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SEGMENTED ASSIMILATION: THE EFFECTS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD ACCULTURATION ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Christine noelle Blackburn
Clemson University, cndblackburn@gmail.com

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SEGMENTED ASSIMILATION:
THE EFFECTS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD ACCULTURATION
ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Applied Sociology

by
Christine Noelle Dietrich Blackburn
May 2007

Accepted by:
Dr. William J. Haller, Committee Chair
Dr. Ellen Granberg
Dr. Sarah Winslow-Bowe

ABSTRACT

Utilizing the theory of segmented assimilation, this thesis examines the relationship between the type of acculturation experienced in early childhood and educational attainment. Data used in this study are from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, waves I through III. The author hypothesizes that the markers of acculturation type serve as significant predictors on 1) the number of years of total education and 2) the likelihood of receiving a four-year degree by the time the respondents neared their mid-twenties (when CILS-III was conducted). Multiple regressions, linear and logistic, are used to examine these hypotheses. The findings show support of utilizing segmented assimilation theory to predict post-secondary educational attainment, however, the results suggest that additional and perhaps more comprehensive measures of each acculturation type are needed to gain a clearer understanding of the complex nature of acculturation and its effects.



DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my daughter, Anika Rose Blackburn. You have been my inspiration, my muse, and my personal comedian. For the many times I caught you coloring on my drafts, pulling pages out of journal articles, and crying because you wanted to sit in my lap while I typed, I love you. I am truly blessed to be a part of your life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I send my most sincere gratitude to my professor, mentor, and advisor, Dr. William J. Haller for providing me the opportunity to explore such a fascinating and important area of his own research and expertise, especially under such unique circumstances. His continued support, encouragement, patience, and continued responses to my relentless emails were crucial to my completion of this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Sarah Winslow-Bowe and Dr. Ellen Granberg, for providing me with insightful, comments, friendship, encouragement, and confidence. I can't thank my committee enough for being so flexible and understanding through out this process.

A tremendous amount of love and gratitude must also be acknowledged to my friends: Tiffany and Kim (aka "Ani's Aunties"), for believing in me, and for showing me the true meanings of unconditional love and friendship.

Mom, Dad, and Anne, thank you for teaching me passion, courage, dedication, and a solid work ethic; the qualities that help me to continue reaching and then setting new goals and dreams. And to ALL my parental units, including Thomas and Colleen, thank you for believing in me, encouraging me, and helping me in your own special ways.

And lastly, I could not have produced this work without my husband's continued support, encouragement, and hours (or an occasional week) of playing the single-father role while I locked myself in the office or made a trip to Clemson. I love you Robb!

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INTRODUCTION

America's demography this century will be affected by two major trends – the aging of the baby boomers and the rapid growth of new immigrants and their children. A new baby boom of first and second generation immigrant youth has begun, and just as the original baby boomers transformed consumption patterns, social mores, and national politics, so too will the new diversified generation.

In response to changes in the nation's immigration law and global economic forces, immigration to the United States has accelerated dramatically during the last few decades. As the aging baby boomers begin to retire, they will soon be relying upon the new racially and ethnically diverse generation of youth to provide commerce, leadership, and a stable labor force. In order to provide that kind of stability tomorrow, today's youth need to be receiving the education and professional training necessary to become productive adult contributors to the mainstream U.S. society. Yet it is well known that many immigrant youth will not make it that far, and will instead find themselves among the new urban poor, what Portes and Rumbaut (2001) term the “rainbow underclass.”

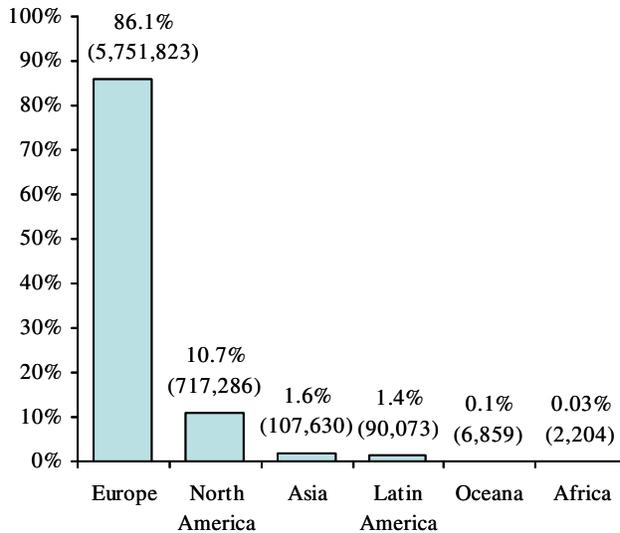
The following thesis focuses on an important and relatively new theory that attempts to explain gaps in the educational and economic success of immigrant youth: segmented assimilation. No longer is it a question of whether children of immigrants will assimilate to U.S. society, rather it is a question of the process and pathways of assimilation that second-generation youth will take, and to what segments of society those pathways will take them. Utilizing new data, this thesis addresses whether or not segmented assimilation theory helps to explain the sometimes drastic differences in educational attainment between and among children of immigrants.

U.S. IMMIGRATION:
TRENDS AND TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

A Brief History of U.S. Immigration

Today's discussions about immigration in the United States are very different from those in the 19th and 20th centuries. From approximately 1830 to 1880, immigrants came to the United States primarily from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. A second major wave of immigration occurred between the years 1880 and 1910, bringing the majority of immigrants from nations such as Poland, Hungary, Italy, and Russia. However, following the outbreak of World War I and the changing conditions of Europe, the numbers of immigrants coming to the United States declined dramatically. In the 1920s the United States passed nationality quota legislation based on nationality proportions from the 1880 census to curb the flow of immigrants from southwestern and eastern Europe, who they deemed less desirable (Figure 1 displays the world region of birth for foreign born individuals in the 1880 Census). In 1965 President Lyndon Johnson declared the quota system as unconstitutional and it was repealed by Congress in the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965. The unexpected result has been the greatest wave of immigration in our nation's history, and one from very different sources of immigrants than those of the first two waves (as elaborated more fully below).

Figure 1. Region of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population: 1880
 (Total foreign born population reported: 6,679,943; not reported: 4,068)



*Source: Gibson, Campbell J. and Emily Lennon (1999). *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-1990*. U.S. Bureau of the Census-Population Division, Washington, D.C.

On October 17th, 2006, the United States population hit a major milestone of 300 million people, an increase of 100 million people in only 39 years (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2006b). Over 55 percent of this increase was supplied by new immigration and the higher birth rates of the young immigrant population (Pew Hispanic Center 2006). While United States natives are averaging approximately 2 children per woman, just enough to replace the current population, the birth rates of immigrant populations are currently 25 percent higher, averaging 2.9 children per woman, with Mexican women averaging almost 3.2 children per woman (Camarota 2005). It has been estimated that by 2050, one in four Americans will be of Latino descent (Lovato 2006; referencing the U.S. Census report of March 2006). As illustrated, higher birth rates guarantee substantial and continual growth of a second

generation of children born and raised in the United States – children that will one day constitute our labor force.

Successful economic, social, and political adaptation of these immigrants and their children depends on their ability to successfully integrate into the mainstream dominant culture. Immigrants become citizens through processes of social incorporation - processes that include the formation of social ties with the host society - traditionally referred to as “assimilation.”

Classical Assimilation Theory

For a better part of the last century, a linear model of assimilation has dominated sociological research of immigrant adaptation into mainstream cultures (Zhou 1997b). Described by Zhou (1997b) as “a natural process by which diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture and to gain equal access to the opportunity structure of society,” this ‘canonical’ theory (Erickson 1965; Gordon 1964; Vega, Kolody, and Valle 1987; Williams and Berry 1991) that a linear path exists between the original home culture and the host culture has also been termed as the ‘traditional assimilation model’ (Gentry, Jun, and Tansuhai 1995; Padilla 1980) as well as ‘classical assimilationism’ (Zhou 1997b).

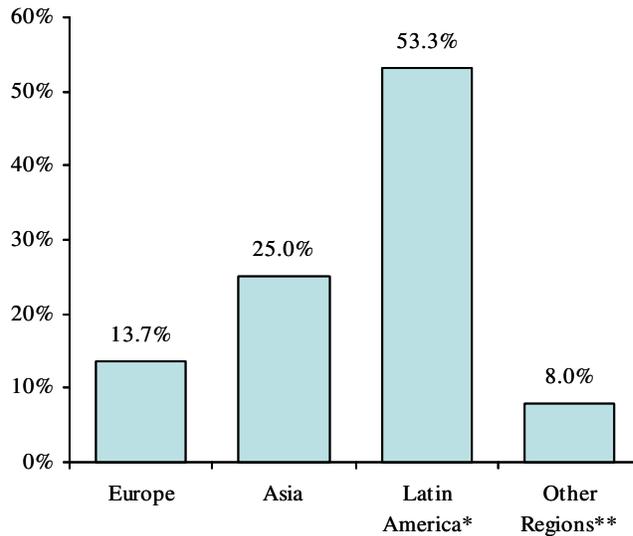
Classical assimilationists believe that new values and behaviors are acquired through increased contact with the new culture and the influence of mass media. They predict that over time, behavioral patterns will become more like those of the mainstream host culture and less like those of the culture of origin (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003; Roberts and Hart 1997; Williams and Berry 1991). Particular to note here is that traditionally this theory assumes a uniform “process of upward mobility and incorporation into society’s mainstream” (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005) and provides little or no explanation for alternative paths of mobility.

Without empirical data, classical assimilation theory was developed (see Gordon 1964) on the basis of historical accounts of the primarily European immigration in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Guarnizo et al. 2003). As empirical data and research on the most recent waves of immigration have begun to emerge in the last 15 years, so too have the increasing number of criticisms regarding classical assimilation (Gibson 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2005; Zhou 1997b) Immigrants today face very different challenges than did their predecessors, challenges which create barriers to the idealized linear assimilation into the mainstream middle-class American society.

CONTEMPORARY U.S. IMMIGRATION

Two dominant features characterize this most recent post-1965 wave of immigration: its intensity - the immigrant population grew by over 30 percent in the 1990s - and the somewhat radical shift in the sources of new immigration - today over 50 percent of all immigrants are from Latin America and over 25 percent are from Asia, as illustrated in Figure 2 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2004). This is a marked shift from the past, when, as noted above, the majority of immigrants came from primarily Western European nations. The United States today offers a “pluralistic, fragmented environment that simultaneously offers a wealth of opportunities and major dangers to successful adaptation” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:55). Some of these challenges (i.e. discrimination, changing labor markets, the consolidation of a marginalized population in the inner city, and forceful assimilation policies) can drastically affect educational opportunities.

Figure 2. Region of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population: 2003
Total Foreign born population reporting: 33,471,000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2003. Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

* The majority of those born in 'Latin America' are from Mexico.

