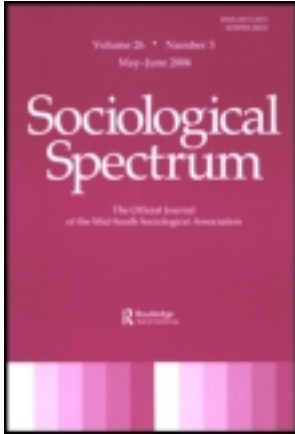


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Sociological Spectrum

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/usls20>

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Anthony A. Peguero^a

^a Department of Sociology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia, USA

Available online: 06 Oct 2011

To cite this article: Anthony A. Peguero (2011): IMMIGRATION, SCHOOLS, AND VIOLENCE: ASSIMILATION AND STUDENT MISBEHAVIOR, *Sociological Spectrum*, 31:6, 695-717

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2011.606726>

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IMMIGRATION, SCHOOLS, AND VIOLENCE: ASSIMILATION AND STUDENT MISBEHAVIOR

Anthony A. Peguero

Department of Sociology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and
State University, Blacksburg, Virginia, USA

Although the “myth” about the immigration and crime link is one of immigrant propensity for criminality in the United States, contradictory evidence suggests that immigrants, including youth, are less likely to be deviant. Little is known, however, about the multilevel relationships between immigration, schools, and student misbehavior. Analyses, which draw from the Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002 and Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) analysis, indeed reveal imperative findings. Most notably, first-generation immigrant students are less likely to misbehave while at school; however, increased exposure to school social disorder is associated with student misbehavior for first-generation immigrants. This article also discusses the importance of understanding the role of immigration in the multilevel relationship of student misbehavior for one of the fastest growing segments of American society: the children of immigrants.

The debate over immigration is a complex social issue often discussed with biased views as well as conflicting information. Much of this debate is centered on an immigration and crime link (Hagan et al. 2008; Sampson 2008). Even though there is a depiction of immigrants being deviant within the United States, research reveals evidence to the contrary. Immigrant youth are less likely to be involved in crime,

Gratitude is extended to Vincent J. Roscigno for his encouraging and constructive comments throughout this research. Appreciation is also conveyed for the research support and resources offered by the Crime and Justice Summer Institute at The Ohio State University, an extensive and intensive research workshop directed by Lauren J. Krivo and Ruth D. Peterson, as well as the Racial Democracy, Crime and Justice-Network (RDCJ-N). I also thank Jennifer M. Bondy for her support associated with this research.

Address correspondence to Anthony A. Peguero, Department of Sociology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 560 McBryde Hall (0137), Blacksburg, VA 24061, USA. E-mail: anthony.peguero@vt.edu

substance use, and general deviance (Desmond and Kubrin 2009; Morenoff and Astor 2006; Zhou and Bankston 2006). In fact, findings suggest that assimilation may be related to deviant behavior for youth (Greenman and Xie 2009; Morenoff and Astor 2006). Because the children of immigrants are one of the fastest growing segments of this nation's population (U.S. Census Bureau 2008), investigating the link between immigration, assimilation, and student misbehavior is warranted and needed.

Student misbehavior impedes the educational process of all students and the subsequent collateral damage from these events has life-long detrimental consequences for victims and offenders (Gottfredson 2001; Verdugo 1999). Student misbehavior has received much concern because schools are institutions of socialization that influence youth development and educational progress (Gottfredson 2001; Verdugo 1999); however, this social process is only intensified for the children of immigrants. School is where the children of immigrants not only learn about U.S. values, beliefs, and behaviors but also about their social and cultural role in American society (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Valenzuela 1999). Immigrant generational status disparities have emerged in relation to school and educational outcomes. Lower educational achievement, retention, aspirations, and attainment have been associated with third-plus generation immigrant youth in comparison to first generation immigrant youth (Kao and Tienda 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). What remains uncertain is the role immigration has with student misbehavior.

This study extends the literature about youth deviance and violence by examining the multilevel relationships between schools, immigration, and student misbehavior. A conceptual framework about immigration and youth deviance is presented first in this study. A discussion about the significance of researching immigration and student misbehavior follows. The next section makes use of Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) techniques, which employs nationally representative data on students' educational and school experiences to explore the multilevel links between immigration and student misbehavior. Finally, the importance of understanding the role of immigration in relationship to student misbehavior for one of the fastest growing segments of our society, the children of immigrants, is discussed.

IMMIGRANT GENERATIONAL STATUS AND YOUTH DEVIANCE

Classical assimilation theorists indicate that the assimilation process involves immigrants assimilating to the dominant culture because it

will facilitate upward mobility for immigrants (Gordon 1964; Park 1950). According to classical assimilation theory, there is a “natural” process by which immigrant groups come to share a common culture, typically to the dominant culture, in order to gain equal access to the opportunity structure of the dominant society (Gordon 1964; Park 1950). Under this classical assimilation paradigm, research suggests that as immigrants initially arrive, they are more likely to reside within poor urban communities often with high crime rates (Shaw and McKay 1969). As immigrants assimilate to the dominant culture’s values and beliefs, immigrants have improved chances and opportunities to relocate and reside in more affluent and relatively safer suburban communities (Shaw and McKay 1969). Thus, classical views of assimilation and youth deviance suggest as the children of immigrants assimilate to dominant cultural values and beliefs, youth engagement in deviant behavior will decrease. More recently, however, segmented assimilation theorists have questioned if classical approaches of understanding the process of assimilation in the U.S. continues to consistently facilitate upward mobility for all immigrants and their children.

