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The Effects of Ethnic Identity on the Assimilation Behaviors of Second Generation Immigrants

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THE EFFECTS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY ON THE ASSIMILATION BEHAVIORS OF
SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the effects of ethnic identity on assimilation behaviors in second generation immigrants. It looks at two types of ethnic identity--one that is an internal, self-identification and one that is an external, objective designation. More specifically, this study reviews the effects of ethnic identity on how well a respondent writes a foreign language, how well a respondent writes English, language the respondent prefers to speak, total monthly earnings, and highest level of education achieved. This study hypothesizes that various ethnic self-identifications and various nationalities will be predictors of various assimilation pathways set forth in the segmented assimilation theory. Data used in this thesis are from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study. Multiple types of regression are used to determine the effects, if any, of ethnic identity on the various behaviors tested. Findings indicate that both measures of ethnic identity do have a significant effect on assimilation behaviors. The results, however, also suggest that more research is needed to better understand the multifaceted relationship between ethnic identities and assimilation pathways.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

Immigration is an important area of study, maintaining its relevance as the
number of immigrants continues to grow year after year. According to the U.S. Bureau
Census reports, in 2003 the civilian noninstitutionalized population in the United States
was comprised of 33.5 million foreign-born, or approximately 11.7 percent of the U.S.
population (Larson, 2004). These numbers demonstrate a steady increase from 1997,
when the civilian noninstitutionalized population in the United States was estimated at
25.8 million, or approximately 9.7 percent of the U.S. population (Schmidley & Gibson,
1999). A significant portion of research on immigrants has focused narrowly on the
assimilation and well-being of immigrants. This work is not only of interest to academia
but also to policy makers who are interested in understanding and creating solutions to
problems that arise from immigration. In the past, studies of immigrant assimilation
assumed a straight line theory, that over the course of a few generations immigrant
populations would eventually achieve complete assimilation into the mainstream society
of their host country. Much of this work was done on immigrant groups of the early
1900s who were primarily coming from European countries. Over the past few decades,
however, immigrants to western and capitalist countries, such as the United States, have
increasingly come from non-European countries and are non-white. Thus, a large portion
of the first and second generation immigrants in the United States today have a different
cultural and racial background than the host country's majority. This has caused many to
question the once taken-for-granted belief in the inevitability of immigrants assimilating

to the host country. It has even raised the question of whether complete assimilation is at all possible or desirable for these new immigrant groups.

To better understand the assimilation patterns of today's immigrants, the relationship between immigrants' identities and their assimilation behaviors has been explored (Rumbaut, 1994; Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Matute-Bianchi, 1986). More specifically, it has been shown that the ethnic identity of a given immigrant will be associated with a particular pattern or path of assimilation into the host country. As a result, it could be argued that the way in which ethnic identity is broken down and categorized will greatly affect the expected outcomes for assimilation at the individual level.

The goal of this thesis is to add to the existing literature on ethnic identity and assimilation. To achieve this end, this study will use data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study to look at two distinct types of ethnic identity, ethnic self-identification and nationality, and to compare their effects on the assimilation behaviors of a sample of second generation immigrants in the United States. By focusing on this aspect of assimilation, the thesis will provide clues into how future studies might be better shaped and policy regarding immigrant assimilation might be improved.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ethnic Identification

Ethnic identity is a widely used term that lacks a clear, universal definition. It is a term that is used by various fields in multiple ways. In sociology it has been used mainly as an attempt to categorize individuals into groups that share a similar culture, language, background, status, and/or group membership. Even within this more general treatment of the term, however, there is still much variability in the meaning of ethnic identity. As a result, any study using the term ethnic identity should explore thoroughly the ways it has been defined in previous literature to determine the most functional definition for that particular study.

According to Nagel (1994), "ethnic identity is the result of a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual's self-identification and outsider's ethnic designations – i.e., what *you* think your ethnicity is, versus what *they* think your ethnicity is" (p.154). Thus, ethnic identity is socially constructed from the meanings and negotiations that are created through social interaction both inside of and outside of the ethnic group. In this way, ethnicity can transform and adjust based on changes in the situations and audiences. As a result, the individual carries a number of ethnic identities that are reasonably significant and relevant in different situations and with regard to different audiences. Diverse ethnic identities then are constructed by both the individual and ethnic group as well as by persons and groups outside of the ethnic group (Nagel, 1994).

These ethnic identities might be more or less in agreement so that how an individual self-identifies and how the individual is socially designated is similar. It might be, however, that these identities are essentially distinct and separate so that how an individual views himself and how the larger society identifies the individual are not similar to one another. The latter possibility was the case in Killian and Johnson's (2006) study of North African women's identity negotiation, cultural expression, and general adaptation in France. Killian and Johnson conducted in-depth qualitative interviews to determine the respondents' ethnic identities and the meanings attached to them. A number of the respondents discussed the differences between their self-identifications and the social categories in which they were placed by others. In particular, those respondents who considered themselves to be completely or partly French had to engage in several forms of identity work to resist the identities pushed on them by others, which was generally an immigrant identity or a national-origin identity. Rather than immediately accepted by others as French, the respondents had to work hard to disidentify themselves from the immigrant group (Killian & Johnson, 2006). Thus, how individuals identify themselves and how the individuals are socially designated are two distinct components of ethnic identity that can be different and should be looked at separately. A second aim of this study then is to examine the effects of individuals' self-identifications and the effects of individuals' social category designations separately and to determine which one has the bigger effect on assimilative behaviors.

For the purposes of this study, ethnic identity will be defined in two ways. The first will be a self-identification in line with the two-dimensional model of acculturation

and cultural conflict theory, in which the individual chooses his ethnic identification based on his attachments to his country of origin and to the host country. The second will be an "objective" social category, in which the individual's ethnic identification is based on his parents' country of origin. Thus, each individual will have two separate ethnic identities, one that is chosen and one that is a given or is ascribed from birth.

Ethnic Self-Identification

One of the prominent paradigms used in sociology to discuss ethnic self-identity is the acculturation and cultural conflict theory. This theory is often applied in situations where two separate cultures come in contact which subsequently leads to changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors of one or both cultures. In this theory, ethnic identity is considered an aspect of acculturation, in which the interest is in how individuals relate to their own group as a subgroup of the larger society (Phinney, 1990). This theory has two competing models of ethnic identity. In the linear model, ethnic identity is conceptualized along a continuum with strong ties to the subgroup at one extreme and strong ties to the larger society at the other extreme. This model assumes that loyalty and attachment to one group necessarily means reduced attachment to the other.

In an alternative model, ethnic identity is conceptualized as a two-dimensional process, in which both the ties to the ethnic subgroup and the ties to the dominant culture group are considered. The model considers these two relationships as independent. Thus, ethnic group members can have either strong or weak attachments with both their origin

and the host cultures (Phinney, 1990). A strong loyalty to one group does not necessarily lead to a weak loyalty to the other. Porter and Washington (1993) add a third model to this theory, in which ethnic identity and acculturation are treated as complicated, multifaceted processes. In this multidimensional or pluralistic model, the attachment to dominant cultural traits and retention of ethnic cultural traits are viewed as changing from trait to trait. As a result, ethnic identity and acculturation are regarded as complicated processes that vary situationally (Porter & Washington, 1993). While all three of the models are acknowledged in the literature, most of the studies based on the acculturation and cultural conflict paradigm tend to use the two-dimensional model, which is the one that will be used in this study. These studies attempt to determine the relationship between varying ethnic identities and varying assimilation paths. Consequently, the acculturation and cultural conflict model is the best fit for this study since the aim here is to better understand the effects of ethnic identity on assimilation.

In line with the two-dimensional model of acculturation, Phinney (2001) and Zimmerman, Zimmerman, and Constant (2007) propose four distinct possibilities of how individuals view their ethnic self-identification, as they come into contact with a new society. Individuals who feel strongly attached to both the host and origin country (who keep a strong ethnic identity while also connecting with the new society) are deemed to have an integrated or bicultural identity. Individuals who feel strongly attached to the country of origin but only weakly attached to the host country (who have a strong ethnic identity but do not connect with the new society) have a separated identity. Individuals who feel strongly attached to the host country but weakly attached to the country of

origin (who let go of their ethnic identity and completely connect to the new society) have an assimilated identity. Lastly, individuals who are weakly attached to both the host and origin country (who lose their ethnic identity and do not connect to the new society) have a marginalized identity (Phinney, 2001; Zimmerman et al., 2007). Each of these categories is the result of individuals' internal thoughts and processes. They are based on subjective feelings of attachment to the ethnic group and the larger society. In addition, each type is thought to be associated with a different path of assimilation or dissimilation into the host country and consequently associated with differing behaviors and consequences. Thus, it could be argued that how an individual self-identifies will have an effect on their assimilative behavior. This assumption of causal order, however, is not universally agreed upon. There is disagreement in the literature as to whether identity predicts behavior or whether identity depends on behavior. Ethnic identity has been used in some studies as the independent variable and in others as the dependent variable. As a result, one of the aims of this study is to provide further information about the direction of causality in this area by looking at effects across time. This study will test whether ethnic self-identity, as identified above, predicts behavior and will determine the extent of the effect that ethnic self-identification has on an individual's assimilation pathway.

<u>Objective Ethnic Designation</u>

As discussed previously, not all ethnic identities are the result of self-identification. Some identities are perceived as an "objective" social category into which the individual is placed by outside forces and the larger society. For the purposes of this

7

study, the individual's country of origin, or nationality, will be used as the objective ethnic designation. In this case, nationality pertains to groups distinguished by their country of origin and wave of immigration. Unlike the internal, personal self-identification which may or may not be validated by the social networks an individual is embedded in, nationality does reflect networks that an individual is embedded in. Thus, it is an identity that can be invoked by the nationality group in comparison to other outside groups. This is an objective measure that captures external attitudes and actions of other individuals outside the group rather than the internal attitudes and actions of the person being categorized. An ethnic identity based on nationality takes account of differences in the history of previous immigrant groups with their context of reception and differences in the disadvantages and resources of each group (Rumbaut and Portes, 2001). The focus of an objective ethnic designation is not on how the individual designates himself and his feelings about his or her particular ethnic group. Instead, the focus is on how the larger society designates and perceives the socially constructed group and on the resources and burdens attached to the ethnic group. Thus, in addition to testing the effects of the internal ethnic self-identification as defined by the two-dimensional model of acculturation, this study will also test the effects of the objective ethnic designation ascribed by birth and for the purposes of this study defined as nationality on an individual's assimilation pathway. Another purpose of this study is to determine which one of these ethnic identity types will have the stronger effect on assimilation.

