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IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S ADAPTATION AND ASSIMILATION IN THE CONTEXT OF FAMILY

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

Family plays a notable role in shaping children's life trajectories. Focusing on second generation immigrants, this dissertation investigates how immigrant families structure their children's social environment and future prospects. My theoretical approach incorporates and brings together theories of capital and ideas from the immigration literature under the broad domain of family. Specifically, this dissertation addresses three research objectives and interests concerning immigrant children's adaptation and assimilation outcomes in the context of family. First, drawing from the immigrant family's ideational orientation and structural mechanisms, I assess the post-secondary educational attainment of young adult immigrant children. Second, focusing on the race and family argument, I explore four assimilation pathways relevant to their post-secondary educational and labor market participation. Third, I evaluate their assimilation outcomes by drawing on the family-centered ecological perspective. In sum, by presenting a systematic empirical analysis of immigrant children's assimilation outcomes, my study provides a theoretical consideration for working with immigrant families and children. Policy implication and directions for future research are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The enormous influx of immigrants to the United States since the liberalization of the immigration law in 1965 created a corresponding increase in the number of children who are living in immigrant families (Hernandez, Denton, and Macartney 2007). It is estimated that one in five Americans today are immigrants or children of immigrants (Jensen 2001) and this number is expected to grow. In the future, the proportion of immigrant children is expected to rise to 30 percent of the country's school age population by 2040 (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008) and to 25 percent of the nation's children by 2050 (Passel 2011). Regardless of their nativity status, children of immigrants represent one of the fastest growing demographic groups among school children (O'Hare 2004) and among the U.S. population (Jensen 2001).

Even so, immigrant families are relatively socially or economically disadvantaged (e.g., Borjas 2011; Borjas and Trejo 1991; Goodwin-White 2008) and how immigrant children fare in mainstream society varies noticeably (Crosnoe and Turley 2011; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Children of immigrants, whether they are the second generation immigrants who were born in the U.S. or the 1.5 generation who came to the United States as young children with their immigrating parents, will have a profound impact on the country's development as they become an important segment of American society. It is therefore imperative to investigate the adaptation, life experience and well-being of these new Americans and how their adjustment process translates to future prospects.

Objectives

Family plays a notable role in shaping children's well-being and life trajectories (e.g., Amato 1994; Conger et al. 1992; Crnic, Gaze, and Hoffman 2005; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Sampson and Laub 1993; Simons et al. 2001). In the family literature, parents are consistently regarded as one of the most influential and active socialization agents for their children (e.g. Bianchi and Robinson 1997; Breivik, Olweus, and Endresen 2009; Simons, Lin, and Gordon. 1998; Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant, and Lovegrove 2009; Wong, McElwain, and Halberstadt 2009). But owing to rapid demographic and cultural change (Axinn and Thornton 2000; Cherlin 2004; 2008; Oppeinheimer 1988; Teachman, Tedrow, and Crowder 2000), the family can no longer be theorized as a static social entity in the existing society. Rather, to yield meaningful insights into the significance of family, the more effective study of family and child outcomes must account for two elements: 1) the recognition of both parent and child as active participants within the family; and 2) the interplay of various familial aspects in the ever changing social environment. It is therefore crucial to disentangle the complexities of contemporary family and investigate how children's life experiences differ within various familial contexts.

Focusing on second generation immigrants, this dissertation explores how immigrant parents structure their children's social environment and future prospects as well as how family dynamics or settings affect social outcomes of their young offspring. I argue that immigrant families help build their children's future explicitly and implicitly through transmission of parental resources and capital. My theoretical approach incorporates theories of capital and ideas from the immigration literature

under the broad domain of family. In particular, this dissertation addresses three research objectives and interests concerning immigrant children's social adaptation and assimilation.

First, drawing from the ideational orientation and structural arguments, I examine the potential family determinants of immigrant children's social incorporation and academic achievement disparities, despite the various social disadvantages and economic limitations facing them. Research in the past has revealed that a number of immigrant children perform well in school even though they face substantial social barriers to success (e.g., Crosnoe and Turley 2011; Palacios, Guttmannova, and Chase-Lansdale. 2008). Skilled Immigrants, for example, earn lower incomes than their native counterparts with a comparable educational level (Chiswick and Miller 2011). Immigrants, in general, are at risk of becoming welfare recipients (See Borjas 2002).

I contend that the immigrant family exerts a protective effect over their children's educational attainment and this effect is contingent upon their value orientation and structural elements in which they are embedded. Hence, only a small group of ethnic minorities are able to supersede their fellow immigrant peers. This dissertation focuses solely on within-group differences among immigrant children. Because my sample also consists of a group of native born immigrant children, this study allows me to compare the educational outcome of foreign born immigrant children and American born children. Specifically, it examines why some immigrant groups fare better than others. In my analysis, I incorporate a familial explanation and examine its connection with personal disposition characteristics, community, peer and

school influences on immigrant children's positive social adaptation in the American school system. Understanding how family is implicated in the transmission of values, beliefs and resources to their children and how these functions vary among family types can further illuminate how family helps shape children's personal disposition and life histories.

Second, to highlight the importance of family and the relative influence of race in the acculturative progress, I investigate systematic differences in the extent to which immigrant children assimilate. While the earlier immigrants (i.e., those arriving prior to the latest surge of 1965 immigration wave) followed a comparatively smoother assimilation trajectory, new immigrants face unique challenges in assimilating to the American middle class since they are not only phenotypically different, but are facing an economic situation that is less conducive to upward mobility. The primary question is not whether these new Americans will eventually "blend in" but to what segment of society this second generation will acclimatize, and the vital roles that family and race play in this process.

Since ethnicity and country of origin frequently regulate immigrant children's social trajectories in the host society, I use race, family structural location, family compositional differences and their cultural assets as crude proxies in my analysis to examine variation of immigrant children's social outcomes. These elements have been consistently found by past studies to exert varied effects on immigrant children's general well-being (e.g. Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1994). Immigrant children's success is measured by their degree of assimilation in the foreign land. Downward assimilation associated with economic and social stagnation especially is socially

frown upon since the idea of American Dream, upward mobility through hard work, is heavily rooted in the history of immigration (e.g., Orchowski 2008).[1] Here, downward assimilation is measured based on the respondents' college enrollment status and involvement in paid work. As noted earlier, the immigrant family plays a crucial role in their children's pattern of assimilation. Thus, disentangling the family effect helps shed light on the significance of racial lines and class hierarchy on life chances pertaining to immigrants of color and those from different world regions. It is pertinent to investigate why certain immigrant families and their children succeed while others fare poorly or lag behind.

Third, I analyze the dynamic transactions between family and its social environment, as well as how these factors affect immigrant children's likelihood of experiencing downward assimilation, which is conceptualized as their adverse experiences with the criminal justice system or employment maintenance. This analysis is situated in Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Framework. Rather than minimizing the importance of other ecological factors, I argue that variation in the family system is the basis for disparities in other ecological systems in which immigrant children are socially positioned. In other words, their encounter with other ecological systems, and hence their subsequent social outcome, is driven and structured by the initial differences in the family system.

The use of family to understand the impact of various contextual factors on social outcomes of immigrant children who make up an increasing proportion of the United States population is crucial. I argue that immigrant families are actively

[1] The American Dream assumes that everyone is equal. And in order to realize the American Dream, it is believed that one must demonstrate diligence and talent. Therefore, hard work is rewarded, applauded or looked up to by others (Adams 1931).

constructing and mapping their children's social outcomes directly by exerting their parental influence or transmitting their parental resources and indirectly by selecting their place of residence (e.g., ethnic neighborhood) and network affiliation (e.g., association with compatriots and co-ethnic friends). Since the effect of family is likely to be conditioned by gender differences, additional effort is also devoted to comprehending the gendered process leading to this prevailing effect. Policy and social work implications are discussed.

Significance

As family influence continues to be a prominent issue in the immigration literature, exploring this phenomenon in greater detail is warranted in the midst of these aforementioned demographic changes. A vast majority of the studies have documented the implications of family migration on family functioning, acculturation and the life trajectory of the second generation (e.g., Berry et al. 2006; Djajić 2003; Dumka et al. 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes et al 2009), but we still do not fully understand the nuances of immigrant family dynamics, especially how parental resources and familial values are transmitted to the next generations as well as parents' capacity to structure their children's relations with other non-familial institutions and social networks. In addition, not many studies have explored the intersection of gender and race, nor incorporated a combination of familial, school and neighborhood contextual factors in the study of this unique population. Further, the causal factors and assimilation outcomes are complicated, and the interrelations of these factors are often not well understood by academic scholars, policy planners and clinical practitioners.