** 'Other Regions' combines Africa, Oceania, and Northern America.

Discrimination and Nativist Resistance

The radical shift in the sources of immigration makes newer immigrants more distinctive by virtue of their race and other physical characteristics, thus they are more visible and more susceptible to overt discrimination. Additionally, since the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, many changes have occurred in the public perception of foreign newcomers. Increased trepidation, coupled with an ever increasing immigrant population has heightened concern, brought immigration debates to the political and academic forefront, and fueled an increase in nativist resistance.

Periods of high immigration in the United States consistently coincide with a surge in nativist resistance. Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut reiterate “[w]hen foreign accents and faces are few, they are ignored. However when they grow in numbers and concentrate in visible spaces, they trigger increasing apprehension” (2006:346). This past year, nativist

ideology prevailed in a tightly controlled Republican Congress with the passing of the Secure Fence Act of 2006 in both congressional houses in September. The Secure Fence Act requires a 700 mile fence, spanning 4 states, to be built separating the United States from Mexico with the direct intention of prohibiting more unauthorized migration from Mexico. This is not the first, nor is it the last kind of nativist legislature to be brought to the political forefront: Proposition 187 in California (1994), which denied illegal immigrants social services, health care, and public education was passed and then quickly overturned by a federal court, and an initiative to amend the state constitution¹, very similar to 187, is currently back in circulation in California as of January 23, 2007. In Texas, bills have been filed to “tax money that is wired to Latin America, end a policy that grants in-state college tuition rates to illegal immigrants and authorize the state attorney general to sue the federal government for money Texas has spent dealing with illegal immigration” (Associated Press 2007). These type of initiatives exemplify intransigent nativist belief which “seeks to stop all or most immigration, expel unauthorized immigrants, and put remaining immigrants on notice that they occupy an inferior position, ineligible for the privileges of citizens” (Portes and Rumbaut 2006:346).

It is important to note that these initiatives have sparked many important recent political debates. In March of 2006 demonstrations and boycotts stimulated millions of people with massive media coverage. The Associated Press reported in March of 2006, that 500,000 demonstrators in Los Angeles made up one of the largest marches "for any cause in

¹ California Secretary of State Office: initiative 1229 (06-0032). Prohibits illegal immigrants from obtaining: drivers' licenses or government-identification cards; college-fee or tuition exemptions; government grants, contracts, or loans; professional or commercial licenses; or any other public benefits not required by federal law. Authorizes state citizens to sue to enforce prohibitions, requires State to defend initiative, and provides costs and attorney's fees to prevailing party. Imposes personal liability for litigation costs, attorney's fees, and actual damages on any elected or government official who willfully violates prohibitions.

recent US history” (Associated Press 2006). Other demonstrations drew 50,000 people in Denver and several thousand in Sacramento and Charlotte, N.C. A New America Media poll shows that undocumented immigrants have a positive image among legal immigrants, and media coverage of the intensifying political rallying of legal and undocumented immigrants have described the previously apolitical or non-voting population as a new emerging force initiating a largely Hispanic civil rights movement (Pressley, Brulliard, and Londoño 2006).

A number of California studies conducted in the 1990s following the passage and later repeal by a federal court of Proposition 187 indicated that the anti-immigrant messages made by the media and supporters of proposition 187, led to “an increase in discrimination, racism, and disrespectful treatments of ethnics in general and of Latinos in general” (New American Media 2006). Guarnizo, Portes and Haller (2003) state that being exposed to this type of negative context of reception upon arrival to the United States significantly affects an immigrant’s economic and political adaptation.

An example of how the context of reception influences an immigrant’s adaptation can be found in examination of Cuban immigrants at two distinct times in U.S. history. From 1960 to 1979, hundreds of thousands of Cuban refugees left Cuba to begin a new life in America, forming the backbone of the anti-Castro movement. Most Cuban Americans that arrived in the United States came from Cuba's educated, upper and middle classes and were welcomed favorably with assistance from the U.S. government (Portes and Stepick 1993). However, following the Mariel exodus of 1980, in which Castro opened the port of Mariel to all Cubans wishing to leave, Cuban exiles went from being “a ‘model minority’²

² The term "model minority" was first coined in the mid-1960s by William Petersen, a social demographer, who believed that the success and achievement of Asian Americans paralleled those of the Jewish Americans. Petersen described Asian Americans and Jewish Americans as examples of two formerly marginalized groups who, because of their hard work and determination, have risen above the ranks of "problem minorities" (Winnick 1990).

helping to build Southern Florida's future to becoming one of the foreign groups viewed with greatest suspicion" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 262; Rumbaut 1994). These "Marielistas" as they became known, were identified as poor and uneducated, many of whom were criminals released from the prisons by Castro (Portes and Stepick 1993; Rumbaut 1994). After six months of intense immigration, the U.S. began implementing restrictions.

Lack of government assistance and negative media reinforcement made it much more difficult for the second wave of refugees to adapt to American life (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Recent analysis on how the different modes of incorporation have affected the Cubans who came before and those who came during or after the Mariel exodus shows wide gaps between them (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The pre-Mariel Cubans, having had a positive context of reception are doing better financially and academically (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The division in academic and economic success between these two groups of Cuban immigrants has led researchers to appropriately view them as separate migrant groups and reiterates the negative economic and social effects of discrimination and negative public perception.

A Changing Economy and the Rise of the Counterculture

Upon arrival, immigrant families with higher levels of social and human capital benefit from financial security and the ability to move into safe middle-class neighborhoods with good schools and access to supportive formal and informal organizations (Zhou 1997a). However many immigrants, especially refugees, come to the United States with levels of human capital at or below poverty lines and settle in close proximity to the highly minority concentrated urban ghetto areas (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Given their generally low levels of human capital, many of these recent immigrants coming to the United States also face increasing economic and social barriers to mobility. During the first two waves of immigration, labor supply for unskilled and factory jobs for adult immigrants were plentiful, but today's economy has been marked by the outsourcing and automation of those same jobs. The United States has shifted to an 'hourglass' economy characterized by the loss of relatively high-wage basic manufacturing jobs and the growth of low wage service jobs (Rumbaut 1994). This economic shift has made it difficult for many new arrivals - many of whom start out with low levels of education - to work their way up the job ladder.

With upward social mobility becoming limited, more education, employment, and job experience is now necessary to lift children out of poverty than ever before (Van Hook 2003)³. As middle- and high-wage industrial jobs are disappearing, detaching the working poor from the middle class, higher concentrations of poverty in the most disadvantaged segments of the minority populations are appearing in inner-city ghettos (Wilson 1987). "The problem of poverty concentration has worsened under large-scale economic restructuring," Zhou (1997a: 68) warns, "reduce[ing] the demand for low-skilled and semi-skilled immigrants and trap[ping] them in unemployment and social isolation similar to that commonly facing native-born minorities in the most impoverished stratum of society." Just as their native-born minority peers, immigrant children growing up in underprivileged neighborhoods are subject to the effects of "poverty, poor schools, violence and drugs, and

³ Randall Collins (2001), also makes an argument that 'credential inflation' has made obtaining some level of post-secondary education mandatory to remain competitive in the labor force due to there being more high school graduates and college graduates than ever before. He points out that entry-level jobs today are requiring higher levels of education than ever before.

a generally disruptive social environment” (Zhou 1997a: 68) which promote undesirable, downwardly mobile outcomes such as dropping out of school, joining gangs, or participating in the drug subculture (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Also counter-productive are the messages second-generation youth are exposed to justifying the counterculture behaviors. While immigrant parents struggle to maintain their professional and educational dreams for their children, “messages that education does not pay and that discrimination prevents people of color from ever succeeding are conveyed by native peers of the same race or ethnic origin” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 61).

Forceful Assimilation

Forceful assimilation is not a theory. It is a mainstream ideology, or way in which native citizenry views immigration adaptation efforts. Fueled by nativist resistance, supporters of forceful assimilation legislation argue that fast and immediate “Americanization” of immigrants is necessary to preserve the conservative values and language of mainstream American culture (Lovato 2004; Mora 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In California, proponents of these policies “work[ed] relentlessly to portray now vulnerable postindustrial whites as victims of a shadowy Latino, and especially Mexican, empire” (Lovato 2004). This type of fear-based campaigning has coined terms such as “Mexifornia” for describing the current racial make-up of California, and inspired “Alamo-like fears of a Latino takeover” (Lovato 2004).

Forceful assimilation policies operate under the belief that cutting an individual off from his or her native culture and language, while completely immersing him or her in an English-only mainstream society will speed up the assimilation process and Americanize immigrants at a faster rate (Lovato 2004; Mora 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). For example, legislation such as California’s Proposition 227 (1998) and Arizona’s Proposition

203⁴ (2000) severely restrict language-minority students' access to bilingual education and "create legal sanctions against educators and school officials for failure to comply with provisions of the law" (Mora 2002). Based upon the belief that students can and will quickly acquire English proficiency, Proposition 227 assumes minority-language speakers can achieve at levels comparable to that of English native speakers in just one year. But, research on second language acquisition states that it takes from four to seven years to "succeed at a[n academic proficiency] level equivalent to that of native speakers of English" (Mora 2002). Immersion programs, without full English language support risk the child losing a firm grasp on his or her family's language and culture, while never receiving a firm grasp on the mainstream American language and culture. This type of limited-bilingualism makes succeeding in school difficult and may have a snowball effect of negative consequences, and include dropping out of school.

English-only language prohibition policies delegitimize immigrant language and culture by reinforcing the ideology that the minority language and cultural heritage is inferior (Mora 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). In a study of Cambodian immigrants and their children, the key difference between upward and downward assimilation in the second generation children lay in the ability of parents to keep up with and guide their children (Smith-Hefner 1999). Therefore, by limiting or diminishing communication abilities between the parents and child, forceful assimilation policies may put children at risk of joining the most disadvantaged minorities at the bottom of society (Gibson 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

