances	.73	.29
Frequency of Remittances among Remitters		
Less than Once a Year	.05	.10
Once a Year	.12	.21
Once Every Few Months	.23	.27
Once Every Month	.40	.29
More than Once a Month	.20	.13
Average Amount of Money Sent Each Transfer	\$352.69	\$663.64
Gender (1=Man)	.46	.46
Age	38.82	39.67
Highest Education Level	9.30	12.97
Prefers English For Interview (1=English)	.11	.82
Household Income	26.58	54.86
Individuals Supported by Household Income	3.84	3.19
Individuals that Contribute to Household Income	1.80	1.89
Employment Status (1=Employed)	.75	.71
Marital Status (1=Married)	.76	.64
Has Children (1=Yes)	.84	.69
Household Size	4.26	3.77
Visits Mexico	.68	.82

**Table 3: Descriptive Statistics: Sample Means to Determine Likelihood of Remitting
(Continued)**

Variable	First generation Immigrants (n=1,252)	Second generation (n=732)
Frequency of Social Ties	.04	.38
Never	.07	.21
Once Every Several Months	.29	.19
Once a Month	.60	.22
Once a Week or More		
Plans to Return Permanently to Mexico	.38	.10
Hometown Association	.04	.03
Interested in Ancestral Politics (1=Yes)	.64	.57
Has Suffered Discrimination (1=Yes)	.28	.48

studies suggest that first and second generation Mexican-Americans compare their linguistic proficiency to difference reference groups. Even Mexican-Americans who say that they can speak Spanish can have difficulty keeping up with the faster pace and consistent use of Spanish used in Mexico, rather than the Spanish and English amalgamation, “Spanglish” (Gutierrez 2020). As such, utilizing a variable that assesses the usage of Spanish in an interview setting gives a better indication of respondents’ usage of the language in everyday settings compared to asking for one’s self-reported proficiency as linguistic skill may not align with self-reported fluency (Telles and Sue 2019).

Table 4: The Effects of Factors on the Decision to Remit

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Control Variables</i>		
Generational Status	-0.804*** (0.184)	-0.471 (1.136)
Gender	0.412** (0.130)	0.375* (0.166)
Age	-0.0395*** (0.00579)	-0.0453*** (0.00753)
Education Level	-0.0276† (0.0155)	-0.0256 (0.0174)
Language Preference	-0.320† (0.172)	-0.271 (0.244)
<i>Financial Capacity</i>		
Household Income	-0.00589** (0.00220)	-0.00208 (0.00376)
Number of Individuals Supported by Household Income	0.104* (0.0451)	0.0900 (0.0556)
Number of Individuals that Contribute to Household Income	0.142* (0.0645)	0.0826 (0.0771)
Employment Status	0.538*** (0.144)	0.766*** (0.173)
Marital Status	0.149 (0.156)	0.195 (0.197)
Has Kids	0.208 (0.170)	0.103 (0.231)
Household Size	-0.0328 (0.0440)	-0.0606 (0.0554)
<i>Household Characteristics</i>		
Has Visited the Home Country	0.185 (0.155)	0.0595 (0.177)
Engages with Friends & Family Once Every Several Months	1.886*** (0.319)	2.178*** (0.538)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Month	2.912*** (0.300)	3.217*** (0.498)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Week or More	3.277*** (0.298)	3.544*** (0.492)
Plans to Return Permanently	0.444** (0.141)	0.458** (0.163)
Hometown Association	0.722* (0.345)	1.510** (0.583)
Interest in Home Country Politics	0.157 (0.125)	0.137 (0.154)
<i>Discriminatory Effects</i>		
Victim of Discrimination	0.221† (0.131)	0.524** (0.179)
<i>Interaction Effects</i>		
Gender X Generational Status		-0.00141 (0.277)
Age X Generational Status		0.0133 (0.0123)
Education Level X Generational Status		-0.0616 (0.0428)
Language Preference X Generational Status		-0.246 (0.359)
Household Income X Generational Status		-0.00411 (0.00481)
Number of Individuals Supported by Household Income X Generational Status		0.0789 (0.0988)
Number of Individuals that Contribute to Household Income X Generational Status		0.131 (0.141)
Employment Status X Generational Status		-0.780* (0.314)
Marital Status X Generational Status		-0.0991 (0.342)
Has Kids X Generational Status		0.143 (0.369)
Household Size X Generational Status		0.0419

Table 4: The Effects of Factors on the Decision to Remit (Continued)

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2
Has Visited the Home Country X Generational Status		0.907† (0.526)
Engages with Friends & Family Once Every Several Months X Generational Status		-0.500 (0.676)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Month X Generational Status		-0.568 (0.638)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Week or More X Generational Status		-0.484 (0.635)
Plans to Return Permanently X Generational Status		-0.0964 (0.350)
Hometown Association X Generational Status		-1.510* (0.765)
Interest in Ancestral Country Politics X Generational Status		0.0859 (0.274)
Victim of Discrimination X Generational Status		-0.607* (0.276)
Constant	-1.695** (0.491)	-1.671** (0.703)
Observations	1,984	1,984

