Dreams Fulfilled and Shattered: Determinants of Segmented Assimilation in the Second Generation[*]

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Abstract

We summarize prior theories on the adaptation process of the contemporary immigrant second generation as a prelude to presenting additive and interactive models showing the impact of family variables, school contexts and academic outcomes on the process. For this purpose, we regress indicators of educational and occupational achievement in early adulthood on predictors measured three and six years earlier. The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), used for the analysis, allows us to establish a clear temporal order among exogenous predictors and the two dependent variables. We also construct a Downward Assimilation Index (DAI), based on six indicators and regress it on the same set of predictors. Results confirm a pattern of segmented assimilation in the second generation, with a significant proportion of the sample experiencing downward assimilation. Predictors of the latter are the obverse of those of educational and occupational achievement. Significant interaction effects emerge between these predictors and early school contexts, defined by different class and racial compositions. Implications of these results for theory and policy are examined.

Immigration since the mid-1960s has transformed the demographic composition of the United States. As of 2008, there were 39.9 million foreign-born persons living in the country or 13 percent of the population. This is the largest percentage since 1890 (Passel 2009). Over 70 million were of immigrant stock – immigrants themselves or children of immigrants. The latter numbered over 30 million, including the children of earlier European migrants. Offspring of immigrants arriving in more recent decades and children brought to the U.S. at an early age constitute, however, the fastest growing component of the American population aged 18 years or younger. Today, they represent close to one-fourth of young Americans (Rumbaut 2005, 2008). Second generation Mexican-Americans alone number over 8 million, with an average age of 12. Clearly, the future of this young population as it reaches adulthood and seeks to integrate socially and economically is certainly more than of academic interest (Hirschman 2001).

The purpose of this paper is to explore the distinct paths of adaptation of the second generation and its determinants. While the initial focus of the research literature was on the immigrants themselves, it became promptly apparent that the course of adaptation of their offspring was as important, if not more so. First generation migrants are a notoriously mobile population, many of whom return to the home country or move back and forth between it and their places of destination (Zhou 1997; Levitt 2001). They are *in* America, but not yet *of* it (Glazer 1954). By contrast, their offspring, American citizens by birth or naturalization, are here to stay and can claim their rights as full members of U.S. society.

However, their efforts to move ahead are not always successful and, as we will see shortly, this divergence has given rise to disparate theories on the future of this young population. To complicate matters further, contemporary immigration is split between a high-human capital movement of university-level professionals and technicians and a low-human capital flow of poorly educated workers. While professionals and entrepreneurs were by no means absent among European immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century, the bulk of that immigration was composed of unskilled peasants and workers (Handlin 1973; Warner and Srole 1945). At present, the relative number of highly skilled immigrants is much higher because their arrival has been stimulated by provisions in the immigration law that respond to the changing needs of the American economy and labor market (Portes and Rumbaut 2006: Ch. 2).

In addition to differences in the human capital brought by immigrants, there is the equally important factor of differences in the context that receives them. The concept of "mode of incorporation" was coined to highlight key aspects of these contexts of reception pertaining, respectively, to the attitudes of the authorities and the public at large, plus the character of the pre-existing ethnic community. By and large, the mode of incorporation of high human capital immigrants is positive: it is defined by legal status and a receptive, or at least neutral, stance by the native-born population (Portes and Rumbaut 2006: Ch. 2; Zhou 2001). When a co-ethnic community exists, it is generally affluent being formed by earlier migrants with comparable levels of education. By contrast, manual labor immigrants commonly arrive illegally and, by reason of this status, their low level of education, and their predominant non-white physical features are subjected to a negative reception by the authorities and the host population (Suarez-Orozco 1987; Rumbaut 2005). The pre-existing co-ethnic communities, when they exist, are also weak and lacking in resources needed to counteract a negative official reception (Lopez and Stanton Salazar 2001; Menjivar 2008)[1].

Matters are further complicated because differences in human capital and modes of incorporation among first generation immigrants tend to overlap with geographical disparities in their origins. High human capital, and positively received immigrants generally come from Asia; manual labor, and negatively received migrants mostly arrive from Latin America and the Caribbean. China, Korea, India, and the Philippines are the principal sources of human capital immigration; Mexico, Central America, Haiti, and the West Indies are the main origins of the massive low-skill flow (Passel 2009; Bean and Stevens 2003; Zhou *et. al.* 2008). These divergent origins and composition of the immigrant first generation set the framework for the process of second generation adaptation to unfold.

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[1]Although there are individual differences in this variable, the governmental, public, and co-ethnic context receiving members of the same national group tends to be fairly uniform, especially if they arrive in the same area. For example, Mexican immigrants settling in Southern California – many of them undocumented – confront the same unreceptive governmental and public attitudes and have recourse to the same frail and generally poor co-ethnic communities. Rather different is the reception accorded to Chinese and Koreans – legal immigrants for the most part, who settle in close proximity to the economically strong enclaves created by their co-ethnics. For this reason, we use national origin as a suitable empirical proxy for modes of incorporation, relying on past research to identify the tripartite contexts of reception for each immigrant group. We examine below the extent to which nationality effects, reflecting the known modes of incorporation of each group, remain after controlling for other predictors.

Unlike the relatively uniform class origins and modes of incorporation of earlier European immigrants, the bifurcation of contemporary immigration creates very different opportunities and resources for its offspring. These differences have given rise to alternative theories on the course of adaptation of this population and its prospects for the future.

Second Generation Incorporation: Theoretical Perspectives

Until recently, the reigning theoretical perspective in this field was Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life*. Written in 1964, when the incorporation of turn-of-the-century Europeans and their children had been largely completed, the book synthesized the collective sociological wisdom of the time as to how the process had unfolded. Under the influence of the structural-functionalist paradigm dominant at the time, Gordon's theory focused on the successive stages through which social equilibrium was restored after the disruptions caused by mass immigration (Gordon 1964). Migrants and their offspring first underwent acculturation which, when successfully completed, led to secondary structural assimilation or integration into the formal organizations of the dominant society. This, in turn, could usher primary structural assimilation or entry into more intimate contact with the native-born, leading ultimately to amalgamation or intermarriage between members of both groups. Finally, identificational assimilation would erase the remaining differences, with descendants of immigrants seeing themselves as full members of American society (Gordon 1964; Alba and Nee 2003

Gordon never asserted that the process was inexorable and, in fact, pointed to the many difficulties that some immigrant groups had in translating acculturation into structural assimilation. He believed that acculturation almost always took place, but that entry into the families and intimate circles of American society was more problematic. Nonetheless, the process was uniform and unilinear in the sense that, if an immigrant group was to assimilate successfully, it had to undergo this series of stages and, that once a particular stage was reached, it was largely irreversible. Gordon's theory was supplemented by those of other sociologists, such as Warner and Srole, who developed an ethnic-racial hierarchy based on language, religion, and race. Position in this hierarchy was determined by relative distance to the dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority and pointed to the relative speed with which particular groups would complete the process of assimilation. (Warner and Srole 1945).

During the 1970s and 1980s, the assimilation perspective was severely criticized for its empirical and ideological shortcomings. Empirically, scholars such as Greeley (1971) and, especially Glazer and Moynihan (1970), pointed toward the durability of ethnic sub-societies that persisted and prospered across generations and that did not seem particularly keen to be integrated into the Anglo-Saxon Protestant mainstream. Ideologically, assimilation was criticized for its functionalist bias and the evident positive value that it placed on the adoption by immigrants of the culture and language of the dominant group (Rosenblum 1973; Gerschwender 1978). Glazer and Moynihan (1970) went as far as declaring that "the point about the melting pot is that it did not happen" and, some years later, the first of these authors declared that "we're all multiculturalists now" (Glazer 1998).

In a vigorous attempt to rescue the assimilation perspective from oblivion, Alba and Nee (2003) by-passed Gordon in order to go back to the classic origins of this perspective in the writings of Robert Park and his collaborators of the Chicago School. According to Alba and Nee, Park and his followers never posited a uniform mainstream nor an inexorable or unilinear process of assimilation. Instead, whatever "mainstream" existed then or now is malleable, flexible, and inclusive, and newcomers may or may not seek to assimilate into it.