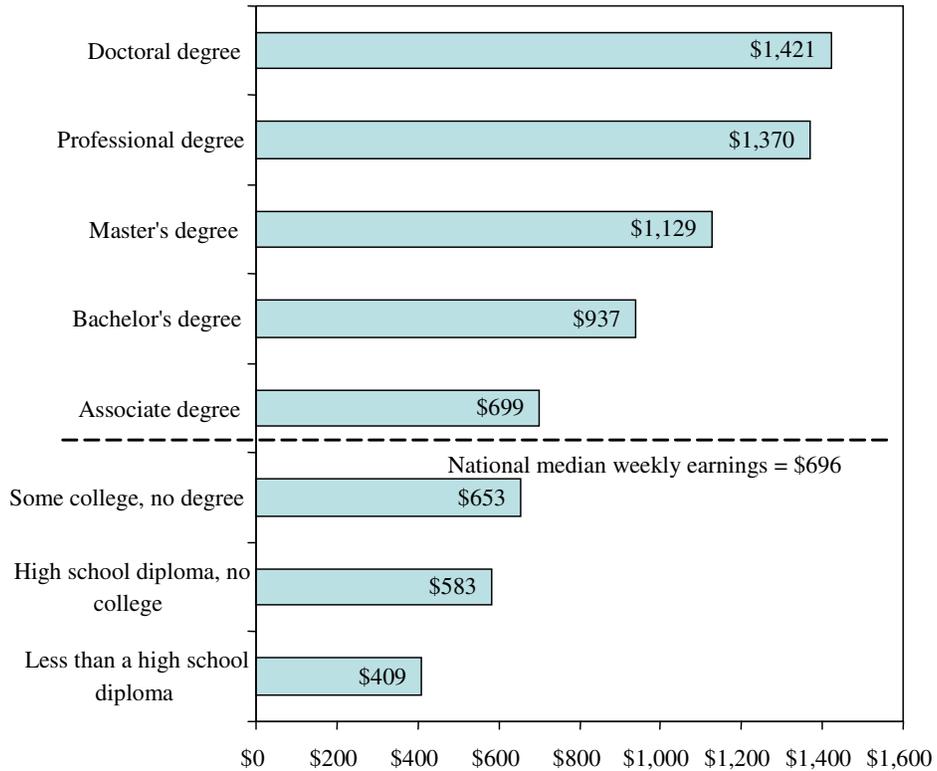
⁴ In the November 2006 election, Arizona passed Proposition 103, declaring English as its official state language and making it the twenty-fifth state to do so. Twenty-three of the twenty-five states which have passed English-only legislature have done so since 1984.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN THE SECOND GENERATION

The economic, political, and discriminatory challenges faced by today's immigrants create many hurdles that must be overcome to successfully adapt and assimilate into the mainstream culture. Portes and Rumbaut further explain that although "the first generation, for whom success or failure is largely determined by performance in the labor market, for the second generation the key outcomes are linked to academic achievement" (2001:234).

The positive relationship between academic performance, educational attainment, and eventual labor market outcomes are well documented (Brint 1998, Kao and Thompson 2003 (citing Jencks 1972), and Coleman 1961; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Additionally, some of the relative disadvantages and advantages faced by racial and ethnic minorities as adults can be traced to their differential educational achievement and attainment in youth (Kao and Thompson 2003). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2006a), and illustrated in Figure 3, the median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers, aged 25 or older with a bachelor's degree is approximately \$528 dollars a week more than those who possess less than a high school diploma. The largest increase lies between the median income of adults with an associate degree and adults with a bachelor's degree: an increase in pay by 238 dollars per week or 12,376 dollars annually. This figure illustrates that for all of America's youth, immigrant or native, the baccalaureate degree, an avenue of upward social mobility, remains the single most important rung in the educational attainment ladder in terms of future social and economic benefits, (Brint 1998; Pascarella and Terenzini 1991; Pike and Kuh 2005; Simpson 2001).

Figure 3: Median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage-and-salary workers aged 25 or older, 2005



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Occupation Outlook Quarterly*. Fall 2006, p 60.

Immigrant children are rapidly changing the demographics of many school districts throughout the country, and bring an urgent need to reexamine policy in many societal arenas, including education. Many researchers agree that American public schools are prototypical agencies of socialization and acculturation for children of immigrants in the United States (Brint 1998; Portes and Rumbaut 2001:203), and as previously mentioned, research has shown educational attainment to be a solid marker of future economic and social success for immigrant children (Collins 2000; Dinovitzer, Hagan, and Parker 2003; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Glick and White 2003). But merely being enrolled in an American public school does not guarantee successful adaptation or assimilation into the

mainstream middle class society. As a whole, the second-generation tends to perform at higher levels in school than their native peers, yet success among second-generation youths remains extremely uneven depending on nationality group and its context of reception in the host society (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Educational Gaps

Recent research conducted on the welfare of the immigrant second generation has shown differences in educational and socioeconomic outcomes becoming more apparent (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). While some groups, such as Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese, have been able to attain high socioeconomic status and high levels of education, others, for example Mexican immigrants, have elevated high school dropout rates and low levels of social and economic mobility (Kao 1995; Kao and Tienda 1998; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Asian immigrants, on average, have fared better than have most Latino immigrants, Mexicans in particular. In 1990, only 74 percent of Mexican immigrants, versus 95 percent of natives and other immigrants aged 15-17 were in school (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). Reading and math scores also varied significantly among different immigrant groups. In general, Asian students obtained higher scores than did Latino students, particularly Mexicans (Kao 1995).

The phenomenon of academic success for Asians is part of a broader discussion of Asian success in the United States which has prompted the media to use the term “model minority” for this population. But upon closer examination, research has found that Asian Americans are not uniformly advantaged and that compositional differences account for differences in skill development and most variation among grades (Zhou and Xiong 2005). While South Asians (Asian Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, etc) have been very

successful educationally, Southeast Asians (Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, Thai, Hmong, etc) typically have very little education and relatively low incomes.⁵ Additionally, Pacific Islanders had low grades, test scores, and educational aspirations compared to whites and all other Asian ethnic groups. Kao (1995) cited differences in family backgrounds as well as utilization of resources in promoting school performance between these two groups. Portes and Rumbaut (2006) also attribute immigration policy as a reason for the higher levels of educational attainments of Asians. Requirements of family reunification and occupational qualifications have resulted in the need for higher formal credentials, thereby bringing a disproportionately higher educated Asian group into the United States.

Many other explanatory factors have been identified for educational gaps among second-generation youth, such as: the socioeconomic status of the family (Gratton 2002; St-Hilaire 2002); the degree of the child's incorporation into the immigrant family (Gratton 2002; St-Hilaire 2002); the degree of the child's incorporation into the immigrant community (Bankston and Zhou 1995); cultural traits (Louie 2001; Zhou 1997b); the child's language ability (Bankston and Zhou 1995; Lindholm and Aclan 1991; Portes and Hao 2002; St-Hilaire 2002; White and Kaufman 1997); the history of the immigrant community within the host country (Ogbu 1991); parental socialization and expectations (Goyette and Xie 1999); and gender (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Wolf 1997).

Recent empirical research has brought attention to the interaction of many of the aforementioned variables in helping to explain the gaps of future educational outcomes

⁵ A separation of Southeast Asians from other Asians in research has been suggested (Chu 1997). For even though Southeast Asians themselves represent a diversified group of people who speak different languages and have different cultures, their experiences as political refugees escaping communism in the late 1970s are qualitatively different from the experiences of other Asian immigrants such as Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans (Chu 1997).

between second-generation immigrant groups. Currently, the most prominent of such theories addressing the interplay of these variables is segmented assimilation.

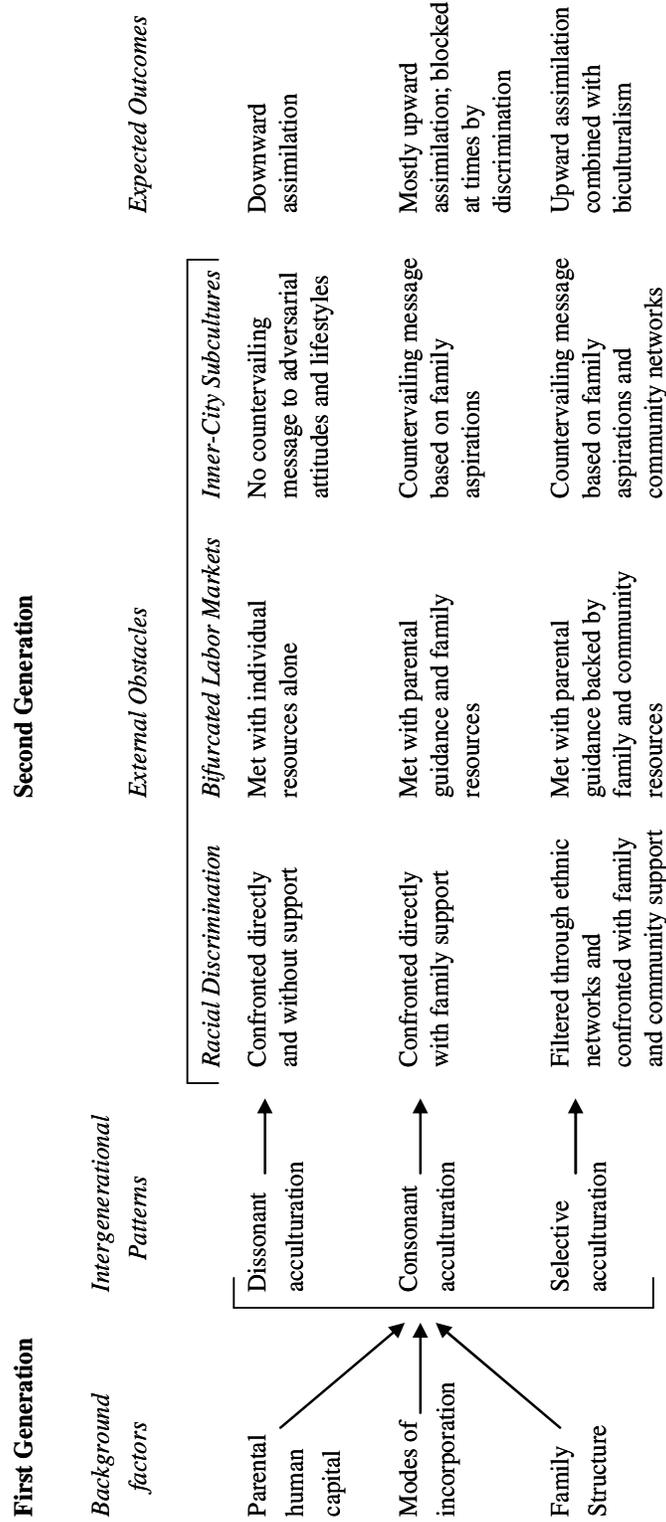
SEGMENTED ASSIMILATION THEORY

“To a greater extent than at the beginning of the twentieth century, second-generation youths confront today a pluralistic, fragmented environment that simultaneously offers a wealth of opportunities and major dangers to successful adaptation. The central question is not whether the second generation will assimilate to U.S. society but to *what segment* of that society it will assimilate” –*Legacies* (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 55)

Over the past fifteen years, studies influenced by developments in the new economic sociology (Guillén, Collins, England, and Meyer 2002) have moved beyond the traditional linear view of assimilation to explain the differential levels of educational and economic success among immigrant populations. The development of the multidimensional model of segmented assimilation has been central to this advancement (Portes et al. 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993).

Segmented assimilation offers a more comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding the process of assimilation into the mainstream U.S. culture by second-generation youth. It is a theory which helps to explain why diverse patterns of adaptation emerge among recent immigrant groups and “how these patterns necessarily lead to the destinies of convergence or divergence” (Zhou 1997b: 984). Segmented assimilation portrays society as consisting of segregated and unequal segments and posits assimilation to consist of three distinct acculturative patterns (see Figure 4): selective, consonant, and dissonant acculturation. These acculturation patterns can lead to upward assimilation combined with biculturalism, mostly upward assimilation that at times may be blocked by discrimination, and downward assimilation.