Segmented assimilation theorists argue that there are significant distinctions between post-1965 wave of immigrants and early twentieth-century immigrants. Post-1965 immigrants are primarily migrating from Asia and Latin America and are therefore non-white. As a result, their race and ethnicity “segments” immigrant experiences and the assimilation process within the United States (Gans 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Rumbaut 1997; Zhou 1997). Pre-1965 immigrants arrived with broad access to an abundant amount of manufacturing employment opportunities, while post-1965 immigrants arrive to communities with poor economic opportunities and lack of access to service-based postindustrial professions (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). Therefore, individual and contextual factors should be considered when examining the assimilation process for the most recent wave of immigrants in the United States.

Segmented assimilation theorists propose that the assimilation process is segmented into several divergent forms of adaptation: (1) assimilation into the white American middle class, (2) preservation of ethnic cultural traditions and close ethnic ties through social networks in the community also referred to as ethnic enclaves, and (3) assimilation into the underclass also referred to as “downward assimilation” (Kao and Tienda 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Rumbaut 1997; Zhou 1997; Zhou and Bankston 1998). It is the process of downward assimilation that raises much policy, research, social, and educational concerns about the experiences of

the children of immigrants. Subsequently, there is relatively recent research revealing that as the children of immigrants move through the assimilation process, their engagement in violence and deviance increases.

The pattern of downward assimilation and distinctions via immigrant generational status in relation to youth deviance is evident. First-generation immigrant youth are less, while third-plus-generation immigrant youth are more, likely to hit someone; throw objects at someone; carry a weapon; be involved in a gang fight; pick pocket or snatch a purse; be involved in gang activity, substance use, risky sexual behavior; and exhibit aggressive and violent behavior (Desmond and Kubris 2009; Greenman and Xie 2009; Harris 1999; Morenoff and Astor 2006). There are individual and contextual factors that have been proposed as to why assimilation may be equivocating to increased deviance for youth.

Immigrant generational status and contact with deviant youth may be linked with deviant behavior. First-generation immigrants are often “law-abiding” because many immigrant parents, as well as their immigrant children, are socialized with native cultural beliefs of respecting authority (e.g., parents, teachers, etc.) and being obedient; on the other hand, third-plus-generation youth have more engagement in deviance (Zhou and Bankston 1998, 2006). Moreover, first-generation immigrants have optimistic attitudes about upward mobility for themselves as well as their children; however, that optimism tends to erode by the third-plus generation due to racism, discriminatory treatment, and blocked opportunities (Kao and Tienda 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). Contact with deviant youth increases engagement in deviance for the children of immigrants (Zhou 1997; Zhou and Bankston 1998, 2006). The process of becoming American is presumed to be one of becoming deviant and assimilating the American phenomenon and tradition of a “moral rejection of authority” (Zhou 1997). Also, studies find that the proportion of immigrant residents and social and physical disorder are associated with engagement in violence and deviance for the children of immigrants. Higher proportion of immigrants within a community is associated with a reduction of youth engagement in deviance (Desmond and Kubris 2009). Social disorder (e.g., high population of deviant youth, culture of deviance, gang prevalence, etc.) and physical disorder (e.g., graffiti, litter, deteriorating buildings, etc.) may be contextual factors that contribute to youth violence and deviance within immigrant communities (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999; Martínez et al. 2008).

For the purposes of this study, there are three important findings that need to be highlighted from the aforementioned research examining

immigrant generational status distinctions and youth deviance. First, to understand the linkages between immigrant generational status and youth deviance, researchers should consider individual and contextual factors—a multilevel approach is warranted. Second, the children of immigrants may be learning misbehavior depending on the values and norms that youth comes into contact. Third, factors such as immigrant concentration and social and physical disorder may matter when examining engagement in violence and deviance for the children of immigrants.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF UNDERSTANDING IMMIGRATION AND STUDENT MISBEHAVIOR

Schools are an institution of socialization for all students but also one of assimilation for the children of immigrants. It is within schools that the children of immigrants are exposed to mainstream American culture and where they learn and form beliefs about what society and persons outside of their families expect from them (Olsen 2008; Rong and Preissle 2008; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Valenzuela 1999). The children of immigrants' educational and social development, progress, and mobility within the U.S. school system can seriously be impeded by their engagement in violence and misbehavior.