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *p<.05, † p<0.10

To measure the effects of financial capacity on the decision to remit and the average amount of money sent each transfer, I measure household income, a curvilinear measure of household income, the number of individuals that are supported by the household income, the number of individuals that contribute to the household income, and employment status. In regard to household income, respondents' earnings were originally measured in seven categories, beginning with less than \$15,000 and ending with an open-ended category of greater than \$65,000. The six closed categories were recoded to the midpoint, while the value for the open-ended upper-income category was estimated using Pareto curve techniques (Parker and Fenwick 1983). In order to assess household-level characteristics, I include measures of one's marital status, if a respondent has children, as well as the household size. To assess the effects of transnational social connections, I examine if one visited Mexico, the frequency of one's social ties, if one plans to permanently return to Mexico, if a respondent is involved in a hometown association, and if they pay attention to Mexico's politics. Finally, I recoded utilize one measure of assessing if one was a victim of

Table 5: Average Amount of Money Remitted in Each Transfer

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Control Variables</i>		
Generational Status	-9.971 (14.96)	-85.05 (129.7)
Gender	56.62*** (9.525)	52.50*** (10.75)
Age	-1.483** (0.476)	-0.853 (0.558)
Education Level	1.078 (1.105)	1.452 (1.165)
Language Preference	6.028 (13.84)	19.91 (17.76)
<i>Financial Capacity</i>		
Household Income	0.254 (0.191)	0.0335 (0.255)
Number of Individuals Supported by Household Income	-1.231 (2.908)	1.263 (3.219)
Number of Individuals that Contribute to Household Income	-2.892 (4.070)	-1.530 (4.846)
Employment Status	19.54† (11.70)	21.24 (13.30)
Marital Status	17.90 (11.47)	18.82 (12.82)
Has Kids	-36.61** (13.29)	-50.29** (15.61)
Household Size	-2.716 (3.069)	-3.986 (3.440)
<i>Household Characteristics</i>		
Has Visited the Home Country	-1.323 (10.93)	-6.378 (11.49)
Engages with Friends & Family Once Every Several Months	40.35 (41.59)	-32.62 (73.29)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Month	12.25 (38.93)	-58.93 (69.22)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Week or More	26.69 (38.50)	-53.99 (68.73)
Plans to Return Permanently	44.65*** (9.464)	41.21*** (10.27)
Hometown Association	47.45* (19.75)	43.03† (22.61)
Interest in Ancestral Country Politics	2.395 (9.491)	14.36 (10.63)
<i>Discriminatory Effects</i>		
Victim of Discrimination	-0.252 (9.494)	-0.336 (10.88)
<i>Interaction Effects</i>		
Gender X Generational Status		-1.082 (25.02)
Age X Generational Status		-2.240† (1.143)
Education Level X Generational Status		0.759 (4.131)
Language Preference X Generational Status		-45.44 (29.48)
Household Income X Generational Status		0.762† (0.404)
Number of Individuals Supported by Household Income X Generational Status		-14.59† (8.101)
Number of Individuals that Contribute to Household Income X Generational Status		-3.183 (10.06)
Employment Status X Generational Status		-29.80 (29.40)
Marital Status X Generational Status		-4.129 (30.28)
Has Kids X Generational Status		39.51

Table 5: Average Amount of Money Remitted in Each Transfer (Continued)

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2
Household Size X Generational Status		5.190 (8.014)
Has Visited the Home Country X Generational Status		100.0 (61.70)
Engages with Friends & Family Once Every Several Months X Generational Status		116.8 (90.45)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Month X Generational Status		90.89 (85.88)
Engages with Friends & Family Once a Week or More X Generational Status		142.0† (84.43)
Plans to Return Permanently X Generational Status		20.39 (29.01)
Hometown Association X Generational Status		31.76 (47.88)
Interest in Ancestral Country Politics X Generational Status		-73.03** (24.63)
Victim of Discrimination X Generational Status		1.68 (23.09)
Constant	209.9*** (49.55)	266.8** (78.39)
Observations	1,045	1,045

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *p<.05, † p<0.10

discrimination by combining responses across questions examining discrimination across several domains, including the labor setting, interactions with the police, unfair housing practices, as well as in restaurants or stores.

Analytical Methods

This chapter uses logistic regression and robust regression models to identify the effects on the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent each transfer, respectively. For both dimensions of remitting behavior, I test the effects of all explanatory variables and how they differ by generational status. In testing the effects of my explanatory variables on the average amount of money sent, I utilized robust regression to deal with potential heteroskedasticity and outliers. I draw comparisons between Mexican-Americans first generation migrants and second generation individuals to test hypotheses related to first generation remittance practices. I also use Stata's margins command to ease the interpretation of results by assessing how tested variables

increase/decrease the probability of sending remittances and the average amount of money sent when other variables are held at their means.

