Argentines in the United States: Migration and Continuity

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Historical Background and Cultural Characteristics

Argentina is the second largest country by size in Latin America after Brazil and an upper-middle-income country according to The World Bank (2018). The country is divided into 23 provinces and populated by 44 million individuals, though in an uneven distribution. In fact, almost one third of the population lives in the political capital of the country, Buenos Aires (the official name being Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires or CABA), and its surrounding areas. Those who live in Buenos Aires (the city, rather than Buenos Aires, the province) are generally called "*porteñxs,*"[1] as the city itself is a port. As of 2018, and according to traditional sources, 97.2% of Argentina's population identified as European or *mestizxs*, with only a 2.4% of Amerindians and 0.4% Africans (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018). Academic sources have challenged those numbers and have arrived at different conclusions. Specifically, biological anthropologist Francisco Raúl Carnese, of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, has concluded that, based on blood types, a more realistic distribution is 65% European, 30% Amerindians (contemporary referred to in Spanish as "*pueblos originarios*" or indigenous peoples), and 5% of African heritage (Navarra,

[1] The letter x is used for this and other nouns in Spanish to denote gender inclusion throughout this chapter.

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2011). Currently, Argentina is the country with the largest Jewish population in Latin America and sixth in the world (The Jewish People Policy Institute, 2013).

Argentina is among the countries with the highest ratio of natural resources (e.g., fertile land and favorable weather, sizable marine surface, minerals) by inhabitant in the world given its large surface area and relatively small population. This leads to frequent frustrations by Argentines, who expect their country's economy to be stronger and more stable. For example, in 2017, the annual inflation rate was 25%, the eighth highest inflation in the world, and second in Latin America after Venezuela (Trading Economics, 2018). Additionally, Argentina's gross domestic product per capita ranks 53rd in the world. Despite Argentina's natural resources, several major economic crises since the 1930s have caused a constant fear of instability and have had a significant impact on Argentina's culture (Reuters, 2014). For example, financial instability has led to markedly limited long-term planning and the entrenchment of an informal economy, which, in turn, affects job stability.

Education is compulsory through high school in Argentina. Students can attend free public schools or pay tuition at private schools. After high school, there are also free and public tertiary and university-based forms of education. The 2010 Argentine Census (available from www.indec.gov.ar) indicated a level of population illiteracy of 1.9%. Approximately one third of the population in Argentina lives below the national poverty line. Argentina is among the top tourist destinations in South America by number of visitors and is home to the Iguazu Falls, which are considered one of the seven natural wonders of the world and located in the Northeast border with Brazil.

History

As most Latin American countries, Argentina was subordinated to the Spanish Crown from 1536 until July 1816. Subsequently, massive immigration from Europe populated the country during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—mostly from Spain and Italy, followed by France and Germany, as well as Israel, Syria, and Lebanon. In the early years of the twentieth century, Argentina was the seventh wealthiest country in the world. However, since then a downward economic trend has emerged, and, despite ups and downs, this trend continues to the present. The economic decay may be explained by both historical and sociopolitical events.

In the early 1900s, Argentina was the *granero del mundo* (breadbasket of the world) and its economy became highly dependent on the prices of the commodities. In 1930, a period of political instability commenced, including several military coups. During the 1970s, this political instability led to the most violent era of Argentina's history with approximately 30,000 people being kidnaped and killed by a military dictatorship (including Beatriz Perosio, president of the Argentine National Federation of Psychologists and of the Buenos Aires Association of Psychologists) that ruled Argentina for 8 years (1976–1983). During these years, many Argentines went into exile abroad or migrated to other countries, mostly to

Europe, Mexico, and some to the United States. Since then, socioeconomic or family reasons have driven migration from Argentina, as well as *to* Argentina, considering that the country is a frequent destination by neighboring populations from Bolivia and Paraguay and, more recently, from other countries in Latin America, such as Colombia and Venezuela. For those interested in the history of Argentina written in English and by a US scholar, we recommend the work of professor David Rock (www.history.ucsb.edu/emeriti/david-rock).

Culture

Families Similar to other Latin Americans, Argentines tend to be collectivistic, family-centered (*familismo*), express positive feelings openly (*simpatía*), and build close interpersonal relationships (*personalismo*). In fact, Argentines reported the closest interpersonal space in a study including 42 countries around the globe and 5 countries from Latin America (Sorokowska et al., 2017). Specifically, Argentines reported the least interpersonal space in social distance (with strangers), personal distance (with acquaintances), and intimate distance (with close persons). Although these features are shared with other Latin American countries, the other four Latin American countries included in the study (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru), did not report such a close interpersonal space.