Of course as an ideal, schools are primarily sites of formal learning and education; however, the school is also a site of informal youth interactions that may promote deviant behavior (Gottfredson 2001). As in communities, school participants (i.e., students, faculty, staff, and administrators) share common activities, routines, and interactions that influence one another (Gottfredson 2001). Consequently, it is these informal interactions that may be a source of student misbehavior. Youth are not only being exposed to formal education but also potentially learning how to misbehave.

Although understanding the relationship between immigration and student misbehavior is complex, there are a number of perspectives about how school may be a site that can promote deviant behavior among students. School is a place where deviance can be conveyed by deviant youth who are interacting with well behaved youth (Gottfredson 2001). Deviant behavior may be normative and part of the school's disorder climate (Welsh 2001). Contextual factors also may be playing a role in the occurrence of deviant behavior (Desmond and Kubrin 2009; Martínez et al. 2004; Zhou and Bankston 1998, 2006). In relationship to this particular study, contact with deviant youth and exposure to

social and physical disorder within schools may be socializing youth towards violence and misbehavior.

As noted earlier in this research study, association between downward assimilation and increased engagement in deviant behavior for the children of immigrants appears to be evident. Much of the previous research utilizes the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a school-based sampling design, in order to investigate the links between immigrant generational status and deviance for youth (e.g., Desmond and Kubrin 2009; Greenman and Xie 2009). Add Health measurements of youth deviance extend beyond from the school and assesses deviance within the community. Furthermore, Add Health data does not provide school factors (e.g., social and physical disorder) to conduct a study about youth misbehavior specifically within the school. Ewert (2009) studies high school seniors from 12 schools in several metropolitan school districts in Western Washington in order examine engagement of student misbehavior between different immigrant generations of youth. Indeed, the research reveals that as the children of immigrants assimilate the likelihood of student misbehavior is higher (Ewert 2009). These findings indicate a downward assimilation understanding of student misbehavior. What remains uncertain, however, is how the multilevel school factors are related between immigration and student misbehavior across the United States.

Previous research has primarily focused on communities and the occurrence of youth deviance but limited studies have explored the multilevel relationship between immigration and misbehavior actually within the school, with the exception of Ewert's (2009) study. Even though Ewert reveals that first-generation immigrant youth are less likely to misbehave while in school, this study continues the study in two pertinent ways. First, this study utilizes data that is nationally representative students in U.S. public schools. Second, this study also examines the role of school level factors in the relationship between immigration and student misbehavior. As noted, examining the factors linked to student misbehavior is pressing because schools are a place of socialization, which is particularly imperative for the children of immigrants.

METHODS

The data for the research are drawn from the Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002). ELS:2002 is a longitudinal survey administered by the Research Triangle Institute (RTI) for the National

Center for Education Statistics (NCES 2004) of the U.S. Department of Education. ELS:2002 is “designed to monitor the transition of a national sample of young people as they progress from tenth grade through high school and on to postsecondary education and/or the world of work” (p. 7). These data include information about the experiences and backgrounds of students, parents, and teachers, and physical and administrative descriptions of the schools those students attended. The restricted-use ELS:2002 data also provides “mappings” to additional external datasets such as the Common Core of Data (CCD). The CCD is the Department of Education’s primary database on public elementary and secondary education in the United States. The CCD provides much of school level data (e.g., proportion of Latino/a American, black/African American, Asian American, and white American students within a school).

ELS:2002 include information about the experiences and backgrounds of students, parents, and teachers, and descriptions of the schools those students attended. By sampling tenth graders, however, ELS:2002 does not include students who dropped out prior to that year, nor does it include immigrant students who never enrolled in high school in the United States. Data from students who only participated in the abbreviated survey (which did not include measurements from the parents’ survey that indicate information to assess student’s immigration generational status) are coded as missing and excluded from the analyses. This research uses a subsample of ELS:2002 consisting of 9,870 first-, second-, and third-plus-generation immigrant students from 580 public schools.

Student Misbehavior

Students are asked if they have been involved in three forms of misbehavior during the first half of the 2001–2002 school year. Similar to previous studies (Ewert 2009; Stewart 2003; Welsh et al. 1999), misbehavior is a constructed scale that counts the number of misbehaving acts the student self-reported (0 = never, 1 = once or twice, 2 = more than twice): (1) cutting or skipping classes, (2) getting into a physical fight at school, and (3) getting into trouble for not following school rules. The range for school misbehavior is from 0 to 6, with higher values representing higher levels of misbehavior. The Cronbach’s alpha is .83.

Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity

Immigrant generational status is measured as a set of dummy variables indicating whether the student is a first-, second-, or

third-plus-generation immigrant (also referred to as U.S. native born). These classifications of immigrant generational status are commonly used in immigration research (Morenoff and Astor 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). Immigration and birthplace information are acquired from the parents' survey. First-generation immigrant students are children who are born outside the United States; second-generation immigrant students are born in the U.S. and have at least one parent born outside the U.S.; and, third-plus-generation immigrant students are U.S. born with two U.S. born parents.

