Ethnic Identity and Delinquency Among Filipino-American Youth: A Theoretical View

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Historically, sociological accounts of immigration youths have indicated personal and social problems connected with immigration. In what may be considered a "classic" study in this literature, Thomas and Znanecki (1927) provided rich and detailed accounts of deviant adaptations among Polish immigrant youth (and adults) to the difficulties of settling in Chicago. The descriptions of these lifestyles differed from the behavior of Polish youth in the homeland, suggesting further that these problems of adaptation were a consequence of the immigration experience or of the personal difficulties of the immigrants themselves which would have been heightened by the geographic movements of their parents.

Other studies of immigrant children in Chicago, at around the same time, further illustrated the difficulties many of these youths had in adapting to American life. Shaw and Mckay (1942) provided detailed analyses of the rate of delinquency within geographic sectors, including areas which were dominated by immigrant populations. These studies indicated, however, that it was not the particular cultural background of these juveniles which contributed to their delinquent behavior. After examining court records over nearly three decades, Shaw and Mckay concluded that high delinquency

areas were characterized by social disorganization and a culture of crime, which developed in these areas regardless of the specific ethnic status of the inhabitants (see also Shaw 1930, 1931 for more detailed discussions of lifestyles among delinquent youths in Chicago).

Theoretically, Sellin (1938:79-107) predicted that second-generation immigrant youths would be particularly vulnerable to delinquent conduct because these children would be exposed to two cultures, that of their parents and that of the host country, which would place them in a condition of "culture conflict." These detrimental effects would be particularly noteworthy among Oriental immigrants because of the different values and customs between people from Eastern societies and America (although Filipino youths were not prominent among the Oriental populations studied). Included among these differences was the strong family system and its accompanying loyalty to adult authority, which were hypothesized to be predominant among Oriental immigrant groups. Sellin cited several studies tending to support his hypothesis, although some noted relatively low rates of delinquency among Japanese-American youths during this time. Also, several important research questions were identified as needing additional information

before a clearer picture of immigrant adjustment patterns and youth problems could develop (*Ibid*.:107-116). Among these research issues were the delineation of cultural patterns in the country of origin and the degree to which cultural conflicts were actually perceived by the individual youth. In general, Sellin called for a more careful assessment of cultural values and norms among immigrant populations, and for individual-level information on the behavior and attitudes of youths who might be considered in a state of culture conflict.

The research on immigration and adjustment which was conducted during the earlier part of this century has been termed by more recent analysts as illustrative of an *assimilation* perspective (Portes, Parker, and Cobas 1980, Portes and Bach 1985:20-24). According to this view, an important goal of immigration policies is to assimilate immigrant groups into American lifestyles and cultural values. Thus, while problems of adjustment may temporarily create behavioral difficulties among immigrant groups, especially perhaps among second-generation immigrants, these problems will begin to dissolve as the migrating population learns to adapt to American life and to assimilate into American society (see also Gordon 1964:Chapters 3-6). This view is evident in some contemporary

research of ethnicity and delinquency, such as Sheu's (1986) study of delinquency, assimilation, and cultural identity among Chinese-American youths.

A contrasting perspective on the effects of immigration is termed the *ethnic resilience* or *consciousness* position (Portes, Parker, and Cobas 1980, Portes and Bach 1985:24-26, Portes and Rumbaut 1990:Chapter 4). According to this approach toward immigration, migrating populations may prefer *not* to assimilate. Rather, some immigrants may wish to preserve their cultural heritage and identities, which, in turn, may serve to enhance their feelings of self-worth and pride. Thus, according to the ethnic resilience perspective, acculturation and assimilation into American society may *increase* conflicts and social problems among immigrant groups. In a somewhat similar vein, Gordon (1964:Chapter 6) refers to this view of immigration as cultural and structural pluralism, but he links pluralism to democratic principles rather than to cultural conflicts and frustrations among the migrating populations (see also Tomasi 1972:14-28 for a discussion of pluralism and ethnic identity).