Argentine families are influenced by this close interpersonal relationship style. Although the current family structure remains patriarchal (Herscovici, 2004), the recurrent socioeconomic crises have led more women to seek employment. This comes with the altering of power relationships within families and the lessening influence of the patriarchal, male-dominated features in the culture. Likely due to both socioeconomic and cultural reasons, youth tend to remain longer in the family home and gain economic independence later than those in the United States. In such a context, parental intrusion and overprotection of their children tends to be the norm more than the exemption (Herscovici, 2004).

Gender In recent years, several activist groups have been raising awareness of gender inequities, discrimination of gender minorities, sexual harassment, and gender violence. Grass root movements such as *Ni Una Menos* (Not One [Woman] Less) (http://niunamenos.com.ar; #NiUnaMenos) have sought to advance the rights of all women and raise awareness about the high number of femicides. While conservative ideas are still dominant, Argentina's culture is moving towards a more inclusive and egalitarian society with respect to gender. In fact, Argentina has the lowest level of gender inequality index in Latin America (Human Development Report, 2013) and has had one elected female president, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, who served two consecutive, 4-year terms (2007–2015), in addition to two elected female vice-presidents (Isabel Martínez de Perón who served as vice-president from 1973 to 1974 and then president, 1974–1976, when her husband, president Juan Domingo Perón, died in office; Gabriela Michetti, elected with

Mauricio Macri in 2015, to serve a 4-year term). Moreover, in 2010, same-sex marriage became legal in Argentina, making it the first Latin American country to legalize marriage equality. Nonetheless, abortion remains strictly limited by law, and Human Rights Watch estimates that half a million abortions are done in Argentina every year (www.hrw.org/legacy/women/abortion/argentina.html). In March of 2018, legislation seeking the legalization of abortion was introduced in the Argentine Congress.

Mental Health A unique characteristic of Argentina's culture is its relationship to the mental health field, captured by the sizable amount of mental health professionals and the popularity of psychotherapy, most specifically psychoanalysis. According to a 2005 study, Argentina was the country with the most psychologists per inhabitants in the world (Kohn et al., 2005), having 106 psychologists per every 100,000 inhabitants. To help put these numbers into perspective, Brazil had the second highest number in Latin America, with 31.8, while the United States had 31.1 psychologists per every 100,000 inhabitants (Kohn et al., 2005). Perhaps even more significantly, in 2012, a study reported that the ratio of psychologists in Argentina was 192 per every 100,000 inhabitants (Alonso & Klinar, 2013). Interestingly, most Argentine psychologists identify with a psychoanalytic orientation, possibly because of the marked European influence in clinical psychology within the country and because the Universidad de Buenos Aires, which is the public university and the one that trains the highest number of psychologists in Argentina has been a psychoanalytic stronghold. At the same time, it is possible that cognitive behavioral therapists are a minority due, in part, to the limited influence of U.S. psychology in Argentina (Muller & Palavezzatti, 2015).

Again, the popularity and acceptance of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy in Argentina speaks to Argentines' relationship with psychology and mental health (Alonso & Klinar, 2013; Muller & Palavezzatti, 2015). Therapists are ubiquitous, going to therapy seems to be the norm rather than the exception, those who attend may do it for many years without questioning the length of their treatments, and people share their psychotherapeutic experiences with each other without much concern of being negatively judged. Stigma about mental health services, access, and utilization are less commonly an issue among Argentines.

According to Cía et al. (2018), the lifetime prevalence of any mental disorder among Argentines is 29%, which is within the range of prevalence reported across the globe and in the lower ranges of the Latin American countries where data is available (Mexico 26%, Perú 29%, Colombia 39%, and Brazil 45%). Interestingly, and congruent with the popular use of psychotherapy, psychotropic medications are widely used in Argentina, especially in Buenos Aires. Actually, psychotropic drugs in Argentina have been associated with the highest net revenues among all medications (Shapira, 2009). A study on psychotropic drug use found that over 15% of the participants were using them, the lifetime prevalence was almost 30%, and almost 25% of the consumers were using them without medical advice and as a form of self-medication (Leiderman, Mugnolo, Bruscoli, & Massi, 2006).

Cultural Customs and Expressions Argentina is known for many of its cultural customs and expressions. Typical foods include *asado* (barbecue), *empanadas*, *locro* (stew), *dulce de leche*, *alfajores*, and the drinking of an herbal infusion, *yerba mate*, and wine, particularly Malbec. Argentines socialize with friends and colleagues at *cafés* and do so at different times of the day. Most men greet each other with a kiss on one cheek. Sporting events also bring together large numbers of people, particularly soccer, car races, basketball, rugby, field hockey, tennis, and polo. Artistic expressions include dances such as the *tango*, *zamba*, and *malambo*. Well-known musicians and interpreters include Carlos Gardel, Astor Piazzolla, Soledad Pastorutti, Mercedes Sosa, and Atahualpa Yupanqui. Argentina is known for its national rock, with interpreters such as Andrés Calamaro, Celeste Carballo, Charly García, León Gieco, Fito Páez, Patricia Sosa, and Luis Alberto Spinetta, and bands like *Bersuit*, *Callejeros*, *Catupecu Machu*, *Divididos*, *Enanitos Verdes*, *Fabulosos Cadillacs*, *Los Auténticos Decadentes*, *Patricio Rey y los Redonditos de Ricota*, *Soda Stereo*, and *Virus*.