Determining the manner in which a particular immigrant family reacts to the mainstream society to instill social values and realize the goal of upward mobility involves a complex set of research questions that require in-depth investigation. This study intends to offer a new perspective on understanding the within-group variability of immigrant children's social adaptation in the family context. In this dissertation, I highlight the importance of family in relation to their children's assimilation path, as well as the influence of gender, race, peers, school, and community in understanding how children of immigrants fare over their adolescent life course and as they reach early adulthood.

Using data collected at three time points, I circumvent some of the limitations of current literature by evaluating a multiplicity of family related themes and variables. This dissertation extends the current immigration literature in several ways. First, this study delineates how immigrant parents make decisions for children's future implicitly or explicitly. Second, this study provides further insights into how differential possession of capital and resources by immigrant families and their unique family process shapes immigrant children's life outcomes. Equally important, this study provides a depiction of how immigrant parents' post-migration experiences are related to their children's social outcomes. Third, by analyzing the interactive and additive effect of various family and social determinants, this study contributes to the growing pool of immigration studies that examine how an immigrant family influences and shapes immigrant children's adolescent experiences. Fourth, a more precise measure of different family and immigration related elements can provide more accurate social and academic pathways for immigrant children. Fifth, by

examining the family's racial classification in conjunction with various contextual factors, this study is able to provide a broader multidimensional view of how immigrant children fare socially and academically over their adolescent years. Next, by examining immigrant children's outcomes in early adulthood, and how they are stratified by gender and race, this study provides a comprehensive assessment and in-depth exploration of the within-group differences that are seldom explored among immigrant children.

Finally, it is for social researchers and scholars to provide recommendations and suggestions for programs and policies based on their research findings. Since educational attainment and subsequent labor force participation have become increasingly significant for social mobility (e.g., Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001), stagnation and adverse social experiences can derail the life course trajectories of this growing population. Hence, this study not only uncovers the factors contributing to the gap in progress of this diverse population, it is also able to seek improvement in their lives through policy and program recommendations based on the study's findings.

Background

Demographic Overview

Migration is a global phenomenon that presents both opportunities and challenges for migrants and residents in the host societies alike (Portes 1990). Historically, the United States has always been known as a land of immigrants, but the distribution and composition of the foreign born by ethnic origin varies significantly by entry cohorts (Grieco and Trevelyan 2010). Since the passage of the 1965

Immigration Act, U.S. immigration policy opened doors for many to immigrate to the United States based on two criteria: family reunification and occupational qualifications (Portes 1990). The immigration wave was also triggered by the changes in refugee policies that followed. In general, foreign born immigrants come to the U.S. predominantly through three modes of entry: legal admission, humanitarian based immigration and illegal channels. The vast majority of the newcomers arrive in the U.S. through the legal route (Fix and Passel 1994), where family reunification is the most frequently cited reason for immigration (Portes and Rumbaut 1996).

In 2009, one in eight U.S. residents were foreign born, a 24 percent increase since 2000 (Grieco and Trevelyan 2010). Although the native born continue to remain the majority, the foreign born population now constitutes a significant proportion of the country's population, a rise from 4.7 percent in 1970 to 12.5 percent in 2009 (Gibson and Jung 2006; Gryn and Larsen 2010). In contrast to the past, immigrants today have not only increased in number but also constitute a more heterogeneous population. In the U.S., the earlier waves of immigrants admitted to the country were predominantly Europeans. The post-1965 migration trend from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean has altered the demographic characteristics of the U.S. population (Ueda 2007). Today, more than one half of all foreign born were from Latin America (53 percent) and more than one fourth (28 percent) came from Asia (See Figure 1a and 1b).

[Figures 1a and 1b About Here]

Taken together, not only are the later immigrants more likely to be members of an ethnic minority, they are also likely to come from a diverse family background and

a home environment in which a language other than English is spoken. This notable growth of the foreign born population that has transformed the historical racial and ethnic landscape of America will have significant implications for the nation's development. It is likely that the ethnic origins of immigrants and the meaning of race will continue to evolve and enrich the American culture (Grieco 2010).

With respect to their offspring, it is predicted that one in five school aged children had at least one parent who is foreign born (Jamieson, Curry and Martinez 2001). The U.S. Census estimated that approximately one in six American children lived with a foreign born householder, where 77.7 percent of these children were native, and the remaining were foreign born (Current Population Reports 2001). At present, an overwhelming majority of immigrant children (50 percent) live in California, Texas, and New York (Fortuny et al. 2009).

Immigrant Culture and Family Relationships

A large body of research has demonstrated that immigrant children live in a social context that is distinct from that of their native counterparts (Portes and Hao 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Specifically, children of immigrant are reared in a household with a more complex family structure[2], of lower socioeconomic resources, a home that is far away from their country of origin or their extended kin, and whose primary language is not English. In general, children who immigrate are regularly being exposed to the new values of the host society through schooling and peers. Immigrant parents who are raised in a different culture often cannot count on the host society in the cultural transmission of their own culture.

[2] The average size of the foreign born households was 3.26 as opposed to 2.5 for the native households. Foreign born households also have a larger number of minor children than the native households (0.99 compared to 0.65) (Current Population Reports 2001)

Consequently, immigrant children, who are socialized in their parents' culture and language brought from the country of origin, are often torn between preserving their primary identity and gaining a new national identity (e.g., Zhou 2001). This dissertation is set up to understand how immigrant parents help their children adapt and succeed in the receiving society and how children of immigrants live between and within two cultures (the heritage culture of their parents on one hand, and the mainstream culture, on the other) and the social outcomes that follows.

While parents may wish to return or visit their country of origin frequently, many immigrant children aspire to stay in the United States (Massey and Sanchez 2010). Since a cross-border move frequently entails learning a new language, getting used to new culture and losing old ties, this drastic decision can have a profound impact on the physical as well as psychological well-being of immigrant families (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Children of immigrants, in particular, face a unique challenge and complex life experiences in their acculturative process in the U.S. and this experience differs markedly from that of their parents' (Abouguendia and Noels 2001). Unlike their foreign born parents who identify strongly with their country of origin, children of immigrants are less connected and attached to their parents' home country due to their lack of meaningful contact with it (Gans 1992b). As foreign born children of immigrants are trying to establish a permanent residence and accustom themselves to a new culture in a new country, the added pressure of rapid acculturation to the mainstream society can have a detrimental effect on their family dynamics, school adjustment and occupational outcomes (e.g., Birman and Taylor-

Ritzler 2007; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Nonetheless, in many cases, family can offer a protective environment for immigrant children.

After Migration

Immigrant families arrive with varying amounts of family, cultural and ethnic capital (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). As a group, children of immigrants are more likely to live in poverty regardless of their nativity status (Current Population Reports 2001). According to the U.S Census Bureau, foreign born households have significantly lower income than the native households, and the differences in household income are related to their ethnic origin (Current Population Reports 2001). The median income for foreign born householder and native householder was $36,048 and $41,383, respectively. About one in five foreign born people have less than a 5^{th} grade education among those without a high school diploma versus one in twenty of the native population (Current Population Reports 2001). Foreign born working populations are also likely to be less educated; however, this varies substantively from one group to another (Newburger and Gryn 2009). Currently, the official poverty rate for the foreign born population is 16.8 percent, 5.6 percent higher than the native population; 14.7 percent of those living below the poverty level are those born abroad (Current Population Reports 2001).

The influx of these new Americans is controversial, with much debate centered around the potential negative effect of legal or illegal immigration on the country's public welfare system, economic development and progress. A preponderance of fear also revolves around the potential displacement of American workers by immigrants who are willing to accept lower wages or their possible welfare dependency that might

escalate into a public burden for the taxpayers even though the fear is not substantiated (Friedberg and Hunt 2001; Greenwood and Hunt 1995).

The number of immigrants who were receiving welfare has risen tremendously between 1970 and 1990, and the likelihood of an immigrant household receiving public welfare has increased (Borjas 2002; Borjas and Trejo 1991) proportionate to their length of residence. The concern that immigrants might end up using an enormous share of social benefits in the country has indirectly led to the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) in 1996. This Act placed restrictions on immigrants' eligibility for their receipt of social services (e.g. Balistreri 2010).

While some scholars contend that the contemporary immigrant flow is more likely to be of lower quality and is less skilled, (Borjas 1990) a number of other scholars (e.g. Portes and Rumbaut 1996) argue to the contrary. Human capital that immigrant families bring with them can impact their assimilation pathways (e.g. Espiritu 2008). For the most part, immigrants have been perceived as a highly motivated and self-selected group (Portes 1990).