Portes and colleagues, further-more, contend that ethnic resilience and cultural identity are often the result of economic discrimination and oppression by the host society.

Thus, ethnic pride becomes a way of restoring dignity and social standing among members of immigrant groups. In addition, strong national or ethnic identifications can lead to political influence which can be utilized to the advantage of immigrant groups (Portes and Bach 1985:25-28, Portes and Rumbaut 1990:Chapter 4). Interestingly, this connection between discrimination and ethnic consciousness is predicted to be more evident among the more highly educated and occupationally positioned members of ethnic groups. Also, learning English and living in America for an extended time would lead to the realization of discrimination against minority groups and the political response suggested to be inherent in resilient ethnicity (Portes, Parker, and Cobas 1980).

Historically, these views of immigration may be viewed in relationship to generational aspects of immigration. Accounts of first-generation immigrants may detail the struggles of immigrant populations as they attempt to adjust to the new, and often confusing, cultural and social patterns of living in the host country. With respect to Filipino immigration, many accounts of earlier immigration settlements seem to reflect these patterns of adjustment (Lasker 1969, Muñoz 1971, Morales 1974).

As mentioned earlier, second-generation immigrants may face harsher conflicts in cultural and social adjustments, especially among the youths in these populations. It would seem, however, that these conflicts, and their resultant impact on youth deviance, are predicated on the assumption of what was earlier termed the assimilative view of migration. That is, the difficulty in meshing with the values and social institutions of the host population, say, America, is considered a problem for immigrant groups because they truly want to integrate with American society, to be accepted as Americans. Interestingly, the "problem" of the second-generation immigrant has recently become of concern to European scholars as they study the impact of immigration on crime and delinquency. These studies have particularly focused on northern European countries, such as France, Great Britain, (West) Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland, as these societies have received immigrants from southern European countries (Killias 1989).

Some have identified another adaptive approach among immigrant populations, especially as a third generation appears. Several years ago, the historian M.L. Hansen (1938) identified what he considered to be a "problem" of the third-generation immigrant: a return to the cultural values and social customs of the originating country. In effect, Hansen predicted the third-generation population, in particular the youths in this group, would attempt to resurrect traditional ways of living and the cultural identities of their ethnic background. As Hansen (1938:9) described it, "...what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember." In fairness to Hansen, this process of immigration should not be looked upon as an undesirable situation for either the immigrant or host population. Rather, this tendency for third-generation immigrants to rekindle social and cultural customs and values of their heritage should be considered an opportunity for greater accomplishment among the migrating population, an opportunity to contribute to the host country, as well as to preserve the integrity and accomplishments of their heritage. As problems go, this one is "welcome" (*Ibid.*:12). Although Hansen did not specifically address the adjustment patterns of subsequent immigrant generations, it may be assumed that eventually, this emphasis on cultural heritage among third-generation immigrants would combine, perhaps merge, with other American customs and values in some harmonious fashion. It would seem that this pattern of immigrant identity would be more applicable to youths than the scenario proposed by Portes, Parker, and Cobas (1980). Political motivations

and economic issues would seem to be more relevant among adults than among juveniles.

Filipino-American immigration

Analyses and observations of immigrant movements from the Philippines to the United States generally refer to several "waves" of immigration movements (Morales 1974:138, Smith 1976, Melendy 1977:31-45, Medina 1984). The first wave occurred at the turn of the 20th century, soon after American colonization of the Philippines. The second large-scale movement developed in the 1920s. The third wave happened after 1965, when the Immigration and Naturalization Act was passed (Medina 1984). This law increased the immigration "quotas" of many countries, particularly in the Eastern Hemisphere, including the Philippines. Some contend that there have only been two immigration waves: before and after 1965 (Pido 1986).