The school's proportion of children of immigrants is measured by school administrators' indication of the percentage of students who are non-English proficient or have limited English proficiency (LEP) in their school. It is noted that there are limitations with this measurement to assess the proportion of immigrants within a school. Researchers have discovered that many U.S. born children of immigrants (i.e., second-generation immigrant youth) are placed into LEP courses (Olsen 2008; Rong and Preissle 2008). Although this is a limitation, researchers have also indicated the LEP students are predominately first or second generation immigrant youth (Olsen 2008; Rong and Preissle 2008).

There are four racial and ethnic groups that are considered in this research. In the ELS:2002 survey design, Latino/a American, black/African American, and Asian American students are oversampled to obtain a sufficient representation for statistical analyses of these groups. The sample weights used in these analyses are calculated by NCES (2004) to compensate for the survey design and for non-response bias and to present findings that are nationally representative. All of the analyses in this study incorporated sample weights. The importance of weights is an essential factor in results that reflect a nationally representative population of Latino/a American, black/African American, and Asian American 10th grade students (see NCES 2004 for further detail).

As noted, the CCD provides the information for the proportion of Latino/a American, Asian American, black/African American, and White American within a school separately. This is vital because a predominate part of the black/African and white American student population are third-plus-generation immigrant youth while a significant number of the Latino/a American and Asian American student population are first- and second-generation immigrant youth.

Student and School Characteristics

Previous studies have established that there are student and school factors associated with misbehavior or the school experiences of the

children of immigrants. Student factors such as gender, educational achievement, school involvement, family socioeconomic status, family structure, and parental involvement; and, school factors such as proportion of students receiving free or reduced lunch, social and physical disorder, size, security, and geographic context (i.e., region and locale) are potentially linked to student misbehavior (Desmond and Kubrin 2009; Ewert 2009; Gottfredson 2001; Greenman and Xie 2009; Peguero 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Stewart 2003; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Valenzuela 1999; Welsh 2001; Welsh et al. 1999) thus these control measures are included in this study about immigration and youth misbehavior.

Gender is coded male or female based on the student's self-report of their biological sex. Male students serve as the reference group. Student educational achievement is measured by using the standardized measure developed by RTI and NCES. ELS:2002 included a reading and math composite score based on standardized tests developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS). The composite score is the average of the math and reading standardized scores, re-standardized to a national mean of 50.0 and standard deviation of 10. School involvement measures if the student is involved in the following four categories of extracurricular participation including, (1) academic (e.g., honor society, band, yearbook, etc.), (2) school club, (3) intramural sports, and (4) interscholastic sports. The NCES preconstructed measure of socioeconomic status is a standardized (z-score) variable based on five equally weighted, standardized components: father's/guardian's education, mother's/guardian's education, family income, father's/guardian's occupational prestige, and mother's/guardian's occupational prestige (see NCES, 2004 for further detail about preconstructed variables). Family structure is a dichotomous variable denoting households in which there are two parents in the home, in comparison with single-parent homes which serve as the reference group. The parental involvement construct is measured using eight questions that represented parents' involvement in their children's school experience. Students are asked to indicate their parents or guardians engagement in a variety of school activities (e.g., checking homework, discussing school courses, discussing college attendance, etc.).

Proportion of students receiving free or reduced lunch measures the proportion of students within each school who receive free or reduce-priced lunches. School administrators answered 19 questions about school social disorder that indicate whether or not each of the following is a problem at their school (e.g., physical conflicts, robbery or theft, use of alcohol, etc.) Independent NCES researchers

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Variable	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
Student-Level				
Dependent Variable				
School Misbehavior	0–6	.94	1.52	9,870
Immigrant Generational Status				
First Generation	0–1	.12	.32	1,170
Second Generation	0–1	.16	.36	1,540
Third-Plus Generation	0–1	.73	.45	7,160
Race and Ethnicity				
Latino/a American	0–1	.16	.37	1,630
Black/African American	0–1	.15	.36	1,490
Asian American	0–1	.11	.32	1,130
White American	0–1	.57	.50	5,620
Student Characteristics				
Female	0–1	.51	.50	5,050
Educational Achievement	21.50–79.94	49.96	9.94	9,870
School Involvement	0–4	1.48	1.15	9,870
Family SES	–2.11–1.98	–.07	.73	9,870
Two-Parent Family Structure	0–1	.76	.43	7,460
Parental Involvement	0–8	5.11	2.75	9,870
School-Level Variables				
% Children of Immigrants	0–100	6.31	8.47	580
% Latino/a American	0–100	14.05	.22	580
% Black/African American	0–100	18.49	.25	580
% Asian American	0–100	5.12	.11	580
% White American	0–100	60.86	.32	580
% Free or Reduced Lunch	0–100	24.93	18.63	580
Social Disorder	0–19	12.84	1.68	580
Physical Disorder	0–15	1.22	1.70	580
Size	52–4,631	1,411	839.90	580
Security	0–11	3.56	2.34	580
Region				
Midwest	0–1	.24	.43	140
South	0–1	.39	.49	230
Northeast	0–1	.16	.37	90
West	0–1	.21	.41	120
Locale				
Rural	0–1	.22	.42	130
Suburban	0–1	.50	.50	290
Urban	0–1	.28	.45	160

recorded the prevalence of the school's physical disorder (e.g., graffiti on the walls/doors/ceilings, classroom broken lights, graffiti on desks, etc.). School size is measured as the total student enrollment of the school. School administrators indicate the number of the following security measures implemented in their schools (e.g., require