Argentine poets and fiction writers have contributed meaningfully to Latin American literature, with some of the most well-known being César Aira, Roberto Arlt, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Jorge Luis Borges, Silvina Bullrich, Julio Cortázar, Tomás Eloy Martínez, Victoria Ocampo, Ricardo Piglia, Manuel Puig, Ernesto Sábato, Eduardo Sacheri, Juan José Saer, Samanta Schweblin, Osvaldo Soriano, Alfonsina Storni, and María Elena Walsh. Famous Argentine cartoonists include Juan Carlos Colombres, best known as Landrú, Joaquín Salvador Lavado, best known as Quino and the creator of *Mafalda*, Ricardo Liniers Siri, best known as Liniers and the creator of *Macanudo*, and Hermenegildo Sábat, who was born in Uruguay (1933) yet has lived and published in Argentine media since 1966.

Argentine feature films can convey profound aspects of Argentine culture. Pertinent to the matters addressed in this chapter, we recommend the following motion pictures focusing on aspects of Argentina's history: Chronicle of an Escape, Garage Olimpo, Kamchatka, and The Official Story. The following is a list of recommended movies highlighting aspects of Argentina and its cultural norms, perspectives, and traditions: A Place in the World, Intimate Stories, Live-in Maid, Lion's Den, Made in Argentina, Man Facing Southeast, The Distinguished Citizen, The Son of the Bride, Time for Revenge, and Waiting for the Hearse.

Migration Patterns of Argentines to the United States

Over a million Argentines live abroad, and the United States is one of the top destinations after Spain and Italy. Argentina's unstable economy and military dictatorships of the 1950s resulted in a significant increase in emigration from Argentina by its native-born citizens. Estimated at 185,000 and referred to as "brain-drain," highly skilled Argentines left Argentina in the late 1960s and 1970s with an additional 200,000 in the 1980s to countries such as the United States and Spain, as well as Mexico and Venezuela (Jachimowicz, 2006).

Approximately 60% of Argentines currently living in the United States immigrated after 1990, with the most rapid increase in migrations to the United States from Argentina occurring between 2000 and 2005 (López, 2015). This increase coincides with the economic and financial downturn Argentina experienced in 2001 and the emigration of about 255,000 Argentines to countries such as Spain, the United States, Israel, and Italy between 2001 and 2003 (Jachimowicz, 2003, 2006). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the number of Argentines living in the United States, increased from 103,000 in 1990 to 224,952 in 2010 (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). About 80% of Argentines living in the U.S. report they have been living in the United States for at least 11 years (or more), while 40% have been in the United States for over 20 years. Argentines entering the United States most often have come under the family reunification provisions. The majority of temporary Argentine immigrants to the United States enter with specialty worker (i.e., H-1B visa), cultural exchange visitor (i.e., J-1 visa), or intracompany transferee visas (i.e., L-1 visa; Jachimowicz, 2006).

Personal Accounts of Immigration

I (Andrés) was born and raised in Buenos Aires where I earned a *licenciatura* degree in clinical psychology and practiced as a mental health professional. Due to challenging circumstances at home and a wish to learn English, I traveled to the United States in 1985 and overstayed my tourist visa, living and working in the United States though not properly documented. Personally, I began to understand the Argentine culture I grew up in while in the United States, which made me equally proud and humble of my cultural upbringing and nationality. While I appreciated the emphasis on relatedness and social engagement my culture of origin had impressed upon me, I also noticed the indelible marks of having grown up in a military dictatorship, with traditional gender roles, and prejudicial attitudes born out of discriminatory practices. I viewed myself then and continue to do so today as a "recovering prejudist." Professionally, after moving to the United States, I served as a residential counselor in a group home for adults living with a serious mental illness, was a personal attendant to people living with physical disabilities, labored in a gardening crew, worked as a bilingual counselor in a family service agency, and eventually, completed a doctoral degree in counseling psychology at the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1994. After a 2-year postdoctoral fellowship in behavioral medicine at Stanford University, I have been a faculty member since 1996, training scientist-practitioners in research and bilingual service delivery. All along, I have striven to honor the privilege of a doctoral degree by contributing meaningfully to the advancement of a discipline capable of redressing human suffering and fostering human strengths. As an immigrant, I have been transformed by the experience in ways words cannot do justice to the ongoing process. It has made me a better psychologist and an even more committed citizen of the Americas, north, central, and south alike, though at a personal cost.