According to the 1989 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the migrations of Filipinos to America before 1930 were classified as "insular travel," so no figures were reported for any year before 1930. Between 1931-1940, 528 Filipino immigrants were recorded. This figure increased to 4,691 between 1941 and 1950 and jumped to over 98,000 between 1961 and 1970. In the past two decades, the number of Filipino immigrants to America catapulted to a combined total of 832,472. These numbers were exceeded only by those from Mexico (US Immigration and Naturalization Service 1990:3-5).

Each of these immigration periods has different population characteristics. At the turn of the century, for example, most of the Filipino immigrants were young men who were sent, many times upon recruitment, to the United States to pursue professional training and education. They were then expected to return to the Philippines to assume positions of leadership and influence. The second group of immigrants from the Philippines also included young males. These people, however, came to Hawaii and the West Coast to engage in agricultural and fishing occupations, almost always as laborers (Lasker 1969).

The Immigration Act of 1965 resulted not only in larger numbers of Filipino immigrants but also drastically changed the social characteristics of the Filipino population (Smith 1976). This act established a preference system which favored the retention of family ties among immigrant groups. In addition, the 1965 Act called for the immigration of individuals who were trained in one of several professional occupations such as engineering and medicine (Medina 1984, Allen 1977). Thus,

Filipino immigrants who have been arriving in the United States since 1965 tend to reflect the fuller spectrum of the social and economic diversity which any large society may be expected to encompass. In particular, more women, children, extended relatives, and middle-class families have been included among the more recent Filipino immigrants (Pido 1986).

There have been several studies and commentaries on these immigration "waves" of Filipinos to the United States. Lasker (1969), for example, provided a detailed account of the experiences of young Filipino males who came to Hawaii and the West Coast of America in the first third of this century. Most of these immigrants were single, and there was virtually no description of family life, or of youth behavior, among this population. Others have given more personalized views of the Filipino's experiences and lifestyles during this period (Morales 1974). Again, however, these accounts provided little, if any, information on family and youth adaptations to immigration.

After the Immigration Act of 1965, published reports of Filipino lifestyles began to offer some information on the experiences of youths. Some of these accounts indicated the Filipino youths were beginning to have difficulty in school, at home, and, ultimately, with the legal system (Agcaoili 1974, Morales 1974). None of these investigations, however, offered much substantiation of Filipino youth deviance or attitudes.

In recent years, particularly after 1965, there have been few studies of Filipino immigrants, some of which have already been cited. Some of these observations do, in fact, reflect an emphasis of cultural identity and heritage as sources of accomplishment and pride. One indication of this cultural identification is found in the use of the term, "Pilipino," which, it is argued, is the Philippine equivalent of the word, "Filipino." The term *Pilipino* is emphasized in this context because it is recognized in the "national" language of the country and because the letter "F" does not exist in Philippine dialects (Navarro 1974, Pido 1986).

Some of the more recent studies of immigrants from the Philippines address the experiences of youths. Although detailed analyses and information are not provided, a persistent theme in these accounts is that Filipino youths typically do not fare well in the schools or the community. In part, these adjustment problems stem from language barriers, which are particularly evident in the school system. As one observer commented,

The newly arrived Pilipino youths face a language barrier. The Philippine educational system teaches its students English, so when they arrive in the United States they are capable of speaking the language. Although the youths have the skill, they are sometimes demoted a grade because of their accents (Agcaoili 1974: 77).

This account went on to describe, in general terms, the reactions of these youths to their negative experiences in the school system. Basically, the youths became turned off to education, dropped out, and turned to gangs or other similarly affected peers, where they engaged in idle and delinquent activities. Similar descriptions of Filipino youths are found in other works (Aquino 1952:33, Morales 1974). The extent to which language barriers remain a significant obstacle to school performance or social adjustment is not as evident today as it was earlier. A study of language patterns, for example, indicated that among Filipinos aged 18 years and over, 69 percent spoke English "mainly or only." Among Filipinos aged 5 to 17 years, however, this figure was 95 percent (cited in Portes and Rumbaut 1990:206-7, Table 30).