Table 2. Hierarchical linear model effects and standard errors for school misbehavior

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Within Schools						
Immigrant						
Generational Status,						
Race, and Ethnicity						
First Generation	—	—	-.420***	.091	—	—
Latino/a American	—	—	—	—	-.354**	.135
Black/African American	—	—	—	—	-.704**	.217
Asian American	—	—	—	—	-.432***	.098
White American	—	—	—	—	-.446**	.143
Second Generation	—	—	-.193***	.074	—	—
Latino/a American	—	—	—	—	-.121	.099
Black/African American	—	—	—	—	-.343	.174
Asian American	—	—	—	—	-.374***	.107
White American	—	—	—	—	-.106	.116
Latino/a American	-.020	.082	.111	.090	.196	.120
Black/African American	-.185**	.072	-.190**	.072	-.185*	.078
Asian American	-.381***	.080	-.156*	.095	-.700**	.204
Student						
Characteristics						
Female	-.427***	.041	-.424***	.041	-.424***	.041
Educational Achievement	-.034***	.002	-.035***	.002	-.035***	.002
School Involvement	-.031*	.019	-.034*	.019	-.035*	.019
Family SES	-.007	.034	-.017	.033	-.018	.033
Two-Parent Family Structure	-.162**	.053	-.153**	.052	-.028**	.008
Parental Involvement	-.027***	.008	-.028***	.008	-.150***	.053
Between Schools						
% Children of Immigrants	—	—	.007*	.003	.007*	.003
% Latino/a American	-.731	.652	-.842	.657	.843	.660
% Black/African American	-.702	.646	-.674	.656	-.675	.658
% Asian American	-1.311*	.675	-1.343*	.678	-1.334*	.681
% White American	-.846	.650	-.814	.660	-.816	.662
% Free or Reduced Lunch	.005**	.002	.005**	.002	.005**	.002
Social Disorder	.016	.017	.015	.017	.015	.017
Physical Disorder	.015	.016	.013	.015	.013	.015
Size	-.001	.001	-.001	.001	-.001	.001
Security	-.011	.011	-.011	.011	-.011	.011
Region						
Midwest	-.152*	.094	-.144*	.093	-.143*	.093
South	-.193*	.091	-.180*	.091	-.178*	.091
Northeast	-.094	.093	-.092	.092	-.088	.092

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Locale						
Rural	-.182*	.090	-.168*	.088	-.171*	.088
Suburban	-.141*	.070	-.132*	.070	-.134*	.069
Intercept	1.186***	.023	1.182***	.023	1.184***	.023
Random	Variance	χ^2	Variance	χ^2	Variance	χ^2
Effects						
Between	.152***	1094.379	.152***	1098.886	.151***	1096.090
Schools						
Within	2.573		2.564		2.563	
Schools						

Notes. Model 1: The omitted categories are white Americans, males, and one-parent family structures; and, west and urban schools. Model 2: The omitted categories are third-plus generation immigrants, white Americans, males, and one-parent family structures; and, west and urban schools. Model 3: The omitted categories are white American third-plus generation immigrants, males, and one-parent family structures; and, west and urban schools.

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. *** $p \leq .001$.

students to pass through metal detectors each day, random sweeps for contraband, security cameras to monitor the school, etc.). School region measures whether schools are located in the West (reference category), Midwest, Northeast, or South. School locale represents whether the school is located in suburban, rural, or urban (reference category) locale.

Analytic Strategy

Since the ELS:2002 is designed as a cluster sample in which schools are sampled with unequal probability and then students are sampled or “nested” within these selected schools, the subsample of the ELS:2002 violates the assumption of independent observations. The nested structure of the ELS:2002 (i.e., students within schools) makes multilevel modeling an appropriate analytic tool (Raudenbush et al. 2004). HLM 6.03 is utilized to analyze the multilevel relationships between immigration and student misbehavior. With HLM, it is possible to examine the ability of group-level (or school-level) variables to explain variation at the individual level. Thus, the effect that the school proportion of the children of immigrants, as well other school-level factors, has on individual-level student misbehavior can be investigated.