Now that the types of ethnic identity used in this study have been established, it is important to review the literature on the expected and observed effects that these types of identity may have on assimilation. First, however, this study needs to define the type of assimilation process that it will be examining. Similar to ethnic identity, there have been several competing theories and frameworks on assimilation.

Sub-processes of Assimilation

Assimilation is generally seen as a process of boundary reduction that results from contact between members of two or more societies or groups with differing cultures. Complete assimilation occurs when two formerly distinct socio-cultural groups have become one indistinguishable group. According to Yinger (1981), the extent of assimilation is dependent on the intensity of four sub-processes, amalgamation, identification, acculturation, and integration. *Amalgamation* is the biological process whereby populations combine through intermarriage and the like, and they produce a new mixed population. When groups are more readily distinguishable by appearance or genealogy, they are less likely to experience the other sub-processes of assimilation. Also, the mixed population that results from amalgamation is less likely to be absorbed into the higher status group and more likely to remain with the lower status group. *Identification* is the psychological process in which individuals from separate groups may come to consider themselves as belonging to the same group. This process may result in

the creation of a new group that is mixed together from the original groups or it may result in a one-sided process so that one of the original groups takes on the identity of the other. *Acculturation* is the process in which distinct groups become more similar culturally. This process can result in both groups giving up some elements of their culture to be replaced by new ones, or it can result in a more one-way process so that one group gives up its cultural elements to be replaced by the others' cultural elements. This process can also result in the addition of new elements of culture without giving up old ones so that a more complex cultural stock is created. Lastly, *integration* is the structural process whereby individuals from separate groups come to form a set of shared interactions. These interactions can vary from the impersonal relationships within economic and political institutions to the more personal relationships within neighborhoods, friendships, and intimate bonds. These four sub-processes do not occur in any fixed order. Changes in one of these sub-processes tend to be accompanied by and to assist changes in the others. At the same time, obstacles or difficulties in one of these sub-processes tend to impede changes in the others. Further, each process is reversible so that instead of assimilation, dissimilation may occur. Dissimilation is the process of boundary intensification and growth. Differences in societies or groups with distinct cultures are maintained and created. Although the forces of assimilation continue to be strong in most societies today, there is also a growing trend in many places of ongoing strength of ethnic groups (Yinger, 1981).

Segmented Assimilation

The straightforward path to completed assimilation has been the accepted model for decades. It has been demonstrated with previous immigrant groups that the new minority will eventually be absorbed into the mainstream society. After a few generations the immigrant population will come to resemble the mainstream population and be integrated and accepted into the white middle class. While this has been the case for many of the European immigrants who arrived in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century, this does not appear to be the case for the new immigrant groups who have come to the United States following passage of the Hart-Cellar Act in 1965. The ethnic and racial composition of today's immigrants is quite different from that of earlier immigrants. The majority of today's wave of immigrants, unlike earlier immigrant waves, is coming from non-white and non-European populations. Also, the social context encountered by today's immigrants has changed. The economy has changed and employment opportunities and resources available to new immigrant populations are not the same as those that existed for previous waves of immigrants. Thus, contemporary groups of immigrants are not all inevitably headed for a smooth transition and straightforward path of assimilation. Instead, they may be moving toward assimilation along distinct, segmented paths where outcomes vary across (and possibly within) immigrant groups and do not necessarily lead to rapid integration and acceptance into the mainstream. Portes and Zhou (1993) observe several distinct forms of assimilation. One form follows the traditional assimilation of increasing acculturation and corresponding integration into the white middle class. A second form leads to downward assimilation

into permanent poverty and the underclass. Finally, a third form proceeds to rapid economic advancement accompanied by purposeful maintenance of the immigrant group's culture and cohesion (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

There are three features of contemporary immigrants and their social context in the United States that put them at risk for downward assimilation. The first is racial composition. The majority of today's immigrants do not come from European countries. They come from Latin American and Asian countries. Consequently, the majority are non-white. This impedes the process of amalgamation and the other sub-processes of assimilation. The second risk factor is location. The concentration of immigrant households tends to be in cities that put immigrants in close contact with concentrations of the host society's minorities. This leads the majority to categorize and associate the immigrant group with the minority underclass and poor. Moreover, it brings second-generation children in contact with the oppositional subculture developed by minority youths to deal with their difficult situation. The third factor is the lack of mobility for many immigrants. Changes in the United States economy have led to the contraction of entry-level positions with well-defined channels for promotion and advancement. Children of immigrants must now receive advanced training if they are to move into the middle class (Portes & Zhou, 1993). For these reasons, contemporary immigrants find it difficult if not impossible to follow an assimilation path of integration and acceptance into the white middle class.

This does not mean, however, that all immigrant groups are headed for downward assimilation into the poor minority and underclass. Some immigrant groups are able to

avoid downward assimilation through the use of government programs that they may be eligible for, such as educational loans for children. Also, some groups have been able to avoid the prejudices associated with race and location. Finally, some ethnic groups have become well-established and diversified enough to offer new immigrants moral and material resources. In the case of ethnic enclaves, the ethnic communities are even able to offer occupational opportunities that do not require advanced education (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Consequently, it is the case that some immigrant groups are able to assimilate into the mainstream society and that some are able to gain economic advancement through strong ethnic communities.

<center>Selective Acculturation</center>

After initially outlining only three forms of assimilation and after reviewing the progress of several immigrant groups in the United States, Portes and Zhou (1993) were able to identify a fourth strategy of assimilation that they believe may be the best course of action for immigrant groups. This is selective acculturation, in which immigrants retain their ethnic roots and values but at the same time acquire skills and traits from the host society that are seen as necessary for surviving and advancing in the host society. In this paced form of assimilation, immigrants are able to learn the culture of the host society without losing the culture of their country of origin. Portes and Zhou (1993) acknowledge that the extent to which this form of assimilation is possible will of course depend on each immigrant group with the risk factors it is exposed to and resources that are available to it.

<center>13</center>

The following segmented assimilation paths outlined by Portes and Zhou will be investigated in this study: (1) the full assimilation path, in which the culture of the white middle class is embraced; (2) the selective assimilation path in which the cultures of both the host society and the country of origin are maintained; (3) the downward assimilation path in which the culture of the underclass and native minority is embraced; (4) the dissimilation pathway in which the culture of the country of origin is maintained. Specifically, the study is interested in the effects of ethnic identities on individuals' assimilation behaviors and in turn on assimilation paths. In order to better understand these effects, the research now turns to a review of the studies that have found relationships and associations between identity and assimilation.

Previous Studies

One such study was conducted by Rumbaut (1994) and used data from the first wave of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), in which eighth- and ninth-graders in Southern California and South Florida who were foreign born or had at least one foreign born parent were surveyed. This survey used an open-ended question to determine the respondent's ethnic self-identity. Answers were then coded and quantified so that 27% of the respondents identified by national origin, 40% indentified as a hyphenated-American, 11% identified as unhyphenated Americans, and 21% chose a racial or panethnic identity. This study shows that acculturation has a strong effect on the identification process. Being born in the United States, having a naturalized U.S. citizenship, having a preference for English, and fluent use of English with close friends

14

(the measures of assimilation used in Rumbaut's study), all greatly increase the tendency for a respondent to identify as an unhyphenated American, or assimilated, identity. In contrast, being foreign-born, not having a U.S. citizenship, having a preference for the parental native language, and fluency in the parental native language, all greatly increase the tendency for a respondent to identify as a national origin, or separated, identity. The effects of acculturation on the tendency for a respondent to identify as a hyphenated-American, or integrated, identity lie somewhere between the two extremes of an assimilated identity and a separated identity. Acculturation does not have a strong effect, however, on the tendency for a racial/panethnic, or marginalized, identity. Instead, location and nationality are the major predictors for this self-identification category. Attending inner city schools, where the majority of students are racial/ethnic minorities, is more associated with racial or panethnic identities and less associated with national origin identities (Rumbaut, 1994).

While Rumbaut's study proposes a different causal order than this study, the results are still promising. The associations found in this study between acculturation measures and ethnic self-identification give some support for using an acculturation or cultural conflict model for ethnic self-identification, specifically for matching up the unhyphenated American identity with the assimilated identity, the national origin identity with the separated identity, and the hyphenated-American identity with the integrated identity. There may be some problems, however, in applying this model to the racial or panethnic identity. It may be that choosing a racial or panethnic identity is not similar to a marginalized identity. Or it may be that a racial or panethnic identity is similar to a

marginalized identity and that it is the measures of acculturation used in Rumbaut's study that are problematic in determining this similarity or dissimilarity. A marginalized identity means that the individual is not strongly connected to either the host society or the country of origin. Thus, it would be expected that the individual would not have a preference for either English or the national-origin language so neither one would have a large effect. The place of birth, whether in the United States or in a foreign country, would also not have a large effect since the individual's connection to both is weak. Consequently, I propose that the acculturation and cultural conflict model could fit for all of the self-identifications found in Rumbaut's study, but testing that uses different measures of acculturation would be needed to determine whether this is in fact the case or not.

Portes and MacLeod (1996) conducted a study that also involved the first wave of the CILS dataset, but their study was limited to students who were born in Latin America or whose parents were born in Latin America. They found that respondents who self-identified as Hispanic had significantly lower college expectations, lower self-esteem, and reported experiencing greater discrimination than those who identified themselves as hyphenated-American or as unhyphenated American. These self-identified Hispanic respondents were not significantly different than those who chose a national origin identity, but they did report the lowest on all three measures (Portes & MacLeod, 1996). Embracing the panethnic Hispanic identity then is associated with several disadvantages. The outcomes for this self-identification correspond to the path of downward assimilation into an underclass. Consequently, not only can a panethnic label be associated with a

marginalized identity, but it can also be associated with the downward assimilation path. Hence, it could be hypothesized that a marginalized identity, or a panethnic/racial self-identification, is likely to be associated with behaviors that correspond to downward assimilation.