Figure 4: The Process of Segmented Assimilation, a Model



Source: Recreated from Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut's *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p 63.

The process of acculturation, or learning the new language and normative lifestyles of the host society is the first step toward assimilation, but not experienced by parents or their child at the same rate (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Considerable consequences exist for the second generation depending upon the type of acculturation that takes place, and the extent to which this learning combines with retention of the home culture (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut 1997). Table 1 reproduces a typology of these possible situations depending upon “acculturative gaps across generations” and the children’s insertion in the ethnic community.

Consonant Acculturation

The first pattern, termed consonant acculturation, replicates the traditional linear model of classical assimilation and integration into the white middle-class. Both the parents and the child abandon their native culture and language for that of the dominant American culture at a similar pace. Since transitioning to English dominance and American mainstream culture is desired in both parents and child, this situation is associated with harmonious parent-child relations and with options for upward mobility. Portes and Rumbaut identify this pattern as “most common when immigrant parents possess enough human capital to accompany the cultural evolution of their children and monitor it” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 54). Mobility may be blocked, however, if the child encounters discrimination without co-ethnic community resources to provide cultural and emotional support.

Consonant Resistance to Acculturation

A variant of consonant acculturation is referred to as “non-assimilation,” or “suspended ethnicity” and referred to in Table 1 as “consonant resistance to acculturation.” In this scenario, both the parents and child resist acculturation and remain rooted within their ethnic community. Portes and Rumbaut hypothesize that these families are most likely to return to their home countries. While a theoretically interesting group, the data set utilized in the analyses that follow (described more fully below) do not contain data to assess this proposition empirically. This remains an area ripe for future research utilizing data that follows immigrants remaining in the United States and those who return to their home countries.

Dissonant Acculturation I and II

The most distinct characteristic of dissonant acculturation, both type I and II, is that the children begin rapidly acculturating into American culture, detaching themselves from their native language and culture, while the parents resist. Dissonant acculturation is most likely to be experienced by children who live in poor and generally urban neighborhoods where the children come into daily contact with marginalized native youths (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). As illustrated in the prior discussion of the ‘rise of the counterculture,’ this type of social environment can foster assimilation into the language, attitudes, and norms of the inner-city, simultaneously rejecting parental culture and expectations, as well as their native language.

TABLE 1: TYPES OF ACCULTURATION ACROSS GENERATIONS

Children's Learning of English and American Customs	Parents' Learning of English and American Customs	Children's Insertion into Ethnic Community	Parents' Insertion into Ethnic Community	Type	Expected Outcomes
+	+	-	-	Consonant acculturation	Joint search for integration into American mainstream; rapid shift to English monolingualism among children
-	-	+	+	Consonant resistance to acculturation	Isolation within the ethnic community; likely to return to home country
+	-	-	+	Dissonant acculturation (I)	Rupture of family ties and children's abandonment of ethnic community; limited bilingualism or English monolingualism among children
+	-	-	-	Dissonant acculturation (II)	Loss of parental authority and of parental languages; role reversal and intergenerational conflict
+	+	+	+	Selective acculturation	Preservation of parental authority; little or no intergenerational conflict; fluent bilingualism among children

Source: Recreated from Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut's *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p 52.

Without a firm grasp of the parental language, communication between the immigrant children and non-English speaking parents is disrupted and may lead to a loss of parental control over the children (Gibson 2001; Mora 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). In instances where the parents do not have the support of an ethnic community (Type II), role reversal is probable. Role reversal occurs when “children’s acculturation has moved so far ahead of their parents’ that key family decisions become dependent upon the children’s knowledge” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 53). The parents must rely upon their English speaking children to interact with institutions and others in society. Role reversal is known to produce intergenerational conflict between the parents and child on many levels, especially in regard to maintaining traditional cultural beliefs and attitudes of their native country (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Selective Acculturation

Lastly, selective acculturation is a situation in which both parents and child maintain ties to their native culture while also learning the English language and American customs. Selective acculturation is associated with the achievement of full bilingualism in the second generation and at least partial bilingualism in the parents. Selective acculturation occurs when both the immigrant parents and child are “embedded in a co-ethnic community of sufficient size and institutional diversity to slow down the cultural shift and promote partial retention of the parents’ home language and norms” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 54). This type of environment allows for a supportive intergenerational context which provides protection from external discrimination while also maintaining the preservation of parental authority.

Researchers have found strong associations between continued contact with ethnic communities and academic achievement (Bankston and Zhou 1995; Portes and Hao 2002). Portes and Rumbaut predict little intergenerational conflict and a strong parental and

community buffer from discrimination for the child in the selective acculturation situation (2001: 52).

Recent Findings

Based upon the existing literature, it is evident that many obstacles exist for new immigrants trying to adapt and assimilate into American culture. Segmented assimilation theory provides a theoretical explanation for the differing experiences and paths of upward and downward social mobility. However, this relatively new theory is still under empirical investigation because data on children of immigrants have previously been unavailable or incomplete. Recent research has supported segmented assimilation theory in explaining differences in early educational attainment (see Portes and Rumbaut 2001). However, while concrete measures used to assess middle school attainment - such as GPA and standardized test scores - do play a large role in upward mobility, college admissions and receipt of a post-secondary diploma or certificate are more solid markers of future economic and social success for this population (Dinovitzer et al. 2003; Glick and White 2003).

The Current Study

Utilizing a newly extended longitudinal data set, this thesis applies the segmented assimilation theory in an expansion of Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) research to observe its effectiveness in explaining post-secondary educational attainment among second generation immigrant youth. Based upon the literature review and theory of segmented assimilation, the following hypotheses are tested (net of control variables):

H₁: Fluent bilingualism, as a marker of selective acculturation, is positively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth.

H₂: The presence of second-generation friendships, as a marker of selective acculturation, is positively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth.

H₃: Limited bilingualism, as a marker of dissonant acculturation, is negatively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth.

H₄: The presence of parent-child conflict, as a marker of dissonant acculturation, is negatively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth.

H₅: Presence of embarrassment of parents' lack of knowledge of American ways, a marker of dissonant acculturation, is negatively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth.

METHODOLOGY

The main purpose of this thesis is to understand the relationships between markers of acculturation type and future educational attainment in second-generation youth. This section discusses the methods used in the current study to achieve the research objective. The discussion begins with the description of the sources of data that the current study uses followed by descriptions of the dependent and independent variables included in the study. The statistical analyses and the methods are then presented.

Sample

The data used for the following analyses come from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS). Despite their numbers, prior data have been limited in scope and value for studying the second generation. For example, many datasets classify respondents by race but do not include information about ethnicity, family immigration history, or other experiences unique to second-generation youth. Therefore, Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut's Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS), which brought in its first wave of survey data (CILS-I) in 1992, has initiated empirical research on this population.

Initial survey data were collected from a sample of 5,262 youth. The sample is roughly equally divided between the Miami-Dade and Broward School districts in southern Florida and the San Diego Unified School District in southern California. Respondents represent over 77 different ethnicities, ranging between the ages of 13 and 15 at the time of the first survey. The sample is also roughly equal by gender, with 51 percent female. CILS-II, which captured 81.5 percent of the original sample, was administered three years later in 1995 when the respondents were about to graduate from high school. In 2001, as the

respondent's neared their mid-twenties, CILS-III was administered, with a response rate of approximately 65 percent of the initial base-line sample, and was made available for public use in 2006.

Dependent Variables

Years of Education

Research indicates that post-secondary educational attainment may be predicted by the type of acculturation an individual experiences as a child. Therefore, the first outcome variable (dependent variable), used in the analyses indicates the highest level of educational attainment recorded for each respondent who participated in the third wave of data collection. This ordinal variable is coded by the primary researchers as the corresponding estimate for number of years of education, ranging from 10 to 18.

Receipt of a Baccalaureate Degree

While useful to examine the number of years of educational attainment the second-generation youth are completing, the actual receipt of a baccalaureate degree substantially increases the likelihood of future economic success. A second dependent variable is therefore created to measure how well markers of acculturation predict the graduation from a four-year degree program. As a dichotomous variable, all of the respondents that had received a baccalaureate degree or higher are coded as 1 and all other responses are coded as 0.

Independent Variables

Markers of Acculturation

The salient independent variables in Portes and Rumbaut's model are those measuring types of intergenerational acculturation. Portes and Rumbaut (2001:199) explain the empirical markers for the types of acculturation:

Systematic differences can exist among families and groups along a continuum ranging from situations where parental authority is fully preserved to those where it is thoroughly undermined by generational gaps in acculturation – particularly in English knowledge and the extent to which second-generation youth retain their parents' language. This is the basis for the typology of consonant, selective, and dissonant acculturation. In empirical terms these types should be reflected in the degree of intergenerational cohesion or conflict between parents and children, the extent to which these youths report being embarrassed by their parents' ways or attached to them by filial duty.

Working from this definition, the measures for dissonant acculturation include “Limited bilingual,” “Parent-child conflict,” and “Embarrassed by parents” where as the measures for selective acculturation are indicated by “Fluent bilingual” as well as the absence of both “Parent-child conflict,” and “Embarrassed by parents.” Also, as presented in the literature review, the “presence of second-generation friendships” indicates embedded-ness into the ethnic community, which provides cultural support and shields discrimination, and can be used as a measure for selective acculturation. Consonant acculturation measures fall toward the middle of Portes and Rumbaut's continuum of systematic differences, occasionally overlapping with selective and dissonant markers (see Table 2).

Due to the difficulty of being able to identify specific constellations of measures that signify a particular acculturation type, I utilize individual markers of acculturation type as independent variables and link them to the acculturation type with which they are associated in Portes and Rumbaut's conceptualization of this theory. The independent variables included in these analyses as markers of acculturation type are therefore closely replicated

from the original model of middle-school education attainment in Portes and Rumbaut's *Legacies* (2001).

TABLE 2: MARKERS OF ACCULTURATION TYPE

	Selective	Consonant	Dissonant
Limited Bilingualism			X
Fluent Bilingual	X		
English monolingual		X	
Presence of second-generation friends	X		
Existence of parent-child conflict			X
Experienced discrimination		X	X
Embarrassed by parents non-American ways			X
Portes and Rumbaut's results on middle school academic attainment	Positive	Not Specified	Negative

Markers of Acculturation Type

Language Ability

The language variables presented in both the CILS-I and CILS-II data sets are based upon the average response to a series of questions that measured how well the respondent was able to read, write, and speak the English language as well as their native language. Possible categories of the created language measure are “Fluent bilingual,” “English dominant,” “Foreign language dominant,” and “Limited bilingual.” All bivariate analyses utilize the constructed language variable from CILS-I.

Dichotomous variables are created from the language variables to be used in the regression models. Fluent bilingual and English dominant variables are constructed from the CILS-I data in 1992 with the conceptualization that the respondents who advanced into these language ability categories between 1992 and 1995, from either limited bilingual or foreign-language dominant could be viewed as a relatively marginal group. Foreign language dominance is also extracted from the CILS-I data. However, the core representation of those respondents who would be classified as limited bilingual is extracted from the CILS-II 1995 data: minimal to no improvement in English language skills over the three additional years of U.S. residence between 1992 and 1995 signifies a lack of language support in either English or the native language.