Results

Tables 4 and 5 present results on the differential effects of variables on the likelihood to remit and the average amount of money sent each transfer, respectively, between first and second generation individuals. In order to examine the differences in effects on first and second generation Mexican-American remittance practices, I combine first and second generation respondents and include generational status in my model. I first test if there is a significant difference in the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money sent by generational status when controlling for all explanatory variables. I then interact all explanatory variables with generational status to assess if and how variables differentially affect first and second generation Mexican-American remittance practices.

In Table 4, Model 1, as expected, I find that second generation individuals are less likely to remit than first generation migrants. In Model 2, as it pertains to financial capacity, employment is negatively associated with the decision to remit among migrants, but the effects are insignificant among the second generation. As the decision to remit for second generation Mexican-Americans is borne of familial ties and relationships, these results seemingly line up with what we would anticipate. While labor migration in the U.S. is one of the central reasons for why migrants come to the U.S. and remit (Lucas and Stark 1985), the same is not applicable to the second generation. In addition, employment has not been seen to foster financial relationships between the second generation and nonmigrants across borders.

The effects of having visited Mexico are significantly associated with the decision to remit among the second generation, but not the first generation. Given that migrants have preexisting

connections to those in Mexico even if they have not visited the country, the second generation do not have the same connections. These results build on scholarship that indicate that visiting the ancestral homeland is a keyway for the second generation to foster ties with those in the country, as well as better understand the economic context that necessitates financial support (Gutierrez 2018a, Levitt 2009, Byng 2017). While involvement in an HTA increases the likelihood of migrants remitting among migrants, the effects are insignificant for the second generation. HTAs serve as a key connection for migrants to the hometown to send remittances, often serving as an emotional connection to loved ones and as a way to also fund infrastructural projects (FitzGerald 2008, Caglar 2006). However, the second generation may not utilize HTAs in the same fashion given that they do not originate from the “hometown” themselves and may not necessarily help to form the economic relationships between loved ones and themselves.

Finally, if migrants have been a victim of discrimination, it is associated with an increase in their likelihood of remitting. As migrants encounter a glass ceiling as a result of racism in the U.S., they send remittances as a means of recouping lost status by showcasing their wealth to friends and family (Levitt 2001, Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). However, the effects of discrimination are insignificant for the second generation, who do not have the same relationships with nonmigrants.

Differential Effects of Explanatory Variables on Average Amount Sent

In Table 5, Model 1, there is no significant difference between the first and second generation when it comes to the average amount of money sent in a given remittance transfer. When testing all explanatory variables in Model 2, each additional year of aging has a negative effect on the average amount of money sent for second generation Mexican-Americans, but this effect is not significant for migrants. In regard to financial capacity, an increase in household

income is associated with an increase in the average amount of money sent from second generation Mexican-Americans, but not migrants. Similarly, the number of individuals supported by the household income is associated with a significant decrease in the average amount of money sent among second generation individuals, while there is not significant among migrants. These results largely support the claims that second generation Mexican-Americans may be sending discretionary income upon request from family members for financial support (Rumbaut 2002), as opposed to first generation migrants who send a constant flow of money meant to serve as income for family in Mexico.

In regards to transnational ties, engagement with loved ones once a week or more has a positive, significant effect on the average amount of money sent for the second generation, but not for migrants. These results suggest that the frequent level of interaction could help to understand the urgency for remittances and indicate a strong cross-border relationship that is not necessary among migrants who have prior existing connections before cross-border interactions. Finally, an interest in ancestral politics is significantly associated with a reduction in the amount of money sent, but only for the second generation and not migrants. These results are surprising as others have argued that an emotional attachment to the country at large would translate to a greater desire to send remittances and a higher average dollar amount. Qualitative second generation migrant scholarship has found that respondents can view the developing countries that their parents may hail from as having rampant widespread corruption within their financial and political institutions (Gutierrez 2019). An interest in ancestral politics may reduce second generation individuals' desire to send large amounts of money passing through and potentially aiding institutions that they view as harmful. Although further research should be conducted to understand how this interest and

knowledge of the political environment within the ancestral home country comes to impact the financial relationships between the second generation and nonmigrants.

Summary

Overall, these results reveal that first and second generation individuals' decision to remit are not uniformly affected by explanatory factors commonly associated with remittance practices. In addition, factors that affect the decision to remit, do not necessarily influence the how much money is sent, and vice-versa. In general, this chapter reinforces the importance of examining second generation remittance practices in a way that controls for generational status, rather than using migrant-based assumptions derived from NELM. Instead, scholarship must account for the ways in which financial decisions transform in the receiving country context for migrants and their offspring. As a result of this varied context, variables commonly associated with remittances have different effects on the decision to remit and on the amount remitted across generations.