In her study of the school performance of Mexican-descent students enrolled in a California high school, Matute-Bianchi identified five distinct categories of ethnic identity within these students. *Recent-Mexican immigrant* students were Spanish speaking, Mexican born, and generally enrolled in LEP classes. They claimed an identity of "Mexicano," which could be related to a separated identity, and considered Mexico their permanent home. They were considered by teachers to be hardworking but were not the most successful students. They were easily distinguished from other students by their dress and speech. *Mexican-oriented* students were usually bilingual with varying levels of English fluency. They were for the most part, though, enrolled in regular classes. They had strong ties to both Mexico and the United States, which could be related to an integrated identity, but they claimed an identity of "Mexicano." They participated in school activities that were Mexican-oriented. *Mexican-American* students were born in the United States from Mexican parentage. They identified themselves as either Mexican-Americans or Americans of Mexican descent. They were, however, more American-oriented, which could be related to an assimilated identity, and often did not speak Spanish well. They were described by teachers as totally assimilated. They tended to participate in more mainstream school activities and clubs. *Chicano* students identified themselves as Mexican or Mexicano, but did not find the term "Chicano" to be offensive

or derogatory, which could be related to a marginalized identity. They exhibited a high level of alienation from the school and described the academically successful Mexican-descent students derisively. Students classified as *Cholos*, which could also be related to a marginalized identity, made up the smallest number. They were gang oriented or gang sympathizers. Like the Chicano group, they were highly alienated from the school and did not view academic success highly. In this study, the successful Mexican-descent students tended to come from the Mexican-oriented and Mexican-American subgroups with the majority coming from the latter group (Matute-Bianchi, 1986). This finding is in line with the notion that bicultural or integrated identities are the best option for successful assimilation into the mainstream society. This study demonstrates the presence of all four of the identities from the two-dimension model of acculturation: the separated identity of recent-Mexican immigrant students, the integrated identity of Mexican-oriented students, the assimilated identity of Mexican-American students, and the marginalized identity of Chicano and Cholo students. It also demonstrates the school performance and the level of integration into the school institution that are associated with each identity. Each of these studies provides some clarification on the relationship between ethnic identity and paths of assimilation. They lend justification for further study in this area and aid in making predictions about the possible effects of ethnic self-identification on assimilation behaviors.

It is important to further explore this relationship so that policy regarding immigrant assimilation and immigrant well-being can be improved. As shown in past research and the literature above not all of the possible assimilation pathways are

associated with positive outcomes for immigrants and their children and some pathways appear to provide better outcomes than others. Specifically, downward assimilation appears to be associated with more negative outcomes and selective assimilation appears to be associated with more positive outcomes. Consequently, understanding predictors for the various assimilation pathways will be beneficial in creating policy that will help immigrants and especially children of immigrants avoid downward assimilation and encourage a different assimilation pathway. The literature indicates that ethnic identity may be one of these predictors for assimilation so it is necessary to investigate further if this is an important predictor and what specifically is the effect of this variable on assimilation.

Thus, this study will further explore this relationship by testing the effects of both parts of an individual's ethnic identity (the internal self-identification based on subjective feelings and the external objective designation ascribed from birth) on the individual's assimilation behaviors. The goal is to determine the effect, if any, of various possible ethnic identities on the assimilation pathway that an individual follows out of various possible pathways.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Hypotheses

Based on a review of the literature and work that has already been done on ethnic identity and on the relationship between ethnic identity and assimilation behaviors, the following hypotheses are proposed for testing in this study.

Hypothesis 1) *Ethnic self-identification and objective ethnic designation will each have an effect on the individual's assimilation behaviors, even after controlling for a number of variables,* which will be discussed below. More specifically, the study investigates which type of ethnic identification will have the larger effect. Since there have been limited or no studies that have directly compared these two types of ethnic identities, this study will not attempt to hypothesize which one will have the larger effect on assimilation.

Hypothesis 2: Within the ethnic self-identifications, differing identity categories will be associated with varying assimilation paths (Rumbaut, 1994; Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Zimmermann et al., 2007).

Hypothesis 2a) *It is expected that individuals with assimilated identities, individuals who let go of their ethnic identity and completely embrace the host society, will follow a path of full assimilation.* These individuals are expected to write English well/very well, to write a foreign language very little/not well, to prefer to speak English, to have a high level of education, and to have a high wage earning.

Hypothesis 2b) *Integrated identities, individuals who embrace both their ethnic identity and the host society, will follow a path of selective assimilation.* These individuals are expected to write English well/very well, to write a foreign language well/very well, to prefer to speak both English and a non-English language, to have a high level of education, and to have a high wage earning.

Hypothesis 2c) *Individuals with separated identities, individuals who embrace their ethnic identity and who do not embrace the host society, will be associated with dissimilation.* These individuals are expected to write English very little/not well, to write a foreign language well/very well, to prefer to speak a non-English language, to have a lower level of education, and to have a high wage earning as per ethnic enclave arguments.

Hypothsis 2d) *Individuals with marginalized identities who let go of their ethnic identity and do not embrace the host society, will be associated with downward assimilation.* These individuals are expected to write English very little/not well, to write a foreign language very little/not well, to not have a preference for speaking English, a non-English language, or both, to have a low level of education, and to have a low wage earning.

Hypothesis 3) Finally, differing categories within the objective ethnic designations (in this case the respondent's country of origin) will also be expected to be associated with varying assimilation paths. While this paper will not be making predictions on every nationality in the study, it can make predictions on some of the principle countries of origin based on previous studies.

Hypothesis 3a) *It is expected that West Indians (especially Jamaicans), Mexicans, Nicaraguans, and Haitians will be associated with downward assimilation and will have similar outcomes to marginalized identities* (Kasinitz, Battle, & Miyares, 2001; Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Fernandez-Kelly & Curran, 2001; Stepick, Stepick, Eugene, Teed, & Labissiere, 2001).

Hypothesis 3b) *Cubans and Vietnamese will be associated with selective assimilation and are expected to have similar outcomes to integrated identities* (Perez, 2001; Zhou, 2001).

Hypothesis 3c) *Filipinos will be associated with full assimilation and are expected to have similar outcomes to assimilated identities* (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). In order to test these hypotheses and to learn more about some of the relationships, this study will be using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study. It will be using data from different waves so that causality can be tested. In particular, the study will test whether an individual's ethnic identity at one point in time will have an effect on his assimilation behaviors at a later point in time.

Data Set

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) was designed to study the adaptation process of the second generation immigrant population in the United States. In this particular study second generation immigrants included children born abroad but moved to the United States by five years of age, and children who were born in the United States who have at least one foreign-born parent. The original sample consisted of

eighth- and ninth-grade second generation students enrolled in public and private schools in the Miami and Ft. Lauderdale areas in Florida, and in the San Diego area in California. The first survey was conducted in 1992 with the aim of obtaining baseline information on immigrant families. The total sample size was 5,262. The sample is evenly divided by sex, year in school, and between foreign-born and U.S.-born respondents. 54 percent of the sample came from Miami/Ft. Lauderdale and 46 percent of the sample came from San Diego (For more details on CILS see Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). In 1995 and 1996 a follow-up survey was conducted around the time respondents were expected to graduate from high school. The aim of this second wave study was to ascertain the progress of the respondents on some important adaptation outcomes. This follow-up survey resulted in an 81.5 percent response rate from the original wave of respondents (n=4, 288). Statistical tests revealed that the follow-up sample is not seriously biased with regard to the original sample. There is, however, some overrepresentation of respondents from higher-status families (For details on CILS II see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). A second follow-up survey was conducted in 2002 and 2003 during a time of early adulthood for respondents who were continuing with their higher education or beginning their work careers. This third wave resulted in a 68 percent response rate from the original wave of respondents (n=3,564, for details on CILS-III see Portes & Rumbaut, 2005).

Southern California and Southern Florida were chosen as study sites for the CILS project because they are major immigrant settlement areas in the United States. In 1990, around the time data for the first wave was collected, 7.9 percent of the total United States population was foreign born compared to 20.9 percent of San Diego's population

and 45.4% of Miami's population. The ethnic compositions of these areas were reflected in the CILS sample. The chief nationalities in the San Diego site are Mexican, Filipino, Vietnamese, and others from Asia and Latin America. The chief nationalities in the Miami and Ft. Lauderdale site are Cuban, Nicaraguan, Haitian, Jamaican, and others from Latin America and the Caribbean. These nationalities are highly diverse in their demographic and socioeconomic circumstances. And, they are representative of contemporary immigration to the United States (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001).

This study will be using data from the second and third wave studies. Data from these two time periods cover what theorists believe to be a crucial time in the ethnic identity development phase of adolescence (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Also, using data from two different time periods will allow for some use of direction in my analyses instead of simply relying on associations. The sample in this study will be restricted to those respondents who listed an ethnic self-identification and who had a known nationality at the time of the second wave.

In order for the study to assess ethnic self-identifications, respondents were given an open-ended question regarding identity and were asked to write in their response. In this way, respondents were not limited to predetermined categories and were able to communicate what they perceived their identity to be. Responses to this question were later recoded into categories of American, hyphenated-American (i.e. Mexican-American), national origin (i.e. Mexican), racial/panethnic (i.e. Hispanic), and mixed/other (i.e. human). Since this study is following the two-dimensional model of acculturation theory to examine ethnic self-identification, data from respondents who

24

were categorized into the mixed/other category will not be used. These respondents chose identities that do not fit into the model used in this study and that could not be clearly and reasonably placed into one of the other identity categories. Therefore, they will not be included in this study. The self-identifications of the remaining respondents do fit into the two-dimensional model of acculturation and cultural conflict as shown in the table below. The unhyphenated American identity is in line with the assimilated identity; the hyphenated-American identity corresponds to the integrated identity; the national origin identity is along the lines of the separated identity; lastly, the racial/panethnic identity is similar to the marginalized identity.

TABLE 1. PREDICTED IDENTITIES OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

SURVEY RESPONDENTS	IDENTITIES
Unhyphenated American	Assimilated
Hyphenated American	Integrated
National Origin	Separated
Racial/Panethnic	Marginalized

This study will be using the ethnic self-identifications provided in the second wave so that it might establish some causality in the analyses.