Presence of parent-child conflict

The measurement of parent-child conflict is based on a CILS-I variable which asks, “How often do you get in trouble because your way of doing things is different from that of your parents?” Possible responses include: “all the time,” “most of the time,” “sometimes,” or “never.” All and most of the time responses are coded as a 1 to indicate a high level of

parent-child conflict while the last two categories are collapsed and coded as 0 to indicate low or no parent-child conflict.

Presence of second-generation friendships

To measure the presence of second-generation friendships, a variable taken directly from the CILS-II questionnaire is utilized. The survey question asks “How many of these close friends [at school] have parents who came from foreign countries, that is who were not born in the United States?” Responses “many or most” or “some” are recoded in this research as a 1, while responses “none” are recoded as a 0.

Embarrassment over parents’ non-American ways

In order to adequately measure whether a respondent feels embarrassment by their parents’ non-American ways, the following vignette is used in CILS-I:

Francois and Luis are both students whose parents are foreign-born. Francois says: “I am sometimes embarrassed because my parents don’t know American ways.” Luis says: “I am never embarrassed by my parents. I like the way they do things.” Which one comes closest to how you feel?
1=Francois, 2=Luis, 3=neither (explain).

Responses from CILS-I are used in this thesis as a marker of early-childhood acculturation. A response of 1, or “Francois” is recoded as a 1 as it provides a good measure of dissonant acculturation, while the other two responses, indicative of either consonant or selective acculturation, are coded as a 0.

Demographic Variables

Length of U.S. Residence

Some evidence suggests that immigrant children outperform classmates who have resided in the United States for a longer period of time, even when the classmates come from comparable ethnic and parental backgrounds (Goyette and Xie 1999; Kao and Tienda 1995; Ogbu 1991; Zhou 1997a). They also have lower dropout rates than the reference population (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 255). Despite this cause for optimism, however, academic attainment appears to decline over time, “strongly suggest[ing] that second-generation children gradually lose their achievement drive with increasing acculturation” (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 239). Portes and Rumbaut consequently conclude that mainstream acculturation hurts achievement: “Thus, the longer a child of immigrants has lived in this country, the lower the importance he or she attributes to school grades and the more his or her schoolwork habits approach the (low) average of the general student population” (2001:215). Therefore the result in terms of absolute achievement is that recent immigrants often lag behind native-born minorities in their educational attainment (Kao and Thompson 2003). To control for the effect of the length of U.S. residence, length of residence in 1992 is included, an ordinal variable (1= less than 5 years, 2 = 5 to 9 years, 3 = 10 or more years, and 4 = all of life/native born) is broken up into two dichotomous variables. The first variable “U.S. born” recodes all the “4” responses as 1, leaving the rest as 0, to capture the group of respondents with the maximum acculturation time. A second variable, “long-term U.S. resident” gauges the group of respondents with the second longest amount of acculturation time, as well as whether a difference exists between being born abroad, and coming to the United States at an early age (before 5).

Sex

While in many of the immigrants' home countries women are often much less educated than men, research on female children of immigrants demonstrate higher educational aspirations than those of their male counterparts (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Zhou and Bankston 2001). Additionally, females are shown to obtain higher grades (Kao and Tienda 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut 1997; Zhou and Bankston 2001), and complete more years of schooling (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Rumbaut 2005). A 2004 *Los Angeles Times* article referred to males as the “underrepresented group” in many colleges (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005 citing Hong 2004), indicating that the gender divide is not limited to second generation immigrant youth. However, a unique “dramatic redefinition of gender roles appears” in just one single immigrant generation (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005: 1113).

To control for the effect of gender in measuring the effects of acculturative rates on educational attainment, gender is included as a dichotomous dummy variable with females equal to 1.

Region

Region is included as a dichotomous variable, with the southern California sample equal to 1 and the southern Florida sample equal to 0. The counties and schools included in the sample are chosen due to their significance as major points of entry for a wide variety of significantly different immigrant groups. Schools in each region varied from heavy native concentrations to heavy immigrant concentrations (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

Status attainment research (Blau and Duncan 1967) has long attributed a strong and positive effect of the parent's socioeconomic status (SES) on Asian immigrant children's

academic achievement. However, Lee (1994) pointed out that even when poverty rates are high among Chinese, Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, and Hmong immigrants, educational achievement remains higher than among non-Hispanic whites, thereby discrediting the SES approach as a general framework for explaining gaps in second-generation achievement.

SES is controlled for in this research using a continuous variable that measures SES in a scale ranging from -2.0 to 2.0, with -2.0 signifying very low SES (i.e. residence is rented, did not complete high school, job earning and prestige are very low, etc) and a 2.0 signifying a very high level of SES (i.e. owns the residence, graduate or doctorate level of education, job earnings and prestige are very high, etc.). This variable is adjusted to a scale ranging from 0.0 to 4.0 (a numerical value of 2 is added to each response) for ease of interpretation.

Intact Family

Although a considerable amount of research has studied the impact of family configuration on educational attainment, results are conflicting. Some researchers have indicated that children who are raised in single-parent households have lower levels of academic achievement (Bankston and Zhou 1995; Pong 1997; Sun 2001), while others have demonstrated that family configuration does not affect achievement (Entwisle and Alexander 1995; Erickson 1965; Ford and Wright 1998).

Whether or not a family has remained intact is included into the analyses as a dichotomous variable based on a family type variable from the CILS-II data with “both biological parents present in the household” equal to 1, and all other family types (step families, single parent families, etc.) included as 0. This CILS-II variable is used in the analyses to extract any cases that experienced an alteration in family status during the high-school years.

Prior Educational Achievement

Measured ability in education, in the forms of grade point averages (GPA), and standardized test scores have been shown to be solid predictors of future educational attainment (Brint 1998). However, these measures are often affected by family background and other demographic variables (Brint 1998; Jencks 1972) and therefore included as control variables in the following research. GPA in 1992, as well as the total scores achieved on the Stanford math achievement test and the Stanford reading achievement test, are used from data collected in CILS-I. GPA is measured as the GPA in the current grade (grades eighth and ninth), weighted for advanced placement (AP) courses, and range from 0 – 4.97. Stanford reading and math scores range from 0 – 830 and 0 – 857, respectively.

Nationality

To view whether markers of acculturation vary by nationality, a created variable which collapses the original 77 self-identified nationalities into 14 categories is used. Nationality differences in attainment are often viewed as being due to a combination of effects such as parental status and human capital, family composition, and intergenerational acculturation, in addition to the collective history and experiences of each group. Therefore, Laotian and Cambodian students are joined into a single group because of their similar histories of exit from the home country and incorporation into the United States, while Chinese and Korean students are combined into a single category based on common cultural backgrounds, contexts of reception, and generally high levels of parental human capital. As discussed previously in the literature review, the Cuban sample is divided into those attending public schools and those attending private schools in 1992 to examine the differences between the pre-Marielistas arriving under positive contexts of reception, and

those who did not. The nationality variable is included in the regressions as individual dummy variables.

The basic descriptive statistics and coding schemes for all the dependent and independent variables are given in Appendices A and B, respectively.

Statistical Analyses

All analyses performed herein are conducted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 14.0. The analyses proceed as follows. Initially, frequencies and crosstabulations of basic descriptive characteristics of the CILS-III population, such as: age, overall educational attainment, educational attainment by markers of acculturation, and educational attainment by nationality, are performed to gain an improved understanding of the data set, as well as to provide an initial overview of how the second generation is faring educationally as they reach their mid-twenties.

The independent variables listed in Appendix A are analyzed using three regression models for each of the dependent variables. Model I examines the effect of the markers of acculturation type on the dependent variables. Model II includes controls for individual demographics and prior academic achievement, while Model III includes the prior two models while adding controls for nationality.

In order to test how well the predictor (independent) variables predicted or explained the current number of years of educational attainment experienced by the second generation, an ordinary least squares regression (OLS) is conducted using the three models of independent variables previously discussed. OLS “can establish that a set of independent variables explains a proportion of the variance in the dependent variable at a significant level, and can establish the relative predictive importance of the independent variables” (Garson 2006).

For the analysis of the second dependent variable examining the achievement of a four-year degree, a binary logistic regression is run using the same three models as in the OLS regression. Logistic regression produces a prediction equation as in OLS, but unlike OLS, logistic regression does not provide a precise numerical value of a dependent variable, but rather the odds that it is 1 rather than 0.

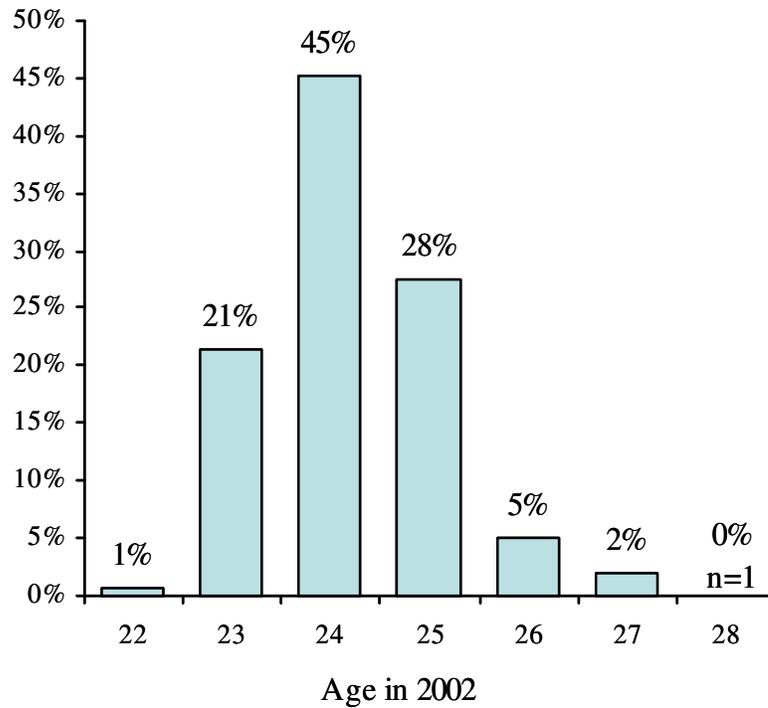
RESULTS

The current research focuses on the effects of markers of acculturation type, as suggested by segmented assimilation theory, in post-secondary educational attainment. This section features the results of the statistical analyses used to gain a deeper understanding of the CILS data in terms of the hypotheses previously discussed. Initially, some descriptive analyses are performed to inquire the current status of the second-generation youth as they near their mid-twenties. Then, bivariate analyses are conducted as to what kinds of relationships exist between the independent variables used to indicate acculturation type and the dependent variable measuring educational attainment. Finally, two multivariate regressions are performed to observe how those relationships are affected when controlling for additional variables known to play an important role in educational attainment.