In addition, I find cleavages across remittance practices between generations in factors related to transnational social and symbolic bonds. As anticipated, visiting the ancestral home country plays a stronger role in increasing the likelihood that a second generation individual will remit. This is likely due to visits forming the foundation in transnational relationships between the second generation and nonmigrants (Gutierrez 2019, Byng 2017), while for the first generation it is simply revisiting past connections that were formed prior to visits. As for social ties, consistent, weekly communication is specifically associated with an increase in the average amount of money sent each transfer from the second generation, suggesting that specifically weekly social ties play an important role in increasing the intensity of the remitting relationship. In regards to hometown association involvement, further research should be conducted to understand why there is an *opposite* reaction among the second generation. While remittance practices among the second

generation have been especially noted with family members, there is no evidence to show that they remit to other community members who are not family. First generation migrants' involvement in an HTA may connect them to other community members who they send remittances to, while second generation individuals' involvement does not lead to familial remitting relationships.

Further, these results suggest that the decision to recoup lost status via remittances to family and friends in the home country plays a strong, positive role among migrants. As migrants encounter a glass ceiling as a result of racism in the U.S., they send remittances as a means of recouping lost status by showcasing their wealth to friends and family (Levitt 2001, Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). However, the effects of discrimination are insignificant for the second generation, who do not have the same relationships with nonmigrants. Unlike immigrants who have a "dual frame of reference" and are able to maintain a perspective that includes life in Mexico and in the U.S., the second generation establish their point of reference in the U.S (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco 2001). As such, they are not likely to turn to those in Mexico for reputational status as later generations' actions and perspectives align more so with the U.S.-born population (Jiménez 2009).

Overall, these results confirm that factors differentially shape first and second generation remittance practices. The second generation's different social and familial context and complementary role as a remitter necessitate the usage of theoretical models that control for generational status when it comes to understanding financial transfers.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study updates the scholarship based in NELM, transnationalism, and immigration by discussing how the second generation engages in brokered financial ties with that of nonmigrant family members. In doing so, I paint a picture of how household financial decisions extend beyond relation to the ancestral home country and intertwine with nonmigrant, migrant, and second generation familial relations. By examining Mexican- and Filipino-Americans, two groups with among the greatest proportion of remitters among the second generation, I am able to examine the ways in which their varied relations and cultural capital shape their financial connections. Their varied socioeconomic conditions and gaps in linguistic proficiency allow me to tease out the common linkage of a broker in their connections, while also accounting for the varied nature of how brokerage manifests for both groups. While possible among Filipino-Americans, Mexican-Americans displayed a greater ease of utilizing catalyst brokers due to their high linguistic proficiency and greater interpersonal contact with family members in Mexico. Overall, this study moves beyond simplistic arguments that transnational connections continue or are nonexistent among the second generation. In doing so, the chapter provides a nuanced examination of how transnational familial dynamics shape the logistical nature of second generation connections, and lack of connections, to those in the ancestral home country.

In addition to shaping the logistical nature of connections, remittances impact the relational and emotional nature of financial transfers. Second generation individuals view their contributions through a prism of obligation to migrant parents and select nonmigrants who facilitate requests for

money. In doing so, the second generation are not providing income-based, consistent sources of funding akin to migrants. Rather, the second generation provide complementary sources of funding upon request to fulfill urgent financial needs. This varied transnational social context changes the motivations and emotions surrounding financial transfers as relations involve three actors. While this form of brokering allows financial transfers to continue, albeit in a much more sporadic manner, this also provides further justification for why financial connections dissipate as social connections are reliant on three actors. If either migrants, nonmigrants, or second generation individuals do not have a desire, or are unable, to participate in the financial transfer, then second generation remittances cease or fail to develop.

These varied transnational and financial conditions, and extended familial relations are foundationally connected to second generation remittances to the extent that they transform the nature in which we understand remittances. In particular, the varied conditions of country-to-country remittance corridor extends into subsequent generations. Building on my previous chapters, I find that parents pass down competencies and loyalties necessary to engage in cross-border ties through exposing their children to the norms, values, and practices of the ancestral homeland. However, there are varied effects particularly in how household size affects the decision to remit among the two groups, with Filipino-Americans having an increased likelihood of remitting with additional family members in the household potentially due to the greater social capital that more family members may bring as brokers. In tandem with previous chapters, this chapter provides a qualitative and quantitative argument of how transnational financial connections are inherently a triadic network that are shaped by parents. In addition, it reveals the ways in which country-to-country remittance corridor conditions intertwine with the varied social

relationship between the second generation and the ancestral home country to produce results that contribute and run counter to assumptions built into migrant scholarship.

Finally, I assess how factors rooted in NELM scholarship affect both the likelihood of remitting and the average amount of money remitted among first and second generation Mexican-Americans. As expected, there were differences between the two groups, particularly as it came to assessing effects related to social reputation and interpersonal contact. As the second generation has not necessarily met nonmigrant family members, visiting the ancestral home country is imperative in increasing the likelihood of remitting. Relatedly, maintaining a constant level of social connection increases the average amount of money remitted in an exchange among them. Furthermore, the desire to recoup lost status and build up social reputation does not apply to the second generation. Given that their main reference is to others in the U.S., remitting would not be a conducive way of increasing one's social reputation among their peers as it would among the first generation.

