

Are the Children of Immigrants More Progressive?

Exploring Issue Attitudes among a Second-Generation Cohort

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① Introduction

② Literature Review

③ Methods

④ Results

⑤ Discussion

1 Introduction

2 Literature Review

3 Methods

4 Results

5 Discussion

Background and Motivation

Transition to a Majority-Minority Country:

- The U.S. is becoming a majority-minority country, driven by the growth of immigrant-based groups.
- The second-generation those with immigrant parents are a significant and growing demographic.

Research Gaps:

- Limited focus on youth political attitudes compared to participation.
- Insufficient exploration of second-generation immigrant experiences.
- Underrepresentation of racial and generational dynamics in political socialization research.

Immigrant Generation

Table 1: Definition of Generation

Term	Definition
First-Generation	A person not born in the United States, who immigrated to the country.
Second-Generation	A person born in the United States with at least one first-generation parent.
Third-Generation+	A person whose closest direct first-generation ancestor to the United States is a grandparent or more distant.

Research Question

How do the political attitudes of second-generation youth differ from those of 3+ generation youth?

And what factors account for these differences?

1 Introduction

2 Literature Review

3 Methods

4 Results

5 Discussion

Research Gap

- Generally, traditional literature on political socialization focuses on family, peers, and societal events but often treats youth as a monolithic group. (Greenstein 1965; Jennings & Niemi 1968; Valentino & Sears 1998; Jennings et al. 2009)
- The current literature on political attitudes could be more robust in terms of focus on youth and racial cross-sections.

Literature Review I – Political Socialization

- Youth political attitudes shaped early by parents, peers, schools, and events (Greenstein 1969; Jennings & Niemi 1968; Tedin 1974).
- Transmission not automatic: context shapes variability (Jennings et al. 2009).
- Immigrant families: socialization can be **bi-directional** (Wong & Tseng 2008; Carlos 2018).
- Gap: Few studies disaggregate youth by **immigrant generation** and **race**.

Literature Review II – Variables Shaping Second-Generation Youth

- **Partisanship:** powerful predictor of issue attitudes (Campbell et al. 1960; Zaller 1992).
- **Parental education:** linked to assimilation and progressive orientations (Kasinitz et al. 2009; Portes & Rivas 2011).
- **Religion:** Evangelical ID conservative; unaffiliated progressive (Wong 2006; St Sume & Wong 2022).
- **Immigrant identity & experiences:** deportation worries, DACA ties, immigrant ID shape progressive leanings (Terriquez & Lin 2020).

Literature Review III – Existing Literature on Second Generation

- Post-1965 immigration created large Latinx and Asian American second-generation cohorts (Rogers 2006).
- Existing work emphasizes incorporation, assimilation, and community mobilization (Ramakrishnan & Espenshade 2001; Wong & Tseng 2008; Portes & Rivas 2011; Bedolla & Michelson 2014; Pineau & Waters 2015; Terriquez 2021; Bloemraad 2022; Terriquez 2021).
- Findings: second-generation often politically active and leaning progressive, but experiences vary across racial groups.
- Gap: Less is known about **youth specifically**, and how generation interacts with race in shaping early political attitudes.

1 Introduction

2 Literature Review

3 Methods

4 Results

5 Discussion

Hypotheses

- *H₁: I expect that the political attitudes of youth will vary by generation.*
- *H₂: Second-generation immigrant generation status is associated with more progressive political attitudes in youth.*
- *H₃: The impact of immigrant generation status on the variation of political attitudes in youth will vary by race.*

Data

- 2020 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS) youth sample.
 - National survey of 16-17-year-olds.
 - Oversamples minority groups for detailed analysis.

Variables

Independent Variables

- Generation Status
- Parental Education
- Religion
- Gender
- PID
- Socialization Variables

Issue Battery Dependent Variable:

- BLM
- Mask Mandates
- Healthcare
- Immigration

What is the Issue Battery Index?:

- A tool to measure progressive political attitudes on key issues.
- Combines responses to four questions, each binary coded as 0 (no support of a progressive attitude) or 1 (support of a progressive attitude).
- Total scores range from 0 to 4, where higher scores indicate stronger progressive attitudes.
- Key Issues Measured:
 - Support for the Black Lives Matter movement.
 - Support for mask mandates during the COVID-19 pandemic.
 - Support for socialized healthcare.
 - Support for making immigration processes easier.