Many of these observations were made in the early to mid-1970s when the Filipino population, in terms of the latest "wave" of immigration, was in its first or second stage. It is reasonable to assume that, in the ensuing years, English language skills of Filipino youths have improved and that many American cities contain third- or fourth-generation (post-1965) immigrant families of Philippine heritage. Thus, we may expect to see the third-generation pattern of adjustment, identified above, with respect to contemporary Filipino populations. Indeed, some of the early 1970s portraits of Filipino immigrants documented a nascent movement toward what might be termed "Pilipino Pride." The source of the quotation in the previous paragraph, for example, further indicated that one response to the problems of Filipino youths was the development of youth centers and organizations which were responsive to Filipino needs and experiences (Agcaoili 1974:78-80). Another 1974 publication (Morales 1974) discussed a number of "contemporary issues," including problems with youths. In response to these problems, which also included discrimination and general conditions of undereducation and underemployment, the author indicated that several organizations were developing emphasis on, among other things, "ethnic and

cultural identity" (*Ibid*.:100). In a similar vein, Muñoz (1971:105) suggested that second-generation Filipino parents were letting their children, as he put it,

> attend Philippine summer schools... for letting them learn Pilipino, sing native songs...For just about anything to keep the fires of Filipinism alive in themselves (see also Santos 1983:138).

A further illustration of this movement toward ethic identity is a program in the Philippines called *Balikbayan*. This program is a government-sponsored practice which encourages Filipinos living abroad to return to the Philippines, at least for a visit (Pido 1986). Allen (1977:198), however, suggests this may have economic motivations, not necessarily ethnic identity motivations. Allen further argues that this development is resisted by some and is made more difficult by social and cultural differences among immigrant Filipinos, such as divisions among Ilocanos, Tagalogs, and so on (*Ibid*.:207-208).

For the most part, the recent literature on Filipino immigration experiences focuses on economic and political issues. There is little concern for adaptations of Filipino youths, particularly responses which involve delinquent activity. However, in the past few years, considerable interest has developed in the United States on the topic of gang delinquency, including Asian gangs. This literature also contains few references to Filipino gangs. A recent article on Asian gangs in San Francisco, for example, contains few reference to Filipino gangs (Toy 1992). There is a national clearinghouse of information on juvenile gangs located in Arlington, Virginia. According to its records, there is virtually no published scholarly information on Filipino gangs.

However, there are some reports and other accounts which point to the existence of Filipino gangs. For instance, a recent survey of Honolulu police reports on delinquency and gangs in Hawaii reveals that approximately 48 percent of gang members on the island of Oahu are Filipinos. Other estimates of gang delinquency in Oahu indicate that about 20 percent of gang members are Filipinos. A recent issue of a magazine called *Filipinas* contains an article on Filipino gangs in Los Angeles. According to this article, police estimates indicate there are over 60 Filipino street gangs in Los Angeles County. These reports, however, do not provide estimates of general patterns of delinquency by ethnic background.

In Virginia, state police reports do not provide information on crime or arrest rates by specific ethnic groups. However, in the past

few years, the Filipino community in the Hampton Roads metropolitan area has become concerned about the development of street gangs composed of Filipino youths. Several articles have appeared in local newspapers on the subject of Filipino gangs (Waltz 1991, Watson 1992). On July 18, 1992, the Filipino-American Community Action Group (FIL-AM CAG) sponsored a "Truce Dance" for Filipino youths, particularly gang members and their friends, in order to help control gang violence and other criminal activity among Filipino youths. The development of Filipino street gangs in the Hampton Roads metropolitan area appears to be recent. Admittedly, not all the problems of Filipino youths are connected with gangs. Nonetheless, there definitely seems to be an active interest within the Filipino community in the Hamptom Roads area concerning delinquent activity of their youths, and this interest has spread to the larger community, as indicated by recent news accounts.