The "mainstream" according to these authors includes the native middle-class, working-class, and even poor minorities (Alba and Nee 2003: 12).

An immediate difficulty with Alba and Nee's rescue attempt is that, in its effort to respond to the numerous critiques of assimilation theory, it gave so much ground as to turn it into an all-encompassing and unfalsifiable set of generalities. When the "mainstream" can be practically anything – from the upper-class to the minority poor – and assimilation may or may not happen across generations, there is little heuristic power left in the theory. Such statements can be readily accepted without advancing any specific prediction about the course of adaptation followed or to be followed by foreign groups. In the end, Alba and Nee's assimilationism devolves into a benign expectation that immigrants and their descendants will eventually join, in some way or another, a multi-faceted American mainstream (Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2005).

Another pair of authors, Perlmann and Waldinger, has adopted a more muscular approach asserting that the process of immigrant incorporation today is not fundamentally different from what happened earlier to Europeans and their descendants (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997). They criticize the conventional depiction of these earlier immigrants' assimilation into American life as too linear and too unproblematic. In reality, they believe, the process was far more difficult and complex and not too different, in that sense, to the barriers confronted by today's foreign groups (Waldinger 2007).

At its core, Perlmann and Waldinger's theorizing comes down to the assertion that, despite the major bifurcation of contemporary immigration, nothing significant has changed and the process of assimilation will unfold along pretty much the same lines as it always has. To buttress this position, Perlmann conducted a detailed comparison of the educational and occupational attainment of Italian immigrants and their descendants at the turn of the twentieth century and of Mexicans and their offspring at present (Perlmann 2005). The difficulty is that Perlmann's data do not support his theory very well, as he is repeatedly compelled to acknowledge differences in the adaptation process of both groups and the unusual difficulties that Mexican-American children face in competing for educational and economic mobility today. The study finds that the Mexican second generation is doubly handicapped by its lower educational achievement relative to whites and by the much higher returns to education at present relative to those facing Italian-Americans in an earlier period. Hence, "the Mexican [second generation] brings their great handicap in educational profile into the labor market in the worst possible context, when the returns to educational advantage are higher than at any point in the period 1940 to 2000" (Perlmann 2005: 95).

Further, Perlmann notes that while 9 percent of native white young males and 16 percent of African American males left school without a high school diploma in 2000, the rate among second generation Mexican-American males was 33 percent. This huge disparity leads him (2005:82) to acknowledge that, "Mexican-American dropout rates should bring to mind the warnings of the segmented assimilation hypothesis: that an important part of the contemporary second generation will assimilate downwards."

Segmented assimilation theory asserts that the big disparities in human capital and modes of incorporation among contemporary immigrants necessarily translate into patterned differences in the course of adaptation followed by their offspring. The power of these two causal factors is supplemented by a third – family structure. In addition to differences in human capital, contemporary immigrant groups also vary in the extent to which families remain together. The three factors jointly play a significant role, according to the theory, as these children confront barriers to educational and occupational mobility in contemporary society (Portes and Rumbaut 2006: Rumbaut 2005; Zhou 1997).

Barriers to successful adaptation, according to this theory, are three-fold: first, lingering racial prejudice, since the majority of today's second generation is non-white; second, de-industrialization and the bifurcation of the American labor market into highly-paid professional occupations requiring advanced training and low-paid manual jobs; third, the proliferation of gangs and the drug trade that provide an alternative path to staying in school and completing an education (Portes and Zhou 1993).

These obstacles interact with the human capital and mode of incorporation of immigrant groups, leading to several distinct paths of adaptation: many second generation youths succeed educationally and economically riding on stable families, high human capital in the parental generation, and a positive mode of incorporation; others succeed, despite low parental education and incomes, because of strong families and cohesive co-ethnic communities that support parental discipline and guidance. Still others confront barriers to successful adaptation with the disadvantages linked to low parental human capital, a negative mode of incorporation because of race or undocumented status, and weak co-ethnic communities. These children are at risk of undergoing *downward assimilation*, thus labeled because learning of American ways would not to lead in this case to upward mobility but exactly to the opposite. These ways are those of the street – linked to dropping out of school, joining gangs, or stagnating into low-paid menial jobs (Zhou and Bankston 1996; Vigil 2002).

Figure 1 summarizes the main tenets of this theory. Empirically, it makes two key predictions: First, that along with general educational and occupational advancement in the second generation, a sizable minority is falling behind because of the barriers it confronts; second, that this minority is not distributed randomly, but concentrates among groups marked by low average parental human capital, a negative mode of incorporation, and/or unstable families.

In opposition to segmented assimilation theory, classical assimilation and its contemporary variants envision a uniform and generally benign process in which the offspring of all immigrants, regardless of national origin and other parental characteristics, integrate more or less swiftly into the American mainstream. The assimilationist position has garnered momentum from a recent study of second-generation adults in New York City. Based on a cross-sectional sample of both second-generation and comparable native minority persons, the study found that, on average, second generation youths are doing better, educationally and occupationally, than their minority counterparts and have advanced significantly ahead of the parental generation (Kasinitz *et al.* 2008). These results lead these authors to proclaim a blanket "second generation advantage," reversing earlier premonitions by Gans (1992) who had warned about a likely "second generation decline" in the contemporary period.

In effect, Kasinitz and his associates dismiss the possibility of downward assimilation to posit a uniform forward path embraced by all or most children of immigrants. Given the size and growth rates of the population of second generation children and young adults, these alternative theoretical predictions have more than a purely academic interest: if adaptation is uniformly successful, as affirmed by classical assimilation theory and its contemporary supporters, it will pose no problems to American society in the future; on the other hand, if a sizable segment is at risk of downward assimilation, this should be of concern since this path leads to the self-reinforcing structural exclusion long affecting domestic minorities, and reflected in the perpetuation of inner-city poverty and disadvantage (Wacquant and Wilson 1989; Vigil 2002).

To examine these predictions, longitudinal data are necessary. Such data enable examination of adaptation over time and the sequence leading to particular outcomes. By contrast, cross-

sectional surveys of the second generation conducted in adulthood censor a key segment of this population, namely those who have become institutionalized or who, for one reason or another, have been removed from the normal life patterns of their age cohort. Most of the crises leading to negative adaptation outcomes originate in adolescence. This is a shortcoming of the Kasinitz *et al.* (2008) study, and it weakens the thesis of second-generation advantage.

Methods

a. Data Source

To examine these questions, we have made use of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), so far the largest existing longitudinal data set focused on the second generation. Census data alone do not suffice for this analysis because the decennial census does not contain a question on parental place of birth, making it impossible to identify second generation respondents. Similarly, the CPS permits only "limited longitudinal analysis and the investigation of short-run labor dynamics" (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2002: 12–13), and its respondents from immigrant communities are too few and scattered to permit detailed analysis. CILS is a survey of 5,262 second generation youths from 77 different nationalities. The operational definition of "second generation" used by this survey is children born in the United States with at least one foreign-born parent or children born abroad who had entered the U.S. by the age of five. The original survey was conducted at average age 14 in 49 schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale and San Diego and is representative of the universe of second generation youths in these areas in the early 1990s (Portes and Rumbaut 2005).

The sample, drawn from the eighth and ninth grades, was followed and reinterviewed three years later by the time of high school graduation at average age 17. Students who had dropped out of school were also tracked and, whenever possible, reinterviewed. In total, this follow-up retrieved 4,288 respondents or 81.5 percent of the original sample.

In 2001–03, ten years after the original survey, a second follow-up was conducted. The sample now averaged 24 years of age and hence "hard" outcomes indicative of different paths of adaptation could be measured. In total, this survey – labeled CILS-III – retrieved 3,613 respondents representing 68.9 percent of the original sample and 84.3 percent of the first follow-up. This level of sample attrition is similar or lower to that found in national surveys conducted in the U.S. recently, such as the General Social Survey (GSS) (Smith 2002). Nevertheless, with 31 percent of the original sample missing, it became necessary to address the issue of missing data.