Models

This research employed OLS regression with weighted data through the following models:

- 1 Model 1

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- Issue Battery Index =
 $\beta_0 + \beta_{SecondGen} + \beta_{Parent'sEdu} + \beta_{Non-Religious} + \beta_{Male}$

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③ Model 3

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3 Model 3

- Issue Battery Index =
 $\beta_0 + \beta_{SecondGen} + \beta_{Parent'sEdu} + \beta_{Non-Religious} + \beta_{Male} +$
 $\beta_{PIDDem} + \beta_{DACA} + \beta_{Immigrant-ID} + \beta_{KnowsImmigrant} + \beta_{Fear}$

1 Introduction

2 Literature Review

3 Methods

4 Results

5 Discussion

Model 1

Table 2: Second Generation Effects on Progressive Attitudes

	Issue Battery
Second Generation	0.342*** (4.76)
Constant	2.334*** (46.35)
<i>N</i>	1224

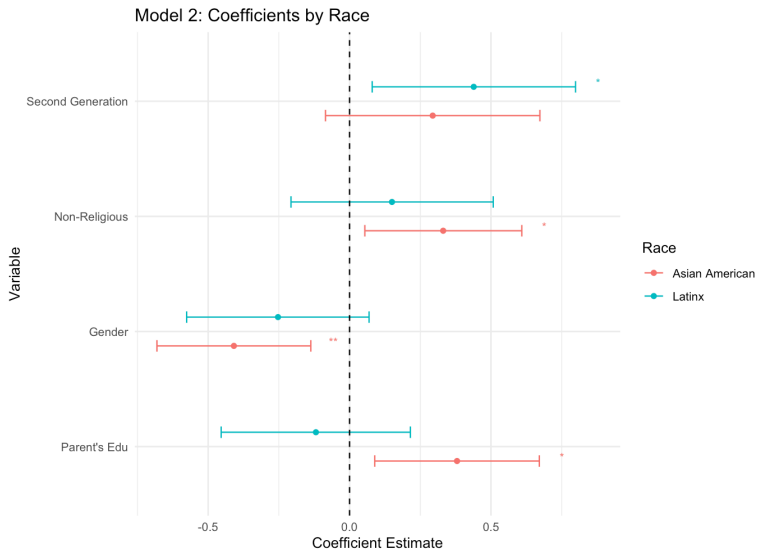
t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Model 1 Analysis

- Being second-generation is associated with an average increase of 0.342 points on the Issue Battery Index
- This is about 8.5% of the full range of the Issue Battery Index, which suggests a meaningful effect size with significance of $p < 0.001$.

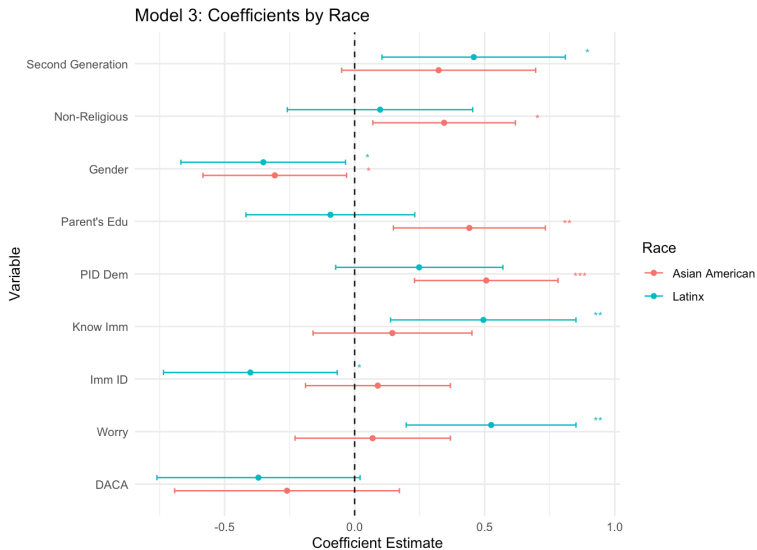
Model 2



Model 2 Analysis

- For Latinx youth:
 - Being second-generation is associated with an average increase of 0.434 points on the Issue Battery Index.
 - Variables Parent's Education, Non-Religious, Male don't seem to account for more progressive attitudes contributing to the DV.
- For Asian American youth:
 - Being second-generation is not significant for Asian-American youth
 - Variables Non-Religious, and Male; being non-religious and identifying as female- do account for an increase in progressive attitudes in the DV.