Descriptive Analyses

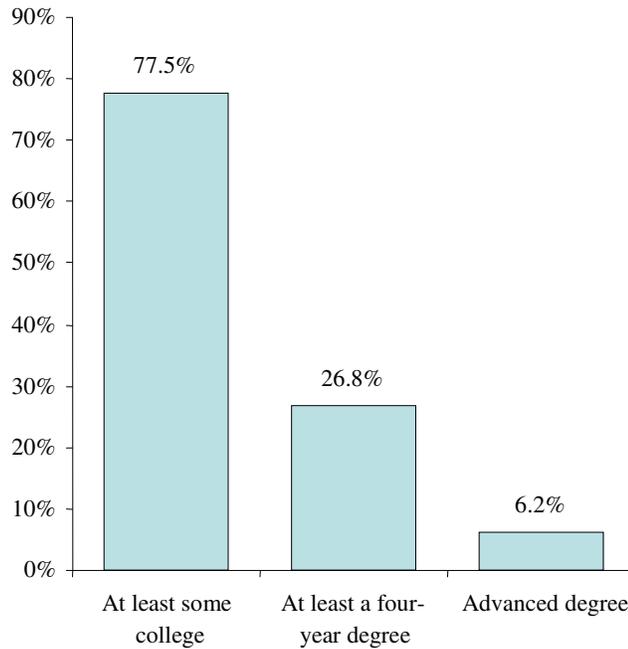
In 2002, the year CILS-III was conducted, the respondents' ages ranged from 22 years to 28 years with slightly over 94 percent falling between 24 and 26 years of age (see Figure 5). It is important to remember when observing the forthcoming analyses that 67 percent of the respondents are 24 years of age and younger, and still in a prime age cohort for both continuing post-secondary education and beginning advanced post-secondary educational programs. However, while still maturing academically, the 2002 data provides great insight to the current status of students that have followed the traditional progression of education in mainstream middle-class U.S. American culture: enrollment in college immediately upon graduating from high school at approximately 18 years of age and completion of a four- year degree within five years of entrance.

Figure 5: Age distribution, CILS-III (n=3263)



By 2002, almost 78 percent of the CILS-III respondents had received at least some post-secondary education, and 27 percent had received at least a four-year degree (see Figure 6). Of the 27 percent who were able to finish a four year degree, 6.2 percent had gone on to some type of advanced post-secondary education (i.e. graduate school, medical school, law school).

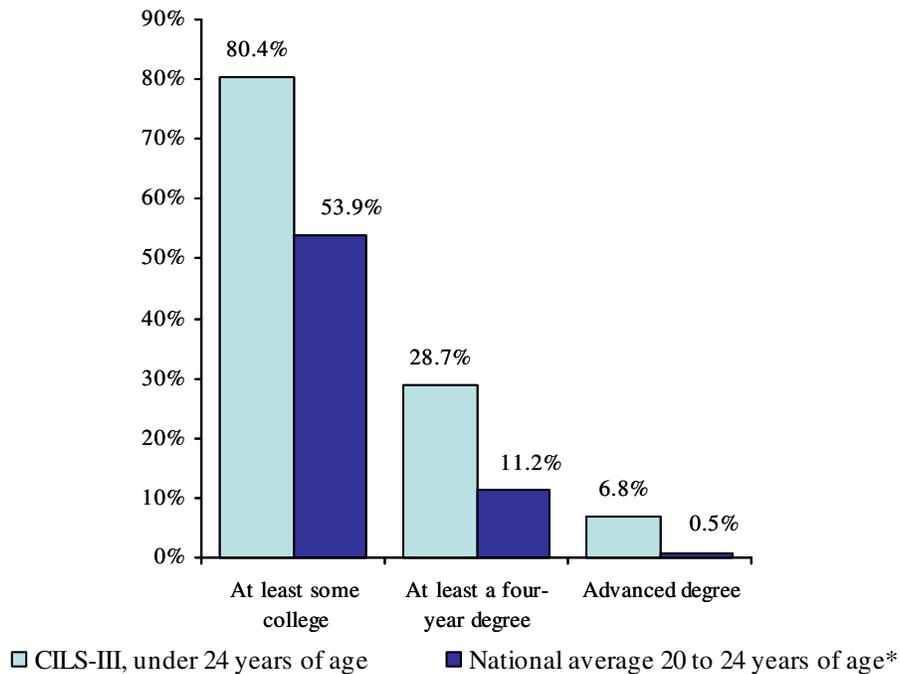
Figure 6: Educational Attainment by 2002, CILS-III (n=3264)



The Current Population Survey (CPS), conducted monthly by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, allows for the observation of how the second-generation is faring in comparison to the national U.S. population. Since almost 67 percent of the CILS sample falls between the ages of 22 and 24, and the CPS data is lumped in five-year increments, Figure 7 compares the highest level of educational attainment of the CILS respondent's that were between 22 and 24 years of age in 2002 to that of the CPS respondents between 20 and 24 years of age in March of 2002. As Figure 7 illustrates, by 2002 the CILS-III respondents under the age of 24 had already surpassed the national population averages in each of the educational attainment categories listed.

While the second generation already appears quite successful academically, 51 percent of the respondents in 2002 reported that they were still in the process of continuing their education. Of the respondents who reported the type of educational program in which they were currently enrolled (n=1670), 41 percent stated enrollment in a four year degree program while another 15.1 percent stated enrollment in an advanced degree program. Additionally, 31 percent of the CILS-III respondents were currently enrolled in a two-year college, which can often be a stepping-stone into a four-year degree program.

Figure 7: Highest level of education completed by 2002 for respondents under 25 years of age (n=2236).



*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, Education & Social Stratification Branch. Current Population Survey, March 2002

Bivariate Analyses

Language ability is an important component of segmented assimilation theory and it is therefore important to discuss its relationship to educational attainment. As a reminder of the theoretical implications of language ability: fluent bilingual ability is a marker of selective acculturation, English dominance is a marker of consonant acculturation, and limited bilingualism is a marker of dissonant acculturation. The foreign language dominant youth, theorized to indicate presence of consonant resistance to acculturation, have been left in the analyses and will be briefly discussed as they relate to the other language abilities.

With a χ^2 of 144.231 and p-value below .001, Table 3 is significant and shows that language ability has a significant relationship to educational attainment. Limited bilingual and foreign language dominant second-generation youth appear least likely to achieve levels of education beyond high school, though more foreign language dominant youth had received at least a four year degree by 2002 (19.30 percent) than limited bilingual youth (15.56 percent). Having a firm grasp on the English language, as present in both the fluent bilingual and English-dominant categories of language ability, greatly increased the likelihood that a second-generation youth would enter post-secondary education. Approximately 84 percent of youth with solid English language abilities entered into post-secondary education while only 66 percent of limited bilingual or foreign language dominant youth did the same. More than 30 percent of fluent bilingual and English dominant youth were able to complete at least a four year degree and fluent bilingual youth were the most likely to have received advanced post-secondary education (graduate-level education).

TABLE 3. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (2002)
 BY LANGUAGE ABILITY (1992), in percentages

	Fluent bilingual	English dominant	Limited bilingual	Foreign language dominant	Total
10	3.2	2.2	5.5	6.1	3.5
12	14.1	13.6	28.4	27.6	17.6
14	32.0	29.1	31.5	27.3	29.7
15	19.7	23.7	19.1	19.7	21.5
16	21.9	24.5	12.8	16.7	21.4
18	9.2	6.9	2.7	2.6	6.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

$\chi^2=144.231$, $df=15$, $p<.001$, $n=2959$

The amount of conflict occurring between the parent and second-generation youth, termed intergenerational conflict, is taken to indicate the occurrence of dissonant acculturation, and is hypothesized to negatively related to educational attainment. Table 4, which is statistically significant ($\chi^2= 41.635$, $p<.001$), displays data in support of this conceptualization. Over one-fourth of the youth who responded that they experienced conflict with their parents ‘all of the time’ did not complete any college-level education after high school, while over 30 percent of the youth reporting that they either never or sometimes conflicted with their parents had received a four-year degree or higher in 2002.

TABLE 4. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (2002)
 BY FREQUENCY OF PARENT-CHILD CONFLICT (1995), in percentages

	All of the time	Most of the time	Sometimes	Never	Total
10	5.4	2.9	3.0	3.7	3.4
12	20.2	20.4	16.5	16.9	17.5
14	39.0	32.7	28.7	27.9	29.8
15	14.8	23.9	21.5	21.6	21.5
16	14.8	15.6	23.2	23.5	21.5
18	5.9	4.5	7.2	6.5	6.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

$\chi^2=41.635$, $df=15$, $p<.001$, $n=2947$

A marker of selective acculturation, the maintenance of second-generation friendships or having second-generation youth friends, is an indication a social network of community and family ties that may shield the second-generation youth from discrimination and provide stability and encouragement needed to succeed educationally. Table 5 ($\chi^2=32.820$, $p<.001$) supports this conceptualization of selective acculturation. Almost 30 percent of youth that did not have second-generation friendships had not entered college level education in 2002. The percentages show that while having some second-generation friends is associated with higher levels of educational attainment than those who had none, those youth who reported that many or most of their friends were also second-generation youth were able to attain the highest levels of educational attainment by 2002.

TABLE 5. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (2002)
BY SECOND-GENERATION FRIENDS (1995), in percentages

	None	Some	Many or Most	Total
10	4.1	3.9	2.7	3.1
12	25.7	20.5	15.1	17.4
14	28.7	30.9	29.4	29.8
15	19.9	20.4	22.5	21.7
16	17.5	18.1	23.4	21.5
18	4.1	6.2	6.9	6.5
Total	100	100	100	100

$\chi^2=32.820$, $df=10$, $p<.001$, $n=2832$

TABLE 6. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (2002)
BY EMBARRASSMENT OVER PARENT'S FOREIGN WAYS (1992),
in percentages

	Sometimes Embarrassed	Never Embarrassed	Neither	Total
10	3.5	4.6	4.8	4.4
12	17.8	18.8	11.6	18.1
14	31.1	29.7	27.7	29.8
15	20.3	21	19.3	20.8
16	22.4	19.7	25.7	20.6
18	4.9	6.1	10.8	6.2
Total	100	100	100	100

$X^2=34.102$, $df=10$, $p<.001$, $n=3235$

The literature hypothesizes that children's embarrassment of their parents' not knowing American ways may be a sign of intergenerational strain and the occurrence of dissonant acculturation. The results shown in Table 6, though significant, ($\chi^2=34.102$,

p<.001) actually illustrate that those respondent's who reported being 'neither' (not sometimes and not never, which may also be viewed to imply 'always') were most likely to receive a four-year degree and advanced levels of post-secondary education than those respondents in the other two categories.

Multivariate Analyses

Educational Attainment

Table 7 displays ordinary least squares regression results predicting educational attainment. The final model is found to be significant ($F= 43.369$; $p<.001$) and explains almost 35 percent of the variance.