The limitations of CILS data include both sample attrition in the last follow-up and restriction of the original sample to two gateway cities, Miami and San Diego. Nevertheless, its longitudinal design provides a unique advantage, insofar as it allows us to construct time-ordered causal models of all major second generation outcomes in early adulthood. Moreover, the CILS design allows us to identify individuals who have dropped out of normal civilian life, such as those behind bars, who are excluded from cross-sectional surveys of the "normal" adult population. Such cases are important, insofar as they provide direct evidence bearing on the likelihood of downward assimilation.

b. Research Questions

The following analysis seeks to provide answers to these basic questions:

1. Whether distinct paths of adaptation exist in the second generation and, in particular, whether there is evidence of downward assimilation.

2. If so, whether these outcomes are distributed randomly among immigrant nationalities or whether they tend to concentrate in specific groups, according to different levels of parental human capital and modes of incorporation.

3. What are the principal causal factors accounting for observed differences in education, occupational status and other adaptation outcomes among children of immigrants.

4. To what extent academic achievement and educational expectations in adolescence mediate the effects of exogenous parental variables and modes of incorporation on second generation outcomes.

5. To what extent the school contexts that children of immigrants encounter interact with early family variables and subsequent factors in affecting the course of subsequent adaptation.

Results

a. Preliminary Evidence

Table 1 presents descriptive results of the final CILS survey on possible indicators of different adaptation paths, broken down by major nationalities. The twelve nationalities identified individually comprise jointly over 85 percent of the present U.S. immigrant population. They include a sizable sample of Mexican-Americans, by far the largest group. We combined respondents of Chinese and Korean origin because of the observed similarities in parental background and modes of incorporation and in order to create a sufficiently sizable group for further analysis. Respondents categorized as "Other Latin" are mostly the children of Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants with a smattering of other Central and South American nationalities. "Other Asian" is a diverse category whose parents came from many countries in the region with no predominant nationality. [2]

While variations among second generation nationalities in average years of education are minor, those relating to dropout rates or quitting study after high school are not. Youths who failed to pursue their studies beyond high school range from a low of 6.9 percent among Chinese and Koreans and to a high of 26 percent among Nicaraguans, 38 percent among Mexican-Americans in California, and a remarkable 47 percent among children of Cambodian and Laotian refugees. The proportion of second generation Cambodians and Laotians with no more than a high school education is roughly the same as the proportion of their parents who did not attain this level. Mexican-Americans, on the other hand, have advanced significantly beyond the first generation. Their below-average achievement relative to other nationalities is a consequence of the very low family educational levels from which they started (Rumbaut 2005; Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001).

Family incomes follow closely these differences. The richest nationalities are Cubans in South Florida and Filipino-Americans in California. The poorest groups in both mean and

median incomes are the two predominantly black nationalities in Florida – Haitians and Jamaicans/West Indians – plus Mexicans and Laotian/Cambodians in California. Median incomes of second generation Haitians and Laotian/Cambodians are approximately $15,000 lower than those of non-Hispanic whites between 18 to 30 years of age in the 2000 U.S. Census ($40,600). Those of Mexican-American and Jamaican-Americans are about $10,000 lower (IPUMS 2000).

The dictum that "the rich get richer and the poor get children" is well-reflected in these data. At average age 24, only 6.5 percent of second generation Chinese/Koreans and 10 percent of Cubans have had children. At the opposite end, about a quarter of second generation Haitians, West Indians, and Laotian/Cambodians had children in adolescence or early adulthood; the figure then climbs to a remarkable 41 percent among Mexican-Americans and to almost half of all females of Mexican origin. This rate of fertility exceeds even that of African-American females, aged 18–30 in the 2000 Census (41 percent). Hence, the immigrant nationalities least equipped to move ahead because of school desertion and low family incomes are those most burdened, at an early age, by the responsibility of caring for children; a third generation likely to grow up in conditions of comparable disadvantage (Telles and Ortiz 2008).

Two final indicators of downward assimilation are incidents of arrests and incarceration. The latter are more serious since they imply the commission and sentencing for a crime. Males are significantly more likely to find themselves behind bars, either arrested or incarcerated. However, among second generation Chinese and Koreans no one did; among Filipino-Americans the rate was just 6 percent and among Cuban-Americans, a slightly larger figure. Second-generation Mexicans and West Indians are most likely to be incarcerated, with male rates close to that of African-American men aged 18–30 in 2000, 20.7% (Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, 2004).

These results provide tangible evidence of downward assimilation in the second generation. These outcomes are not random but concentrate in particular nationalities, specifically those that were expected to be at greatest disadvantage because of low levels of parental education and incomes and an insecure legal status (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Mexican-Americans, Haitian-Americans, and second generation Laotians and Cambodians —all groups excluded from the New York study sample (Kasinitz *et al.* 2008)—find themselves in this situation. These results contradict the predictions of assimilationist theories of a benign and uniform adaptation path followed, with minor exceptions, by all children of immigrants.[3]

The data presented in Table 1 are *not* adjusted for sample attrition. An analysis of determinants of attrition in the second CILS follow-up reveals that family composition and early high school grades are strong predictors: respondents growing up in single-parent families and with low GPAs in high school were significantly less likely to be included in the final sample. As the following analysis will show, these predictors are also strong determinants of adult outcomes, both leading to higher rates of school abandonment, lower occupational attainment, incarceration, and childbearing. Findings presented in Table 2 are, therefore, conservative since attrition in the sample is nonrandom. An imputation routine

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[3]Rumbaut (2005) conducted a parallel analysis of second generation outcomes based on pooled data from various years of the Current Population Survey. Unlike the decennial census which lacks a question on parental nativity making it impossible to identify second generation nationalities, the CPS does, although samples from individual years are too small to yield reliable results. The pooled sample by Rumbaut does, and his figures, although not the same as those from CILS, parallel its main results. Rumbaut's analysis demonstrates the same basic bifurcation in education, early childbearing, and rates of incarceration among the offspring of high human capital immigrants coming from Asia and among those of poorly-educated migrants coming from Mexico and Central America.

that takes into account the nonrandom character of absent respondents would simply *increase* the number of cases estimated to undergo downward assimilation.

b. Measuring Segmented Assimilation

We now turn to the determinants of three relevant objective outcomes pertaining to segmented assimilation: educational attainment, occupational status, and 6 indicators of downward assimilation (from Table 1). These indicators were aggregated into a single summary index including: 1) abandoned school with less than a high school diploma; 2) annual income below the poverty level[4]; 3) unemployed and not in school; 4) early childbearing; 5) at least one incident of arrest (but not incarcerated); 6) at least one incident of incarceration. The Downward Assimilation Index (DAI), therefore, is a count variable representing a set of different negative outcomes in adolescence or early adulthood; it should not be confused with a standard attitudinal scale representing a single underlying dimension. [5] In the following analysis, the DAI will be treated as a count variable, it will then be dichotomized into several probit models; and lastly, it will be re-scaled as a set of indicators reflecting two latent variables. Metric characteristics of DAI and other variables are available from the author upon request.

Table 2 presents the distribution of events representing downward assimilation, broken down by categories of the principal exogenous variables. The figures show DAI to be a well-behaved measure, as the pattern of scores closely reflects theoretical expectations: First, there is a monotonic increase in the proportion of respondents experiencing *no* negative events with rising parental status and a corresponding decline in those experiencing many such events. Second, children who grew up with both natural parents are 12 percent less likely to experience a single negative outcomes than those raised in less conventional types of households. Third, differences among nationalities show that the highest proportions experiencing two or more negative life events are found among the most disadvantaged groups – young adults of Mexican, Haitian, Jamaican, West Indian, Laotian, and Cambodian origin. Fourteen percent of Chinese/Koreans are also in this category, but the group also features one of the highest percentages of no incidents. This bi-model pattern is mainly due to the high proportion of unemployed among Chinese. Overall, results add confidence in the Index as a good summary measure avoiding the clutter of analyzing each individual indicator separately.