Model 3



Model 3 Analysis

- For Latinx youth:
 - Being second-generation is still significant - associated with an average increase of 0.401 points on the Issue Battery Index.
 - Variables Immigrant ID, Knows Immigrant, Fear do account for more progressive attitudes contributing to the DV.
 - After accounting for these additional variables, we found that Second Generation had a decreased significant effect. This suggests that the relationship we observed earlier may be in part explained by these new factors.
- For Asian American youth:
 - Parent's Education, PID Democrat, DACA are now also significant predictors of progressive views on the DV.

1 Introduction

2 Literature Review

3 Methods

4 Results

5 Discussion

Key Findings

- Second-generation youth exhibit more progressive political attitudes compared to their 3+ generation peers.
- Latinx second-generation youth consistently demonstrate strong progressive attitudes, significantly shaped by their immigrant identity and experiences with immigration policies.
- For Asian American youth, demographic factors like parental education and non-religious identity are stronger predictors of progressive attitudes than generational status.
- Latinx and Asian American youth offer contrasting pathways to progressive attitudes, shaped by unique intersections of culture, identity, and demographic factors.

Limitations, Next Steps, & Broader Implications

- Sample sizes
- DV operationalization
- Explain political socialization results
- Next step: refine and explore **alternative DV constructions** to strengthen measurement.
- Goal: assess whether generational variation persists regardless of age or if **age-cohort effects** drive differences.

- The interplay of race, generation, and socialization highlights the complexity of political attitude formation.
- These findings underscore the growing influence of immigrant-origin youth on the American political landscape.

Thank you!

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Appendix: Model 2

Table 3: Second Generation and Demographic Effects by Race

	Issue Battery	
	Latinx	Asian American
Second Generation	0.439* (2.41)	0.294 (1.53)
Parent's Education	-0.119 (-0.70)	0.380* (2.57)
Non-Religious	0.150 (0.83)	0.331* (2.35)
Gender (Male)	-0.253 (-1.55)	-0.409** (-2.96)
Constant	2.618*** (13.78)	2.488*** (11.21)
<i>N</i>	220	249

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$



Appendix: Model 3

Table 4: Second Generation Effects with Immigrant Socialization

	Issue Battery Index	
	Latinx	Asian American
Second Generation	0.458* (2.56)	0.323 (1.71)
Parent's Education	-0.0934 (-0.57)	0.441** (2.98)
Non-Religious	0.0979 (0.54)	0.344* (2.47)
Gender (Male)	-0.351* (-2.19)	-0.307* (-2.19)
PID Democrat	0.248 (1.52)	0.506*** (3.62)
DACA	-0.370 (-1.87)	-0.260 (-1.19)
Immigrant ID	-0.401* (-2.36)	0.0894 (0.63)
Knows Immigrant	0.495** (2.73)	0.145 (0.94)
Worry	0.525** (3.17)	0.0694 (0.46)
Constant	2.221*** (9.87)	2.063*** (7.88)
N	220	249



Limitations

- **Dependent variable:** 4-item index mixes distinct policy areas.
- **Disaggregation:** generational effect strongest on immigration, weaker on other issues.
- **Sample:** limited to 16–17-year-olds (2020); no longitudinal tracking.
- **External validity:** oversample of minority groups; generalization limited.

DV Validation & Supplementary Analyses

- **Robustness checks:** no multicollinearity across issue items.
- **Disaggregated models:** immigration effects strongest; other issues mixed.
- **Race-specific models:** Latinx second-gen effect robust; Asian American effect weaker.
- Takeaway: Index captures general progressivism, but issue-specific analyses reveal **nuance**.