I (Eduardo) was born, raised, and trained in Argentina and came to the United States a few years ago. My psychology training started right after finishing high school; I attended the Universidad de Buenos Aires, where I studied clinical psychology for 6 years and earned my degree and license as a clinical psychologist. The majority of the initial training I received was in the psychoanalytic tradition (mostly Freud and Lacan). Eventually, I took a cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) class and realized that evidence-based practice was the field I wanted to work on. So, I did a 2-year postgraduate training in CBT and started working hard as a clinician and publishing in the area of child and adolescent CBT. I then wanted to gain more research experience, so I came to the United States for a short visit, and there I was advised, "without a Ph.D. you won't be considered a psychologist here." So, I returned to Argentina, completed my Ph.D. and finally came to Palo Alto University in California as a visiting professor. What was supposed to be a 3-month visit with my spouse and our son was extended more than expected. It has now been more than 5 years since we arrived in the United States and a new member joined our family (our daughter). I am still in the process of understanding and adjusting to the new culture. I constantly feel the tension between how much I like my academic work here in the United States and the strong bonds with my country of origin; between how much I can contribute to the advancement of the field in an environment rich in resources and funding (the United States) and an environment that needs more resources and funding (Argentina); how much I want to give back to my family of origin in Argentina, and how much I want to give to the family I created in the United States. I believe that after the time I have spent here, I will now feel that tension wherever I go, and this is probably what immigrants have to deal with. I am not the same person I was 5 years ago, I see Argentina and myself from a different perspective, I have learned more than what I expected, and I am truly grateful for all those who shared this journey with me.

I (Mercedes) was born in Buenos Aires and moved to the United States at age 6 when my father was transferred to his employer's headquarters in Minnesota. After 3 years, we returned to Buenos Aires, as my parents could not envision raising their children away from our grandparents, cousins, aunts, and uncles. In 2001, the economic and political crisis worsened and safety and economic concerns in Buenos Aires prompted my parents to move the family permanently to Minnesota. Despite having considerable privileges as immigrants (my parents spoke English, were employed, we had visas, etc.), adapting to life in Minnesota was difficult. It was especially challenging that my sisters and I were the only immigrants in our elementary school, the only ones that spoke Spanish, and the school did not have an ESL program to help non-native speakers. In fact, it was not until college that I made Latinx friends. I missed connecting with Argentines and Latinxs so much that I co-founded *MateTime*, a student group for people from all nationalities to meet and drink mate once a week. Maintaining my connection to Argentina is very important for me. I still remain close to my childhood friends in Argentina, and although at times it feels as though we live very different lives, there is an understanding and connection that has been difficult to replicate in the United States. Personally, while working in a cultural identity research team in college I realized I could be both

Argentine AND American. Professionally, I have sought to build a career helping individuals, families, organizations, and professionals to assist immigrant youth to thrive in the United States. I have also sought to develop as a bilingual and bicultural professional doing an externship in Argentina, publishing in Spanish, and presenting my dissertation in Spanish at a conference. I am forever grateful to be able to have a foot in both places that I call home.

I (Agustina) was born in Los Angeles, California, to Argentine parents. My parents came to the United States in 1985, my father first, followed by my mother 9 months later. They made a living initially as construction workers, as my father could not find work as an architect or my mother as a teacher (the degrees they had received in Argentina). My mother then began teaching at an underserved elementary school in Los Angeles, to support my family and help pay my father's tuition at UCLA while he pursued his master's degree in architecture. In 1997, when I was 4 years old, my family returned to Mar del Plata, Argentina, due to my parents' desire to raise their daughters alongside their extended family and within the culture they identified most with. Following the economic collapse of 2001, my family relocated back to the United States in 2002, first to San Diego, California, and then to Palm City, Florida. Growing up in a bicultural and bilingual home, reconciling American and Argentine cultures has been both an enriching and difficult process, but one that has provided me with sensitivity and insight to working with multi-lingual and bicultural individuals, and a passion to advocate for the rights of underserved communities. I hope that my career as a school psychologist will allow me to work closely with Latinx families to support children's positive social-emotional and academic development.

Demographic Information of Argentines in the United States and Argentine Americans

According to the 2010 U.S. Census data analyzed by the Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project, approximately 242,000 individuals in the United States identified themselves as Argentine or of Argentine ancestry (born in the United States to Argentine immigrants) and comprised 0.5% of the U.S. Latinx population at the time of data collection. Approximately 61% of U.S. residents acknowledging a relationship with Argentina in the U.S. Census were born outside of the United States (compared with 35% of all Latinxs and 13% of the U.S. population overall) and approximately half of individuals identifying themselves as Argentine in the Census were citizens of the United States as of 2011 (López, 2015).