The analyses proceed in several steps. Table 1 presents descriptive information for the variables in this study. Table 2 displays the HLM

Table 3. Hierarchical linear model effects and standard errors for school misbehavior by immigrant generational status

	First generation		Second generation		Third-plus generation	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Within Schools						
Race and						
Ethnicity						
Latino/a	.379	.257	-.015	.190	.100	.130
American						
Black/African	-.078	.324	-.334	.306	-.263*	.084
American						
Asian American	.212	.218	-.332*	.210	-.791**	.225
Student						
Characteristics						
Female	-.412**	.164	-.324**	.137	-.427***	.046
Educational	-.016*	.009	-.028***	.009	-.040***	.003
Achievement						
School	-.048	.067	.060	.055	-.040*	.021
Involvement						
Family SES	-.162	.122	.007	.113	-.009	.039
Two-Parent	-.165	.152	.120	.163	-.174**	.058
Family						
Structure						
Parental	.011	.026	-.005	.024	-.040***	.010
Involvement						
Between Schools						
% Children of	.002	.006	.007	.006	.013**	.005
Immigrants						
% Latino/a	1.699	.932	-4.772*	2.566	-.487	.586
American						
% Black/African	1.426*	.941	-4.381*	2.575	-.459	.571
American						
% Asian	1.038	.983	-5.391*	2.597	-.796	.664
American						
% White	1.583*	.951	-4.835*	2.583	-.540	.577
American						
% Free or	.003	.004	.002	.004	.007**	.002
Reduced Lunch						
Social Disorder	.078**	.048	.019	.036	.009	.020
Physical Disorder	-.012	.033	.046*	.033	.015	.018
Size	-.001**	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
Security	.014	.026	-.046**	.023	-.010	.013
Region						
Midwest	-.585***	.196	-.033	.199	-.108	.107
South	-.186	.184	-.260	.165	-.170*	.107
Northeast	-.075	.197	.114	.183	-.108	.110

(Continued)

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Table 3. Continued

	First generation		Second generation		Third-plus generation	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Locale						
Rural	-.113	.222	-.244	.194	-.182*	.103
Suburban	-.173	.149	-.070	.134	-.150*	.081
Intercept	1.130***	.066	1.193***	.057	1.245***	.028
Random Effects	Variance	χ^2	Variance	χ^2	Variance	χ^2
Between Schools	.264***	457.389	.261***	548.633	.174***	1020.734
Within Schools	2.580		2.663		2.397	

Note. The omitted categories are white Americans, males, and one-parent family structures; and, west and urban schools.

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. *** $p \leq .001$.

results of the relationships between individual student misbehavior, immigrant generational status, race and ethnicity, school proportion of students who are the children of immigrants, Latino/a American, black/African American, Asian American, and white American students, and pertinent student and school factors. In the baseline model of Table 2, student misbehavior is regressed on race and ethnicity (on the student and school level), as well as other student and school characteristics. In model 2 of the same table, student immigrant generational status and school proportion of the children of immigrants are introduced into the analysis. In the final model 3, the interactions between students' race and ethnicity and immigrant generational statuses are examined. In order to explore the potential multilevel factors associated with student misbehavior specifically for the children of immigrants, analysis by immigrant generational status groups are presented in Table 3.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 provides descriptive information about the variables in this study. In this study, the average level of student misbehavior is .94 for students in the sample. As for immigrant generational status, 12% are first generation, 16% are second generation, and 73% are third-plus-generation immigrant youth in this sample. At the school-level, 6% of students are children of immigrants.

Immigration and Student Misbehavior

Table 2 shows the HLM results that examine the relationships between immigration, race, ethnicity, student misbehavior, and other pertinent factors. Model 1 of Table 2 displays the baseline findings of student misbehavior on student and school characteristics. While controlling for other variables, race and ethnicity, on both the student and school level, is linked to student misbehavior. Black/African American and Asian American students are less likely to engage in misbehavior than white American students. In this stage of the analysis, there appears to be no statistical difference with misbehavior between Latino/a American and white American students. As for other student characteristics, females, better achieving students, more involved students, students in two parent family structures, and students who indicate increased parental involvement are associated with lower misbehavior. At the school level, increasing proportions of Asian American students within a school is linked to lower misbehavior. For other school factors, southern, suburban, and rural schools have lower levels of misbehavior. On the other hand, as the proportion of students who receive free or reduced-cost lunch increases, so does the likelihood of misbehavior for students. These aforementioned relationships between students' gender, educational achievement, school involvement, family structure, parental involvement, as well as school region and locale, proportion of students who receive free or reduced-cost lunch, and misbehavior remain consistent across each of the models.

The second model of Table 2 introduces the role of immigration, at the student and school level, in relation to misbehavior. The findings indicate that both first and second generation immigrant youth are both less likely to engage in misbehavior. On the other hand, the school's proportion of students who are the children of immigrants is a factor in higher levels of misbehavior in this model and the subsequent analytical model 3.

The third model of Table 2 examines the individual interactions between immigrant generational status, race, and ethnicity in association with misbehavior. Latino/a American, black/African American, Asian American, and white American first-generation immigrant students are less likely to misbehave while at school than white American third-plus-generation immigrant students. American second generation immigrant students are less likely to misbehave. Latino/a American, black/African American, and white American second-generation immigrant students have similar patterns of misbehavior as white American third-plus-generation immigrant students.