But additional concerns which have been brought to light include immigrants and their children's ability to fit into the host society. Contrary to expectations, immigrant children do not always become fully assimilated. Rather, they take on varying pathways, experiencing segmented assimilation: while some become indistinguishable in the mainstream society, others become alienated from the mainstream culture, and still others become enmeshed in multiple cultures (Portes and

Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). The role that immigrant families play on their children's assimilation pathways cannot be emphasized enough.

Historically, assimilation into American culture has always been perceived as the most ideal and desirable goal for new Americans (Glazer 1993). A widely accepted postulation in the American culture has been that immigrants and their children will eventually attain upward mobility through competent adaptation. Some scholars argue that the assimilation of new immigrants will allow them to blend into the mainstream society over time (Alba and Nee 2003). However, this presumption generally does not hold true for many immigrant families (Suarez-Orozco 2001).[3] Consequently, the journey to successful adaptation in the host society is often perceived as bumpy, stressful, or painful for immigrant children.

Instead of a straight line process with the length of residence proportionate to the degree of assimilation, some scholars argue to the contrary, that the assimilation for the new immigrants will be segmented, whereby outcomes vary among immigrant groups with different ethnic origins (e.g. Portes and Zhou 1993). In other words, while some in the second generation are progressing, a significant number are lagging behind (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005).

With respect to their future prospects, children of immigrants represent one of the most significant challenges to the educational system in the United States. Because immigrants arrive in the U.S. with diverse backgrounds and resources, and settle in a variety of communities with diverse educational and other services available, not all of them are afforded the same opportunities to succeed. It is

[3] Rather than a smooth, straight line assimilation model, Gans (1992b) proposed a "Bumpy-Line Approach" in looking at immigrants' pattern of assimilation.

important to examine how this population fares in the American educational system as academic success is a crucial requirement for upward social mobility in order to facilitate assimilation and integration into the American society (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Immigrant children represent an interesting subject of study because, not only are they adapting to two different cultures, they are also undergoing developmental changes (Erikson 1968).

Completion of a high school education is a prerequisite of securing long term employment and gaining the opportunity for upward mobility. School failure not only jeopardizes immigrant children's future outlook but also imposes a social cost to the country (e.g., Lochner and Moretti 2004). Similarly, poor social adaptation leading to incarceration, arrest, and unemployment can become a turning point for immigrant children in their transition to early adulthood, leading to derailment of life course goals (Sampson and Laub 1993).

Because assimilation has traditionally been regarded as the most beneficial and desired outcome, the foresight that the new members are at risk of becoming marginalized, experiencing downward assimilation and joining the destitute at the bottom of the social hierarchy is alarming (e.g. Gans 1992b). Therefore, this dissertation is set up to investigate this subject matter in greater detail by answering the following research questions.

Research Questions

This dissertation measures immigrant children's social outcomes in a number of ways, attempting to provide an in depth understanding of their life experiences. I intend to answer three major research questions and their related sub-questions:

Research Question 1:

Research on the immigrant education paradox suggests that a number of immigrant children perform better in school despite facing substantial social deprivation (e.g., Crosnoe and Turley 2011; Palacios, Guttmannova, and Chase-Lansdale. 2008) but not enough is known about the within-group differences among immigrants. The finding that only a segment of immigrant children perform better in school despite confronting multiple social obstacles (such as racial discrimination) and facing various social disadvantages (such as coming from a household of lower socioeconomic status) that limit their social mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993) deserves more empirical attention.

Two family explanations (i.e., the ideational orientation and structural perspectives) may account for immigrant children's education disparities (Kim 2002; Portes and Rivas 2011). Drawing from the two competing but interrelated arguments, I investigate the potential family determinants of this effect. Specifically, my analysis incorporates the ideational orientation and structural arguments to explain the differences in immigrant children's experience with the American educational system. The ideational orientation argument contends that immigrant families are distinct from other American households due to their high marital stability, strong familial ties and high educational aspirations. Moreover, the value orientation from which the immigrant families come also suggests why certain immigrant families are more successful than others.

The structural argument, on the contrary, emphasizes immigrant families' social structural locations within the host society. These aspects encompass

immigrant children's parental education, social classes, social networks, and community characteristics (Kim 2002).

I illustrate how immigrant parents shape their children's future prospects directly by instilling strong familial values or social norms and indirectly by transmitting invaluable family capital or selecting their place of residence and social network. Because immigrants are presumed to be self-selected, their value orientation and structural characteristics are perceived to be unique in many ways. Specifically, it is likely that immigrant families are socially disadvantaged simply as a consequence of residing in a foreign country, but their cultural values which hold family and hard work in high regard may help them combat the social blockages to success. These characteristics can be regarded as a form of ethnic capital that influences their children's educational attainment and positive social adaptation.

In sum, both arguments outline the markedly different childhood trajectory and family assets in which they grow up with as the primary forces of their educational success and effective incorporation in the host society. It is also worth noting that both elements are not necessarily independent but may exert an influence on immigrant children's acculturative outcomes simultaneously. Taken together, their prospects for success may vary depending on the additive or cumulative effect of their cultural ideational orientation and structural context in which they are embedded.

Therefore my research questions are: What are the potential family process and structural determinants that could account for immigrant children's educational disparities? In other words, what family factors ensure the maintenance of academic excellence for a group of immigrant children despite the difficulties experienced in a

foreign country? And how do they alter the life course of immigrant children, particularly in terms of their educational attainment during early adulthood? Additionally, do children's academic outcomes vary according to their racial classification or gender?

Research Question 2:

Previous research has established a link between familial and environmental factors with immigrant children's life outcomes (e.g., Crosnoe 2005; Gans 1992b; Portes and Zhou 1993), but not enough is known about how these familial relationships are manifested along racial lines. Racial differences between old immigrants and new immigrants, as well as the economic downturn, signal the need to investigate the broader social elements affecting group outcomes.

Segmented assimilation theory acknowledges the diversity of the immigrant population and recognizes the different paths to which immigrants may assimilate. The theory also postulates that immigrant children's outcomes are not monotonically similar across generations but may indeed vary based on race and social class (Portes and Zhou 1993). Using the family and race argument, I investigate the extent to which they influence immigrant children's assimilation pathways.

My question is not whether the second generations will assimilate into mainstream American society, but which pathway (i.e. college enrollment, employment or stagnation) their assimilation trajectory will flow, and how family and race shape this process. The Segmented Assimilation theory postulates that familial and racial ties can exert a significant effect on immigrant children's social outcomes, but there is substantial variation in the challenges that immigrant families face and the

amount of assets that they inherited from their family. Although there are similarities among the immigrant groups, there are also significant differences in terms of family characteristics, and hence the social context in which they are embedded. Children from families with certain cultural assets or economic resources may have better life outcomes than those without these assets. In the study, I emphasize the variation of immigrant family relationships, racial differences, familial factors that reinforce their positive social adaptation, and how it is related to their assimilation pathway.

Hence, my research question is what assimilation pathway will the second generation follow: college enrollment, employment or stagnation? In this study, college attendance and being employed are presumably forms of positive social adjustment, while social and economic stagnation can be regarded as an indication of downward assimilation. What are the potential family determinants that offer additional explanatory power to any cross-family and cross-racial variance? How does one's racial classification impact these relationships?

Research Question 3:

Although the study of immigrant children's life trajectories has spawned a large body of empirical research in the last decades (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Hao 2002; 2004; Portes and Zhou 1993), in-depth exploration is still needed to understand how family facilitates social adjustment and success in the mainstream society by providing access to valuable familial resources and transmitting family capital conducive to success. Guided by an ecological perspective that takes into account the interaction between family and other contextual elements, I

investigate the experiences of immigrant children in the host society as they move toward early adulthood and become integrated into the mainstream society.

To provide a nuanced understanding of immigrant children's assimilation outcomes, I examine a broad array of family domains related to competent assimilation. To highlight this complexity, I discuss the importance of family socialization, and how it is related to immigrant children's gender, school characteristics, peer affiliation, and neighborhood context. Although looking at within-household issues offers valuable insights, it is also crucial to consider how family influence spills over to interactions outside of the family structure.

The fact that most immigrants arrive with high social and behavioral adjustment but slowly converge to the native levels (e.g., Palacios et al. 2008; Schwartz et al. 2011), suggests that there is something unique or paradoxical about the contextual factors in which new immigrants are embedded. Additionally, understanding how gender shapes post-migration experiences can offer a vital conceptual lens for analyzing the social adaptation for immigrant children.

For these reasons, my research questions are: How do families actively shape the environment in which their children grow up? How do families structure the environments and social networks of immigrant children that lead to downward assimilation? How do gendered processes affect their life span?

In the following chapters, I discuss the theoretical frameworks and their relevance to the literature. Next, I develop a number of hypotheses and present my predictions based on the conceptual models of various studies covered in this dissertation. Followed by a short description of the data and the analytical approach

used to test my hypotheses, I discuss potential benefits and policy implications resulting from these studies.