A few considerations must be made in light of the demographics presented. Sources that collect data about Argentine immigrants are limited to the U.S. Census and do not necessarily reflect the exact population size. Due to concerns with legal documentation and immigration status, it is likely that these numbers do not fully reflect the population size of Argentines residing in the United States. It is important

to note that the Argentine population in the United States is still relatively small in comparison to other Latin American countries, as it is the 14th largest Latinx population in the United States (López, 2015). Additionally, it is likely that the size of the Argentine population in the United States is even larger today, considering that the most recent data collection available is that of the 2010 U.S. Census and that the preceding decade had shown a sizable increase in the number of Argentines in the United States.

The largest communities of Argentines in the United States reside in New York, California, and Southern Florida, with 60% of all Argentines in the United States living in one of these three states (Jachimowicz, 2006; López, 2015). In 2013, approximately 61,000 Argentines lived in the Northeast region of the United States, with an estimated 28,000 living in New York. Ninety-three thousand Argentines lived in the South of the United States, and approximately 50,000 lived in Florida. Eighteen thousand Argentines lived in the Midwest, and 72,000 lived in the West, with an approximate 49,000 Argentines living in California. These settlement patterns are expected, as it has been documented that almost two-thirds of South American immigrants in the United States live among the states of Florida, New York, New Jersey, and California, collectively (Stoney, Batalova, & Russell, 2013).

Based on the U.S. Census of 2010 and the American Community Survey of 2013, it is estimated that 41% of Argentines over the age of 25 and living in the United States have received at least a bachelor's degree, exceeding the percentage (30%) of the U.S. population that has completed this level of education as well as that of all Latinxs in the United States, which is estimated at 14% (López, 2015). It is worth noting that the educational attainment of Argentines in the United States over the age of 25 is significantly higher than those in Argentina (estimated at 21% over the age of 25 who have received at least a bachelor's degree). An estimated 37,000 Argentine American children are enrolled in primary and secondary schools (K-12). It is also estimated that 75% of Argentines in the United States above the age of 5 speak English proficiently, while 77% of them speak Spanish at home. The median annual income for Argentine Americans is estimated at $31,000, compared to $21,900 for all Latinxs in the United States, and slightly better than the median earnings for the U.S. population ($30,000). The percentage of Argentine Americans living in poverty is estimated at 11%, which is lower than the rate for the general U.S. population (16%) and for Latinxs overall (25%; López, 2015).

The Post-migration Era

Challenges

While Argentines, like other immigrants, face shared and unique challenges in the migration process (for an insightful analysis, see Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984), they also count with significant benefits. In 1996, Argentina was added to the U.S. Visa Waiver

Program (US-VWP), a program that waives the need to obtain a visa in the U.S. Consulate at one's country of origin before traveling to the United States for business or tourism. The U.S. Federal Register indicates that the status was terminated in 2002 on the grounds that the 2001 Argentine economic crisis and default was increasing the number of Argentines attempting to enter the United States to live and work without the proper documentation or in transit to Canada for the same purpose (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2002). Although Argentina is not part of the US-VWP at the moment (as of 2018, Chile is the only Latin American country that is on the roster), Argentine passport holders can visit close to 160 countries without a visa. Due to Spanish and Italian ancestry, many Argentines have been able to secure dual nationalities and, in turn, gain better access to the United States considering that both Spain and Italy are part of the US-VWP. Immigrants from Argentina are more likely to have completed high school, and even received tertiary or university education, increasing their chances of accessing advanced employment in the United States. Of note, Argentines living in the United States are the second largest source of remittances to Argentina that is second only to the amount of money sent home by Argentines living in Spain (Countryeceonomy.com, n.d.).

One of the most immediate challenges faced by immigrants from Latin America, including Argentines to the United States, is the forced identification as Latinxs or Hispanics based on the U.S. Census categories. Argentine immigrants, similar to immigrants from most Latin American countries, are more likely to identify themselves based on their nationality rather than an ethnic, pan category such as Latinxs or Hispanics. For some, this umbrella identity may be affirming of a "shared struggle against oppression and recognition of the effects of racism… a political term reflecting defiance against White supremacy" while for others it may prove challenging as it "takes away nationality and symbolizes a loss of identity" (Garcia-Preto, 2005, p. 155). Regardless, Argentine immigrants to the United States are likely to confront their own stereotypes about Latin Americans from other countries (typically born out of classism, prejudice, or historical animosities) and about U.S. nationals whom Argentines may perceive as cold, excessively private, or interpersonally distant.

Argentine immigrants may face their own attitudes and beliefs about the U.S. government. In fact, less than four out of ten Argentines are positively disposed towards the U.S. government, contrasted with, for example, Salvadorians with eight out of ten reporting favorable outlooks (Pew Research Center, 2014). In general, Argentines have been skeptical of U.S. foreign policies; in a 2012 poll, only 19% of Argentines surveyed approved of U.S. leadership performance, the lowest rate of approval in all the Latin American countries (U.S. Global Leadership Project Report, available at www.gallup.com). At the same time, Argentines in the United States are likely to find themselves at the receiving end of stereotypes held by other Latin Americans about Argentines and by U.S. nationals about Latinxs. Living in another country is likely to lead to reflections on one's own Argentine national identity, known as "*argentinidad*," and the interactions previously mentioned, as well as those with other Argentine nationals in the United States, are likely to shape those reflections.