Black/African American and Asian American third-plus-immigrant youth are less likely to misbehave. Latino/a American third-plus-generation immigrant students have similar patterns of misbehavior as their white American third-plus-generation immigrant counterparts.

Student Misbehavior by Immigrant Generational Status

In order to better understand the multilevel factors between immigration and student misbehavior, within immigrant generational status group analyses are examined and presented in Table 3. For first-generation immigrant students, gender and educational achievement are student level factors associated with misbehavior. Female and higher achieving first-generation immigrant students are less likely to misbehave, which is a similar pattern for the general student population regardless of immigrant generational status. Involvement in extracurricular activities, family structure, and parental involvement are not associated with school misbehavior for first-generation immigrant youth, while these are protective factors specifically for third-plus-generation immigrant youth. There is no racial and ethnic difference with misbehavior for first-generation immigrant youth. At the school level, increasing school proportions of black/African American and white American youth are associated with higher school occurrences of misbehavior for first-generation immigrant youth. This pattern is not evident for second or third-plus-generation immigrant youth. As a school becomes larger, first-generation immigrant youth are less likely to misbehave. An increase in social disorder within a school is associated with more misbehavior, which is only apparent for first-generation immigrant youth. First-generation immigrant youth in the Midwest are less likely to misbehave than first-generation immigrant youth who attend schools in the West.

Among second-generation immigrant youth, Asian American second generation immigrant youth are less likely to misbehave while in school than white American second-generation immigrant students. At the school level, as security increases the likelihood of misbehavior is lower for second-generation students. This relationship between school security and misbehavior is only significant for second-generation immigrant students. An increased proportion of each racial and ethnic group is associated with lower misbehavior. Unlike for first- or third-plus-generation immigrant youth, increased physical disorder within a school is linked to more second-generation immigrant misbehavior.

As noted, increased involvement in extracurricular activities, two-parent family structures, and increased parental involvement are

ameliorating factors for misbehavior only for third-plus-generation immigrant youth. For school level factors, the proportions of different racial and ethnic do not seem to matter in relation to misbehavior for third-plus-generation immigrant youth but the proportion of students who are the children of immigrants students does. For third-plus-generation immigrant youth, increased proportion of students who are the children of immigrants in their school is linked to more misbehavior. Also, increased proportions of students who receive free or reduced-price lunches and the association with higher occurrences of misbehavior is only relevant for third-plus-generation immigrant youth. Third-plus immigrant youth in the southern, suburban, and rural schools have lower levels of misbehavior.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the role of immigration in relationship to youth and student misbehavior is relevant. Currently, 20 percent of all students in U.S. schools have at least one immigrant parent and that proportion of students is expected to rise to 33 percent by 2020 (U.S. Census 2008). This U.S. demographic shift only highlights the importance of understanding the assimilation process for a rapidly growing population of children of immigrants within U.S. schools.

There are four important findings that highlight the multilevel school factors associated with a downward pattern of assimilation for misbehavior at school. First, this study confirms Ewert's (2009) finding that first generation immigrant youth are less likely to misbehave but become more likely to misbehave as the children of immigrants assimilate; however, this study's findings are representative of public schools across the United States. Although the results suggest an association between assimilation and student misbehavior, at no point of the analysis do the children of racial and ethnic minority immigrants misbehaving more within school than white American third-plus-generation immigrant youth.

Second, similar to Zhou and Bankston's (1998, 2006) reports of the first-generation immigrant youth's increased engagement in deviance when they come to contact with deviant youth, first-generation immigrant youth who have increased contact with more deviant youth are more likely to misbehave. This study's findings do appear to confirm this hypothesis. This research reveals first-generation immigrant youth attend schools with higher proportions of social disorder (e.g., physical conflicts, robbery or theft, use of alcohol, etc.) are more likely to engage in misbehavior.

Third, although previous research suggest that school security and physical disorder are not associated with the occurrence of misbehavior within schools (Schreck et al. 2003; Wilcox et al. 2006), this is not the case for second-generation immigrant youth. Second-generation immigrant youth who attend schools with higher levels of security are less likely to misbehave while attending schools with more physical disorder promotes misbehavior. Kozol (1991, 2005) argues that the deterioration of public schools, the rise in drug use and violence, and the adversarial culture of many racial and ethnic minority youth in schools are exposed to detrimental or negative factors that the opportunities for immigrant children to educationally progress and succeed. The school's physical disorder appears to be negatively interpreted by second generation immigrant youth as an indicator to engage in misbehavior.