In the following analysis, all predictors come from the CILS first and second waves where missing data was not a serious problem. The problem appears with the dependent variables that were measured in the third survey. We conducted several analyses to address the implications of "missingness", including using listwise deletion; using FIML estimation, when possible, to adjust for missing values while retaining the original sample size; and conducting sensitivity analyses by estimating the models after assigning all missing cases values that indicate negative outcomes. The first and second approach assume that missing data are random, a common assumption that is often not met but tends to produce conservative results (Allison 2003). The third approach assumes that "missingness" is not random but instead is related to the outcome. Individuals who are missing on the outcomes

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[4]The income indicator is based on annualized monthly earnings for respondents living independently at the time of the CILS-III survey or family income for respondents living at home with one or both parents or married. These figures were then compared with the 2003 poverty threshold for unrelated individuals and for families, respectively. Poverty is coded 1 when individual or family income falls below the threshold. In 2003, approximately half of the sample (53%) were still living in their parents' homes and most of the rest (38.4%) were living in their own place. The remainder (8.6%) were either institutionalized or had no fixed residence.
[5]Unlike scales built to represent a single latent dimension, count variables aggregate different events that are not necessarily correlated, although they reflect a common trend. For example, Kalleberg, Reskin, and Hudson (2001) aggregated different indicators of what they took to represent "bad jobs" that did not necessarily correlate with one another. Similarly, in our case, having a child in adolescence is not highly related to being incarcerated, although the two events can be defined as negative adaptation outcomes.

tend to have covariate values that suggest that, were they observed, they would score high on downward assimilation. Therefore, this third approach provides an extreme upper bound of what results might have been if the missing had been observed.

The DAI was constructed to quantify and examine determinants of downward assimilation. However, as noted in the theoretical section and in Figure 1, this is just *one* of the possible paths taken by the process. To highlight this point and examine determinants of alternative outcomes, we include next regressions of educational and occupational achievement, in early adulthood.

d. Nested Models

As predictors of all three dependent variables, we use the variables listed on the left-hand side of Figure 1 plus controls for age and sex. We then add indicators of early school context – average school SES (measured by the obverse of the proportion of students eligible for free or subsidized lunches) and whether respondents attended a mostly minority school (measured by the proportion of Hispanic, Black, and Asian students). Lastly, we add the effects of academic performance and ambition in early school years, as indexed by grade point averages and by respondents' expectations of a college or post-graduate degree. An extensive literature on occupational and educational achievement has consistently shown school grades and early educational expectations to be strong predictors of these outcomes (Sewell *et al*. 1969; Haller and Portes 1973; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Kao and Tienda 1998).

The successive models reflect the family-to-school transition, as experienced by our respondents. The first model focuses on the exogenous variables presented in Figure 1: parental characteristics and modes of incorporation. Table 4 presents OLS nested models of educational and occupational attainment; Table 5 presents the corresponding models for downward assimilation. DAI is a count variable and, hence, OLS regression is inappropriate. Count variables can be modeled as Poisson processes except that Poisson regression makes the restrictive assumption of equidispersion ($\mu = {}^2$). For that reason, we use negative binomial regression (NBR) which allows for overdispersion (Long 1997). Like Poisson, exponentiated NBR coefficients indicate the net increase/decrease in probabilities associated with a unit increase in each predictor.

The first column of Table 3 shows the significant tendency of males and older students to have lower levels of educational attainment. Recall that age was measured when respondents were in the 8th and 9th grades and, hence, this is the effect of falling behind the respective age cohort. Results confirm the expected strong effects of parental status and two-parent families in fostering educational attainment. To avoid clutter, we limit nationality effects to the three groups known to experience the most disadvantaged modes of incorporation, plus the two consistently most advantaged nationalities in our sample. The reference category for these national origins is the rest of the CILS sample composed of children from seventy different nationalities. Average scores for this reference category in all predictors and in the dependent variables are similar to those of the full sample, making it a suitable base of comparison. Laotian/Cambodian respondents are not included because of their parents' favorable mode of incorporation as political refugees. Separate analyses (not shown) indicate that the poor outcomes for second generation Laotians and Cambodians are entirely due to very low parental socio-economic status and not to any contextual disadvantage. Once parental SES is controlled, no ethnic effect is observable.[6]

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[6]Zhou (2008) and Rumbaut (2005) report similar results for this immigrant group.

The pattern of nationality effects generally corresponds to theoretical expectations, with second generation Chinese/Koreans displaying net positive effects on educational attainment. Second generation Mexicans are at the opposite end. On the other hand, there are no significant net effects associated with Cuban origin or with the two predominantly black nationalities – Haitians and Jamaican/West Indians – once other variables are controlled.

The second and third panels display the effects of early high school contexts and early academic outcomes, respectively. As anticipated, average school SES significantly improves final educational outcomes, while attending a minority school in the 8th and 9th grades has the opposite effect. Much stronger, as shown by the respective t-values, are the effects of early school grades and educational expectations. Each of these exceeds at least 15 times its standard error. Each additional grade point in early high school leads to a net increase of almost three-fourths of a year in final educational attainment. The influence of the two parental variables, although attenuated, remains significant. With other variables controlled, the effects of Chinese-Korean and Mexican origin disappear, while those of Cuban and Haitian origin become significant. The first effect corresponds to theoretical expectations, given the positive mode of incorporation of first-generation Cubans, but the second does not.

The pattern of effects on occupational attainment is similar, albeit with some important differences. Contrary to expectations, two-parent families do not affect this outcome, while attending a minority school has a significant *positive* effect. This result reflects the presence in the CILS sample of almost 100 percent Hispanic private bilingual schools in South Florida. Graduates of these schools do quite well, on average, in the labor market.[7] The effect is also observable on educational attainment, although it only emerges when other variables are controlled. On the other hand, parental status, early school grades and educational ambition continue to have the expected positive influences. With other variables controlled, Cuban-Americans display a significant advantage in occupational status, while Mexican-Americans experience the opposite. These outcomes correspond to theoretical expectations. Haitian-Americans do not derive any advantage from their higher-than-expected educational attainment.

Table 4 presents comparable results for the index of downward assimilation. As predicted, the pattern of effects runs parallel but opposite to those just examined. Negative coefficients, in this instance, indicate positive outcomes as they reflect lesser incidents of downward assimilation. The first model, limited to the exogenous variables, shows the strong inhibiting effects of parental status and two-parent families. Higher incidence of downward assimilation is present among males and among members of all nationalities associated with a negative mode of incorporation. The Mexican-American coefficient is strong, exceeding five times its standard error and translating into a 47 percent greater likelihood of downward assimilation, controlling for other variables.

Introduction of school contextual variables and early academic outcomes in the following panels attenuates these effects, but does not eliminate them. The Cuban effect remains marginally significant in the direction of inhibiting downward assimilation, but those associated with Haitian, Jamaican, and Mexican origin run in the opposite direction. Despite experiencing no net disadvantage in educational or occupational attainment and a positive educational effect (for Haitians), the two predominantly black minorities continue to be significantly at risk. They join Mexican-Americans in exemplifying the stubborn effect of a

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[7]These schools are mostly attended by children of middle-class Cuban families plus a sprinkling of other Latin Americans. They were created by Cuban exiles arriving in the 1960s and 1970s to provide their children with an education comparable to that formerly offered by private schools in Havana. The inclusion of these schools in the "minority" category is a peculiarity of the CILS sample and likely accounts for the contrary-to-expected effects of this predictor. For additional details, see Portes and Stepick 1993, Ch. 6.

negative mode of incorporation: even after doing well in school, these Caribbean groups continue to experience negative outcomes in terms of unemployment, arrests, and incarceration. The significant contextual effect of minority schools in inhibiting downward assimilation is likely due to the same reason explained previously -- the presence in the CILS sample of 100 percent Hispanic bilingual schools in Miami whose graduates tend to do quite well. As with educational attainment, this effect emerges only with academic grades and expectations controlled.