Language barriers can figure prominently among challenges faced by immigrants from countries where the national language is one other than English, including Argentina, where the main language is Spanish. This is not only the case with English as the dominant language in the United States, but also with Spanish itself. Argentine Spanish, referred to as *castellano* (Castilian) has a marked influence of Italian, and distinct pronunciation of certain letters such as the double l and the y, though the pronunciation of these letters varies by provinces and regions of Argentina. Most Argentines utilize the pronoun *vos* instead of *tú* (Spanish for "you"), a style known as *voseo*, and many use the interjection or vocative expression *che*, which, depending on when and how it is used, it can mean different things from slang such as pal or dude in English, to a speech filler, to calling somebody's attention as "Hey" does in English.

There are significant differences between Argentine Spanish and the Spanish spoken in other countries of the Americas, including the United States. Perhaps most significantly, there are considerable differences between Mexican Spanish, the most common Spanish spoken in the United States, and Argentine Spanish. While it has been a source of many humorous anecdotes and situations, there have been many thoughtful efforts that have sought to bridge that gap, including dictionaries that translate Mexican expressions into Argentine ones and vice versa. One of the most useful websites and dictionaries to this end can be found at www.elportaldemexico.com. Nonetheless, it remains an important issue facing immigrants, as well as mental health professionals practicing the "talking cure," when seeking to be understood and to understand others, be those English or Spanish speakers.

A related phenomenon among immigrants is that, unless they travel back to their home country frequently, their spoken language (in this case Argentine Spanish), does not keep up with the evolving cultural expressions and terminology. A common complaint by immigrants is that their colloquial language becomes outdated and does so surprisingly quickly. The first author has described this as a three-phase phenomenon: first he was *monolingual* in porteño (Argentine Spanish from Buenos Aires), then he became *bilingual* in a Spanish hybrid that mixed Argentine, Mexican, and Guatemalan expressions and a Californian English, and now he finds himself *alingual*, not fully articulate in any one language, as many expressions in one language come to his mind while speaking the other language.

Reasons for Migration The reasons for migration have shaped many immigrants' stories, and Argentines are no exception. The reasons span escaping political persecution, seeking labor, economic and educational opportunities, reuniting with family, and even adventurous traveling that result in relocation. With respect to political persecution, during the Argentine "Dirty War" within the *Plan Cóndor* (also known as *Operación Cóndor*, Condor Operation), many Argentines sought political asylum in countries such as Mexico, yet the United States was not as much of an option since the Argentine military dictatorship was supported, in part, by the Reagan Administration and by then secretary of state Henry Kissinger. Following the fall of the Argentine military dictatorship, some high-ranking militaries fled to the United States, the most infamous being Guillermo Suárez Mason. The terms of their entry into the United States remain unclear.

The impact of forced relocation on political refugees, frequently referred to as "exiles" can be quite notable. Julio Villegas, a Chilean social psychologist articulated a series of phases experienced by people who underwent similar circumstances: "*el sin país*" ("without a country" phase, e.g., living in a foreign country though without access to one's country embassy), followed by "*el sin redes sociales*" ("without social networks" phase), and the "*el sin raíces*" ("without" roots phase; Villegas, 2012, pp. 302–303).

Argentines have sought immigration to the United States due to economic crises and instability in the form of high inflation, predatory lending practices, corruption, ballooning of the national debt, recession, high unemployment rates, and multiple country defaults, some as recently as 2001 and 2014. Immigration to the United States was also brought about by experiences of limited, meaningful employment opportunities while in Argentina. Once immigrated to the United States, the sizable geographical distance and cost of the airfare to and from Argentina disrupted the family lives of many, making it difficult for immigrants to visit their home country, as well as challenging for Argentines to come visit their relatives in the United States. In addition, the immigration status of the person who emigrated and the difficulties of securing visas for those interested in visiting make it challenging for face-to-face encounters. The advent of technology and its increased affordability, along with social media, have made it possible for Argentine immigrants to stay in touch with loved ones. Nonetheless, anniversaries, birthdays, and other celebrations can be quite stressful for immigrants, particularly when their legal status, be that exiles, a temporary visa holder with limited privileges, or undocumented situation prevents traveling or is outside their financial reach.

Argentines have also migrated to the United States for social reasons, in a desire to be closer to family members, friends, or in pursue of a better quality of life due to rising crime back home. Similarly, Argentines have sought educational opportunities in the United States and some then decided to stay.