The first hypothesis to be examined is the notion that fluent bilingualism, a marker of selective acculturation, is positively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth. In this analysis, no significant difference was found when fluent bilingual ability was regressed on educational attainment using “English dominant” as the reference group. Therefore, controlling for the included variables, the null hypothesis of no relationship between fluent bilingualism and post-secondary educational attainment is accepted. Fluent bilingual students do not significantly differ from English dominant students in attaining higher levels of post-secondary educational attainment.

The second hypothesis asserts that limited bilingualism, a marker of dissonant acculturation, is negatively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth. Table 7 shows that limited bilingualism has a consistently strong and negative effect on post-secondary educational attainment throughout all three models. The final model yields a negative coefficient equal to -0.345 , and the probability that this relationship is due to chance is less than one in one-thousand ($p<.001$). Limited bilingualism is a strong negative indicator of acculturation type, net of control variables. Therefore, the null hypothesis of no relationship between limited bilingualism and post-secondary educational attainment is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted.

TABLE 7. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
(Unstandardized Coefficients)

	I	II	III
Predictors (Reference)			
Markers of acculturation type (English Dominant, 92)			
Fluent Bilingual	-0.031 (.087)	-0.009 (.075)	0.012 (.078)
Limited Bilingual	-0.749*** (.093)	-0.326*** (.084)	-0.345*** (.083)
Foreign Language Dominant	-0.0829*** (.126)	-0.252* (.115)	-0.236* (.120)
Parent-child conflict	-0.401*** (.081)	-0.202** (.069)	-0.218** (.069)
Second-generation friends	0.353*** (.073)	0.131* (.063)	0.136* (.065)
Embarrassed by parents	0.143 (.093)	0.079 (.079)	0.045 (.079)
Length of Acculturation			
U.S. Born	-	0.074 (.063)	0.079 (.068)
Long term U.S. resident ¹	-	-0.021 (.203)	-0.074 (.204)
Demographics			
Age	-	-0.046 (.036)	-0.034 (.036)
Region (Southern CA)	-	-0.512*** (.066)	-0.161 (.178)
Gender (Female)	-	0.007 (.061)	0.037 (.062)
Family			
Parental SES	-	0.454*** (.044)	0.436*** (.047)
Intact Family ²	-	0.141* (.066)	0.151* (.065)
Academic achievement in 1992			
GPA	-	0.798*** (.042)	0.769*** (.043)
Stanford Math Score	-	0.000 (.001)	0.000 (.001)
Stanford Reading Score	-	0.004*** (.001)	0.003* (.001)
Nationality (Mexican)			
Cuban, private school	-	-	0.875** (.265)
Cuban, public school	-	-	0.370 (.202)

(Table 7. continued)

Nicaraguan	-		0.474* (.232)
Colombian	-	-	0.507* (.236)
Haitian	-	-	0.712** (.264)
West Indian--Jamaican	-	-	0.631** (.240)
Filipino	-	-	0.028 (.120)
Vietnamese	-	-	0.580*** (.155)
Laotian--Cambodian	-	-	-0.123 (.167)
Chinese--Korean	-	-	0.522* (.244)
Latin--other	-	-	0.168 (.209)
Asian--other	-	-	0.207 (.202)
(Other)	-	-	0.725** (.275)
Lambda	-0.068 (.039)	-0.034 (.032)	-0.031 (.032)
Constant (Standard error)	14.632 (.086)	10.047 (.995)	9.535 (1.010)
Adjusted R ²	0.059	0.336	0.345
F	22.591***	72.679***	43.369***

* p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

¹Length of acculturation was measured in 1992 as Foreign born with 10 or more years of U.S. residence. Reference category is less than 10 years.

²Both biological parents present in 1995.

The third hypothesis states the presence of second-generation friendships, as a second marker of selective acculturation, is positively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth. This hypothesis is supported in all three models providing a positive final coefficient of 0.136 with over 95 percent confidence that these results are not due to chance ($p<.05$). The null hypothesis of no relationship between

second-generation friendships and post-secondary educational attainment is therefore rejected.

The fourth hypothesis theorizes that the presence of parent-child conflict, as a second marker of dissonant acculturation, is negatively associated with post-secondary educational attainment in second-generation youth. This hypothesis is supported as well, with a final negative coefficient of -0.218 ($p < .01$). The null hypothesis of no relationship between parent-child conflict and post-secondary educational attainment is therefore rejected.

The fifth hypothesis being examined suggests that the variable indicating embarrassment of parents not knowing American ways, a marker of dissonant acculturation, should be negatively associated with education attainment. In all three models, this variable remained insignificant. Therefore, the null hypothesis of no relationship between the embarrassment of parents and post-secondary educational attainment is not rejected. As previously discussed, this may imply a need to reexamine the conceptualization and/or operationalization of this variable.

When the results of the regression are examined more closely, additional control variables emerge as significant. Prior research has shown that high levels of socioeconomic status and having both biological parents present in the household are very strong predictors in achieving high levels of educational attainment (Simpson 2001). Even with the controls in the third model for nationality, Table 7 strongly supports this research with positive coefficients for SES ($.436$, $p < .001$) and Intact Family ($.151$, $p < .05$).

Status attainment research also theorizes that family background characteristics influence school achievement through higher grade point averages (GPA) (Simpson 2001). GPA is shown here as a very strong positive predictor in the final model with a coefficient

of 0.798 ($p < .001$). Every unit increase in GPA corresponds to a higher likelihood of achieving a higher level of post-secondary educational attainment.

Length of acculturation, which in prior research has been shown to negatively affect educational attainment (Kao and Thompson 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), shows no significance in this model. And females in these models are not significantly different from their male counterparts in educational attainment despite some research suggesting that females complete more years of schooling than males (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Rumbaut 2005). However, it is important to note that these non-effects are net of other measures included in the model.

Nationality differences also emerge as significant predictors of educational attainment. Being a private-schooled Cuban in youth is the strongest predictor in the third model of Table 7 ($B = .875$, $p < .001$). Being from an “other” nationality group, West-Indian or Jamaican, Haitian, Vietnamese, Chinese or Korean, Columbian, or Nicaraguan are all positively associated with educational attainment when compared to being Mexican, even when accounting for SES, GPA, the demographic variables, and the markers of acculturation, indicating that additional factors between nationality groups exist influencing the abilities of achieving higher levels of educational attainment. Portes and Rumbaut attribute such differences to the welcoming or hostile contexts of reception each nationality group experiences.

Four-Year Degree Attainment

As previously discussed, receipt of the baccalaureate degree is one of the most important levels of educational attainment in terms of future social and economic benefits (Brint 1998; Pascarella and Terenzini 1991; Pike and Kuh 2005; Simpson 2001). Table 8 presents the results of a binomial regression conducted to observe whether and how the predictor variables change in significance when predicting the attainment of at least a four-year degree.

In the first model, not accounting for any control variables, the regression model is able to accurately predict 70.9 percent of the cases. The predictors ‘foreign-language dominant’ and ‘parent-child conflict,’ (indicators of dissonant acculturation) are associated with an almost 50 percent decrease in the odds of finishing a four-year degree when compared to ‘English dominant.’ In comparison, ‘Fluent bilingual’ is associated with only a 5.6 percent decrease in the odds of achieving a four-year degree, but this log-odds ratio fails to reject the null hypothesis stating “No difference exists between fluent-bilingual and English dominant predictors in achievement of a four-year degree” (p -value = .601). The presence of second-generation friendships, as a marker of selective acculturation, increases the odds of receiving a four-year degree by almost 43 percent.

TABLE 8. FOUR-YEAR DEGREE ATTAINMENT

Exp(B) values
(Standard Error)

	I	II	III
Markers of acculturation type (English Dominant, 92)			
Fluent Bilingual, 1992	0.944 (.111)	0.907 (.141)	0.901 (.150)
Limited Bilingual, 1995	0.513*** (.136)	0.844 (.160)	0.756 (.166)
Foreign Language Dominant, 1992	0.527** (.187)	0.994 (.242)	1.012 (.252)
Parent-child conflict, 1992	0.644*** (.112)	0.790 (.132)	0.776 (.135)
Second-generation friends, 1995	1.431*** (.098)	1.230 (.121)	1.246 (.127)
Embarrassed by parents, 1992	1.133 (.121)	1.042 (.146)	1.000 (.150)
Length of Acculturation			
U.S. Born	-	1.084 (.117)	1.074 (.128)
Long term U.S. resident ¹	-	1.290 (.378)	1.209 (.386)
Demographics			
Age	-	1.002 (.069)	1.034 (.070)
Region (Southern CA)	-	.429*** (.128)	0.696 (.323)
Gender (Female)	-	1.127 (.115)	1.216 (.119)
Family			
Parental SES	-	1.964*** (.085)	2.069*** (.092)
Intact Family ²	-	1.095 (.125)	1.129 (.127)
Academic achievement in 1992			
GPA	-	4.209*** (.103)	4.115*** (.105)
Stanford Math Score	-	1.000 (.001)	1.000 (.001)
Stanford Reading Score	-	1.007*** (.001)	1.006*** (.002)
Nationality (Mexican)			
Cuban, private school	-	-	3.903** (.499)
Cuban, public school	-	-	1.659 (.399)

(Table 8. continued)

Nicaraguan	-	-	1.443 (.435)
Colombian	-	-	1.476 (.464)
Haitian	-	-	1.759 (.516)
West Indian--Jamaican	-	-	1.990 (.452)
Filipino	-	-	0.788 (.272)
Vietnamese	-	-	2.358** (.310)
Laotian--Cambodian	-	-	1.245 (.368)
Chinese--Korean	-	-	1.354 (.444)
Latin--other	-	-	1.192 (.415)
Asian--other	-	-	1.313 (.416)
(Other)	-	-	2.86* (.502)
Lambda	.899* (.052)	0.912 (.062)	0.925 (.063)
Constant	0.473*** (0.144)	0.000*** (1.970)	0.000*** (2.037)
Nagelkerke R ²	0.042	0.403	0.419

* p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

¹ Length of acculturation was measured in 1992 as Foreign born with 10 or more years of U.S. residence. Reference category is less than 10 years.

² Both biological parents present in 1995.

The second model in Table 8 includes all control variables, except nationality, into the regression model and shows yet again similar results to that of the OLS regression presented in Table 7. Model II accurately predicts about 80 percent of the cases. In this model, GPA demonstrates the highest increase in the odds of achieving a four-year degree. Increasing in one GPA unit (i.e. going from a 2.5 GPA to a 3.5 GPA), increases the odds of finishing a four-year degree program by almost 320 percent. And for every one unit increase in parental SES (scale of 0-4, see appendix A) represents a 96 percent increase in the odds of

doing the same. While barely increasing the odds of receiving a four-year degree by less than one percent, it is also important to note that every one unit increase in the Stanford Reading score is also significant. The markers of acculturation type all continue to be associated in the same directions as indicated in Model I, under the strength of SES and GPA. Residing in Florida decreases the odds of completing a four-year degree, but this significance is eliminated once nationality is controlled for in Model III.