To test the robustness of these findings, we replicated the analysis with DAI as a dichotomy (zero downward assimilation events *vs.* one or more) using probit regression. The first set of models in Table 5 approaches missing data conservatively on the basis of listwise deletion; the second, in Table 6, answers the question of what would happen if missing cases had experienced one or more negative events, as the overlap between predictors of "missingness" and downward assimilation suggests. The first set of probit models in Table 5 replicates, in all its essentials, the results already described. As in the previous NBR regressions, the family SES coefficient is reduced by half after academic grades and educational expectations enter the equation, indicating that parental status influence is largely mediated by these intervening variables. Nationality effects follow the same patterns noted earlier with no significant Cuban or Chinese/Korean net effects after controlling for school variables, but resilient coefficients indicating downward assimilation among second generation Haitians, West Indians, and Mexicans.

Under the assumption of missing cases experiencing at least one negative life event, the sample is restored to its original size and the effect of parental status becomes stronger (Table 6). Older respondents are at greater risk of downward assimilation, as are males until grades and expectations are introduced. The strongest factors inhibiting this path continue to be two-parent families and the school variables, particularly academic grades and educational ambition. The Haitian, West Indian, and Mexican coefficients remain significant, running in the opposite direction. We interpret this result as confirming that the handicaps associated with a negative mode of incorporation for specific nationalities endure even after taking family variables, school contexts, and academic achievement and ambition into account.

e. Latent Variable Models

For a different look at these data, we divided the six indicators composing DAI into those indicative of deviant events (incidents of arrests and incarceration) and those reflecting other negative events (early school abandonment, poverty, unemployment, and early parenthood). For convenience, these components are labeled "Deviant DA" and "Other DA". We estimate multiple indicator/multiple cause (MIMIC) models with these two latent variables (Bollen 1989). As shown in Figure 2, all covariates are allowed to influence both dependent variables. We treat all DA indicators as categorical (ordinal) and estimate the model using Mplus version 4.2. Models are non-nested and all predictors in the right-most column of Tables 4, 5, and 6 are included. In these models, we follow two approaches toward the missing data problem; first, listwise deletion, as done previously; second, the Mplus FIML estimator which retains observations missing on individual indicators, but restructures the likelihood function to adjust for the missing. Results are presented in Table 7.

Specification of two latent dependent variables allows us to understand more clearly patterns of causation in the data. It is evident, under both model specifications, that males are far more prone to experience incidents of deviant downward assimilation. The corresponding gender effect actually changes sign for other DA, reflecting the greater incidence of teenage childbearing among girls. The protective effect of two-parent families is stronger in preventing deviance than in preventing other negative events, such as poverty,

unemployment, or child-bearing; the opposite is the case for the effect of family SES. The two school contextual variables also prove less effective in preventing deviance than other negative events. Grades and educational expectations in early high school are strong inhibitors of both types of downward assimilation although, as with the effect of intact families, their preventative influence is stronger on Deviant DA.

Nationality effects are similar to those noted previously, except that the Mexican effect is much stronger on deviance than on other forms of downward assimilation. This result reflects the high incidence of arrests and incarceration among Mexican-Americans, especially males. West Indian youths are next to Mexicans in displaying the resilient influences of a negative mode of incorporation on both forms of downward assimilation. On the other hand, the effect of a positive reception for Cuban refugees ceases to be significant when other variables are controlled.

F. Interaction Effects

We have seen previously the main effects of school context, as measured by average school SES and the indicator of minority school. Both turn out to have positive and significant effects on the dependent variables. In this final section, we seek to examine interaction effects between school contexts and other predictors to answer the final question posed at the end of the Methods section above. For this purpose, we dichotomize the CILS school sample into high *vs.* low SES schools at the mean of the school SES distribution (54.54). Given the unique character of our indicator of minority schools, influenced by the presence of private Hispanic schools in Miami, we shift in this analysis to the percentage of black students, dichotomizing the corresponding school distribution at its mean (15%).

To avoid clutter, we limit the analysis to determinants of DAI. As seen previously, determinants of educational and occupational achievement mirror, in reverse, those of downward assimilation. Table 8 presents results of regressing DAI on the full set of predictors for each type of school. The focus of the analysis is on differences across schools.

To assess them, we rely on a simple t-test: $t=(b_1-b_2)/\sqrt{\sigma_{b1}^2+\sigma_{b2}^2}$; this is justified under the assumption that the sampling distribution of all coefficients is asymptotically normal.

There are no major differences in the pattern of causation across different types of schools, indicating the basic robustness of the previous model. The only significant difference between high- and low-SES school is the effect of parental status that is much stronger in the poorer schools. This suggests that family background is more important in preventing downward assimilation when the outside context is less favorable; in more favorable environments, the key role devolves into the school achievement variables, as shown by the stronger influences of academic grades and ambition. The pattern of nationality effects is the same although, with samples reduced in half, only two remain significant: Cuban origin continues to inhibit downward assimilation, while Mexican origin promotes it. To be noted, in particular, is that higher-status schools do not attenuate these differences.

Results between schools with different black/white compositions are similar, except that Mexican-origin students who attended majority white schools did significantly worse later in life. The handicap associated with their national origin concentrates in this type of school, as no significant effect is apparent among Mexican-Americans who went to schools with a higher number of black students. These results do not imply that there is less downward assimilation in the latter schools. In fact, on average, there is more. However, second generation groups from disadvantaged nationalities do not differ significantly from others in these environments. Handicaps associated with a negative mode of incorporation become much more visible and, hence, statistically significant in majority white schools.

The overall conclusion is that the pattern of effects observed for the sample as a whole tends to hold across schools with different class and racial compositions. The single exception is the greater relative effect of national disadvantage in the more privileged institutions. Mexican and other parents from similar backgrounds who strive to place their children in high-SES, majority white schools may have driven a poor bargain. Higher-status schools do not mitigate the handicaps of a negative mode of incorporation and those where white students predominate tend to make them ever more salient. By themselves, more privileged school environments appear to do nothing to protect children from the more at-risk groups from downward assimilation.

Discussion

Results from this analysis demonstrate that the assimilation of the second generation in America is neither uniform nor always benign. Distinct paths exist, some of which lead upwards to successful integration into the middle-class mainstream, but others lead in the opposite direction. These contrasting outcomes are not random, but are patterned by a set of causal forces that cumulate over time – from immigrant parents' traits and experiences to what happens to their children in schools. Results from CILS show significant differences in education, occupation, and other defining life events across major immigrant nationalities. The analysis demonstrates that these differences are resilient and do not disappear after taking other relevant predictors, including parental human capital and family composition into account.

We believe that the most plausible explanation for these enduring national differences lies in the distinct modes of incorporation encountered by various groups in the United States. Unless one wishes to resort to theories of racial or cultural inferiority, the consistent handicaps observed among Mexican-Americans and Black Caribbeans—even after controlling for individual, family, and school characteristics—must be linked to the unfavorable context encountered by first generation immigrants in the United States. Culturalistic theories are further weakened by the fact that a group as culturally close to Mexicans as Cubans exhibits a very different profile in indicators of achievement and adaptation.

The distinct adaptation paths uncovered by CILS would have been blurred, had it been based on a cross-section of second generation adults. By then, the near 20 percent of second generation Mexican and West Indian males in prison would have disappeared from view, as would probably many unemployed school dropouts and teen mothers. The bias created by their omission would inevitably lead to an over-optimistic assessment of adaptation outcomes in the second generation. This is, regretfully, what has happened with other studies (cited previously), that, based on cross-sectional data, proclaimed a general second generation "advantage" and, by implication, the absence of any serious handicap among members of this population.

The importance of what is at stake requires additional discussion. Fortunately, other recent evidence bears on the issue in ways that address the implications of our findings. Telles and Ortiz' (2008) recent longitudinal study of Mexican-Americans, for example, documents a similar pattern of segmented assimilation in the second generation, followed by educational and occupational stagnation in subsequent ones. Paralleling earlier results by Hirschman and Falcon (1985), Telles and Ortiz conclude that there is no evidence of an inevitable linear progression across generations. Instead, descendants of immigrants who failed to reach the middle-class in the first or second generations remain pretty much where their ancestors were. That is why, Telles and Ortiz conclude, the Mexican-American population as a whole

continues to occupy a subordinate position in the American hierarchies of wealth and power, despite multiple generations in the country.