In addition to respondents listing their own self-identification, they were also placed in an objective social category by the researcher based on their or their parents' country of origin. The nationality of respondents was determined by their mother's country of origin. In the case that the mother was born in the United States, respondents were then assigned a nationality based on their father's country of origin. This study uses this nationality variable as the respondent's objective ethnic designation because respondents do not necessarily choose this designation. Instead, this is a socially constructed way to divide ethnic groups. Also, work done with this data set has tended to use this variable to represent ethnic identity. Further, it is important to divide the given ethnic identity by different nationalities because research has shown that the assimilation of different national immigrant groups will vary based on the different disadvantages and resources each group has and the history of each group in relation to the larger society (Yinger, 1981) Assigned ethnic identity is a stable variable that will not change over time since it is based on mother's country of origin.

The assimilation behaviors that this study is interested in will encompass two of the four sub-processes outlined by Yinger (1981) and will include variables of language (an aspect of acculturation) and incorporation into social structures (a facet of integration). This study will not be looking at amalgamation because there is not sufficient data to do so. Nor will it be looking at identification because it would be tautological to predict that ethnic identity will have an affect on how one identifies within the larger cultural context. More specifically, for language this study will be looking at which language the respondent prefers to speak (English, non-English, or both about the

same time), how well the respondent writes English (very little, not well, well, very well), and how well the respondent writes non-English language (very little, not well, well, very well). Integration into social structures will be measured based on the respondent's highest degree or year of school completed and on the respondent's total monthly earnings (see Table 2 for more details on the measurement of these dependent variables). Each of these behaviors has been used in previous studies as measures of assimilation (Waters & Jimenez, 2005; Rumbaut, Massey, & Bean, 2006; Tran, 2007; Zsembik & Llanes, 1996; Reitz & Sklar, 1997).

This study aims to test whether the two measures of ethnic identity (i.e., self-identification measures and objective, nationality-based measures) are in fact strong predictors for assimilation behaviors. As a result, I will also be using a number of control variables in my analysis to assess whether it is the identities that are predicting the behaviors or whether there is some other variable that better accounts for any differences in assimilation behaviors and paths that are found in the analysis. The control variables in this study are based on possible influences on ethnic identity and on possible predictors of assimilation behaviors that are mentioned in the literature. These include gender of the respondent, length of time respondent has lived in the United States, whether respondent is a United State's citizen or not, mother's highest level of education, whether the respondent is always embarrassed of his parents' ways or sometimes embarrassed, and how often the respondent believes that his family feels close. Based on the literature it is predicted that females will be more likely to follow a full assimilation pathway than males, with the exception of monthly earnings (Itzhaky & Levy, 2002; Lopez, 2002).

Respondents who have lived in the United States longer will be more likely to follow a full assimilation pathway than those who have not lived in the host country as long (Tran, 2007; Valdez, 2006). Similarly, respondents who are United State's citizens will also be more likely to follow a full assimilation pathway than respondents who are not citizens of the host country (Fibbi, Lerch, & Wanner, 2007; Valdez, 2006). Respondents whose mothers have a higher level of education will be more likely follow a full assimilation pathway than respondents whose mothers have lower level of education (Zsembik & Llanes, 1996). Respondent who are sometimes embarrassed of parents' ways will be more likely to follow a full assimilation pathway than those who are never embarrassed by parents' ways (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Finally, respondents whose family always or mostly feels close are less likely to follow a full assimilation pathway than respondents whose family never or only occasionally feels close (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). Details on how each of these variables has been measured for this study are provided in the table below.

TABLE 2. OPERATIONALIZATION OF STUDY VARIABLES

Variable Name	Variable Type	Coding Scheme
Ethnic self-identification	Independent	Answers to an open-ended question on how the respondent identifies himself were quantified and coded into the following categories: 0=American, 1=Hyphenate, 2=National-origin, 3=Racial, panethnic, and 4=Mixed, other. This study excluded individuals who were categorized as mixed, other because they do not fit into the two-dimensional model of acculturation theory and could not be reasonably placed into one of the other identity categories.
Nationality	Independent	This variable was determined by the mother's country of origin. In the case that the mother was born in the United States, then the father's country of origin was used. Answers were quantified and coded into the following categories: 1=Cuban, private school, 2=Cuban, public school, 3=Nicaraguan, 4=Colombian, 5=Haitian, 6=West Indian, 7=Mexican, 8=Filipino, 9=Vietnamese, 10=Lao--Cambodian, 11=Chinese--Korean, 12=Latin--Other, 13=Asian--Other, 14=Other
Gender	Control	This variable was coded as 1=male and 2=female.
Citizenship status	Control	This variable was coded as 1=U.S. citizen and 2=not a U.S. citizen.
Length of residence in United States	Control	This variable was coded as 1=all the respondent's life, 2=ten years or more, 3=five to nine years, and 4=less than five years.
Mother's highest level of education	Control	This variable was recoded as 1=less than high school, 2=high school graduate, 3=some college, 4=college graduate or more, and 5=technical, vocation, and other.

(Table 2 continued)

Embarrassment of parents' ways	Control	This variable was coded as 1=sometimes embarrassed by foreign-born parents ways, 2=never embarrassed by parents ways, and 3=neither. This study excluded the individuals who chose neither since it was unclear what this response category meant in terms of how embarrassed the respondent was of his parents ways.
Frequency family members feel close	Control	This variable was coded as 1=never, 2=once in a while, 3=sometimes, 4=often, and 5=always.
How well respondent writes a foreign language	Dependent	This variable was recoded as 1=very little/not well and 2=well/very well.
How well respondent writes English	Dependent	This variable was recoded as 1=very little/not well and 2=well/very well.
Language respondent prefers to speak	Dependent	This variable was coded as 1=English, 2=non-English language, and 3=both about the same
Total monthly earnings	Dependent	This variable was quantified from an open-ended question based on dollar amounts
Highest grade or year of school completed	Dependent	This variable was recoded into number of years of school completed

Methods of Analyses

In order to test the hypotheses and predictions outlined earlier, regression analyses

will be used to determine the extent of the relationship between the dependent variables,

the assimilation behaviors, and the independent variables, the ethnic identities. Since the

dependent variables include categorical, ordinal and ratio variables, this study will be

relying on several different types of regressions. Specifically, it will use an ordinal

regression for the behaviors of how well a respondent writes a foreign language and of

how well a respondent writes English, which are both ordinal dependent variables. For the purposes of this study, the responses for how well a respondent writes a foreign language will be collapsed into two categories of well/very well and very little/not well and a binary logistic regression will be run. The responses for how well a respondent writes English will be left in the original four response categories. They will not be collapsed into two because doing so will result in a large data skew so that 97.8% of the respondents would fall into one category. An ordinal logistic regression will be run for this dependent variable. This study will use a multinomial logit model for the behavior of which language a respondent prefers to speak, which is a categorical variable, and an ordinary least squares model for the behaviors measuring the respondent's highest level of school completed and total monthly earnings, which are interval/ratio variables. SPSS software will be used to run the analyses and to obtain the results for this study.

TABLE 3. TYPES OF ANALYSES USED FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Dependent Variable	Level of Measurement	Type of Regression
How well respondent writes a foreign language	Ordinal	Binary logistic regression
How well respondent writes English	Ordinal	Ordinal logistic regression[*]
Language respondent prefers to speak	Categorical	Multinomial logistic regression
Total monthly earnings	Ratio	Ordinary least squares regression
Highest level of educational attainment	Ratio	Ordinary least squares regression

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[*] This type of regression was run and the results are available upon request. However, for ease of reporting and ease of interpreting for the reader this study will use the results from an ordinary least squares regression in the presentation of results. In this case, the results of the ordinary least squares regression are essentially the same as those from the ordinal logistic regression.

The regression analyses will be used to relate ethnic identity to assimilation behaviors and to determine the influence of ethnic self-identification versus ethnic identity based on country of origin. This study will test the effect of both ethnic identities on five assimilation behaviors: which language the respondent prefers to speak, how well the respondent writes English, how well the respondent writes a non-English language, respondent's highest degree or year of school completed, and the respondent's total monthly earnings. Each assimilation behavior, or dependent variable, will be tested separately so that there will be a total of five regressions. Also, within each regression the strength of ethnic identity as a predictor of assimilation behaviors will be tested. Consequently, this study will be controlling for other variables (discussed in greater detail above) that are thought to account for differences in assimilation behaviors. In this way, the study will determine whether either measure of ethnic identity is a strong predictor of assimilation behaviors, will test the effects of both measures on several differing assimilation behaviors, and will determine the difference, if any, between the two distinct measures of ethnic identity.

Descriptives

Table 4, below, provides descriptive means, standard deviations, and percentages

for the sample population being used in this study.

TABLE 4. MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND PERCENTAGES FOR
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS, CILS

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Percent
Assimilation variables			
Ability to write a foreign language	1.60	0.49	
Very little/not well			44.4
Well/very well			55.5
Ability to write English	3.79	0.48	
Very little			0.6
Not well			1.6
Well			16.0
Very well			81.9
Language preference (to speak)	1.68	0.94	
English			64.9
Non-English language			2.2
Both about the same			32.9
Total monthly earnings	1848.37	1381.94	
Years of education	14.41	1.78	
Individual & Family variables			
Gender	1.52	0.500	
Male			48.3
Female			51.7

Length of U.S. residence	1.70	0.746	
All R's life			46.0
Ten or more years			40.1
Five to nine years			12.2
Less than five years			1.7
Mother's level of education	2.39	1.19	
Less than high school			31.4
High school graduate			24.1
Some college			20.6
College graduate or more			22.0
Technical, vocational, and other			1.9
R's embarrassment of parent's ways	2.03	0.54	
Sometimes embarrassed			15.4
Never embarrassed			84.6
Frequency R's family feels close	3.66	1.16	
Never			3.6
Once in a while			14.8
Sometimes			24.2
Often			27.3
Always			30.2

Identity variables

Ethnic self-identity	1.88	0.86	
American			3.7
Hyphenate			32.2
National-origin			36.3
Racial, panethnic			27.8
Nationality	6.60	3.57	
Cuban, private school			3.5
Cuban, public school			19.4
Nicaraguan			6.7
Colombian			4.2
Haitian			2.8
West Indian--Jamaican			4.3
Mexican			14.2
Filipino			17.0
Vietnamese			7.5
Laotian--Cambodian			5.7

Chinese--Korean	2.0
Latin—other	8.2
Asian--other	2.7
Other	1.8

How Well Respondent Writes a Foreign Language

As previously discussed language acquisition is an important measure of assimilation, particularly the acculturation aspect. Tables 5 and 6 present the results of ordinal regressions performed to determine the significance, if any, of ethnic identities on predicting how well a respondent writes a foreign language and how well a respondent writes English, respectively.