Hypotheses

Based upon the preceding observations and conclusions, the following hypothesis is presented:

Among Filipino-American youths, it is predicted that cultural ties and identities with Filipino, or perhaps more appropriately, *Pilipino*, customs and values will be associated with lower rates of delinquency.

Of course, the explanations of delinquency is a much more complicated issue than this hypothesis may imply. In a way, this hypothesis is similar to Sheu's (1986) research on delinquency and identity among Chinese-American youths. In particular, one of the conclusions of that study, relative to identity and delinquency, was that:

On the whole, we can say that delinquents were more likely to deny their group member-ship as Chinese. As they become more delinquent, their loyalty and attachment to the Chinese ethnic group was also undermined. Their attitudes toward Americans remained ambivalent and uncertain (*Ibid*.:97).

While Sheu does not couch this study, or the findings, in terms of immigration patterns or general feelings of ethnic identity among Chinese living in America, the conclusion cited above certainly supports the predictions of the present paper.

Several discussions of ethnic identity suggest that one of the consequences of such identification is a sense of belonging and self-esteem (see Tomasi 1972, for

example). In the field of juvenile delinquency, the connection with self-esteem or self-concept has received considerable attention (Reckless 1961 and 1967, Reckless and Dinitz 1972, Kaplan 1980). Although there is a debate on the issue, much of this research points to at least some measurable impact of low self-esteem on delinquent conduct. With respect to cultural identity, self-esteem, and delinquency, Sheu (1986) finds that low self-esteem is somewhat related to delinquency, and that perceptions of discrimination by Americans against Chinese is related to a type of "identity dilemma" among Chinese youths (Sheu 1986:99-100). Furthermore, dating to the seminal work of Thomas and Znanecki and their research on Polish immigrants cited earlier, several studies have documented a connection between mental health and difficulties in adjusting to new lifestyles and cultural values among immigrant populations (see also Portes and Rumbaut 1990:Chapter 5).

Other possible factors which may be connected with cultural identity and delinquency include peer associations and bonds or ties with representatives of social institutions in society. Peer associations are often connected with a general theory of crime and delinquency called "differential association" (Sutherland and Cressey 1978:Chapter 4). Essentially, this theory argues that delinquency is learned within primary group contexts and that delinquent behavior, like any other kind of conduct, is encouraged by one's friends and peer associations. Social bond theory is associated with Hirschi's (1969) social control theory of delinquency. This explanation of delinquent activity maintains that one's affectional ties, beliefs, involvement, and commitment to societal norms and institutions help control delinquent tendencies and behavior. The greater are these ties and commitments to society, the less delinquent behavior will occur.

Both differential association theory and social bond theory have received considerable attention in the literature during the past two decades. Much of this research is summarized and interpreted in various texts on juvenile delinquency (see, for example, Bartollas 1990, Shoemaker 1990, Gibbons and Krohn 1991). With respect to social bond theory, delinquency has often been connected with church attendance and other measures of religion, family relationships, and school factors, including grades, attitudes toward school, and dropping out of school. Most of this research has been supportive of both theoretical perspectives, although neither theory may be considered definitively predictive of delinquent

conduct. With respect to immigration and cultural identity, Sheu's (1986:67-93) research has also demonstrated significant connections between delinquency, associations with delinquent peers, dislike for school and low school expectations, and weak attachments with parents.