The growing literature on second generation youth gangs or *maras* offers additional evidence bearing on the same point. The proliferation of Mexican and Central American gangs, including the much feared *mara Salvatrucha* (MS-13), is a direct outgrowth of downward assimilation in the second generation. The "Salvatrucha", the "Dieciocho", and similar gangs were created by disaffected children of Mexican, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan migrants who grew up in poverty in California (Allegro 2006; Grascia 2004). Parents were commonly lacked documentation; they found employment only in the humblest jobs and settled in the worst sections of the city. In these settings, their children were confronted daily with the realities of the drug trade and experienced repeated attacks by gangs of domestic youths (Vigil 2002). To defend themselves, they created their own gangs. When foreign-born, but U.S.-raised members of these gangs were deported to their native countries, they proceeded to recreate there the same criminal practices that they had learned in American streets and to recruit local youths in the process (Grascia 2004; Boermann 2007).

The "maras" and other second generation gangs have grown exponentially, thriving among other concentrations of poor immigrants in the United States (Allegro 2006; Boermann 2007). Faced with such realities, it is disconcerting how some researchers could proclaim a uniform assimilation path reflecting "advantage". While it is true that, on average, today's second generation is moving ahead educationally and occupationally, relative to their parents, that result obscures two other important points: first, the very low educational and occupational backgrounds of many immigrant parents, leading to a situation where their children could scarcely go lower; second, the substantial rates of arrest, incarceration, adolescent childbearing, and other negative outcomes concentrated among members of the same groups. When the proportion of Mexican- and Caribbean-origin young males in prison almost matches that of African-Americans, and when the rates of adolescent childbearing and school abandonment among major second generation nationalities exceed those of domestic minorities, the ground for celebratory statements becomes much shakier.

From a policy standpoint, the implications of segmented assimilation are clear. A sizeable proportion of legal immigrants with high levels of human capital is poised to follow a smooth adaptation path, with the majority of their offspring achieving high levels of education and moving solidly into the middle-class. At the other extreme, there is the mass of poor and unskilled immigrants coming to fill the labor needs of the American economy. These immigrants face the challenges posed by the poor areas where they settle with few individual resources and no external assistance.

Downward assimilation may be regarded as the consequence of the clash between the benefits of unauthorized labor, that are privatized, and its costs, that are socialized. If manual workers are needed in agriculture, construction, and other sectors of the economy, they should be brought legally and encouraged to return home after a period of time (Massey 1998; Portes 2007). However, those who settle and create families on this side of the border should be vigorously assisted, to prevent the realities documented in this paper from reproducing themselves. Additional results, also based on CILS, show that a proactive stance by teachers and counselors and external voluntary support programs can make a significant difference helping poor children of immigrants overcome the handicaps of a negative mode of incorporation (Fernández-Kelly 2008; Haller and Konczal 2008). Active external intervention in support of these families and their aspirations is needed, lest the country's hunger for cheap labor devolves over time in the emergence of a new underclass. The proven effectiveness of external voluntary programs targeting these youths offers a blueprint and a ray of hope in an otherwise troubling landscape.

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Appendix. Variables Used in the Analysis

	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Range	Skewness
Endogenous:					
Downward Assimilation Index (DAI) (Unit-weighted sum of six negative adaptation events:	0.61	0.00	0.88	0 to 6	1.71
Dropped out of high school					
Unemployed and not in school					
Having a child in adolescence					
Low family income (or low individual earnings, if living independently)					
Having been arrested					
Having been incarcerated)					
Highest Level of Education completed (in years)	14.33	14	1.83	10 to 18	–.29
Prestige of Current Occupation (in Treiman prestige scores)	44.54	44	11.81	16 to 78	.05
Exogenous:					
Sociodemographic					
National Origin:	%				
Cuban	23.4				
Nicaraguan	6.5				
Colombian	4.2				
Filipino	15.6				
Chinese or Korean	1.8				
Vietnamese	7.0				
Jamaican or West Indian	5.2				

	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Range	Skewness
Laotian or Cambodian	4.8				
Haitian	3.4				
Mexican	14.4				
	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Range	Skewness
Age (years)	24.23	24.00	0.86	22 to 28	0.26
Sex	0.49	0.00	0.50	0 to 1	--
1 Male					
0 Female					
Family Characteristics					
Family Structure	0.63	1.0	0.48	0 to 1	--
1 Both biological parents present					
0 All other family types					
Family Socioeconomic Status (Standardized unit-weighted sum of father's and mother's education; occupational status; and home ownership)	−.06	−.03	0.76	−1.66 to 2.09	−0.06
School Characteristics					
School Socioeconomic Status (100 minus percent eligible free school lunches)	54.54	61.10	24.44	7.7 to 92.30	−0.22
Minority School (1=60% or more black or Hispanic 0=59 % or less black or Hispanic)	0.42	0.00	0.49	0 to 1	--
	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Range	Skewness
Academic Record					
Junior High Grade Point Average	2.52	2.58	0.91	00 to 4.96	−.025
Junior High Educational Expectations	4.10	4.00	0.97	1–5	−0.94
1 Less than High School					
2 Finish High School					
3 Finish Some College					
4 Finish College					
5 Finish a Graduate Degree					

Background Determinants	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation and Higher
• Human Capital	1. Achievement of middle class status based on high immigrant human capital	Professional and entrepreneurial occupations and full acculturation	Complete integration into the social and economic mainstream
• Family Structure	2. Parental working-class occupations, but strong co-ethnic communities	Selective acculturation[1]; attainment of middle class status through educational credentials	Full acculturation and integration into the mainstream
• Modes of Incorporation	3. Parental working class occupations and weak co-ethnic communities	Dissonant acculturation[2] and low educational achievement	Stagnation into subordinate manual jobs; reactive ethnicity[3]
			Downward assimilation into deviant lifestyles; reactive ethnicity[3]

Figure 1.
[1]Defined as preservation of parental language and elements of parental culture along with acquisition of English and American ways.
[2]Defined as rejection of parental culture and breakdown of communication across generations.
[3]Defined as ethnic militance in reaction to perceived discrimination by the mainstream.
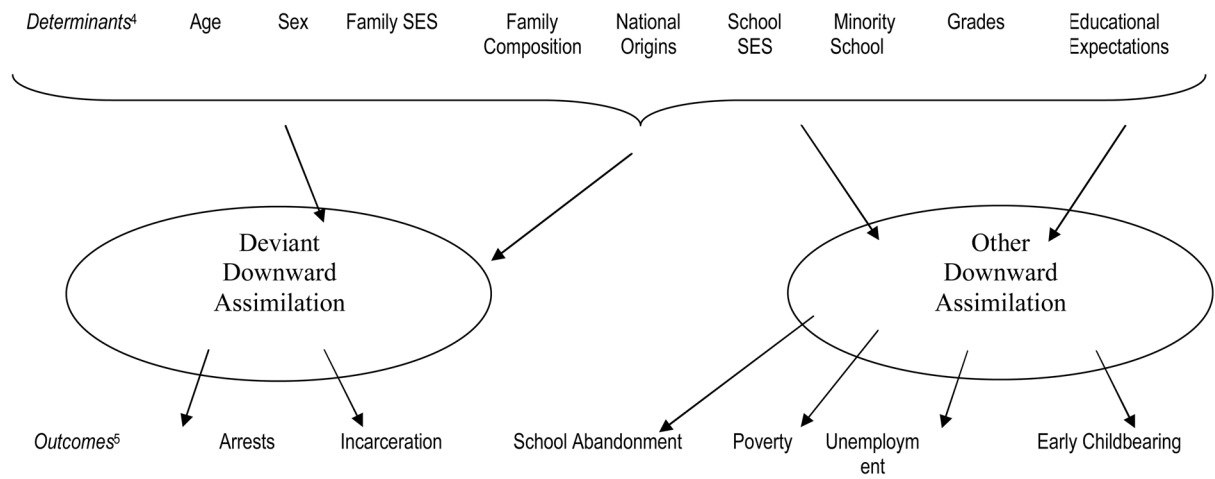Source: Adapted from Portes and Rumbaut 2001, p. 283.

Figure 2.
[4]All determinants are allowed to influence both latent variables.
[5]Arrows indicate measured outcomes of both latent variables.