Table 5 presents the results of a binary logistic regression. The first model in Table 5 includes only the independent variables and has a Naglekerke R^2 of 0.356, which is an approximation to the OLS R^2 and indicates that approximately 35.6% of the variance in how well a respondent writes a foreign language is explained by this model. In this model national-origin is a significant variable so that for a respondent who identifies with his parent's country of origin, the odds of writing a foreign language well or very well are 1.885 times larger ($p<0.001$) than the odds for a respondent who identifies as a hyphenated American. This variable, however, loses its significance in the second model in Table 5, in which the control variables have been added. None of the other ethnic self-identification variables are significant in either model. This suggests that the relationship

35

between an individual's ethnic self-identity and how well an individual writes a foreign language is not very strong.

Unlike the ethnic self-identification variables, the nationality variables did appear to have a much stronger relationship with how well an individual writes a foreign language. In the first model in Table 5 the majority of the nationality variables were significant (p<0.05) with the exception of respondents whose parents' nationality is Nicaraguan, Colombian, Mexican, or other. In the final model all of the nationality variables reached statistical significance (p<0.05) for predicting the odds of a respondent writing a foreign language well or very well. In both models, all of the nationalities have lower odds than Cuban, private school respondents of writing a foreign language well or very well. These results for the nationality variable are not surprising. It was predicted that Cubans would be associated with a path of selective acculturation and would therefore have high odds of writing a foreign language well or very well.

In the final model predicting the odds of respondent writing a foreign language well or very well the control variables that are statistically significant include gender, U.S. citizenship, length of time respondent has resided in the U.S. and how often the respondent's family members feel close emotionally. The odds of a female writing a foreign language well or very well are 1.333 times the odds of a male (p<0.05). The odds of a U.S. citizen are 0.550 the odds (p<0.01) of a non U.S. citizen in writing a foreign language well or very well. This is expected as a respondent that has U.S. citizenship is more likely to have been born in the U.S. or to have resided here longer and to have assimilated more to the culture. Similarly, the odds of a respondent who has resided in

36

the U.S. five to nine years are 4.265 the odds (p<0.001) of a respondent who has lived in the U.S. all his life to write a foreign language well or very well. Again, this is expected. A respondent who resided in the U.S. all his life would have more of a chance to assimilate and be less likely to hold on the country of origin's culture than a respondent who has lived in the U.S. for only five to nine years. Finally, the odds of a respondent whose family never feels close, sometimes feels close, and often feels close (0.403, 0.660, and 0.710 respectively, p<0.05) are lower than respondents whose family always feels close to write a foreign language well or very well. This is not surprising given that a respondent who is close with his family may practice and hold onto the family's country of origin's culture longer and not assimilate as fast to the U.S. culture. Overall, the findings for the final model in Table 5 are in the expected direction and have a Naglekerke R2 of 0.450, which indicates that approximately 45% of the variance in the odds of a respondent writing a foreign language well or very well is explained by this model.

TABLE 5. RESPONDENT WRITES A FOREIGN LANGUAGE WELL OR VERY WELL
(Odds Ratio)

	I	II
Predictors (Reference)		
Ethnic Self-Identity (Hyphenate, 1995-96)		
American	0.740	0.870
	(0.373)	(0.380)
National-origin	1.885***	1.299
	(0.157)	(0.175)
Racial, Panethnic	1.261	1.125
	(0.171)	(0.177)
Nationality (Cuban, private school)		
Cuban, public school	0.371*	0.305*
	(0.456)	(0.467)
Nicaraguan	0.390	0.216**
	(0.518)	(0.540)
Colombian	0.369	0.267*
	(0.524)	(0.539)
Haitian	0.057***	0.036***
	(0.603)	(0.638)
West Indian--Jamaican	0.069***	0.050***
	(0.609)	(0.638)
Mexican	0.477	0.367*
	(0.469)	(0.485)
Filipino	0.038***	0.025***
	(0.462)	(0.480)
Vietnamese	0.033***	0.017***
	(0.488)	(0.521)
Laotian--Cambodian	0.011***	0.008***
	(0.552)	(0.634)
Chinese--Korean	0.022***	0.008***
	(0.634)	(0.739)
Latin--Other	0.271**	0.196**
	(0.492)	(0.503)
Asian--Other	0.031***	0.018***
	(0.602)	(0.639)
Other	0.251	0.210*
	(0.706)	(0.714)
Demographics		
Gender (Male)		1.333*
		(0.132)

(Table 5 continued)

U.S. Citizen		0.550**
		(0.203)
Length of time R has resided in U.S. (All of R's life, 1995-96)		
Ten or more years		1.050
		(0.182)
Five to nine years		4.265***
		(0.272)
Less than five years		5.2E+009
		(6764.593)
Mother's highest level of education (Less than high school, 1995-96)		
High school graduate		0.833
		(0.187)
Some college		0.706
		(0.198)
College graduate or more		0.881
		(0.209)
Technical, vocational, other		0.795
		(0.584)
R's embarrassment of parents' ways (Sometimes embarrassed, 1995-96)		
Never embarrassed		1.188
		(0.177)
How often R's family members feel close (Always, 1995-96)		
Never		0.403*
		(0.426)
Once in a while		0.686
		(0.212)
Sometimes		0.660*
		(0.178)
Often		0.710*
		(0.166)
Lambda	1.010	0.936
	(0.090)	(0.094)
Constant	7.524***	18.870
(Standard error)	(0.439)	(0.549)
Nagelkerke R^2	0.356	0.450
F?		

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

<u>How Well Respondent Writes English</u>

The overall results for predicting the variable regarding how well a respondent writes English are somewhat surprising (see Table 6). Only two of the variables reach statistical significance in the first model. Vietnamese and Laotian—Cambodian respondents both have negative impact ($p<0.001$ and $p<0.05$ respectively) on writing English very well compared to private school Cuban respondents. This is expected based on hypotheses and past research. None of the other ethnic identity variables are significant in the first model. In the second, full, model the Vietnamese variable retains its significance and the direction of its effect ($p<0.05$). The Laotian—Cambodian variable, however, loses its significance. Further, the nation-origin variable gains significance so that so that respondents who identify with their family's country of origin have a positive impact ($p<0.05$) on writing English well or very well compared to hyphenate-American respondents. This finding is not expected. This study predicted that national-origin respondents would retain their ethnic culture and not assimilate and thus would be less likely to write English well or very well compared to all of the other ethnic groups.

Significant control variables in the final model in Table 6 include U.S. citizenship, length of time the respondent has resided in the U.S., mother's level of education, and closeness of respondent's family. Respondents who have U.S. citizenship are more likely ($p<0.05$) to write English very well than respondents who are not U.S. citizens. This is in line with expectations. Being a citizen of the U.S. should increase the likelihood of assimilation into the U.S. society. Similarly, respondents whose mothers

have a high school degree, some college, a college degree, or other type of education are all more likely ($p<0.05$) to write English very well compared to respondents whose mothers have less than a high school degree. Conversely, respondents who have lived in the U.S. five to nine years are less likely ($p<0.001$) to write English very well compared to respondents who have lived in the U.S. all their lives. Again, this is expected. A respondent who has lived in the host country longer should have higher odds of assimilation. Lastly, respondents whose family often feels close are less likely ($p<0.05$) to write English very well compared to respondents whose family always feels close. This is not expected. It is thought that respondents whose family always feels close would be less likely to fully assimilate into U.S. society.

While there are a couple of somewhat unexpected results in Table 6, it is important to note that these results are based on a skewed sample. 97.8% of the respondents tested write English well or very well. It may be the case that there is not enough variance in this outcome to get accurate results. Also, the adjusted R^2 for the final model is 0.079, which means that only 7.9% of the variance in how well a respondent writes English is explained by this model. It may be the case that the chosen independent and control variables are simply not good predictors for this assimilation behavior.

TABLE 6. RESPONDENT WRITES ENGLISH WELL OR VERY WELL[†]
(Odds Ratio)

	I	II
Predictors (Reference)		
Ethnic Self-Identity (Hyphenate, 1995-96)		
American	0.016	0.012
	(0.075)	(0.074)
National-origin	0.022	0.063*
	(0.028)	(0.029)
Racial, Panethnic	-0.007	0.001
	(0.033)	(0.003)
Nationality (Cuban, private school)		
Cuban, public school	0.030	0.045
	(0.070)	(0.071)
Nicaraguan	-0.029	0.045
	(0.084)	(0.086)
Colombian	0.011	0.048
	(0.087)	(0.088)
Haitian	-0.164	-0.124
	(0.116)	(0.115)
West Indian--Jamaican	0.108	0.119
	(0.103)	(0.102)
Mexican	-0.127	-0.060
	(0.072)	(0.074)
Filipino	-0.037	-0.033
	(0.070)	(0.070)
Vietnamese	-0.303***	-0.206*
	(0.079)*	(0.081)
Laotian--Cambodian	-0.184	-0.083
	(0.083)	(0.086)
Chinese--Korean	-0.207	-0.088
	(0.105)	(0.106)
Latin--Other	0.018	0.061
	(0.080)	(0.081)
Asian--Other	0.026	0.090
	(0.102)	(0.102)
Other	0.028	0.033
	(0.130)	(0.128)
Demographics		
Gender (Male)		0.030
		(0.024)
U.S. Citizen		0.083*
		(0.035)

(Table 6 continued)

Length of time R has resided in U.S. (All of R's life, 1995-96)		
Ten or more years		0.024
		(0.032)
Five to nine years		-0.228***
		(0.046)
Less than five years		-0.009
		(0.095)
Mother's highest level of education (Less than high school, 1995-96)		
High school graduate		0.094**
		(0.033)
Some college		0.078*
		(0.036)
College graduate or more		0.118**
		(0.037)
Technical, vocational, other		0.201
		(0.094)*
R's embarrassment of parents' ways (Sometimes embarrassed, 1995-96)		
Never embarrassed		0.031
		(0.031)
How often R's family members feel close (Always, 1995-96)		
Never		-0.121
		(0.072)
Once in a while		-0.008
		(0.038)
Sometimes		-0.022
		(0.032)
Often		-0.059
		(0.030)*
Lambda	-0.066***	-0.050**
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Constant	3.909***	3.708***
(Standard error)	(0.066)	(0.086)
Adjusted R^2	0.043	0.079
F	5.743***	5.961***

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

[†]For ease in reader interpretation, Table 3 presents the results of an ordinary least squares regression. These results are very similar to those of the ordinal logistic regression, which are available upon request.