CHAPTER TWO: IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

Portes and Rumbaut, in one of their most influential publications "Legacies: The Story of The Immigrant Second Generation," investigate the determinants of early academic achievement of immigrant children using data from the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Study. This study was conducted in 1992 and 1995 when these children were in their early and late teen years, using primarily their grade point average, standardized Stanford achievement score in Mathematics and reading as study outcomes. Extending the work of Portes and Rumbaut (2001), this study investigates educational outcomes at a later point in the life course by examining variation in post-secondary educational attainment across immigrant children when they have reached young adulthood.

Immigration can exert a protective effect on immigrant children's educational performance in school. Even though they may be underprivileged as newcomers, previous studies have demonstrated that a number of immigrant children perform well in school given their underprivileged status (Fuglini 1997; Kao 2004; Kao and Tienda 1995; Sue and Okazaki 2009). The debate over this effect typically portrays immigrant children as uniquely different (e.g. Gilbert 2009; Schneider and Lee 1990). Indeed, differences in immigrant family process or ideational orientation and structural mechanisms (such as class and socioeconomic status) may explain why some excel in schools while the remainder is left behind.

Two arguments in the status attainment literature can be used to explain immigrant children's superior academic attainment: (1) the ideational orientation

model which emphasizes family's norms, values, belief systems, and family dynamics as well as (2) the structural mechanisms which stress family's social class, structural barriers and capital stock. Both arguments delineate the importance of immigrant families in shaping their children's educational trajectories. Since these two emergent views are interrelated and often coexist, this study also investigates their interactive effects, which are less developed in the current immigration literature including the work of Portes and his associates (e.g., Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005; 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Throughout the chapter, I use the term "immigrant children" loosely to refer to foreign born immigrant children who arrive with their immigrating parents (also known as the 1.5 generation) and native born immigrant children (also known as the second generation).

Literature Review

Ideational Orientation Model: Immigrant Family Process

The ideational orientation model postulates that immigrant families differ from non-immigrant families because of their unique family dynamics and value orientations. But immigrants' value orientations are heterogeneous and these differences lead to divergent educational outcomes for their children. The mechanism underlying this model will be assessed in terms of three aspects: 1) immigrant parents' parenting practices, 2) parent-child relationships and 3) gender role socialization.

Immigrant Parents' Parenting Practices

Many immigrants come to the U.S. to improve their standard of living. Many more are willing to sacrifice for the sake of their children (Massey and Sánchez 2010).

Immigrant scholars contend that immigrant families hold strong family values in high regard (Fuligni 1997; Shields and Behrman 2004). These positive qualities coupled with a higher level of optimism and aspiration function as protective shields to override the negative effects resulting from poor adjustment (Kao and Tienda 1995). The prominent roles that immigrant parents play are often reflected in their aspiration for their children and the influence that they exert on their children's connection with the host society.

Immigrant parents' college aspirations can be regarded as a form of intergenerational social capital where parents transmit their expectations to their children (Coleman 1988). But there are differences in terms of how aspirations are passed onto the second generation. The cultural beliefs that endorse, or discredit the necessity of education as a means of upward mobility can redirect immigrant children's educational trajectories. Protective and involved parents may try to shield their children from perceived dangers in the host society by monitoring their children's physical whereabouts or school progress (e.g., Gorman 1998; Rodríguez, Donovick, and Crowley 2009), thereby improving their school readiness and language mastery (Lahaie 2008).

In addition to their high aspiration for their children, immigrant families play the most fundamental role in their children's social integration (Gans 1992b; Jackson, Forsythe-Brown, and Govia 2007; Portes and Zhou 1993). Given the fact that the majority of parents come from different parts of the world, specifically non-Anglo countries, immigrant children's lives are centered around their immediate family. There are multiple ways in which immigrant parents shape their children's

connections with the host society. At least in the early stage of their cross country move, immigrant children may look up to their parents for social cues and guidance on how to respond in their social environment. Aycan and Kanungo (1998) posited that immigrant children's acculturation patterns closely resemble their parents' attitudes. Specifically, parents who are integrated in the host society tend to have children who exhibit the same assimilation outcome. The same holds for those who follow other types of acculturative patterns such as marginalization or separation. The connection with the host society has the potential to shape their educational outlook and capacity to navigate the American educational system.

Not all immigrant parents are equally capable of translating their family value orientation into children's educational attainment. A significant body of literature has documented the enduring effect of race on immigrant familial relationship and schooling (Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters et al. 2010). The perpetuation of the stereotype of Asian children as the "model minority," for example, has inferred immigrant value orientation to be the cause of their superior academic performance. In general, Asian children are portrayed to be studious and talented. Further, many are reported to be more zealous about schooling, express higher educational aspirations, and tend to allocate more time in academic related activities (Fuligni, Witkow, and Garcia 2005; Fuligni 1997).

In the Eastern Asian culture, the Confucian Doctrine, which highlights the cultivation of virtues such as filial piety and family loyalty, have shaped many Asian parents' childrearing and parenting practices (Chen and Stevenson 1995). Asian parents, in particular, have been known to practice authoritarian parenting that affirms

obedience, cooperation, and self-restraint (Chao 1994), contrary to American cultural values of autonomy and self-reliance (Suizzo et al. 2008). In order to maintain family harmony, Asian children are compelled to do well in school (Singelis 1994).[4]

Research on race and family orientation suggests that while many immigrant children have a strong sense of family obligation and ethnic pride, family cohesion and familism are strongly associated with the Asian and Hispanic culture which place more importance on collective values rather than satisfying individual needs (Sabogal et al. 1987; Valdés 2008; Yeh and Bedford 2004). The Hispanic notion of *Simpatia* that features the need to avoid conflict and to maintain family peace is believed to reduce family hostility and mistrust (Marín and Marín 1991). Asians' collective parenting and intergenerational collaborative family style, as well as Hispanics' large family network and family loyalty, are all important ingredients for immigrant children's academic outcomes.[5]

Immigrant families' lower rate of marital disruption is also conducive to their children's academic success and general well-being (e.g., Wagner et al. 2010; Wilson 2001). Certain ethnic groups such as Asians and Europeans are more likely to grow up in an intact family than their American peers.[6] Indeed, children who grow up in an

[4] In Asian culture, parents are expected to be their children's role model (Chao 1995). Because their children's action and attainment reflect on them (Chen and Luster 2002), children's misconduct is perceived as a disgrace for the family.

[5] Collective parenting is denoted as the willingness of Asian parents to supervise and monitor children of others in addition to their own children. For example, a parent helps keep an eye on his/her friend's child and vice versa in the absence of others. Both collective parenting and intergenerational collaborative family living arrangement connote a higher level of parental monitoring and child supervision, thus help kids stay out of trouble.

[6] Although they tend to live in an intact family, some scholars estimate that over time this pattern subsides, and many married households are being replaced by single parent households (Brandon 2002). Substantial evidence indicates that children raised by single parents have lower economic resources, are at risk of social maladjustment, and therefore are more likely to experience difficulties in school (e.g., Strohschein, Roos and Brownell 2009; Mak et al. 2010).

intact family complete more schooling than children from single or reformed families (Strohschein, Roos, and Brownell 2009).

Parent-Child Relationships

Being culturally different does not guarantee superior school success. Rather, the segmented assimilation theory has postulated that potential conflict and tension between parents and children can adversely impact children's school progress. Many immigrant families must confront the social hindrance, pressure and stigma of being culturally different in addition to struggles associated with raising a good family (Gans 1992a; Portes and Zhou 1993). When parents do not speak English fluently, their children are at significant risk of performing poorly in school (Casey and Dustmann 2008). Despite the wish to maintain their cultural heritage, many immigrant families struggle to realize this goal (Bacallao and Smokowski 2009).

Lay and Nguyen (1998) posit that hassles related to acculturation can be classified into two primary categories: out-group hassles are conflicts resulting from interactions with members of mainstream society while in-group hassles are disturbances caused by contact with members of one's own ethnic group. Depending on the level of acculturation of their parents, immigrant children may experience pressure to conform in two social worlds, one that characterizes their parents' culture and the other that resembles the host society. Cultural dissonance has been shown to increase parent-child conflict and weaken intimate bonding. Immigrant children, due to their young age and unique life circumstances, may acculturate to the new culture faster than their parents who were raised in a different part of the world. Parent-child

conflict in turn leads to a wide range of behavioral problems, and consequently hinders their school performance.