Intergenerational conflicts are likely to arise within families particularly when parents or older siblings grew up in Argentina and their children or younger siblings grow up in the United States. These conflicts may be brought about by differences in cultural norms, childrearing practices, and social expectations. Parents may find themselves without the habitual extended family or social network they relied upon while in Argentina and their U.S. born children may find it increasingly difficult to communicate in the language preferred by the parents. Depending on the reasons for migration and personal circumstances, some parents may struggle adjusting to a new environment with different, even stricter norms, possibly working longer hours to make ends meet, and noticing it increasingly difficult to keep up with their children's development and social life. A common phenomenon involves Argentine parents in the United States wishing to return to their home country but their teenage children taking a stance against such move or simply refusing to do so, creating a sizable tension within the family. Depending on the age of the children, educational aspirations, and social support network, some may stay behind with relatives and/or live at a college dorm.

Maintaining Cultural Values, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

Immigrants are likely to face significant challenges in their new country. However, numerous factors are believed to increase immigrants' resiliency. For example, family cohesion, language proficiency, biculturalism, strong ethnic identity, community support, and strong social networks have all been associated with positive outcomes (Cardoso & Thompson, 2010; Selmer & Lauring, 2015). To this date there are no studies exclusively focusing on protective factors for Argentine immigrants living in the United States. However, by reviewing literature on broader immigrant groups' experiences, as well as demographics of Argentines, one can extrapolate facilitators to adapting to post-immigration life (Brown & Patten, 2013).

Regarding language proficiency, the Hispanic Trends Project indicated that in 2011, 74% of Argentines in the United States reported speaking English proficiently, compared to 66% of Latinxs overall (Brown & Patten, 2013). The relative high percentage of Argentines who identify as feeling comfortable speaking English may increase this group's access and success in education and employment, and also increase contact with mainstream U.S. culture and communities. In addition, when compared to other Latinx immigrants in the United States, Argentines tended to have higher levels of education. This, coupled with higher language proficiency, could facilitate the ability of Argentine immigrants to the United States to do well in school and obtain higher-paying employment opportunities. However, it is important to note that in the recent decades the economic and political turmoil of Argentina have given rise to a new wave of working-class Argentines seeking economic opportunities in the United States. In fact, Viladrich (2005) argues that literature on Argentine immigrants has falsely overrepresented this group as homogenous, successful, middle-class, and white.

Maintaining a strong ethnic identity can be a protective factor for immigrants (e.g., Smith & Silva, 2011; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). For many immigrants living in ethnic enclaves, neighborhoods with high proportions of immigrants from the same country, such as in Little Saigon, San Francisco's China Town, and Koreatown, can facilitate a strong ethnic identity (Mazumdar, Mazumdar, Docuyanan, & McLaughlin, 2000). However, given the relative smaller numbers of Argentines in the United States, there are very limited neighborhoods with high concentration of Argentines. Two such exceptions are "Little Argentina" in Queens, New York and "Little Buenos Aires" in Miami, Florida. In addition, Viladrich's (2007) qualitative study of Argentines in New York found that many relied on Argentine magazines, radio shows, *milongas* (meet ups to dance tango), and other Argentines to connect with their culture of origin. Moreover, many cities have online social network groups for Argentines living in the area, where members post questions, recommendations, job openings, or simply comment on current events in Argentina. These groups frequently plan events where Argentines can meet other Argentines. Mercedes, one of the coauthors of this chapter, regularly attends these gatherings and is joining with other Argentine immigrants to show monthly Argentine films in a local Argentine restaurant. Argentine consulates also plan events to celebrate and share Argentine culture. Compared to other Latinx groups living in the United

States, Argentines tend to have been born outside of the United States considerably more frequently (36% and 61%, respectively). Thus, it is likely that Argentines continue to feel strong attachments to their home culture and country. To help maintain Argentine immigrants' connection to Argentine culture, the Argentine General Consul in Los Angeles opened "*La Escuela Argentina de Los Ángeles*" in 1983. The school provides Saturday classes for school-aged children of Argentine and Latin American descent (www.leala.org).

While it can be beneficial for immigrants to remain connected with the culture of origin, developing a bicultural identity, meaning identifying with both the host culture and the culture of origin, has been associated with psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Some of the benefits of immigrants being able to navigate both the mainstream culture, as well as their culture of origin, are that they can build social support networks from both cultures (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007), and integrate more readily into the U.S. culture. Even when individuals migrate in adulthood with a moderately stable sense of ethnic identity, there is often a reexamination and exploration of their ethnic identity upon contact with a different culture (Phinney, 1989). For Latinx youth, integrating the two cultural backgrounds has been associated with higher self-esteem, optimism, and prosocial behaviors (Schwartz et al., 2015). Speaking the mainstream language and having frequent contact with people from the mainstream culture may facilitate a bicultural identity. Thus, Argentines with the opportunity to learn English proficiently and work or attend school with U.S. citizens may be more likely to identify with both the United States and Argentine cultures. In addition, colorism, that is, advantages or disadvantages based on lightness or darkness of one's skin, may also impact Argentine immigrants' ability to integrate and succeed in the United States (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, & Hordge Freeman, 2010). Argentine immigrants who have physical characteristics associated with European White backgrounds may be at a particular advantage when compared to Argentine immigrants who have darker features.