Although both do remain significantly strong predictors, Model III shows that including nationality as a control variable into the regression equation slightly decreases the strength of the increase in odds of completing a four-year degree for both the SES and GPA predictors. Additionally, being private-schooled Cuban and having Vietnamese nationality increases the odds of completing a 4 year degree by 390 and 235 percent, respectively, compared to being a second-generation youth of Mexican parentage. Of the nationality groups included in the analyses, only 'Filipino' is computed to have a lower odds-ratio of completing a four-year degree than did 'Mexican.' While the other nationalities failed to reject the null hypothesis that no significant difference exists, it is interesting to note their odds ratios all increased the likelihood of a four-year degree completion.⁶

⁶ Note: In an attempt to control for the young age of the sample, a second logistic regression was produced to predict not only graduating from a four-year university, but also being currently enrolled in a four-year university (on track to completing a four-year degree). The second logistic regression increased the number of included cases by only 22 and did not present significantly different results than shown in Table 8. The additional, unreported results are available upon the request of the author.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Limitations of the Present Study

The purpose of this study was to examine whether type of acculturation experienced in childhood effects post-secondary educational attainment. As with any analysis there are limitations that must be considered before making any conclusions. The primary issue is that specific constellations of variables used were unable to be constructed to measure fully each acculturation type; rather, markers of acculturation were utilized to infer possible relationships between acculturation type and educational attainment. While the markers used in this thesis were theorized by previous researchers to be the most distinguishable markers, more concrete conceptualizations of each type of acculturation may prove in future research to be more effective.

The years CILS-III was conducted, 2002-2003, the respondents' ages were in a prime age range for continuing post-secondary educational programs. Educational attainment is expected to increase for many of the respondents over time. Therefore, this thesis provides insight into the characteristics of students that were able to enter post-secondary education directly upon graduation from high school, and even continue on to advanced levels of education beyond the baccalaureate degree. Future waves of CILS data are not planned to be collected at this time due to high rates of attrition. However, I feel an additional follow-up would be useful in providing a more comprehensive examination of educational attainment as it would be able to include the attainments of respondents that may have needed to wait, or take longer to finish college due perhaps to financial restraints.

Discussion

Overall, the second-generation respondents in the CILS sample are well on their way to surpassing national averages of adult educational attainment, providing support to previous observations of second-generation youths' overall superior academic performance.

Previous research showed that the markers of acculturation experienced in adolescence affected academic achievement in middle school in the forms of GPA and standardized test scores (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The results of this study show that while GPA and standardized test scores are important predictors of future educational attainment, the markers of acculturation may have a more complicated relationship to educational attainment.

Fluent bilingualism, a strong marker of selective acculturation, was not found to significantly differ from the reference group (English monolingualism, a marker of consonant acculturation) in years of educational attainment or in the receipt of a four-year degree. Yet it is important to note that both English dominant and fluent bilingual students must possess strong English language skills to be considered in either one of these language categories. From the crosstabular analyses it was viewed that both language categories have achieved similarly in educational attainment, showing positive relations to post-secondary educational attainment and higher percentages of entering post-secondary education than the other language categories. What this may accentuate is that solid English language skills are a predominant language characteristic in educational success.

Even though fluent bilingual and English-dominant respondents enter post-secondary educational facilities and graduate with four-year degrees at similar levels, fluent bilinguals were the only language ability category to surpass the adult national averages of advanced degree attainment by 2002. Therefore, fluent bilinguals were more likely than any

other category to begin post-secondary education immediately upon high school graduation and immediately continue through to advanced degree levels. The total number of years of educational attainment may be expected to increase for each language ability, but what we see so far suggests that fluent bilingual abilities in early adolescence, as evident in selective acculturation, contribute to higher educational attainment.

Additionally, though not shown as significantly different in the number of years of educational attainment in the regression models, it is clear that selectively acculturated youth have a large advantage over those who experienced consonant acculturation in youth. Holding all other conditions constant, the youth that are selectively acculturated possess an incredibly important, marketable skill of having fluency in a second language. Possessing this skill increases their professional marketability in the global economy present in the United States.

The second marker of selective acculturation used in this study, the presence of second-generation friends, is strongly supported in the analyses to be a positive predictor of future educational attainment. This aspect of selective acculturation is also a marker of social capital. The social capital gained with ties to a co-ethnic community provides valuable resources to the immigrant family in forms of support to both parental control and aspirations for their children.

Dissonant acculturation, as indicated by limited bilingual abilities and parent-child conflict, is supported by the analyses as having a consistently negative impact on the future educational attainment and successful integration into mainstream US culture. While foreign-language dominance was also negatively related to educational attainment, it was shown to have a less negative effect than that of limited bilingual ability. This difference can be linked to the intergenerational conflict that occurs in dissonant acculturation. The foreign-language

dominant youth continue to maintain support from their family, even when language barriers provide difficulties in school. However the youth experiencing dissonant acculturation have difficulties in both arenas: a lack of full comprehension of the English language and therefore difficulties in school, and difficulties at home due to the rejection of parental language and customs. These markers of dissonant acculturation which are often found as a result of English immersion programs reinforce the notion that encouraged abandonment of the child's native tongue without full English language support is not in the child's best interest.

Another consistent finding in this research is the powerful role immigrant parents' social and economic capital play in their children's future educational attainment. Status attainment theorists attribute family SES to a variety of factors influencing educational attainment, including the ability to attend well funded schools that academically prepare their students to enter certain post-secondary educational programs (Blau and Duncan 1967, Simpson 2001). This may provide a linkage between family SES, school GPAs, and standardized test scores, which directly affect the ability of the second-generation youth to attend competitive colleges and universities. The research herein shows that even when markers of acculturation are taken into consideration, family SES and academic achievements continue to play a very significant role in post-secondary educational attainment.

Conclusions

In support of existing research, this thesis emphasizes the importance of solid English-language ability in successful acculturation. Learning and maintaining a firm grasp of the English language, as present in both consonant and selective acculturation, is important in successfully assimilating into the mainstream US culture and shows negative consequences when not achieved. Maintaining second-generation friendships and minimizing intergenerational conflict, as evident in selective acculturation, furthers this advantage.

Based upon the literature review and results of the analyses conducted in this thesis, I would hypothesize that the selectively acculturated second generation may truly distinguish themselves from those who were consonantly acculturated in future occupational success. Although a specific theory currently does not exist to explain the magnitude in which possession of bilingual abilities contribute to an individual's social or human capital, in today's knowledge-based pluralistic society it is an extremely valuable tool to possess. The fluent bilingual ability of the selectively acculturated young adults entering the workforce after college gives them an advantage in global industry.

The largest divide of academic success in this sample lies at the language divide between those who speak and write English well, and those who do not. It is the best interest of today's leaders to make sure the second-generation immigrant youth, the largest growing youth population in the United States, receive full English language support in schools, but not rush them to abandon their native culture and language.

The nativism that breeds forceful assimilation policies, like those existing in California, and Arizona, may be stripping second-generation youth of successful assimilation and future life opportunities by pulling these youth away from their families too quickly into a new culture and language without the adequate resources needed to survive on their own.

This isolation increases the likelihood of downward assimilation into the underclass. Future empirical examinations of second-generation individuals who underwent English emersion programs as youth would be useful in determining the true extent of these consequences.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Independent variables to be included in measurement of post-secondary educational attainment:

Variable*	Measurement	Range	Mean/ N
Independent			
Markers of acculturation type			
Fluent Bilingual	Dichotomous, 1992	1 = Speaks English very well and a foreign language at least well 0 = Other	.2146 n=5228
Limited Bilingual	Dichotomous, 1995	1 = Does not speak English very well and does not speak a foreign language at least well 0 = Other	.2029 n=4288
Foreign Language Dominant	Dichotomous, 1992	1 = Foreign language dominant 0 = Other	
High rate of Parent –child conflict	Dichotomous, 1992: recoded to indicate a separation between high and low levels of conflict	1 = Most of the time or All the time 0 = Never or Sometimes	2.03 n=5228
High rate of Second-generation Friends	Dichotomous, 1995: recoded to indicate a separation between high and low levels of co-ethnic community support	1 = Many or most 0 = None or Some	.616 n=4064
Embarrassed by parent’s non-American ways	Dichotomous, 1992	1 = Sometimes embarrassed 0 = Never, or neither sometimes nor never embarrassed	.1678 n=5215
Length of acculturation			
U.S. born (v22)	Dichotomous, 1992	0 = Foreign born 1 = Native born	n=5260
Long term resident (v22)	Years, 1992	1 = Less than 5 2 = 5 to 9 3 = 10 or more	3.12 n=5260
Demographic			
Age (v19)	Years, 2002	22 to 28	14.23 n=5261
Sex	Dichotomous	1 = Female 0 = Male	.5106 n=5262
Region	Dichotomous	1 = Southern CA 0 = Southern FL	.4599 n=5262

* Variable names from CILS-III Public Release file given in parentheses.

(Independent Variables, Continued)

Variable	Measurement	Range	Mean/N
Family			
Parental SES (v148)	Standardized unit-weighted sum of father's and mother's education, occupational status, and home ownership, 1992	0 to 4.00	1.9374 n=5262
Intact Family	Dichotomous, measured in 1995	1 = Both biological parents present 0 = Other family arrangements	.6507 n=4269
Academic achievement in 1992			
GPA, 1992 (v139)	Grade point average in school (grades eighth and ninth), weighted for advanced placement (AP) courses	0 to 4.96	2.52 n=5154
Reading Scores (v135)	Total score on Stanford reading achievement test	0 to 830	663.68 n=4522
Math Scores (v133)	Total score on Stanford math achievement test	0 to 857	693.99 n=4446
Nationality (v450)			
		Total	Percent of Sample
Cuban, private school		135	4.1
Cuban, public school		669	20.5
Nicaraguan		224	6.9
Colombian		150	4.6
Haitian		97	3.0
West Indian/Jamaican		157	4.8
Mexican		402	12.3
Filipino		573	17.6
Vietnamese		194	6.0
Lao/Cambodian		151	4.6
Chinese/Korean		58	1.8
Latin other		281	8.6
Asian other (Other)		80 89	2.5 2.7
Total		3260	100

Appendix B: Dependent variables to be included in measurement
of post-secondary educational attainment:

Dependent			
Variable*	Measurement	Coding	Mean/ N
Highest year of educational attainment (v407a)	Ordinal, Years of schooling correlated to degree level attainments	10 = Approx. some high school 12 = Approx. high school graduate 14 = Approx. associates degree/technical certificate 15 = Approx. some college, no degree 16 = Approx. bachelor's degree 18 = Approx. graduate level	14.33 n=3264
College degree or on track to completing degree	Dichotomous, combined variable; College degree attained or enrolled in a 4 year degree	0 = Other 1 = College degree attained or enrolled in a 4 year degree	.5917 n=1658

* Variable names from CILS-III Public Release file given in parentheses.

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