The Gender Effect

Immigrant children's educational outcomes are also affected by contemporary gender ideologies – pervasive societal norms, and gender-related expectations that legitimize and regulate gender inequalities. In traditional Hispanic culture, male dominance (*Machismo*) and female submissiveness (*Marianismo*) are prevalent (Galanti 2003). Since females are socialized to be wives and homemakers (e.g., Guo 2000; Lin 2000; Hannum, Kong and Zhang 2009), high educational attainment may not be taken seriously. Likewise, in a patriarchal Asian society, male children are valued over female children. As such, parents may conserve valuable educational resources for their male offspring rather than female children (Hannum, Kong and Zhang 2009).

Ironically, because immigrant parents typically employ different disciplinary methods by monitoring their female children's social contacts more closely, female children can focus on their school work and perform better in school. Ultimately, this social restriction and housework burden exerts a counteractive effect, causing female children to have higher educational aspirations.

Considerable evidence indicates that girls, on average, outperform boys in virtually all academic measures (e.g., Buchmann and DiPrete 2006; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Kao and Tienda 1995; Saunders et al. 2004). Further, among immigrant children, girls are more likely to become bilingual than boys (Portes and Hao 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Girls' higher propensity of retaining their

parents' language can be attributable to different gender role socialization and greater contact with parents at home (Portes and Schauffler 1996). Additionally, their fluency in their native language may be tied to traditional family obligations and greater pressure to avoid conflict and maintain familial serenity. This is especially true in traditional immigrant families in which women have a relatively lower social status as compared to their male counterparts and in contemporary society which stresses women's role as peacemakers or stereotypes women as conformers or followers (Beutel and Marini 1995).

Immigrant Structural Mechanisms

Ideational factors aside, immigrant families arrive in the host society with vastly different baseline skills and characteristics. In the structural argument, these differences among immigrant parents' class and socioeconomic characteristics are perceived to be significant for their children's academic success. Portes (1990) posited that migrants are likely to be positively selected in terms of their human capital and level of motivation. This selectivity argument attributes immigrant children's academic success to their parents' human and financial capital advantage. This framework is examined in terms of immigrant families' 1) social economic impediments, 2) gender stratification and 3) racial barriers and sociopolitical factors that assess how family forms the basis for children's educational attainment.

Social Economic Impediments

Unlike children of the middle or upper class, immigrant children who are economically disadvantaged have limited access to quality schools and experience more difficulties in the U.S. school system (e.g., Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson

1987). This is due in part to the fact that immigrant families' choice of residence, which determines which school their children can attend, is highly contingent upon parents' income and social class (e.g., Damm 2009).

Residence in poor ethnic neighborhoods, for example, can be ridden with multiple social problems that undermine good parenting. Families in poor neighborhoods must combat social problems associated with poverty and crime, which pose a challenge to effective parenting. When parents are poorly educated, they are also less capable of providing children with assistance needed in school and are less equipped to negotiate with school personnel that facilitate academic success (Lareau 2003). Further, these parents are likely to be challenged by the public school system due to language barriers, differences in cultural customs, illegal status, and lack of trust of the U.S. educational systems.

The impact of social class may be more pronounced for some immigrant subgroups. Hispanic and Black immigrants especially are overrepresented in low socioeconomic strata (e.g., Johnson 2000; Randolph 1995). Hispanic immigrants, in particular, tend to have lower income, poorer educational prospects, and fewer years of formal schooling (Duncan, Hotz, and Trejo 2006). Even though Asians (e.g., Japanese, Chinese) have been depicted as the model minority, some Asian working class subgroups, such as Hmong, have little schooling and must depend on public assistance or community support for survival (Johnson 2000).

Immigrant children's educational attainment is also influenced by their parents' ability to provide care. Immigrant children's family structure and household size exert a paramount effect on their schooling. A large number of siblings, for

example, can dilute familial resources and investment (Blake 1985; Lillard and Willis 1994). The financial capital diffusion theory postulates that large household size accompanied by limited parental resources decreases parents' ability to invest and distribute their resources evenly among their children (Downey 1995). A large household also elevates parental stress and disrupts effective parenting. Hence, without support from outside of the family, immigrant parents are ill-prepared for the challenge needed to foster their children's academic success.

Further, immigrant parents, because they are new to the country, may become unavailable to their children due to work responsibilities, personal problems, or other life strains. Family social capital, characterized by the quality of the parent child relationships, parental time investment and the assistance provided in their children's daily life can mitigate the negative effects and difficulties associated with immigration (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). If immigrant parents are supportive and attentive to their children's needs, the positive effects associated with high parental investment can translate into higher academic attainment and social adjustment.

Gender Stratification

In a highly patriarchal society, immigrant children's personal choices are constrained by societal norms that value males over females. Due to various discriminative practices undertaken by employees to keep women out of high paying positions (e.g., Bell, McLaughlin, and Sequeira 2002), female immigrant children are likely to receive less schooling than their male counterparts. The resource constraint argument posits that larger households with limited resources may choose to invest in male children's education rather than in females' to maximize household investment

returns (Buchmann 2000). This is especially true in traditional immigrant families where girls are socialized to be mothers and homemakers. Even in less traditional families, females still experience living environments markedly different from that of males.

In addition to constraints placed on what they can pursue, females' life trajectories and career advancements are hindered by family gender expectations related to marriage, family commitment, and children. Early childbearing and marriage can derail immigrant children's educational trajectories and life course goals (Sampson and Laub 1993). Early childrearing, especially, can interfere with young adults' high school completion and college enrollment (e.g., Meade, Kershaw, and Ickovics 2008; Steward, Farkas, and Bingenheimer 2009).

Racial Barriers and Sociopolitical Factors

The persistent difference in education performance and socioeconomic status between the majority racial group (i.e., white Americans) and other minority groups can be attributed in part to their adverse social experience associated with discrimination and racism (e.g., Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Research in the past has shown immigrant children to perform better when they are exposed to less discrimination (e.g., Shrake and Rhee 2004). Black immigrant children, having a darker complexion, for instance, are socially disadvantaged since the America racial classification is conceived based on skin color (Waters 1994). This hold true even if immigrants typically do not share the same meaning in race as their native black counterparts, nor if they perceive structural barriers as obstacles for upward mobility (Rogers 2001). Thus, compared to other

immigrant groups with lighter complexion, the U.S. racial ideology offers limited options for black immigrant children to succeed in school (Waters 1999; Zhou 1997).

Just like their black native counterparts, black immigrants are placed under scrutiny and experience the stereotypes imposed on their native counterparts. While middle class black immigrants have more choices in terms of their place of residence, many lower class black immigrants are clustered in inner city black neighborhoods and develop adversarial views about schooling (Waters 1994). In order to succeed, immigrant children must confront this sociopolitical hindrance associated with their racial identity. Figure 2a summarizes the primary arguments outlined by both arguments.

[Figure 2a About Here]

Interactive Effects of Ideational Orientation and Structural Mechanisms

While the immigrant ideational orientation model and structural model both have merits for the examination of immigrant children's educational trajectories, they should not be perceived as exerting independent and isolated effects on immigrant children's post-secondary education. This is the case because particular ideational orientations are inherent to a given structural position, making these factors difficult to distinguish. Understanding the interactive effects of immigrant family values and socioeconomic status may help shed light on which familial influences impact immigrant children's educational attainment.

Growing evidence suggests that early life experience caused by low socioeconomic status is a salient factor shaping subsequent family life events. Specifically, family poverty has been linked to a living environment characterized by

poor social integration (e.g. Ablow 2009; Conger et al. 1990; 1992; Gulati and Dutta 2008). Immigrant parents who are overwhelmed with work responsibilities may have fewer opportunities to meaningfully interact with their children. From the strain perspective, the emotional distress precipitated by financial difficulties can engender many types of negative emotions such as anger, fear and frustration (Agnew 1992). Budget strain can impact the otherwise affectionate parent-child interaction by increasing the level of tension and the degree of coercive exchange that interfere with their children's educational progress in school.

These negative interactions are likely to threaten children's perception of familism and immigrant family level of cohesion. Ultimately, the cumulative advantage of immigrant familism and family cohesion on their children's educational outcome is greater for families with a higher level of family socioeconomic status.

Statement of Problem

Placing an emphasis on the significant intergroup differences among immigrant children, this study investigates the prominence of immigrant families' ideational orientation, structural mechanisms, and their intersection, on immigrant children's academic attainment. The ideational orientation model posits that immigrant families hold strong family values that propel their children's superior performance in school (Fuligni 1997; Kao and Tienda 1995; Shields and Behrman 2004). Of particular interest are group differences in how familial values are transmitted.

Seven explanatory variables that captured various aspects of familial characteristics were included to test predictions of the ideational model.