<u>Respondent's Spoken Language Preference</u>

In addition to using foreign language writing ability and English writing ability to measure the acculturation aspect of assimilation, the respondent's language preference was used to measure acculturation as well. Table 7 displays the results of multinomial logistic regression conducted to ascertain the effect, if any, of ethnic identities on predicting what language a respondent usually prefers to speak. The top half of Table 7 examines the respondents' preference for speaking a non-English language relative to English while the bottom half examines the respondents' preference for speaking both a non-English language and English about the same amount relative to speaking just English.

The first model in the top half of Table 7 has only two statistically significant variables. In this model, respondents with a Mexican nationality have 5.637 times the odds ($p<0.05$) of preferring a non-English language to English compared to private school Cubans. In contrast, respondents with a Filipino nationality have 0.120 times the odds ($p<0.05$) of preferring a non-English language compared to private school Cubans.

As depicted in the first model in bottom half of Table 7, respondents with West Indian/Jamaican and Filipino nationality have statistically significant lower odds ($p<0.01$ and $p<0.001$ respectively) of preferring both a non-English language and English about the same amount to English only compared with private school Cubans. Respondents with Mexican and Laotian/Cambodian nationality, on the other hand, have statistically significant higher odds ($p<0.001$ and $p<0.01$ respectively) of preferring both relative to private school Cubans.

Statistically significant ethnic self-identities in the first model in the bottom half of Table 7 include respondents who identify as American and as their families' country of origin. The odds of American respondents preferring both languages to English are 0.343 (p<0.001) relative to hyphenated Americans. The odds of national/origins preferring both, conversely, are 1.579 (p<0.01) relative to hyphenate-Americans. Based on previous research these results are somewhat unexpected. It was predicted that hyphenate-Americans would be the most likely ethnic identity group to prefer speaking both languages.

In the full model (model 2) in the top half of Table 7 only one of the ethnic identity variables reaches statistical significance. Respondents with a Filipino nationality retain their significance (p<0.05) in the full model and the direction of the variable's effect remains the same (0.056). The effects of the rest of the nationality variables and all of the ethnic self-identity variables are not statistically significant in the full model.

The control variables in the full model in the top half of Table 7 that are statistically significant include the respondents' length of residence, the respondents' mothers' education, and closeness of the respondents' families. Respondents who have resided in the U.S. five to nine years have 4.725 the odds (p<0.01) of preferring a non-English language to English compared to respondents who have lived here all their lives. This is a logical outcome. Respondents who have not lived here all their lives would be less assimilated to the American culture and thus the English language. Respondents whose mothers are high school graduates have 0.238 the odds (p<0.01) of preferring a non-English language compared to respondents whose mothers have less than high

school degree. Lastly, respondents whose families sometimes feel close have 0.396 the odds (p<0.05) of preferring a non-English language relative to respondents whose families always feel close. Again, this is reasonable. Respondents who do not feel as close to their families may be more assimilated to the U.S. culture and thus less likely to prefer the language of their families' country of origin.

All of the statistically significant variables with the exception of national/origin respondents from model 1 retain their significance in the full model in the bottom half of Table 7. The direction of the effects of West Indian/Jamaican (0.120, p<0.01), Filipino (0.251, p<0.001), Mexican (2.283, p<0.01), and Laotian/Cambodian (2.297, p<0.01) nationalities remain the same. The significance and direction of the effect of American respondents (0.444, p<0.05) also remains similar to the first model.

As in the top half, the control variables that reach statistical significance in bottom half of Table 7 include the respondents' length of residence, the respondents' mothers' education, and the closeness of the respondents' family. Respondents who have lived in the U.S. five to nine years have 1.786 the odds (p<0.01) of preferring to speak both a non-English language and English in equal amounts to preferring to speak English in comparison to respondents who have lived in the U.S. all their lives. This finding is in line with previous research. Respondents who have lived in the U.S. a shorter amount of time are less likely to have fully assimilated. Respondents whose mothers are high school graduates, have some college education, are college graduates, and have technical, vocational, or some other type of education all have lower odds (0.627, 0.649, 0.537, and 0.326 respectively, p<0.01) of preferring both languages to English in comparison to

46

respondents whose mothers have less than a high school education. Lastly, respondents

whose families once in a while feel close and sometimes feel close both decrease the

odds (0.550 and 0.653 respectively, p<0.01) of preferring both languages to English in

comparison to respondents who families always feel close. Once more, this finding is

reasonable according to previous research. Respondents who feel less close to their

families may be more likely to assimilate into another culture.

In general, the findings for Table 7 appear to be expected given earlier research

and this study's predictions. The Naglekerke R^2 for the first model in this multinomial

regression is 0.200, indicating that 20.0% of the variance in this assimilation behavior is

explained by this model. The Naglekerke R^2 for the full model is 0.272, indicating that

approximately 27.2% of the variance in the respondent's language preference is

explained by this model. Both models are statistically significant.

TABLE 7. RESPONDENT'S LANGUAGE PREFERENCE
IN COMPARISON TO ENGLISH
(Odds Ratio)

Non-English Language	I	II
Predictors (Reference)		
Ethnic Self-Identity (Hyphenate, 1995-96)		
American	0.604	1.172E-8
	(0.633)	(0.998)
National-origin	1.551	0.968
	(0.198)	(0.935)
Racial, Panethnic	1.091	0.642
	(0.817)	(0.305)
Nationality (Cuban, private school)		
Cuban, public school	0.658	0.801
	(0.611)	(0.797)
Nicaraguan	1.152	0.711
	(0.872)	(0.716)
Colombian	0.815	0.929
	(0.844)	(0.946)
Haitian	1.855	0.810
	(0.512)	(0.872)
West Indian--Jamaican	3.723E-9	3.417E-9
Mexican	5.637*	3.823
	(0.025)	(0.112)
Filipino	0.120*	0.056*
	(0.038)	(0.023)
Vietnamese	0.283	4.027E-9
	(0.312)	(0.998)
Laotian--Cambodian	1.807	1.278
	(0.516)	(0.815)
Chinese--Korean	5.582E-9	4.125E-9
Latin--Other	1.171	0.985
	(0.858)	(0.988)
Asian--Other	2.036	5.641E-9
	(0.455)	
Other	6.216E-9	1.136E-8
Demographics		
Gender (Male)		0.908
		(0.764)

(Table 7 continued)

U.S. Citizen	0.972	
	(0.949)	

Length of time R has resided in U.S. (All of R's life, 1995-96)

Ten or more years	1.689	
	(0.254)	
Five to nine years	4.725**	
	(0.004)	
Less than five years	3.474E-8	

Mother's highest level of education (Less than high school, 1995-96)

High school graduate	0.238**	
	(0.006)	
Some college	0.447	
	(0.115)	
College graduate or more	0.614	
	(0.300)	
Technical, vocational, other	2.997E-9	

R's embarrassment of parents' ways (Sometimes embarrassed, 1995-96)

Never embarrassed	0.743	
	(0.505)	

How often R's family members feel close (Always, 1995-96)

Never	1.081	
	(0.924)	
Once in a while	0.378	
	(0.068)	
Sometimes	0.396*	
	(0.045)	
Often	0.607	

Both about the same	I	II
Predictors (Reference)		
Ethnic Self-Identity (Hyphenate, 1995-96)		
American	0.343**	0.444*
	(0.001)	(0.045)
National-origin	1.579***	1.187
	(0.000)	(0.227)
Racial, Panethnic	1.025	0.879
	(0.839)	(0.362)
Nationality (Cuban, private school)		
Cuban, public school	1.232	1.325
	(0.385)	(0.330)

(Table 7 continued)

Nicaraguan	0.928	0.726
	(0.791)	(0.344)
Colombian	1.156	1.135
	(0.630)	(0.721)
Haitian	0.637	0.779
	(0.221)	(0.580)
West Indian--Jamaican	0.220**	0.120**
	(0.002)	(0.001)
Mexican	2.739***	2.283**
	(0.000)	(0.007)
Filipino	0.205***	0.251***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Vietnamese	1.433	1.333
	(0.188)	(0.403)
Laotian--Cambodian	2.156**	2.297**
	(0.008)	(0.027)
Chinese--Korean	0.908	0.901
	(0.800)	(0.826)
Latin--Other	1.136	1.162
	(0.644)	(0.648)
Asian--Other	1.027	1.001
	(0.939)	(0.998)
Other	0.896	0.079
	(0.817)	(0.588)

Demographics

Gender (Male)	1.155
	(0.184)
U.S. Citizen	0.764
	(0.088)

Length of time R has resided in U.S. (All of R's life, 1995-96)

Ten or more years	1.143
	(0.384)
Five to nine years	1.786**
	(0.008)
Less than five years	2.526
	(0.051)

Mother's highest level of education (Less than high school, 1995-96)

High school graduate	0.627**
	(0.001)
Some college	0.649**
	(0.006)
College graduate or more	0.537***
	(0.000)

(Table 7 continued)

Technical, vocational, other		0.326**
		(0.009)
R's embarrassment of parents' ways (Sometimes embarrassed, 1995-96)		
Never embarrassed		1.317
		(0.074)
How often R's family members feel close (Always, 1995-96)		
Never		0.655
		(0.196)
Once in a while		0.550**
		(0.001)
Sometimes		0.653**
		(0.004)
Often		0.890
		(0.374)
Lambda	1.145	1.159
	(0.444)	(0.466)
Nagelkerke R^2	0.200	0.272
F?		