Many discussions of immigration experiences, particularly among Asian immigrants, have mentioned, at one point or another, acts of prejudice or discrimination committed by Americans on members of the immigrant population. With respect to Filipinos, this discrimination may be even more keenly felt, or interpreted, because of the colonial nature of American-Filipino relations from the turn of the century until the end of World War II (Lasker 1969, Shalom 1981, Pido 1986, Karnow 1989). In general, it may be expected that actual or perceived instances of discrimination against immigrant groups will be received negatively. As was mentioned earlier, some accounts of delinquency among Filipino youths point to discriminatory practices in the school setting by law enforcement authorities or in the community, in general, as contributing to negative attitudes and delinquent behavior among Filipino youths, although these associations were not carefully studied (Aquino 1952, Agcaoili 1974, Morales 1974). Furthermore, Sheu (1986:96-97) finds a significant association between delinquency among Chinese-American youths and perceptions of discrimination by law enforcement figures.

Additional considerations within the context of immigration include a juvenile's neighborhood and experiences with prejudice and discrimination. The influence of neighborhood on delinquency was discussed earlier in connection with the work of Shaw and McKay (1942) in Chicago. Research on social disorganization and other neighborhood characteristics has continued to document a connection between these structural conditions and delinquency (Bursik 1988, Ebbe 1989, Sampson and Groves 1989). Thus, it would seem prudent to consider the level and type of delinquent or criminal activity which may exist in a residential area when assessing the factors which contribute to delinquency at an individual level.

From the preceding review of contributing factors to delinquency, the following additional hypotheses are offered:

1. Delinquency will be inversely related to self-concept or self-esteem.

2. Delinquency will be positively related to associations with delinquent peers.

3. Delinquency will be inversely associated with church attendance and positive attitudes toward the church.

4. Delinquency will be inversely connected with grades in school and feelings toward school.

5. Delinquency will be inversely related to parental attachments.

6. Delinquency will be positively related to actual or perceived instances of discrimination by others in the community who are not identified with Filipino backgrounds, but this association will be weak.