Hypothetically, immigrant children's college aspiration is highly predictive of their academic progress because high aspiration increases their level of motivation and help them set goals pertaining to their education, all else being equal. Also related are strong family values, such as familism and family cohesion, which are more prevalent among certain ethnic groups (such as Asians and Hispanics) that cherish high collective values over individualism (Sabogal et al. 1987; Valdés 2008; Yeh and Bedford 2004). Possession of these characteristics helps instill values that promote high educational attainment. Further, immigrant families' lower rate of marital disruption was expected to exert a positive effect on their children's academic success (e.g., Wagner et al. 2010; Wilson 2001) because living in an intergenerational and intact household can promote a structured learning environment. These familial characteristics were presumed to result in positive child educational outcomes. Conversely, experiencing parent-child conflict was expected to exert an adverse influence on immigrant children's educational outcomes.

The structural model places greater emphasis on immigrant parents' structural location and the racial stratification system. Because immigrant parents' levels of education and socioeconomic status are linked to their ability to provide care, this study presumed that they could be strong determinants of their children's educational attainment. Racial minority status was assumed to exercise a negative impact on immigrant children's academic success as persistent differences in immigrant children's academic performance can be attributed to social experiences with discrimination and treatment encountered in schools or society at large (e.g., Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Research studies

indicated that the effect of gender is mixed, but it is possible for different parenting practices imposed on female children to reverse their substandard social status despite the fact that female immigrant children's life choices are traditionally limited by the patriarchal norms that value males over females, as outlined in the literature review. Therefore, females might be more likely to go to college, but it must be noted that their aspiration did not necessarily translate to future academic achievement.

In assessing the factors that shape immigrant children's educational trajectories, other educational-related variables, not explicitly linked to family process or structure, were also explored in this study. While a greater number of study hours are likely to result in superior school performance, increased work commitment outside the home can interfere with academic commitments (Ruhm 1997). Immigrant children's previous achievements and experiences, such as GPAs and length of time in the U.S., should be highly predictive of their academic attainment. Additionally, because affiliation with co-ethnic and national peers symbolize the level of integration in the host society (Berry et al. 2006), it was expected that having a larger number of co-ethnic friends or national peers in school would impact their developmental outcome positively or negatively, contingent upon the type of peer influence. While it was not possible to assess the type of peer influence immigrant children encountered, I suspected that having more co-ethnic friends helped strengthen their ethnic and family values, while having more friends in general reduced the protective effect of immigration status.

To eliminate any confounding factors that could interfere with immigrant children's educational attainment caused by heavy family obligations, I controlled for

respondents' demographic characteristics, such as marital status and number of children. Interaction effects were also examined. It was likely that economically stable families are "tighter" and more cohesive, thus I interacted parent's socioeconomic status with measures of familism and family cohesion.

The present investigation used all three waves of Immigrant Children Longitudinal Study to study the additive and interactive effect of family values and economic stability. My dependent variable is immigrant children's post-secondary educational outcome collected at Wave 3 (i.e. 2006) when they were between ages of 23 and 27. I used variables measured at an earlier point in the life course to establish causal ordering and propose an intergenerational process over the life course. Ordinary least square regression was utilized to explain differences in how children fare differently across groups of immigrants. This study is one of a growing number that assess how immigrant children's post-secondary education is directed and oriented by familial possession of values and capital. Thus far, little research has been carried to test for intergroup differences based on both conceptual models.

It must be noted that while family influence is crucial, there are some shortcomings of this research design that make it difficult to isolate this effect. In particular, its effects in the models may be biased by unmeasured biological or genetic effects, for which there are no measures available in the data set. In addition, because education was measured for a sample of respondents who are too young to have completed their post-secondary education, censoring is another problem confronting this research design. In other words, some respondent might prefer to return to complete more education later in life, hence the education levels measured in this

study are not terminal. Since the goal of this study is to investigate the life transition of young adult immigrant children, using this dataset is acceptable. Nevertheless, the implications of these shortcomings that may threaten results will be discussed in the concluding section.

Method

Data

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) is a data set designed to investigate retrospective and contemporaneous information about the second generation immigrants' social experience in the United States. This study followed a sample of approximately 5,262 eighth and ninth graders recruited from 49 high schools located in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and San Diego, California. The first survey was conducted in 1992 when respondents were between ages of 13 and 17. The sampling goal of this study is to include three-fourth of students from major immigrant groups and the remainder from smaller nationalities. A total of 77 nationalities were recruited from both public and private schools. The follow up survey which was able to retrieve 81.5 percent of the original sample was launched three years later. An additional parental survey was also implemented in the second wave of the data collection in which 46 percent of the parents or guardians were randomly selected to be interviewed. The third wave of the survey, with a response rate of 68.9 percent, was conducted a decade after the first survey was administered. My analytical sample (N= 1,262) includes only respondents who participated in all three waves of the survey, having valid data from the parental

survey. Cases with any missing value were also excluded using listwise deletion (see Appendix 2.1 for patterns of missing data).

Dependent Variable

A key outcome measure of immigrant children's assimilation is their self-reported educational attainment at early adulthood (in the age range of 23 to 27). This post-secondary attainment variable measures the highest level of education respondents have completed during the third wave of the data collection, ranging from 1 "some high school" to 9 "professional or doctorate degree".[7] I omitted the "other" category due to ambiguity in interpretation.[8] On average, immigrant children in my sample had completed two years of college or vocational training (i.e. associate's degree). While more than half of the sample population reported having some post high school education, less than one-third of them were graduates from a 4-5 year institution. A small number of them (7.53 percent) had pursued education beyond that point.

Ideational Orientation Variables

Rather than measuring parents' college aspirations for their children, this study used children's own college aspirations.[9] To capture college aspirations, respondents were asked during the second wave to identify the highest level of education they

[7] This variable was kept as a continuous measure rather than an ordinal one to retain detailed information on the measure's inherent variability. 1 = "Some High School (Grades 9-12, No Diploma)," 2 = "Graduated from High School," 3 = "1 or 2 Yrs of Post-High School Voc. Training/College," 4 = "Graduated 2-Yr-College/Voc. School(Assoc. Degree)," 5 = "3 or More Yrs of College (No Degree Yet)," 6 = "Graduated from 4/5-Yr-College (e.g. Bachelor's Degree)," 7 = "Some Graduate School (No Degree Yet)," 8 = "Master's Degree," 9 = "Professional/Doctoral Degree (JD, MD, DDS, Ph.D)"

[8] About 0.6 percent of the respondents were omitted. I speculate that this group of respondents is consists of those who did not attend the U.S. school system.

[9] Emerging evidence suggests that immigrant parents have high aspirations that are often conveyed explicitly or implicitly to their children (e.g., Kao and Tienda 1995; Massey and Sanchez 2010), therefore parents' and children's aspiration is likely to be highly correlated.

would like to attain. College aspiration is a dichotomous variable in which those who identified college as their aspired level of education were coded 1, or 0 otherwise. An overwhelming majority of my sample reported their aspiration to graduate with a college degree.

Previous literature asserted that many immigrant families live in an intergenerational household in which grandparents are present or an intact family where both parents are available (e.g., Current Population Reports 2001). An intergenerational household in this study is operationalized as a household with more than two generations. In this type of household, respondents lived with at least one grandparent in addition to one adult guardian who is typically their parent. This variable was measured as a dichotomy in which those who were residing in such households were coded as 1, or 0 otherwise. Slightly less than 15 percent of cases were living in this type of household in the second wave. Household size captured the number of family members in respondents' households during the second wave. On average, there were just over 5 members in an immigrant household. Households of more than 10 members were rare in my sample population. About 78 percent of the respondents claimed to be living in a two-parent family during their adolescence. Such intact households with the presence of both biological parents were coded 1, or 0 otherwise.

Familial relationships were assessed using three indices that have been tested in Portes and Rumbaut (2001). First, the parent-child conflict index, which consists of four items and uses a four-point scale, assesses the quality and dynamics of the relationship between respondents and their parents. Respondents were asked to rank

how frequent they got into trouble with their parents due to different ways of doing things, how likely they were to agree that their parents did not like them, did not share the same goals, or were not interested in what they said. The index was created using the first component from a principal component analysis based on these measures. I estimated the first principal component as a linear combination of the product of the value of the items and its respective eigenvector. Prior to creating the component, scores were coded so that higher scores signified a higher level of conflict (alpha reliability = .73). Approximately 54 percent of variation in these measures was explained by the first principal component. The index was scaled to increase the interpretability of the data so the minimum value of the index becomes zero. On average, respondent's index score was 1.80 (range: 0 – 6.88) (See Appendix 2.2).