Fourth, first-generation immigrant youth are more likely to misbehave in schools that have higher proportions of black/African American and white American youth, who are predominately U.S. native born. Moreover, U.S. native born youth are misbehaving more in schools with increased proportions of students who are the children of immigrants. Are immigrant youth learning to misbehave from U.S. native born youth? Do U.S. native born youth view immigrant youth as vulnerable targets and easy to victimize? Do these findings reflect Lee's (2005) report of sociocultural tensions and conflict between immigrant youth and U.S. native born students within schools? Unequivocally, future research that specifically examines the notion of "immigrant school enclaves" in relation to violence is warranted. Immigrants often settle where family and friends from earlier migrations have settled, which are known as immigrant enclaves. Research suggests that immigrant enclaves provide a sustainable economy where communication, information, consumption, and labor for immigrants and their families; therefore, there is much to be gained for immigrants by residing in an area heavily populated with "co-ethnics" (Chiswick and Miller 2005; Desmond and Kubrin 2009; Martínez 2006; Rumbaut and Ewing 2007; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). In relationship to immigrant enclaves and violence, Martínez (2006) argues that an influx of immigrants into a community may encourage new forms of social organization and strengthen neighborhood institutions and social ties, which ultimately may help to reduce crime. Even though this research controls for the proportion of students who are the children of immigrants within school, this does not fully explore the conceptual possibility between "immigrant school enclaves" and the occurrence of violence. Because previous research suggests that racial and ethnic segregation is linked

to school violence (Eitle and Eitle 2003; Gottfredson 2001; Kozol 1991, 2005; Welsh et al. 1999; Welsh 2001), further exploration of the relationships between “immigrant school enclaves,” segmented assimilation, and violence is needed.

These four findings do support a segmented assimilation framework that postulates that immigrant students’ incorporation of the dominant host society’s values and beliefs do not always equivocate to educational rewards or progress for some immigrants. This study reveals that, regardless of race and ethnicity, first-generation immigrant youth are not engaging in misbehavior while at school; however, the second-generation decline seems evident. Perhaps, other related school experiences and realities may be linked to potential barriers and hurdles to the assimilation process. For instance, first-generation immigrant youth are often subjected to negative treatment such as discrimination, ridicule, and harassment from other students, teachers, and school administrators (Olsen 2008; Peguero 2009; Rong and Preissle 2008). Low self-perceptions of academic ability, rejection by peers and teachers, and fear for safety while at school are all reflective of the detrimental school and educational experiences of first generation immigrant youth in U.S. schools (Olsen 2008; Peguero 2009; Rong and Preissle 2008). Educational optimism and aspirations decline from second to third-plus-generation immigrant status (Kao and Tienda 1995; Greenman and Xie 2009). It is also evident that third-plus-generation immigrant youth become more at risk for dropping out and reflect diminishing educational achievement in comparison to their first-generation immigrant counterparts (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Rong and Preissle 2008; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001).

Future research can certainly build on the limitations associated with this study. Examining the longitudinal effects of violence and deviance for the children of immigrants is needed. Even though detrimental outcomes linked to misbehavior are apparent, especially for racial and ethnic minority youth, the specific consequences for the children of immigrants remain uncertain. There is a clear link between assimilation and increased likelihood of incarceration for the children of immigrants (Rumbaut 2005). It is important to explore the impact of school misbehavior and violence on the children of immigrants’ life course. Rios (2011) also clearly suggests that the criminalization of racial and ethnic minority youth starts in school. Researchers argue that both misbehavior (Booth et al. 2008) and assimilation (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005) are gendered. Although the focus of this study centers on the specific multilevel associations between immigration and student misbehavior, researching the influences of gender apparent

with assimilation and misbehavior is warranted. Exploring community factors of school violence for the children of immigrants should be addressed in future work. School violence researchers stated that the situational contexts of school violence and its relationship to youths' conflicts in the community overlap are symbiotic (Brunson and Miller 2009; Hagan et al. 2002; Mateu-Gelabert 2000; Mateu-Gelabert and Lune 2007). Also, to further understand the process of assimilation, researching the community context of immigration (i.e., economic, social, and political factors) in relation to detrimental school experiences should be considered (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001).

Immigrants are not only less likely to commit crimes but are also law-abiding (Martínez 2006; Rumbaut and Ewing 2007). Immigrant youth are known to be high academic achievers but face a number of educational hurdles, barriers, and obstacles that are demoralizing and sabotage educational progress and success for immigrant youth (Kao and Tienda 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006; Peguero 2009; Rong and Preissle 2008; Valenzuela 1999). Because youth engagement in misbehavior impedes the educational process, understanding the factors associated with student misbehavior in order to ameliorate the occurrence of deviance for all youth is essential. Examining the school experiences, especially ones linked to misbehavior, for the children of immigrants is imperative because they are part of this country's future: its parents, its labor force, its leaders, and its voters. Although there have been a number of researchers who attempt to disrupt the myth of immigrant criminality, political and socio-cultural discourses that continue to perpetuate this myth remains prevalent in many facets of our society and social institutions (Chavez 2008; Hagan et al. 2008; Martínez 2006; Rumbaut and Ewing 2007; Sampson 2008). As discussed in a recent *Open Letter on Immigrants and Crime* signed by noted sociologists and criminologists, "myths and stereotypes about immigrants, rather than established facts, far too often serve as the basis for public perceptions that drive misguided immigration policies." Unfortunately, the myth of immigrant deviance may be finding its way into schools and consequently exacerbating the marginalization of an already vulnerable youth population: The children of immigrants.

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