7. Delinquency will be positively connected with the rate of crime and delinquency in the neighborhood of residence.

With the first five of the hypotheses just listed, it should be remembered that the overriding factor is the level of cultural identity with Filipino values and customs. On the one hand, those youths who identify with Filipino values are predicted to have higher self-concepts, more positive peer associations, and stronger social bonds than those juvenil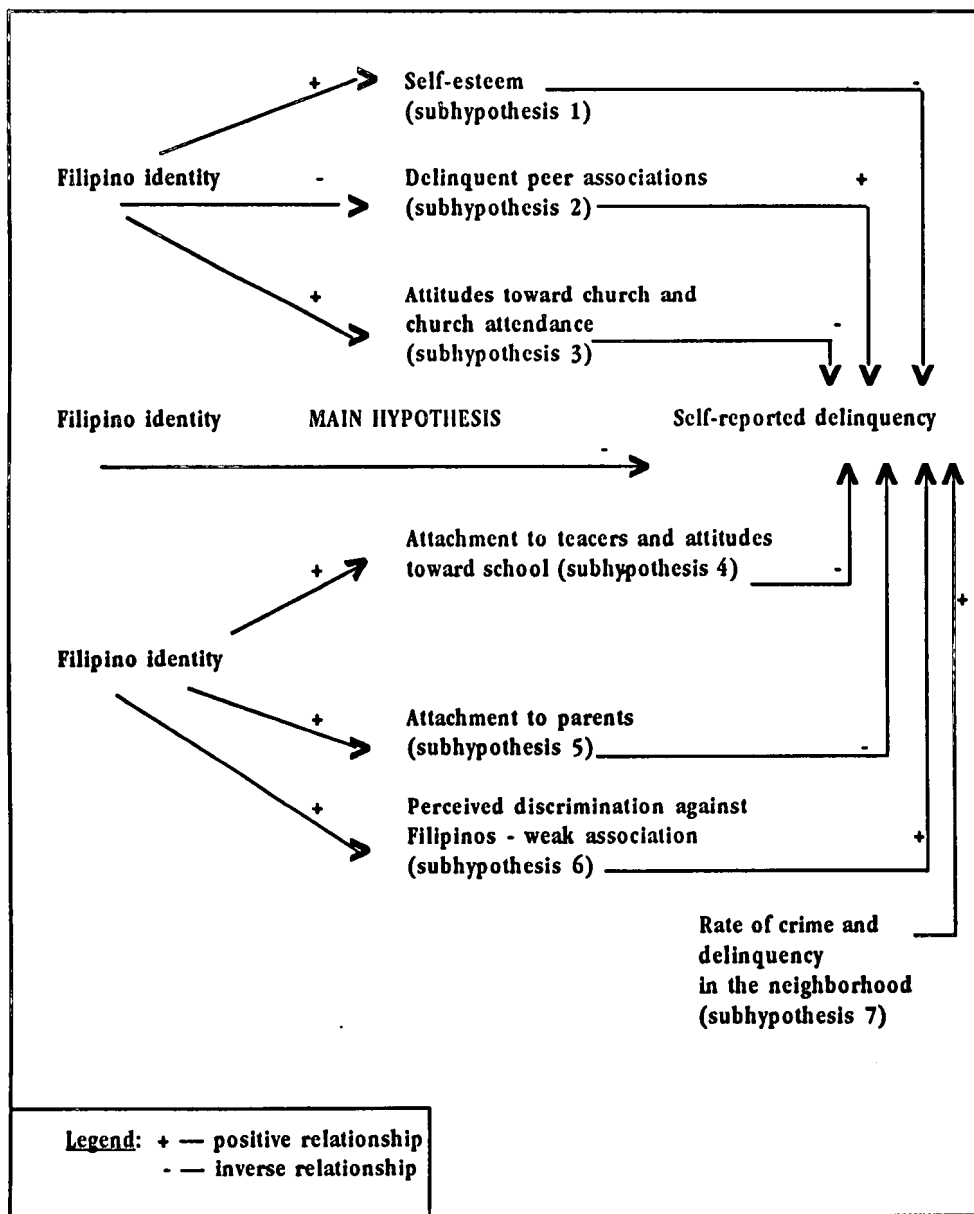es who identify less with Filipino values. On the other hand, identification with Filipino values will be positively associated with discriminatory experiences. Thus, the connection between delinquency and discrimination may be reduced because such discriminations will be associated with heightened feelings of cultural identity which, in turn, will lead to lower rates of delinquency.

Neighborhood patterns of delinquency are not as easily incorporated into the present explanatory scheme, inasmuch as these may lie outside of cultural identifications. Culturally, accounts of Filipino settlement patterns in the United States usually conclude that Filipino communities or neighborhoods are the exception rather than the rule (Lasker 1969, Morales 1974, Allen 1977, Card 1984). However, it is theoretically plausible to assume that neighborhoods with high rates of criminality will have weaker social institutions and have a more marked presence of delinquent groups. It is also possible that in such neighborhoods, there will be instances of discrimination against minority residents. All of these factors would lead to a prediction of greater levels of delinquency among the juveniles who live in these areas. However, these variables may not interrelate with ethnic identification in any consistent manner. Therefore, the hypothesized connection between individual assessments of delinquency and the

rate of criminality in the neighborhood of residence is presented independently of the primary hypothesis that positive ethnic identity is associated with low rates of delinquency.

The expected connections among the variables in the main hypothesis and the seven sub-hypotheses are summarized in Figure 1. The arrows in this figure indicate that ethnic identity, or

Figure 1. Flow chart of hypothesized relationships among variables

Self-esteem (subhypothesis 1)

Filipino identity — Delinquent peer associations (subhypothesis 2)

Attitudes toward church and church attendance (subhypothesis 3)

Filipino identity   MAIN HYPOTHESIS   Self-reported delinquency

Attachment to teacers and attitudes toward school (subhypothesis 4)

Filipino identity

Attachment to parents (subhypothesis 5)

Perceived discrimination against Filipinos - weak association (subhypothesis 6)

Rate of crime and delinquency in the neighborhood (subhypothesis 7)

Legend: + — positive relationship
        - — inverse relationship

"Filipino identity" in this study, is inversely connected with self-reported delinquency. In addition, ethnic identity is predicted to be positively associated with all other independent variables in the model, with the exception of delinquent peer associations. These variables, in turn, are expected to reflect either positive or negative associations with delinquency, as predicted in each of the seven subhypotheses. For example, perceived discrimination against Filipinos is predicted to be both positively related to ethnic identity but inversely associated with delinquency.