Second, the familism index, which defines how high family members held their families of origin in regard, was measured using four items. To assess this value, respondents were asked how they felt about the following statements, using a four-point Likert type scale (ranging from "Disagree a lot" to "Agree a lot"): 1) "If someone has the chance to help a person get a job, it is always better to choose a relative rather than a friend," 2) "When someone has a serious problem, only relatives can help," and 3) "When looking for a job a person should find a job near his/her parents even if it means losing a better job somewhere else" (alpha from reliability analysis =.58). The first principal component of the item responses was extracted using principal component analysis. About 55.1 percent of the variation was explained by the first principal component. A higher score indicates a higher support

for family values and stronger familial ties. This index was scaled so the minimum start value becomes zero (mean index =1.70; range: 0 – 6.29) (See Appendix 2.3).

Third, family cohesion, an index created using the first component of the principal component analysis, represents the level of emotional bonding among family members and how they coped with the separateness and togetherness (Olson 2000). Using a 5-point scale (ranging from 0 "Never" to 5 "Always"), respondents were asked to indicate how often the following statements were true about their immediate family or the people they lived with: 1) "Family members like to spend free time with each other," 2) "Family members feel very close to each other," and 3) "Family togetherness is very important" (alpha reliability analysis = .85). Approximately 76.5 percent of variation was explained by the first principal component. The index was scaled in such a way that its minimum is zero. An average respondent' index score was 3.80 (range: 0 – 6.09) (See Appendix 2.4).

Structural Variables

I used a number of structural variables to control for the disparity in family wealth among immigrant families. Parent's socioeconomic index, capturing respondents' family's financial well-being during their early adolescence, is an index readily available in the dataset and was constructed using information from immigrant parents' occupational status, education and home ownership. The index score for an average immigrant family during the first wave of data collection was 1.70 (range 0 – 3.54). Mother's and father's education, indirect measures of family's socioeconomic status, are continuous variables that assess respondents' parents' level of education during the second wave (i.e. 1995). It is estimated that on average, both parents had

about the same amount of education. That is, they finished high school (mean for mother's = 4.10; mean for father's = 4.22).[10]

As past studies have documented the vulnerability of immigrant children who experienced discrimination (e.g., Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993), having experienced this type of treatment is thus considered a structural barrier that impedes educational progress. This dichotomous variable was created in such a way that those indicating having experienced discrimination were coded as 1, otherwise 0. As many as 804 respondents (63.7 percent) have felt discriminated against.

A measure of respondents' adverse school condition was included as a 4-item measure asking how much respondents agreed with the following items about their current school and teachers: 1) "The teaching is good," 2) "Teachers are interested in students," 3) "Students are graded fairly," and 4) "Discipline is fair." Each of these items used a four-point Likert-type scale (ranging from "Agree a lot" to "Disagree a lot"). Individual scores were transformed using the first component of the principal component analysis to reflect the quality of treatment immigrant children received in school (alpha reliability = .74). About 57.6 percent of the variation was explained by the first principal component. This index was scaled to have a minimum value of zero (mean index value = 5.11; range: 0 – 7.65) (See Appendix 2.5).

Assimilation Related Variables

Respondents' length of time in the U.S., language mastery, neighborhood characteristics and peer affiliation reflect the degree of their assimilation in the host

[10] Parents' education is a continuous variable ranging from "elementary school" to "college graduate or more." Sensitivity analysis revealed no meaningful and substantial differences between models using both variables as ordinal measures.

society. In this study, the length of time respondents had resided in the U.S. at the time the second wave was implemented using three dummy variables (i.e., entire life, 10 years or more, and less than 10 years).[11] Immigrant children who were born in the U.S. were treated as the reference category in this analysis. Respondents' ability to speak both English and their native language were captured by four dummy variables: fluent bilingual, English dominant, foreign language dominant and limited bilingual, with fluent bilingual as the reference category.

Having most, or many, immigrant peers was measured as a dichotomous variable. Immigrant peers are operationalized as close friends who are foreign born or with foreign-born parents. The number of close friends encompasses both immigrant and nonimmigrant peers. This variable was modeled as a continuous variable. A log transformation was performed to normalize the variable's skewness. Since such a procedure can only be applied to values above 0, all responses had 1 added to the variable prior to taking the log transformation. This transformation has reduced skewness from a value of 4.47 to 0.50 and the kurtosis from a value of 28.51 to 3.53.

Unlike the previous measures, living in an ethnic enclave is a dichotomous, parent-reported, variable in which a guardian or parent reported the type of neighborhood in which the family is residing during the second wave of data collection.

Education/Language Variables

In addition to the above measures, the effect on immigrant children's educational outcomes can be confounded by other factors, such as their study or work

[11] Dummy variables were utilized rather than a continuous variable due to the nature of the response categories available for this variable.

habits as well as previous educational attainment. Number of study hours is operationalized as a continuous variable measuring the number of hours respondents spent studying. Specifically, respondents were asked, "During the typical weekday, how many hours do you spend studying or doing school homework?" Number of work hours, another continuous variable, denotes the time respondents spent working at a paid job on a weekly basis in their late adolescence. Grade point averages were included as measures of academic performance, using lagged independent variables. It was necessary to use a proxy measure, since the variables are not available in the later wave.

Demographic Variables

Demographic variables were included as controls. Age was measured in years. On average, respondents were 24.7 years old with an age range of 24 – 27. Male is a dichotomous variable in which males were coded as 1 and females as 0. Approximately 45.1 percent were males. Due to potential heterogeneity of effects resulting from various groups of immigrant children, I controlled for race. Respondent's racial classification is also a proxy for birth region.[12] Race was measured as a categorical variable, with five categories: "White," "Black," "Hispanic," "Asian," and "other," in which whites were treated as the reference category.[13] Marital status during the third wave was measured as another categorical variable, with five categories: married/engaged, divorced/separated, single, cohabiting,

[12] Since the respondents' racial profiles are likely to mirror the cultural characteristics brought from their birth region, substituting one variable with the other is acceptable, though not ideal.
[13] Respondents who identified themselves as multiracial or indicated their country of origin as their self-reported race were classified as "other".

and other with married/engaged as the reference category.[14] Only about one-fifth of cases claimed to be married or engaged; most remained single. Respondents' number of children was also controlled in the analysis as a continuous variable. Table 2.1 presents a detailed description of the variables of interest in the analysis.

[Table 2.1 About Here]

Analytical Approach

My empirical analysis focuses on immigrant children's ideational orientation and structural variables as determinants of their educational assimilation outcome. To establish the time ordering of events, I used measures of the previous waves as baseline measures to predict immigrant children's educational attainment in the third wave. Since immigrant children's level of education was measured during the third wave is a continuous variable, and the model residuals approximate a normal distribution, I employed Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression analysis as my analytic approach to examine the effect of various family and structural predictors.

Covariates were entered in blocks to examine the variance accounted by each theoretical framework and to facilitate measurement of fit for each model. Due to possibility of bias in parameter estimates resulting from non-response, probit estimation was used to determine the general missing data scheme and characteristic. This was accomplished by regressing a variable measuring attrition against all other measures that were presumed to be highly correlated with missingness.[15] The

[14] A model with a dichotomous marital variable was analyzed but the results did not differ substantially from the present investigation. A comparison of two models based on the difference in the fit statistics using Bayesian Information Criterion indicates that the present model fits better.

[15] Measures that significantly predicted attrition consist of immigrant children's school grades, age, school types, and socioeconomic status. Proxies of these variables have been included in my analysis to correct for estimate bias due to this pattern of missingness.

statistically significant results indicate the data were missing at random, thus an Inverse Probability Weight procedure (IPW) was used to handle missingness by adjusting for selection bias by reweighting the observations so the sample's characteristics approximated the sample prior to sample selection.

Results and Discussion

Table 2.2 presents the results of the regression analysis with standardized and unstandardized coefficients as well as the standard errors in parentheses. The first model depicts the baseline model with only the respondents' demographic, assimilation, language and education related variables. In the next two models, I introduced the ideational orientation variables and structural variables, respectively. Models 4 and 5 represent the full model with all the variables of interest. In the final model, I incorporated interaction terms. Altogether, approximately 48 percent of immigrant children's academic outcome could be explained by their family characteristics and demographic characteristics examined in this study. Both the ideational orientation and structural variables added explanatory power to the model (ΔR^2 ranged from .440 to .482). A significant F-test (F=2.770) indicates the increment in the R^2 value was statistically significant.