Noteworthy Argentines in the Mental Health Field

There are many Argentine Americans who have influenced the mental health field in the United States, most noticeably within family therapy. Salvador Minuchin (1921–2017) was one of the founders of structural family therapy and published some of the most influential books working with multi-problem families. Carlos Sluzki is a world-renowned psychiatrist, family therapist, and consultant who directed the Mental Research Institute in Palo Alto, California (1980–1983) and served as editor of the journals *Family Process* and *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Celia Jaes Falicov is a widely recognized family therapist who has made major contributions to the understanding of migrant, Latinx families through a multidimensional ecological comparative approach. Cloé Madanes is one of the founders of strategic family therapy and an indefatigable advocate for children's

rights; she is the director of the Council for Human Rights of Children housed at the University of San Francisco. Beyond family therapy, Isaac Prilleltensky is a prominent community psychologist, best known for his work in critical psychology exposing the philosophical and moral underpinnings of the profession and in the advancement of human well-being as a crucial construct for psychology.

Maintaining Identity and Integrity During the Next 50 Years

The Argentine population has been characterized as one that "*llegamos de los barcos*" (literally, we came from the boats, the title of a famous song by Argentine singer-songwriter Litto Nebbia) though currently this is considered a "half-truth." Argentina is indeed a country of immigrants, yet it also has considerable Amerindian ("*pueblos originarios*" or indigenous peoples) and African populations. While many European immigrants stayed in Argentina, others returned to their home countries. Over time, and propelled by economic, political, educational, labor, and/or family reasons, Argentines have migrated to Europe, Latin America, as well as the United States and Canada, totaling well over a million Argentines living abroad. They have brought with them cultural norms, practices, and expressions, many of which are present in the Latinx population in the United States and beyond. These include foods and drinks (such as *empanadas*, *dulce de leche*, and *yerba mate*), as well as music and dance (such as tango). It also includes ways in which Argentina dealt with its own social struggles, specifically, innovative ways of affirming human rights and standing against injustices. Two inspiring examples include the movement known as "*Madres de Plaza de Mayo*" (Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, the main downtown square where the mothers of the *desaparecidxs* or disappeared would gather to march in silence wearing white handkerchiefs over their heads) and the report of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons titled "*Nunca Más*" (Never Again; CONADEP, 1986). In the former example, the importance of family as a cultural value is underscored, and it has continued with the formation of groups such as "*Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*" for the grandmothers of those disappeared and the children born in custody, as well as sons and daughters of the *desaparecidxs*. In the latter example of affirming human rights and standing against injustices, many Argentines immigrants have brought with them the importance of affirming the common good by accepting responsibility for atrocities committed to facilitate national reconciliation and healing. Similar processes have since taken place in countries such as Guatemala and South Africa, among others.

Argentines in the United States may choose to start their own families and raise children outside their home country. Raising children in a foreign country brings additional challenges, particularly in cases where the parents may not be fluent in English or when they are not familiar with the mainstream American culture. Argentine immigrant parents are likely to find themselves needing to reconcile their own cultural values, norms, and parenting practices with those of the American culture they are exposed to. In cases where the parents are from different cultural

backgrounds, this may be increasingly difficult, as the parents also need to balance each of their own cultural backgrounds. Argentine immigrant parents may also adopt American values and practices over time, such as celebrating Thanksgiving.

At the same time, Argentine immigrant parents may find it challenging to retain a sense of Argentine identity in their children and as a family. This can be especially difficult when due to documentation, financial, or other barriers, families cannot return to Argentina. Over time, children of Argentine immigrants may feel more removed from their Argentine roots and identify more closely with the American culture. In some instances, parents may also encourage their children to downplay their Argentine heritage due to fear of discrimination or missing opportunities.

Over the next 50 years, Argentine immigrants currently living in the United States and Argentine Americans will continue to adapt and integrate aspects of both American and Argentine cultures. This process may look different for each individual and family unit, based on their own history as well as on the receptivity of the human context in which they will immerse themselves. New Argentine immigrants will come to the United States for a wide range of reasons, which are likely to shape their immigration experience and will engage in the cultural adaptation process accordingly. Some immigrants may choose to return to Argentina, taking with them novel experiences and ways of viewing themselves and the world that are likely to last a lifetime and be transmitted to future generations, much like their ancestors have done with them.

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