Conclusion

The hypotheses discussed in this paper need to be tested for support or modification. As mentioned throughout, there is some support for the view that positive ethnic identity is associated with lower rates of delinquency, but this proposition has not been explored to the extent advocated here.

In an interesting paper, Fridrich and Flannery (1995) provide support for some of the ideas in this paper, but their results are inconsistent, and relatively narrowly confined. Essentially, they examine the relationships among acculturation, parental monitoring, susceptibility to peer group associations, and self-reported delinquency among a sample of sixth- and seventh-grade Mexican-Americans, who were compared with Caucasians. Acculturation in this study was based on having parents from another country who did or did not speak the cultural language. The acculturated youths were those whose parents were not first-generation immigrants and did not speak the cultural language of their heritage. Basically, the authors were looking at the problem of acculturation, or the *absence* of cultural identification.

Fridrich and Flannery (1995:77-82) conclude that parental monitoring was strong among unacculturated Mexican-American youths, and these youths were less susceptible to peer pressure and were less delinquent. Furthermore, the more acculturated youth experienced less parental monitoring, more susceptibility to peer pressure, and higher rates of delinquency. These conclusions are consistent with the assumptions in this paper. In a regression analysis of the data, however, the authors of this study found that weak parental monitoring and high peer susceptibility were significantly related to delinquency, regardless of immigration status or acculturation. While these results provide some support for the hypothesis that positive cultural identity can reduce delinquency, they also

suggest there are other factors which must be considered in the understanding and prediction of delinquency.

Oliver (1989) also supports the central theme of this paper when he calls for the development of "Afrocentric" socialization as a means of reducing social problems among African-Americans. He states,

> The failure of Blacks to develop an Afrocentric cultural ideology is a major source of psychological, social, political, and economic dysfunction among Black Americans... (1989:19).

Oliver also addresses another point which should be mentioned here. That is, how does an ethnic group establish ethnic identity among its youths? One answer to this question lies precisely in the developments among Filipino-Americans discussed earlier in this paper, such as the *Balikbayan* program. With respect to youths, other mechanisms which could be used to develop ethnic identity (or ideological content, as Oliver would have it), include important institutions in the community, such as schools, the church, media, but most importantly, the family (Oliver 1989:26-36). To this list, one could add voluntary organizations which emphasize cultural traditions, customs, language, and so on.

Of course, the use of parents and other adult family members to instill cultural values and identity in their children depends on the *willingness* of parents to provide this kind of socialization, in addition to the resources to accomplish the objective. Perhaps second-generation parents would be reluctant to engage in cultural identification patterns of socialization because it would be this generation of immigrants who would be predicted to have less identification with their cultural heritage than other generations, as Hansen (1938) predicted. Given this situation, members of an ethnic community would have to work harder with second-generation adults to develop cultural identity among young people, or they would have to work with the youths themselves. The association between positive cultural identity and lower rates of delinquency would then be more visible in the fourth generation of immigrants.

Certainly, cultural identity is not the only factor in the explanation of delinquency, as the hypotheses in this paper acknowledge. However, theoretical analysis and limited research suggest that developing positive cultural ethnic identity should lead to a reduction in delinquent behavior, particularly in delinquency-prone groups, such as second- and third-generation immigrant youths. It is hoped that the arguments in this

paper will contribute to the further examination of these relationships and to a greater understanding of the causal nexus of delinquency.

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