The qualitative findings are mainly based on a sample of second generation Mexican- and Filipino-Americans residing in Southern California. As a result, my findings may not apply entirely to everyone in those groups, those who reside in other locations of the United States, or to other ethnic groups. In addition, as my study included those who migrated under the age of five, and those born in the United States from migrant parents, my focus was on second generation Americans. Further studies should examine how later generational status potentially impacts cross-border ties. From my limited findings, 15 third-generation individuals tended to rely on migrant family members such as aunts, uncles, and grandparents for their transnational connections, as many second generation individuals lacked the competencies to effectively broker ties. Third generation individuals also had less linguistic proficiency than that of second generation

individuals, which suggests that the third generation would have a reliance on middleman brokering.

As billions of dollars are exchanged around the world on an annual basis and remittances are seen as the lifeblood of development for countries around the world, it is a glaring omission in scholarship and in policy works that second generation remittance practices are not discussed. While the proportion of those that remit is smaller and the amount of money transferred is less than that of migrants, there are practical and theoretical reasons to study second generation remittances. A report on the Current Population Survey found that approximately 10% of the remittances, approx. \$1.2 billion, sent to foreign countries came from households made up completely of native-born individuals (Grieco et al. 2010). Given that more of the second generation are contributing from households also with foreign born individuals, the 10% is a minimum of how much funds are being remitted from native born individuals.

Though the qualitative aspects of this study may not be generalizable to second generation experiences across social class, geographic location, gender, or ethnicity, it is likely that parental brokerage, contextual differences, and geographical separation extensively transforms the context of remittance practices. By assessing second generation remittance conditions, we strengthen our understanding of migrant families and their social dynamics with nonmigrants. First, we extend the timeline in which we study migrants beyond familial dynamics with nonmigrant family members. We see the emotional and relational work that migrants put into connect intimate connections with family members in the ancestral home country with that of their children, grandchildren, and nephews/nieces. Second, it allows us to understand how foundational social network scholarship surrounding triads manifest when families are faced with filtering their ties through geographical and political separation across borders. Ultimately, examining second

generation remittance practices inherently deepen our understanding of migration, transnationalism, familial communication, and brokerage.

APPENDIX 1: BACKGROUND OF INTERVIEWEES

Pseudonym	Age	Generational Status	Ethnicity
Andres	24	1.75	Filipino
William	35	2	Filipino
Ava	24	2	Filipino
Dolores	23	2	Filipino
Malcolm	35	2	Filipino
Harriet	27	2	Filipino
Rosa	24	2	Filipino
Angela	24	2	Filipino
Martin	43	1.75	Filipino
Paolo	25	2	Filipino
Steven	21	1.5	Filipino
Nelson	33	2	Filipino
Nina	25	2	Filipino
Jamie	26	2	Filipino
Maya	23	2	Filipino
Asa	25	2	Filipino
Yuri	25	2	Filipino
James	26	2	Filipino
Ronald	24	2	Filipino
Gabriela	21	2	Filipino
Rachel	21	3	Filipino
Emmanuel	22	1.75	Filipino
Bunchey	25	1.75	Filipino
Grace	24	1.75	Filipino
John	24	2	Filipino
Bell	22	2	Filipino

Pete	24	2	Filipino
Julie	24	2	Filipino
Rhonda	24	2	Filipino
Joey	31	2	Filipino
Lance	24	2	Filipino
Maritess	24	2	Filipino
Jane	24	1.75	Filipino
Richard	25	1.75	Filipino
Patrice	24	2	Filipino
Teresa	27	1.75	Filipino
Lorena	25	1.75	Filipino
Stephen	25	2	Filipino
Mary	22	2	Filipino
Bryant	25	2	Filipino
Rex	28	3	Filipino
Colin	27	2	Filipino
Alex	26	2	Filipino
Peter	28	3	Filipino
Mark	47	1.75	Filipino
Mariano	38	2	Filipino
Elaine	27	2.5	Mexican
Arabella	27	2	Mexican
Alice	35	2	Mexican
Michael	34	2	Mexican
Madeline	27	2.5	Mexican
Jose	28	2	Mexican
Bruce	30	2	Mexican
Jordan	25	2	Mexican
Franklin	28	2	Mexican

Christian	32	3	Mexican
Katrina	36	2	Mexican
Eduardo	26	2	Mexican
Jorge	27	2	Mexican
Armando	68	2.5	Mexican
Josefina	32	2	Mexican
Anthony	26	3	Mexican
Monica	29	3	Mexican
Carrie	29	2	Mexican
Christina	27	2	Mexican
Jesus	28	2	Mexican
Jean	32	2	Mexican
Alfred	28	2	Mexican
Arianna	26	2	Mexican
Brittany	20	2	Mexican
Lupe	25	3	Mexican
Rafael	26	2.5	Mexican
Natasha	22	2	Mexican
Agnes	28	2	Mexican
Daniela	22	2	Mexican
Phoebe	22	2	Mexican
Rick	22	3	Mexican
Elizabeth	22	1.75	Mexican
Mayelli	25	2	Mexican
Margaret	26	3	Mexican
Benjamin	25	2.5	Mexican
Brandon	27	2	Mexican
Taylor	29	2	Mexican
Alyssa	24	2	Mexican