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

<u>Total Monthly Earnings</u>

Finally, the effects of ethnic identities on the integration aspect of assimilation were also tested. Tables 8 and 9 present the results of ordinary least squares regression in predicting the respondents' integration into the economic structure and educational structure respectively.

More specifically, Table 8 presents the effects of the respondents' ethnic identities on total monthly earnings. The ethnic self-identities are not significant predictors in either the first or final model. In contrast, the nationality variables are significant predictors of total monthly earnings. In the first model the Haitian, West Indian—Jamaican, Mexican, Filipino, Laotian—Cambodian, and Latin—other nationality variables are statistically significant ($p<0.05$). Their effects on total monthly earnings are in the expected direction. All are predicted to have a negative impact on income compared to respondents who are private school Cubans. In the final model the majority of these nationality variables lose their significance with the exception of the West Indian—Jamaican and Filipino variables, which remain statistically significant at $p<0.01$ and $p<0.05$ respectively. Their effects remain in the same direction.

In the final model gender is the only statistically significant control variable. Being a female is predicted to have a negative impact ($p<0.01$) on income compared to being male. This is expected based on past research, which shows females making less money than males. Overall, the results in Table 8 are in line with expectations based on past research. The final model, however, accounts for only 1.8% of the variance in total monthly earnings, which is very low. Further, only three of the variables in the final

model reach significance. Consequently, results from this model should be taken in context. This is likely not the best model for predicting this particular assimilation outcome

TABLE 8. RESPONDENT'S TOTAL MONTHLY EARNINGS
(Unstandardized Coefficients)

	I	II
Predictors (Reference)		
Ethnic Self-Identity (Hyphenate, 1995-96)		
American	-58.826	-64.379
	(227.370)	(228.526)
National-origin	66.104	6.549
	(87.625)	(92.424)
Racial, Panethnic	26.365	17.273
	(97.891)	(98.136)
Nationality (Cuban, private school)		
Cuban, public school	-237.129	-135.555
	(197.120)	(201.448)
Nicaraguan	-345.177	-324.875
	(227.635)	(236.462)
Colombian	-194.574	-122.646
	(243.591)	(247.323)
Haitian	-747.319*	-643.222
	(339.024)	(343.186)
West Indian--Jamaican	-780.615**	-675.369**
	(253.669)	(257.498)
Mexican	-519.587*	-348.989
	(207.301)	(214.261)
Filipino	-610.387**	-526.288*
	(200.136)	(204.367)
Vietnamese	-15.760	62.467
	(235.323)	(244.531)
Laotian--Cambodian	-571.087*	-507.626
	(256.505)	(267.856)
Chinese--Korean	322.691	357.445
	(340.590)	(346.244)
Latin--Other	-522.556*	-439.966
	(224.281)	(229.089)
Asian--Other	-578.925	-514.088
	(331.925)	(335.046)
Other	-207.441	-124.639
	(349.322)	(350.690)
Demographics		
Gender (Male)		-238.500**
		(72.002)
U.S. Citizen		-94.495
		(107.792)

(Table 8 continued)

Length of time R has resided in U.S. (All of R's life, 1995-96)		
Ten or more years		120.815
		(97.047)
Five to nine years		7.417
		(144.758)
Less than five years		255.616
		(294.298)
Mother's highest level of education (Less than high school, 1995-96)		
High school graduate		114.073
		(102.384)
Some college		167.650
		(109.131)
College graduate or more		122.898
		(113.150)
Technical, vocational, other		21.469
		(297.245)
R's embarrassment of parents' ways (Sometimes embarrassed, 1995-96)		
Never embarrassed		55.677
		(100.277)
How often R's family members feel close (Always, 1995-96)		
Never		73.057
		(217.993)
Once in a while		5.552
		(118.790)
Sometimes		-29.055
		(96.803)
Often		44.770
		(89.311)
Lambda	-6.222	-27.031
	(50.369)	(51.472)
Constant	2249.464***	2198.134***
(Standard error)	(185.608)	(252.734)
Adjusted R^2	0.015	0.018
F	2.503**	2.028**

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

Attained Level of Education

Results in Table 9 focus on the respondents' level of educational attainment. Again, the ethnic self-identities are not significant predictors in either the first or final model. The nationality variables have a stronger impact than the ethnic self-identities on this measure of assimilation. About half of the nationality variables are statistically significant ($p<0.05$). In the first model, public school Cubans, Nicaraguans, Haitians, Mexicans, Filipinos, Laotian/Cambodians, and Latin/others are significant predictors. They all retain their significance in the second model with the exception of Haitians. In both models these nationalities are predicted to have a negative impact on years of education compared to private school Cubans. These results are not surprising. It is expected that private school Cubans have a higher level of education.

Citizenship, mother's level of education, whether a respondent is embarrassed of parents' ways and closeness of family are also significant predictors in the final model which includes these control variables. If a respondent is a U.S. citizen, his years of education are predicted to increase ($p<0.05$) in comparison to a respondent who is not a U.S. citizen. This corroborates previous research. A respondent with U.S. citizenship is more likely to be assimilated through being born here or living here longer. Respondents with mothers that have some college or are college graduates are also predicted to have more years of education ($p<0.001$ for both) in contrast to respondents with mothers that have less than a high school degree. Once more, this is outcome is in line with prior studies. Respondents who are never embarrassed of their parents' ways are predicted to have less years of education ($p<0.01$) compared to respondents who are sometimes

embarrassed of their parents' ways. This is not surprising. Respondents who are

sometimes embarrassed would be more likely to assimilate to the American culture and

not hold on to the culture of their country of origin. Thus, they would be more likely to

integrate into the educational system. Finally, respondents whose families never feel

close, once in a while feel close, and sometimes feel close all have a negative impact

($p<0.01$ for all) on level of education compared to respondents whose family always feels

close. This finding is not unexpected. Families who feel emotionally closer could

encourage respondents to have a higher education. In general, the results presented in

Table 9 support previous research. This model accounts for 26.2% of the variance in

years of education achieved.

TABLE 9. RESPONDENT'S LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
(Unstandardized Coefficients)

	I	II
Predictors (Reference)		
Ethnic Self-Identity (Hyphenate, 1995-96)		
American	-0.236	-0.295
	(0.218)	(0.215)
National-origin	-0.085	-0.059
	(0.086)	(0.088)
Racial, Panethnic	-0.092	-0.109
	(0.096)	(0.095)
Nationality (Cuban, private school)		
Cuban, public school	-0.702***	-0.536**
	(0.186)	(0.188)
Nicaraguan	-0.676**	-0.599**
	(0.217)	(0.222)
Colombian	-0.382	-0.206
	(0.235)	(0.235)
Haitian	-0.675*	-0.355
	(0.294)	(0.295)
West Indian—Jamaican	-0.238	-0.260
	(0.244)	(0.244)
Mexican	-1.139***	-0.832***
	(0.197)	(0.201)
Filipino	-0.649**	-0.709***
	(0.189)	(0.191)
Vietnamese	-0.187	0.121
	(0.223)	(0.229)
Laotian—Cambodian	-1.462***	-0.987***
	(0.239)	(0.247)
Chinese—Korean	0.394	0.555
	(0.317)	(0.318)
Latin—Other	-0.715**	-0.554*
	(0.214)	(0.216)
Asian—Other	-0.264	-0.072
	(0.298)	(0.296)
Other	-0.227	-0.186
	(0.325)	(0.321)
Demographics		
Gender (Male)		0.136
		(0.070)
U.S. Citizen		0.228*
		(0.104)

(Table 9 continued)

Length of time R has resided in U.S. (All of R's life, 1995-96)		
Ten or more years		0.045
		(0.094)
Five to nine years		0.016
		(0.138)
Less than five years		0.234
		(0.313)
Mother's highest level of education (Less than high school, 1995-96)		
High school graduate		0.170
		(0.098)
Some college		0.628***
		(0.106)
College graduate or more		0.649***
		(0.108)
Technical, vocational, other		-0.023
		(0.265)
R's embarrassment of parents' ways (Sometimes embarrassed, 1995-96)		
Never embarrassed		-0.286**
		(0.094)
How often R's family members feel close (Always, 1995-96)		
Never		-0.654**
		(0.214)
Once in a while		-0.355**
		(0.112)
Sometimes		-0.286**
		(0.094)
Often		-0.079
		(0.087)
Lambda	-0.972***	-0.890***
	(0.049)	(0.050)
Constant	16.195***	15.772***
(Standard error)	(0.174)	(0.236)
Adjusted R^2	0.233	0.262
F	39.010***	25.392***

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

59

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

Based on the results there appears to be mixed support for this study's original

hypotheses. While no prediction was set forth regarding which ethnic identity variable

would have a stronger effect on various assimilation behaviors, it is important to note that

the nationality variable seems to have the stronger effect. In the majority of the

assimilation variables tested, nationality has proven to be a statistically significant

predictor and to retain its significance in the final models, in which various control

variables have been used as potential mediators for the effects of ethnic identity. The

ethnic self-identification variable, on the other hand, is statistically significant in only two

of the final models that have been tested. This finding supports previous research that has

used the nationality variable as a predictor for assimilation by demonstrating the

significant effect nationality does have on various assimilation behaviors.

As stated above, in the majority of the assimilation models tested in this study the

ethnic self-identification variable is not a significant predictor for the dependent variables

of interest. It may be the case that ethnic self-identity is simply not a good predictor for

assimilation pathways. Or, it could be that it is not a good predictor for these specific

assimilation behaviors. Also, it could be the case that ethnic self-identity is a good

predictor of assimilation for other immigrant groups but not the population examined in

this study. Either way findings based on this variable should be accepted with caution.

That being stated, this study did find that the various ethnic self-identities do appear to

follow distinct assimilation paths. However, they do not fully follow the hypothesized paths:

1) Self-identified "American" respondents were expected to follow a path of full assimilation. While these individuals do have lower odds for writing a foreign language well or very well, higher odds for writing English well or very well, and higher odds for preferring to speak English in comparison to the other self-identities as was expected, they have the lowest total family income and the lowest achieved level of education, which was not expected. Thus, while their behaviors associated with acculturation are in the predicted direction, their behaviors associated with integration are not. The assimilation path for "Americans" appears to resemble more of a downward assimilation. These respondents have embraced the American culture but have integrated into the lower class structures versus the middle class.