Table 1

Nationality	Education		Family Income		Unemployed[1]	Has at least One Child		Arrested		Incarcerated[2]		N
	Average Years	High School Graduate or Less %	Mean $	Median[3] $	%	Total %	Females %	Total %	Males %	Total %	Males %	
Cambodian/Laotian	13.4	46.7	36,504	24,643	15.5	22.9	31.1	5.2	**10.5**	4.6	10.4	158
Chinese/Korean	15.5	6.8	47,723	31,136	14.8	6.5	--	6.9	10.3	--	--	62
Colombian	14.5	16.6	58,339	45,948	3.3	16.6	14.3	11.8	21.9	5.5	10.6	151
Cuban	14.5	19.4	67,087	50,698	6.8	10.1	20.9	10.3	9.1	4.8	8.0	811
Filipino	14.5	15.9	64,986	55,167	9.5	19.7	24.8	5.9	9.1	3.8	5.8	593
Haitian	14.4	14.4	33,471	26,000	18.8	24.7	30.8	11.1	20.6	7.7	14.7	97
Jamaican/West Indian	14.6	17.6	39,565	29,423	9.5	24.5	25.4	13.1	30.4	7.3	18.2	159
Mexican	13.4	37.9	39,589	32,828	9.2	40.8	48.0	15.0	26.7	9.3	17.0	424
Nicaraguan	14.2	25.7	54,195	47,252	5.8	19.8	23.0	7.9	14.7	4.2	9.7	227
Vietnamese	14.9	13.4	44,512	35,000	7.8	8.7	5.1	7.9	14.7	6.8	12.5	200
Other (Asian)	14.6	21.3	51,875	33,088	2.5	20.0	29.3	--	5.4	--	--	82
Other (Latin American)	14.2	24.1	54,514	39,375	6.0	19.7	23.7	12.4	20.0	5.5	10.1	285
Total	14.3	22.3	55,625	41,668	8.7	20.4	24.9	9.6	16.5	5.3	9.5	3,249

[1] Respondents without jobs, whether looking or not looking for employment, except those still enrolled at school.

[2] CILS-3 arrest and incarceration figures are retrospective for the "past 5 years" until the time of the survey. Figures with less than 4 cases in a category are omitted from percentage estimates. Self-reports were supplemented by searches on incarcerated persons available, as public information, in the web pages of the California and Florida corrections departments.

[3] Median family income based on midpoints for grouped data.

Table 2

Predictor[1]	Events Indicative of Downward Assimilation				
	None %	One %	Two-Three %	Four or More %	Mean[2]
Family SES:					
Low	44.0	35.4	18.6	2.0	0.86 (0.99)
Medium-Low	53.7	30.7	13.4	2.3	0.70 (0.96)
Medium-High	61.6	26.1	11.6	0.8	0.55 (0.83)
High	69.2	23.9	6.5	0.4	0.40 (0.70)
Family Structure:					
Two-parent families	62.3	26.8	11.0	0.8	0.53 (0.78)
Others	49.1	32.2	16.2	2.5	0.77 (0.96)
National Origins:[3]					
Chinese-Korean	67.3	16.4	16.4	0.0	0.55 (0.90)
Colombian	63.4	27.5	9.1	0.0	0.48 (0.72)
Cuban	65.2	25.4	8.6	0.8	0.49 (0.80)
Filipino	61.2	29.0	9.0	0.7	0.53 (0.79)
Haitian	47.1	31.0	19.5	2.3	0.80 (0.94)
Jamaican/West Indian	50.3	33.3	13.6	2.7	0.75 (0.96)
Lao-Cambodian	48.6	28.1	21.9	1.4	0.82 (1.01)
Mexican	37.0	39.0	21.5	2.5	0.99 (1.02)
Nicaraguan	63.8	26.2	8.6	1.4	0.50 (0.81)
Vietnamese	56.6	29.1	13.0	2.1	0.66 (0.79)
Totals	58.2	28.5	12.0	1.3	0.61 (0.88)

[1] See Appendix for description of all variables.

[2] On 0–6 DAI scale; standard deviations in parentheses.

[3] The reference category is the rest of the CILS-III sample comprising approximately 60 different nationalities, N=1538

Table 3

Predictor	Educational Attainment[1]						Occupational Attainment[2]					
	I		**II**		**III**		**I**		**II**		**III**	
	Coeff.	**t**	**Coeff.**	**t**	**Coeff**	**t**	**Coeff**	**t**	**Coeff**	**t**	**Coeff**	**t**
Age	−.166	−4.6***	−.214	−5.9***	−.119	−3.7***	.005	−0.0	−.118	−.04	−.061	−0.2
Male	−.327	−6.0***	−.350	−5.9***	−.032	−0.5	−3.089	−6.9***	−3.135	−6.9***	−1.564	−3.4***
Two-parent family	.392	6.0***	.357	5.5***	.184	3.2**	.760	1.6	.805	1.6	.023	0.3
Family SES	.731	17.2***	.628	13.9***	.359	8.9***	2.549	7.8***	2.331	6.7***	1.282	3.6***
Nationality[3]												
Chinese-Korean	.894	4.0***	.856	3.8***	.263	1.4	3.053	1.6	3.184	1.7	1.058	0.5
Cuban	.023	0.3***	.061	0.7	.186	2.4*	3.074	5.6***	2.183	3.4**	2.524	3.8**
Haitian	.218	1.2	.387	2.2*	.484	3.0**	−1.008	−0.7	−1.108	−0.8	−.620	−0.4
Jamaican/West Indian	.113	0.8	.130	0.9	.192	1.5	.971	0.9	.780	0.7	1.028	0.9
Mexican	−.450	−4.8***	−.456	−4.6***	−.079	−0.9	−3.891	−5.4***	−3.323	−4.5***	−1.954	−2.6**
School SES[4]			.008	6.2***	.005	4.4***			.023	2.2*	.015	1.4
Minority School[4]			−.127	−1.7*	.194	2.9**			1.422	2.6*	3..062	5.1***
High School GPA[4]					.736	22.5***					2.826	9.7***
Educ. Expectations4					.538	15.3***					1.729	5.6***
Constant	18.225		21.0***		12.440	15.7	45.000	6.85***	46.197		29.474	
R^2	.154		.166		.399		.088		.091		.158	
F	66.0***		58.9***		147.8***		27.7***		23.6***		33.2***	
N	3263		3263		2913		2590		2590		2306	

[1] Years completed.

[2] Treiman Occupational Prestige Scores.

[3] Reference category is the rest of the CILS-III sample.

[4] Measured in the first CILS survey, 1992–1993

*
p<.05

**
p<.01

***
p<.001

Table 4

	Model								
	I			**II**			**III**		
Predictor	**Coeff.**	**Z**	**% Change[1]**	**Coeff.**	**Z**	**% Change[2]**	**Coeff.**	**Z**	**% Change[2]**
Age	.065	2.20*	6.7	.086	.030**	9.0	.031	0.97	—
Male	.175	3.51***	19.2	.179	.050***	19.6	-.012	-0.23	—
Two-parent family	-.351	-6.75***	-29.6	-.342	-6.56***	-29.0	-.266	-4.93***	-23.4
Family SES	-.284	-7.96***	-24.7	-.243	-6.41***	-21.6	-.140	-3.53***	-13.1
Nationality:[2]									
Chinese/Korean	.030	.200	—	.033	0.16	—	.191	0.93	—
Cuban	-.136	-2.05*	-12.7	-.115	-1.51	—	-.160	-1.94#	-14.8
Haitian	.283	2.06*	32.7	.227	1.63		.282	1.94#	32.6
Jamaican/West Indian	.307	2.74**	36.0	.306	2.72**	35.8	.381	3.29**	46.4
Mexican	.384	5.49***	46.8	.357	4.92***	42.9	.175	2.38*	19.1
School SES				-.004	-3.12**	-0.4	-.003	-2.21*	-0.3
Minority School				-.015	-0.24		-.209	-3.02**	-18.9
High School GPA							-.280	-8.79***	-24.4
Educational Expectations							-.251	-8.40***	-22.2
Constant	-1.995	-2.78**		-2.307	-3.19**		.790	1.02	
Alpha	.269***			.263***			.050		
Pseudo R²	0.035			0.036			0.075		
N	3148			3148			2819		

[1] Computed for significant predictors only.