Valerie	31	2	Mexican
Omar	27	2	Mexican

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Communication/Background

1. Do you primarily speak your parents' native language to family members living abroad?
2. How comfortable do you and your family members feel talking one another?
3. Would you teach your children how to speak your/ your parents' native language?
4. How do you communicate with family abroad (phone, video conference, text, facebook)?
5. Racially, how do you identify?
6. Growing up, what was the ethnic/racial composition of where you lived?
 - a. What were the percentages?
 - b. If you had to estimate the size of your community's population and had to break it down by generation, what do you think it is?
 - c. What are the differences between first-generation, second-generation, and those in the native country, in your opinion?
 - d. What are the differences between men and women in your community?

Contact

7. Are you involved in organizations connected to your parents' home country? HTA, political-based, relief-efforts, etc. If so, why not HTA?
8. When was the last time you visited your parents' home country? What did you do in your last visit?
9. Do you have any family members live abroad outside of the U.S. or your parents' native country? If so, how many? Have you visited? If so, what did you do?
10. How often do you watch media from your parents' home country?
11. Have you taken any classes connected to your ancestral homeland (language, history, etc.)?

12. How do family members in the U.S. describe the home country (people, socioeconomic status, government, etc.)?
13. How would you say that you best came to understand what life is like in the home country (visiting, speaking with family members, media, classes, etc.)?

Remittances/Sending of Support

14. What are the reasons you send money and other sources of support to family members living abroad?
- a. Is this your mother's or father's side? What part of the home country is your family from?
 - b. How do you feel when you send something?
 - c. What are the primary things that you send?
 - d. Do they thank you directly?
 - e. How much is saved/invested versus being remitted? And how is that decision made?
 - f. What should money be spent on?
15. Are the family members you send things to planning to come to the U.S.?
16. If you had to estimate, how much of your family is here in the U.S. versus the home country?
17. Do you ever send any donations or other types of support to family members or others in need?
18. If parents send money and other types of support, how do you parents do it (box, when they visit, etc.)? Who did they send it to, and why?
19. How likely is it that you would encourage your children to send money and other sources of support to those in the home country?

20. If you sent money, what do you think they would do with it?
21. Have you ever had family members contact you to see if you could send money or material support?
22. Future Goals?
23. Know anyone interested in being interviewed

Communication/Background

24. Do you primarily speak your parents' native language to family members living abroad?
25. How comfortable do you and your family members feel talking one another?
26. Would you teach your children how to speak your/ your parents' native language?
27. How do you communicate with family abroad (phone, video conference, text, facebook?)
28. Racially, how do you identify?
29. Growing up, what was the ethnic/racial composition of where you lived? What about SD County?
 - a. What were the percentages?
 - b. If you had to estimate the size of your community's population and had to break it down by generation, what do you think it is?
 - c. What are the differences between first-generation, second-generation, and those in the native country, in your opinion?
 - d. What are the differences between men and women in your community?

Contact

30. Are you involved in organizations connected to your parents' home country? HTA, political-based, relief-efforts, etc. If so, why not HTA?

31. When was the last time you visited your parents' home country? What did you do in your last visit?
32. Do you have any family members live abroad outside of the U.S. or your parents' native country? If so, how many? Have you visited? If so, what did you do?
33. How often do you watch media from your parents' home country?
34. Have you taken any classes connected to your ancestral homeland (language, history, etc.)?
35. How do family members in the U.S. describe the home country (people, socioeconomic status, government, etc.)?
36. How would you say that you best came to understand what life is like in the home country (visiting, speaking with family members, media, classes, etc.)?

Remittances/Sending of Support

37. What are the reasons you send money and other sources of support to family members living abroad?
- a. Is this your mother's or father's side? What part of the home country is your family from?
 - b. How do you feel when you send something?
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 - e. How much is saved/invested versus being remitted? And how is that decision made?
 - f. What should money be spent on?
38. Are the family members you send things to planning to come to the U.S.?
39. If you had to estimate, how much of your family is here in the U.S. versus the home country?

40. Do you ever send any donations or other types of support to family members or others in need?
41. If parents send money and other types of support, how do you parents do it (box, when they visit, etc.)? Who did they send it to, and why?
42. How likely is it that you would encourage your children to send money and other sources of support to those in the home country?
43. If you sent money, what do you think they would do with it?
44. Have you ever had family members contact you to see if you could send money or material support?
45. Future Goals?
46. Know anyone interested in being interviewed?