2) Hyphenated American respondents were expected to follow a path of selective assimilation. These individuals have lower odds for writing a foreign language well or very well and lower odds for writing English well or very well, which were not expected. In addition, they have lower odds for preferring to speak English only, a high total family income, and the highest achieved level of education in comparison to the other self-identities. In contrast to American respondents, the behaviors of hyphenated respondents associated with integration are in the predicted direction. Their behaviors associated with acculturation are not. The assimilation path for hyphenated respondents appears to somewhat resemble selective assimilation as was hypothesized. These individuals have

not fully embraced the English language, but they have become integrated into American economic and education structures.

3) National-origin respondents were expected to follow a path of dissimilation. While these individuals have higher odds for writing a foreign language well or very well as expected, they also have higher odds for writing English well or very well and for preferring to speak both English and a non-English language about the same amount, which were not expected. Additionally, they have the highest total family income and a high achieved level of education in comparison to the other self-identities. Overall, their acculturation and integration are not in the predicted directions. Their path of assimilation resembles more of a selective assimilation. They have retained their national-origin language while embracing English as well and have also integrated into the American economic and education structures.

4) Lastly, racial/panethnic respondents were expected to follow a path of downward assimilation. These individuals have higher odds of writing a foreign language well or very well, lower odds of writing English well or very well, higher odds for preferring to speak English only, higher total monthly earnings, and a lower achieved level of education in comparison to the other self-identities. Neither their integration behaviors nor their acculturation behaviors are fully in the predicted direction. Their path of assimilation resembles more of a dissimilation pathway. Racial/panethnic respondents have not completely embraced nor rejected the English language nor have they integrated fully into the American education institutions. However, they do appear to have a higher wage which is consistent with the ethnic enclave theory.

The findings based on the nationality variable also show that different nationalities follow distinct assimilation paths. Since this study did not hypothesize about every nationality tested the focus will be on those nationalities that have been previously studied and were hypothesized about. For the most part, the nationalities do follow the predicted assimilation paths.

1) West Indians/Jamaicans, Mexicans, Nicaraguans, and Haitians were expected to follow a path of downward assimilation. Individuals from these nationalities have lower total family incomes and lower achieved levels of education than other nationalities. These individuals have also demonstrated a slight embracing of the English language and loss of the foreign language. Thus, they do appear to be on a path of downward assimilation into the lower class.

2) Cuban and Vietnamese respondents were expected to follow a path of selective assimilation. In this study Cuban respondents were broken into two groups of private school versus public school students. The private school Cubans seem to follow an assimilation path that resembles dissimilation. The findings show that these respondents are retaining their foreign language and not embracing English. They also have higher earnings and higher educational attainment than the other nationalities. Thus, they appear to be doing well economically while maintaining their national-origin culture. The public school Cubans and the Vietnamese, in contrast, do appear to be following a path of selective assimilation as predicted. Respondents from both nationalities seem to be embracing both their national-origin and the American culture by preferring to speak both a non-English language and English about the same amount. In addition, public school

Cubans are more integrated into the economic structure than other nationalities.

Vietnamese respondents are more integrated into both the economic and the education

structures than other nationalities.

3) Finally, Filipinos were expected to follow a path of full assimilation. Filipino

respondents do appear to be embracing the English language and not retaining their

foreign language. They also have a high total family income, but do not have a high level

of achieved education compared to the other nationalities. Thus, while they are not yet

fully assimilated into the middle class, they do seem to be on that pathway.

TABLE 10. RESULTS OF HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis	Supported?
Ethnic self-identification and objective ethnic designation will each have an effect on the individual's assimilation behaviors, even after controlling for a number of variables	Yes.
It is expected that individuals with assimilated identities will follow a path of full assimilation.	No. They appear to be following a downward assimilation path and not the predicted full assimilation path.
Individuals with integrated identities will follow a path of selective acculturation.	Partly. Their behaviors associated with acculturation (how well they write English and how well they write a foreign language) are not in the predicted direction. The other behaviors, however, are.
Individuals with separated identities will be associated with dissimilation.	No. They appear to be following a path of selective assimilation and not the predicted dissimilation path.
Individuals with marginalized identities will be associated with downward assimilation.	No. They appear to be following a path of dissimilation.
It is expected that West Indians (especially Jamaicans), Mexicans, Nicaraguans, and Haitians will be associated with downward assimilation.	Yes.

(Table 10 continued)

Cubans and Vietnamese will be associated with selective assimilation.	Partly. Public school Cubans and Vietnamese do appear to be on a path of selective assimilation. Private school Cubans, however, appear to be on a path of dissimilation.
Filipinos will be associated with full assimilation.	Yes

Overall, the findings from this study are mixed in their support for the predictions previously set forth. The nationality variable is not only the stronger predictor of assimilation behaviors, the various nationalities also seem to more closely follow the predicted assimilation paths supported by prior research. The ethnic self-identification variable, in contrast, does not prove to be a significant predictor for the majority of assimilation behaviors tested, and the various self-identities only somewhat follow the predicted assimilation paths. Interestingly, all but one of the predicted paths is found among the ethnic self-identities, full assimilation. Therefore, it seems that full assimilation into the white middle class may not be possible for this new wave of ethnically diverse immigrants.

These findings have important implications for policy regarding immigrants in the United States. As the immigrant population, and particularly the children of immigrants, continues to grow and become a larger percentage of the U.S. population it is important to understand exactly how they are assimilating into the U.S. society (Larson, 2004 & Schmidley & Gibson, 1999). Since different assimilation paths offer better or worse

outcomes for the immigrant well-being, it is imperative to understand what affects these different pathways. The results of this study have indicated that nationality may be an important predictor (although the significance of this variable may be somewhat inflated based on the reference population--see more details about this in the study limitations section below). Thus, while much of the current focus is on getting the individual to change attitudes, it may be more beneficial to change the attitudes and behaviors that others have toward the different nationality groups. The social networks that individuals are embedded in may have the larger effect on the individual's behaviors than his own feelings of attachment and loyalty. This is important not only for policy decisions but also for research that focuses on the relationship between identity and behavior. These results indicate that how others perceive an individual's identity could have a larger effect on that individual's behavior than how that individual perceives his identity. More work comparing the effects of these two types of ethnic identity will need to be done to further explore their relative significance.

Also, although ethnic self-identification does not appear to be as strong a predictor on assimilation behaviors, it does still have an effect. Thus, its relationship with assimilation should do not be completely ignored. In particular, it does appear that some of the ethnic self-identities (i.e. national-origin and hyphenated-American) are associated with better outcomes than others. This is also an important finding to help shape policy and better promote well-being for immigrant populations. However, as will be discussed in greater detail below, much more work needs to be done to validate and further explore the effects of ethnic self-identity on the various assimilation pathways.

Study Limitations

While these overall findings are important and interesting, they should be looked at with caution. This study has several limitations. One of the limitations is related to the assimilation outcomes tested. It may be the case that the behaviors chosen are not the best ones to use. In particular, the models based on how well a respondent writes English and on total monthly earnings of respondents account for a small percentage of the variance in these assimilation behaviors. For the outcome of how well a respondent writes English, there is not much variance. In this sample 97.8% of the respondents said they wrote English well or very well. This is not surprising since the respondents in this sample had been introduced to the American school system at a young age. The lack of variation in this outcome variable may mean that the results of this model are not an accurate representation of the significance and effect of ethnic identity on this particular assimilation outcome. It may be the case that the predictive power of this model would be different for a more diverse population of English writers. Or it may be the case that this outcome is simply not a good measure of assimilation. Learning to write English may be a skill that is imperative for basic survival in an English language culture. Therefore, it may be something that is embraced by all second generation immigrants despite their national-origin or ethnic self-identification. A different measure of acculturation may be more informative.

For the outcome of total monthly earnings, only 54.74% of the sample responded to this question. This is expected because the outcome was measured when respondents were entering early adulthood. Many of them may have not started their careers yet and

were still full-time students at the time. The results from this model could be different with a full sample. Also, it could be the case that this is a better measure of assimilation for older populations that have more established work paths and careers.

Along the same lines, another study limitation is the age at which assimilation behaviors were measured. The respondents were young adults at the time. Assimilation can be a very long process, sometimes measured over generations. It may be informative to take a look at these respondents again at a later point in their life. In addition, it would be informative to test whether their ethnic self-identifications changed over time or if they remained stable. Future studies should test these limitations and attempt to discover the applicability, if any, of these findings to other immigrant populations outside of those studied in California and Florida.

A third limitation of this study is that it used private school Cubans as the reference group for the nationality variables. The decision was made to use this particular group as the reference because much past work has been done on the assimilation of this population. Better knowledge of what to expect from the comparison group make the coefficients from the nationality variables more interpretable. This group, however, is very unique and has a high level of resources. Therefore, any significance found for the nationality variables could be a reflection of the fact that private school Cubans are outliers. Consequently, all of the evidence in support of nationality should be moderated since it is relative to a very unique group.

Finally, the ethnic self-identification variable used in this study may not be the best reflection of an individual's self-identity. This measure is based on what the

respondent claims his personal identity to be, but it is not supported by any actual measure of attachment itself. Thus, this study relied on assumptions about measures of attachment based on the solely on the coded categories and not on any feelings of attachment and loyalty to the ethnic subgroup and the host majority as ethnic identity is defined by acculturation and cultural conflict theory. Future studies should attempt to quantify ethnic identity using measures of attachment. This could have different and stronger affects on assimilation behaviors.

<div align="center">Conclusions</div>

Continued research in the area of the effects of immigrant ethnic identities on assimilation paths is very important. As with most studies, the findings from this one have raised more questions. Specifically, is it possible for this new wave of diverse immigrants to achieve a path of full assimilation? Also, not looked at directly in this study but still crucial, is it beneficial to the well-being of immigrants to attempt to fully assimilate? Or does one of the other assimilation paths offer a better alternative for immigrant well-being? These questions and others raised by this study's limitations should be the focus of future research.

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