[2] Reference category is the rest of the CILS-III sample

*
p<.05

**
p<.01

***
p<.001

#$p<.10$

Table 5

Predictor	Model[3]		
	I	**II**	**III**
Age	.056 *(2.10)	.073 **(2.66)	.028 (0.95)
Male	.038 (0.85)	.045 (1.01)	−.077 (−1.56)
Two-parent family	−.273 ***(−5.61)	−.266 ***(−5.45)	−.199 ***(−3.73)
Family SES	−.226 ***(−7.08)	−.193 ***(−5.66)	−.119 **(−3.19)
Nationality:			
Chinese/Korean	−.004 (−0.02)	.000 (0.00)	.151 (0.85)
Cuban	−.104#(−1.89)	−.074 (−1.15)	−.127#(−1.78)
Haitian	.302 *(2.27)	.267 *(1.98)	.277#(1.83)
Jamaican/West Indian	.285 **(2.70)	.289 **(2.73)	.345 (2.87)
Mexican	.431 ***(5.92)	.405 ***(5.40)	.252 **(3.16)
School SES		−.003 **(−2.85)	−.002 *(−2.12)
Minority School		−.032 (−0.58)	−.119#(−1.88)
High School GPA			−.221 ***(−7.15)
Educational Expectations			−.222 ***(−6.71)
Constant	−1.354 *(−2.08)	−1.588 *(−2.42)	1.002 (1.35)
Pseudo R^2	0.045	0.046	0.082
N	3343	3343	2970

[3]Z-values in parentheses.

#p<.10

*p<.05

**p<.01

***p<.001

Table 6

Predictor	Model[1]		
	I	**II**	**III**
Age	.105 *** (4.81)	.123 *** (5.50)	.075 ** (2.95)
Male	.154 *** (4.19)	.161 *** (4.35)	.040 (0.96)
Two-parent family	−.370 *** (−9.37)	−.363 *** (−9.13)	−.226 *** (−4.98)
Family SES	−.267 *** (−10.16)	−.229 *** (−8.18)	−.155 *** (−4.88)
Nationality:			
Chinese/Korean	.050 (0.37)	.052 (0.38)	.292 * (1.99)
Cuban	−.069 (−1.54)	−.024 (−0.47)	−.108 # (−1.79)
Haitian	.302 ** (2.76)	.267 * (2.41)	.274 * (2.13)
Jamaican/West Indian	.288 ** (3.29)	.288 ** (3.28)	.334 ** (3.22)
Mexican	.365 *** (5.97)	.332 *** (5.28)	.168 * (2.43)
School SES		−.003 *** (−4.02)	−.002 * (−2.38)
Minority School		−.052 (−1.14)	−.144 ** (−2.71)
High School GPA			−.271 *** (−10.40)
Educational Expectations			−.200 *** (−7.24)
Constant	−2.051 *** (−3.84)	−2.286 *** (−4.24)	.294 (0.47)
Pseudo R^2	0.061	0.064	0.098
N	5261	5261	4216

[1] Z-values in parentheses.

# p<.10

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

Table 7

Predictor	Listwise Deletion (N=3115)		FIML Estimation (N=5144)[1]	
	Deviant DA	**Other DA**	**Deviant DA**	**Other DA**
Age	.01 (.11)[2]	.03(2.3)*	.012(.298)	.05(3.8)***
Male	.74(9.5)***	-.13(3.33)***	.77(10.25)***	-.08(3.7)***
Two-parent family	-.26(3.5)***	-.08(2.9)**	-.25(3.5)***	-.14(5.3)***
Family SES	.05(.96)	-.06(3.03)**	.034(.63)	-.08(4.9)***
Chinese/Korean	.20(.67)	.06(.75)	.14(.47)	.16(2.06)*
Cuban	-.34(1.64)	.09(.02)	-.32(1.6)	-.06(.03)
Jamaican/West Indian	.19(.76)	.12(1.85)#	.40(1.88)#	.15(2.49)*
Haitian	.16(.76)	.07(1.4)	.24(1.22)	.12(2.17)*
Mexican	.42(3.9)***	.07(2.09)*	.36(3.4)***	.05(1.8)#
School SES	-.002(2.8)**	-.002(2.80)**	-.003(1.57)	-.002(3.9)***
Minority School	-.10(3.07)**	-.10(3.08)**	-.11(1.31)	-.15(5.2)***
High School GPA	-.12(3.49)***	-.12(3.49)***	-.24(5.8)***	-.15(6.4)***
High School Educational Expectations	-.10(3.3)***	-.10(3.3)***	-.13(3.2)***	-.10(5.8)***
Error Covariance	.066(2.78)**		.088(4.6)***	
R-Squared	.23	.59	.25	.88

[1] Residual variance of DAI1 fixed at .01.

[2] Z-values in parentheses.

# p<.10

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

Table 8

Predictor	Listwise Deletion (N=3114)		FIML Estimation (N=5144)		Imputation (Missing Y=1) (N-5144)	
	Deviant DA	Other DA	Deviant DA	Other DA	Deviant DA	Other DA
Factor Loadings (R-Squared)						
Unemployed	--	1.0(.08)	--	1.0(.08)	--	1.0(.96)
School Dropout	--	2.95(.49)	--	1.55(.17)	--	.41(.18)
Poor	--	.98(.07)	--	1.32(.13)	--	.93(.85)
Teenage Parent	--	2.53(.39)	--	2.01(.26)	--	.96(.89)
Arrested	1.0 (.98)	--	1.0 (.98)	--	1.0 (1)	--
Incarcerated	1.0 (1.0)	--	1.02(1.0)	--	1.0 (1)	--
TLI	.76		.60		1.0	
RMSEA	.030		.035		.046	

Table 9

Predictor	a[1] Low SES	High SES	t-ratio of difference	b[2] % Black High	School Type % Black Low	t-ratio of difference
Age	.083# (.042)	.009 (.041)	1.261	.055 (.045)	.004 (.038)	0.866
Sex (Male)	.072 (.071)	−.010 (.072)	0.811	.023 (.078)	.038 (.066)	0.147
Two-parent Family	−.285*** (.069)	−.256** (.076)	0.283	−.266** (.079)	−.284*** (.067)	0.174
Parental SES	−.259*** (.052)	−.097# (.057)	2.100*	−.240*** (.054)	−.180*** (.050)	0.815
Nationality:						
Chinese/Korean	.438 (.272)	.034 (.279)	1.037	−.001 (.354)	.345 (.233)	0.816
Cuban	−.139 (.096)	−.331** (.096)	1.414	.028 (.150)	−.225** (.078)	1.496
Haitian	.196 (.151)	.393 (.309)	1.175	.165 (.145)	.590 (.614)	0.674
Jamaican/West Indian	.258# (.153)	.238 (.162)	0.090	.186 (.128)	.135 (.283)	0.164
Mexican	.243** (.088)	.272* (.108)	0.208	.055 (.104)	.427*** (.090)	2.705**
High School GPA	−.294*** (.044)	−.356*** (.042)	1.019	−.383*** (.048)	−.290*** (.038)	1.519
Educational Expectations	−.080* (.035)	−.159*** (.041)	1.465	−.113** (.042)	−.118** (.035)	0.091
Constant	−1.290 (1.047)	.931 (1.055)	1.494	−.212 (1.136)	.672 (.945)	−0.598
Pseudo R^2	0.059	0.058	--	0.065	0.062	--
Alpha	.053	.253***	--	.162**	.110*	--
LR ^{2}	171.15***	206.71***	--	180.65***	232.05***	--
N	1264	1821	--	1266	1819	--

[1] Sample dichotomized at the mean of the school SES distribution measured as the observe of the percent of students eligible for federally subsidized school lunches in schools attended by respondents in junior high school. ($\bar{X}$=54.54)

[2] Sample dichotomized at the mean of percent black students in schools attended by respondents in junior high school. ($\bar{X}$=.15)