General Information Questionnaire

(Version 1.0)

The following questions are designed to obtain basic information about your background. Please read each question carefully and provide your response by placing an X in the spaces provided or by providing your written response to the information requested. There are no correct or incorrect answers: we simply want some information about your background. Thank you for taking the time to complete this brief questionnaire and for agreeing to participate in this study.

1. What is your **gender**? (Please check only one response)
 - a. Man
 - b. Woman
 - c. Other (Please specify: _____)

2. What is your **current relational** or **marital status**? (Please check only one response)
 - a. Single
 - a. In a relationship, not currently married
 - b. Married
 - c. Widowed, not currently married
 - d. Divorced, not currently remarried
 - f. Other (Please specify: _____)

3. If you are **currently** in a **relational** or **marital partnership** what is the ethnic or cultural background of your spouse or significant other? (Please check only one response)
 - a. Asian-American/Asian (Please specify: _____)
 - b. Pacific Islander (Please specify: _____)
 - c. Black, African-American
 - d. White, European-American
 - e. Latino (Please specify: _____)
 - f. Mixed – Multiethnic or Multiracial (Please specify: _____)
 - g. I am not currently in a relational or marital partnership
 - h. Other (Please specify: _____)

4. How do you **prefer to be racially identified**? (Please check only one response)
- ___ a. Asian-American/Asian (Please specify: _____)
- ___ b. Pacific Islander (Please specify: _____)
- ___ c. Black, African-American
- ___ d. White, European-American
- ___ c. Mixed – Multiethnic or Multiracial (Please specify: _____)
- ___ e. Other (Please specify: _____)
5. In what country were **you born**? (please check only one response)
- ___ a. In the U.S.
- ___ b. Outside the U.S. (Please specify: _____)
6. If you were born in another country, at what **age** did **you migrate to** the **U.S.**? (Please check only one response)
- ___ a. I was born in _____ and I migrated to the U.S. at age _____
- ___ b. Not applicable, I was born in the U.S.
7. If you were born in the another country, approximately **how many years** have you **lived in** the **U.S.**? (Please check only one response)
- ___ a. I was born in _____ and I have lived in the U.S. for approximately _____ years
- ___ b. Not applicable, I was born in the U.S.
8. In what country was your **father born**? (Please check only one response)
- ___ a. In the U.S.
- ___ b. Outside the U.S. (Please specify: _____)
9. In what country was your **mother born**? (Please check only one response)
- ___ a. In the U.S.
- ___ b. Outside the U.S. (Please specify: _____)

10. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) what was the **ethnic/cultural makeup** of the **neighborhood** where you lived? (Please check only one response)

- a. Only those of my ethnic background
- b. Mostly those of my ethnic background
- c. Mixed those of my ethnic background and other ethnic backgrounds about equally
- d. Mostly those from other ethnic backgrounds
- e. Other (Please specify: _____)

11. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **father visit family** living **in** his ancestral home country? (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, multiple times per year
- e. My father does not have family living in the home country
- f. Other (Please specify: _____)

12. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **mother visit family** living **in** her ancestral home country? (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, multiple times per year
- e. My mother does not have family living in the home country
- f. Other (Please specify: _____)

13. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **father communicate with** your **family** living **in his ancestral home country** via telephone, email, text message, Skype, Facebook or some other method? (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never

- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, about once every few months
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, about once per week
- g. Yes, almost every day
- h. My father does not have family living in the home country
- i. Other (Please specify: _____)

14. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **mother communicate with** your **family** living **in her ancestral home country** via telephone, email, text message, Skype, Facebook or some other method? (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, about once every few months
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, about once per week
- g. Yes, almost every day
- h. My mother does not have family living in the home country
- i. Other (Please specify: _____)

15. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **father send money** to your **family** living **in his ancestral home country**? (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, several times per year
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, but only when he visited the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

16. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **father send money/material donations to philanthropic organizations/relief efforts for those living in his ancestral home country?** (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, several times per year
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, but only when he visited the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

17. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **father send clothing, food, vitamins, or other provisions** to your **family** living **in his ancestral home country?** (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, several times per year
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, but only when he visited the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

18. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **mother send money** to your **family** living **in the ancestral home country?** (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, several times per year

- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, but only when she visited the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

19. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **mother send money/material donations to philanthropic organizations/relief efforts for those living in her ancestral home country?** (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, several times per year
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, but only when she visited the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

20. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did your **mother send clothing, food, vitamins, or other provisions to your family living in the ancestral home country?** (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Yes, several times per year
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Yes, but only when she visited the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

21. How often do **you now communicate with** your **family** living **in your ancestral home country** via telephone, email, text message, Skype, Facebook or some other method? (Please check only one response)

- a. Never
- b. About once every few years
- c. About once per year
- d. About once every few months
- e. About once per month
- f. About once per week
- g. Almost every day
- h. I do not have family living in the home country
- i. Other (Please specify: _____)

22. How often do **you send money** to your **family** living **in the ancestral home country?**
(Please check only one response)

- a. Never
- b. About once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year
- d. Several times per year
- e. About once per month
- f. Only when I visit the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

23. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18) did **you send money** to **philanthropic organizations/relief efforts for those living in your ancestral home country?** (Please check only one response)

- a. No, never
- b. Yes, about once every few years
- c. Yes, about once per year

- d. Yes, several times per year
- e. Yes, about once per month
- f. Only when I visit the home country
- g. Other (Please specify: _____)

24. How often do **you send clothing, food, vitamins, or other provisions** to your **family** living **in the ancestral home country**? (Please check only one response)

- a. Never
- b. About once every few years
- c. Several times per year
- d. About once per month
- e. Only when I visit the home country
- f. Other (Please specify: _____)

25. How often do **you visit** your **family** living **in the ancestral home country**? (Please check only one response)

- a. Never
- b. About once every few years
- c. About once per year
- d. Multiple times per year
- e. I do not have family in the home country
- f. Other (Please specify: _____)

26. **Are you involved** with **organizations** such as (home town associations, community-based organizations, relief effort organizations, etc.) that are connected to individuals living **in your ancestral home country**? (Please check only one response)

- a. No, not at all
- b. Yes, I'm involved with one or more organizations that are connected to individuals living in the home country

___ c. Other (Please specify: _____)

27. Is your **father** involved with **organizations** such as (home town associations, community-based organizations, relief effort organizations, etc.) that are connected to individuals living **in your ancestral home country**? (Please check only one response)

___ a. No, not at all

___ b. Yes, my father is involved with one or more organizations that are connected to individuals living in the home country (Please specify: _____)

___ c. Other (Please specify: _____)

28. Is your **mother** involved with **organizations** such as (home town associations, community-based organizations, relief effort organizations, etc.) that are connected to individuals living **in your ancestral home country**? (Please check only one response)

___ a. No, not at all

___ b. Yes, my mother is involved with one or more organizations that are connected to individuals living in the home country (Please specify: _____)

___ c. Other (Please specify: _____)

29. What is the **highest** level of **education** that **you** have **completed**? (Please check only one response)

___ a. I have no formal education

___ b. Elementary (K through 8)/Junior high school

___ c. High school

___ d. College A.A., A.S. or equivalent

___ e. College B.A., B.S. or equivalent

___ f. College M.A., M.S., M.S.W., M.F.C. or equivalent

___ g. College Ph.D., Psy.D., Ed.D., J.D., M.D. or equivalent

___ h. Other (Please specify: _____)

30. What is the **highest** level of **education** that **your father completed**? (Please check only one response)

- a. He has no formal education
- b. Elementary (K through 8)/Junior high school
- c. High school
- d. College A.A., A.S. or equivalent
- e. College B.A., B.S. or equivalent
- f. College M.A., M.S., M.S.W., M.F.C. or equivalent
- g. College Ph.D., Psy.D., Ed.D., J.D., M.D. or equivalent
- h. Other (Please specify: _____)

31. What is the **highest** level of **education** that **your mother completed**? (Please check only one response)

- a. She has no formal education
- b. Elementary (K through 8)/Junior high school
- c. High school
- d. College A.A., A.S. or equivalent
- e. College B.A., B.S. or equivalent
- f. College M.A., M.S., M.S.W., M.F.C. or equivalent
- g. College Ph.D., Psy.D., Ed.D., J.D., M.D. or equivalent
- h. Other (Please specify: _____)

26. What is your current age (in years)? _____

27. When you were **growing up** (before the age of 18), what would you say was the **approximate** combined **household income** of **your parents**? (Please check only one response)

- a. \$0 to \$20,000
- b. 20,001 to 40,000
- c. \$40,001 to \$60,000
- d. \$60,001 to \$80,000

- e. \$80,001 to \$100,000
- f. \$100,001 to \$120,000
- g. \$120,001 to \$140,000
- h. \$140,001 to \$160,000
- i. \$160,001 to \$180,000
- j. \$180,001 to \$200,000
- k. Over \$200,001
- l. I don't know what my parent's household income was when I was growing up
- m. Other (Please specify: _____)
- n. I do not wish to respond to this question

28. What is **your current approximate personal annual** income from all sources (including wages, tips, alimony, child support, unemployment insurance, retirement pension, student college loans, student college grants or scholarships, parent loans or subsidies, etc.)? (Please check only one response)

- a. \$0 to \$20,000
- b. 20,001 to 40,000
- c. \$40,001 to \$60,000
- d. \$60,001 to \$80,000
- e. \$80,001 to \$100,000
- f. \$100,001 to \$120,000
- g. \$120,001 to \$140,000
- h. \$140,001 to \$160,000
- i. \$160,001 to \$180,000
- j. \$180,001 to \$200,000
- k. Over \$200,001
- l. I don't know, my family is supporting me
- m. Other (Please specify: _____)
- n. I do not wish to respond to this question

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