[Table 2.2 About Here]

With respect to the ideational orientation variables, immigrant children's college aspiration was significantly and positively associated with their later educational attainment with or without the inclusion of structural variables or interaction terms (see model 2, 4 and 5). But its effect appeared to be attenuated in the subsequent two models (from Beta = .091 to .075 and .076, $p<.001$). In addition,

family cohesion at an earlier time point uniquely predicted immigrant children's educational outcomes in early adulthood that was above and beyond other effects of proposed theoretical variables (e.g., Beta = .077, p<.01 in model 4). In other words, immigrant children who perceived cohesiveness in their family tended to do better in school. These effects remained after adding the interaction terms.[16]

Without considering structural variables, growing up in an intergenerational household or an intact family had a positive but marginally significant impact on immigrant children's later educational trajectories (Beta =.042, p <.10 for intergenerational household; Beta=.038, p <.10 for intact family, respectively). Household size exerted a significant negative effect. More specifically, for every addition of household member, children's education was expected to decrease by .06 units (b = -.062, p < 0.05). The above three effects lost significance after accounting for the structural variables.

With respect to structural elements, parents' socioeconomic index in their early adolescence exhibited a significant positive effect on immigrant children's educational attainment (see models 3 and 5), all else being equal. Contrary to the existing research, I found no strong evidence that immigrant children's high performance in school was driven by their parent's education at the second time point, as both lost their marginal significance in the subsequent models (see model 4 and 5), indicating a relatively unstable statistical relationship.[17] The minimal impact of parental education

[16] I interacted family cohesion and familism with the race variables, and did not find a significant effect.
[17] A sensitivity analysis was conducted by excluding the mother and father's education. Although the analysis did change the coefficient of the parents' socioeconomic index, the overall results did not differ substantially from the present investigation.

could be due to their fairly low education level. Other factors related to ideational orientation might matter more on children's educational attainment.

Although results indicate that the ideational orientation and structural mechanisms were important, they were not exclusive determinants of immigrant children's educational attainment. Immigrant children's length of time in the U.S. was proportionately related to a more favorable educational outcome. Compared to immigrant children who are native born, foreign born children, regardless of the length of time in the U.S., seemed to fare worse. But those who remained in the country longer tended to do better, when other effects were held constant.

The social context in which immigrant children are embedded also matters. While having immigrant peers was beneficial for immigrant children (Beta = .061, $p < .01$ in model 5), being highly integrated in school by having a greater number of close friends had no effect on their educational outcome. In particular, those who reported having many immigrant peers had an educational level that is .22 units higher, on average. It may be safe to assume that in this study "quality" of peers matters but quantity does not. It is possible that being highly "popular" in school might not help respondents advance academically but being around other immigrant children like themselves might help preserve strong family values and thus help them succeed in school.

With the exception of respondents' work hours, all educational related variables significantly predicted immigrant children's educational attainment in early adulthood. Specifically, taking other effects into consideration, immigrant children's study hours and GPA at the earlier two waves were significantly related to their

educational trajectories, with the GPA collected during the second wave appeared to be the most relevant as the magnitude of its impact was greater.

Among the demographic variables, Asian immigrant children had significantly lower levels of education than their white peers (e.g., Beta = .080, $p < .05$ in the final model), contrary to the study's expectations. This race effect held across models. Asian immigrant children's slightly lower attainment might be partially explained by their country of origin. The majority of the Asian immigrant children came from economically disadvantaged countries such as Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. In addition, controlling for other variables, the analysis consistently revealed a significant negative relationship between early divorce, separation, or widowhood compared to married respondents. The number of own children also had a negative effect on immigrant children's educational attainment across models.

The analysis in model 5 shows that the effect of family cohesion when parent's socioeconomic index was at its mean was significant at the level of $p < .05$.[18] In other words, in addition to the main effect, its effect was contingent upon the level of the family socioeconomic status at an early time point. Substituting the low, medium, and high values for family cohesion and socioeconomic status, the graphic representation of this interaction effect (while holding other variables constant) is illustrated in Figure 2a. The calculation of these effects used the following equation: $Y = .088\ X_1 + 0.213\ X_2 + .063\ X_1X_2$, where X_1 represents family cohesion and X_2 represents parent's socioeconomic index.[19] Here, "low" was defined as one standard deviation below the

[18] Variables of interest involved in the interaction were centered to reduce collinearity.
[19] The effect of other variables is omitted for simple illustration.

mean while "high" referred to one standard deviation above it (mean for X_1 = 3.98, SD = 1.49; mean for X_2 = 1.70; SD=.78).

This figure shows that immigrant children's educational levels were shaped by immigrant families' baseline differences in socioeconomic status, which were bolstered by family cohesion. In other words, cumulative advantages seemed to accrue to children whose parents were better-off financially and whose families were more tight-knit. However, since all three lines are nearly parallel, differences in educational level across parental socioeconomic status seemed to be only slightly divergent at increasing levels of family cohesion.[20]

[Figure 2b About Here]

Conclusion

Education is one of the best predictors of future economic success. Despite their greater likelihood to congregate at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy, some children of minority immigrants are relatively successful in school and post-secondary education (Fuglini 1997; Kao 2004; Kao and Tienda 1995; Sue and

[20] Since the intervals between the categories are not necessarily the same, additional analyses were also conducted using alternative specifications to OLS regression. First, an ordered logit model was used, that produced fairly similar results to the regression analyses discussed above. In particular, the directions of the coefficients as well as their significance levels remained the same with the exception of the three variables that became marginally significant (i.e., living in an ethnic enclave, hours of study and being a black immigrant child). Second, a multinomial logistic regression was conducted using a new dependent variable. This education variable was a five-category variables consisting of respondents who did not complete high school, those with a high school diploma, those with less than 3 years of post-high school training, those with a bachelor degree and those who held an advanced professional degree. Compared with respondents who had completed some post-high school training, the analysis shows that immigrant children's education aspiration seemed to work against those who had completed a high school education or less. In addition, the educational progress of immigrant children who did not have a high school diploma also suffered more when experiencing a parent-child conflict compared with their counterparts who had some post high school training. Further, coming from a family that held a high parental socioeconomic status was beneficial for those who had earned a bachelor degree or an advanced professional degree but not for those who had only completed a high school education or less. Immigrant children's grade point average at the second wave also matters more for those who held a degree at any level. Finally, the interaction effect of ideational orientation and structural mechanisms was only significant for the immigrant children who had graduated from a 4-year degree program.

Okazaki 2009). Variations in immigrant children's educational outcomes are contingent upon a constellation of family factors.

Two widespread family theoretical explanations can be used to advance the current understanding on the immigrant children's educational disparities: the ideational model, which emphasizes the diversity in family process and value orientation, and the structural model, which stresses the role of family's socio-economic status and structural assimilation in the mainstream society. I extend the current literature by incorporating the interactive effects between these two arguments and how contemporary racial and gender stratification affect their post-secondary educational outcome.

In sum, I found partial support for both theoretical explanations pinpointing the diverse outcomes in immigrant children's education. Immigrant groups with a strong ideational orientation regarding their educational performance tended to complete a higher level of schooling. College aspiration and family cohesion also significantly impacted immigrant children's educational attainment in early adulthood, consistent with the study's predictions. Immigrant children's high college aspiration is likely to be shaped by their parents' high expectation for academic success, regular encouragement to excel in school, active parental involvement in school work, and considerable effort in savings for college, a finding that is well documented in status attainment research (e.g. Kao and Tienda 1995). Like other studies which have found family cohesion to be a protective factor in reducing family stress and fostering a supportive family climate (i.e., Richmond and Stocker 2006), I found cohesion in family to exert a similar beneficial effect on adult immigrant children's educational

level, attesting to the importance of healthy family dynamics in immigrant children's educational trajectories.

Although the structural model implies that the racial differences in educational outcomes among immigrant children are a reproduction of the current U.S class structures (Portes and Rivas 2011), the underlying dynamics that were hypothesized to shape immigrant children's educational attainment in early adulthood did not differ substantially among different racial groups. But the fact that Asian immigrant children had lower attainment than their white immigrant peers signifies the disadvantage facing Asians, and the misrepresentation of the Asian experience as the "model minority" which masks lower levels of achievement of some Asian immigrants.

This finding suggests that Asian immigrant children can benefit from better services in the contemporary educational system. With the exception of Asian immigrant children, racial classification exerted no effect on their educational attainment. It is likely that as assimilation in contemporary society is increasingly taking place in a racial heterogeneous context, and as mainstream society becomes more tolerant of racial diversity following the erosion of social distances or blurring of ethnic boundaries between different racial groups, race could become a less predominant factor in immigrants' life outcomes (Alba and Nee 2003). Similarly, while other studies have postulated immigrant family dynamic transactions and societal treatment to differ systematically by gender, I found gender to be less of a concern at least in measuring educational attainment in their early adulthood.

My findings support a more important overall role of social class in comparison to race in understanding immigrant educational attainment. Specifically,

this study stresses the importance of parents' socioeconomic statuses on children's early life span. While children from wealthy families may use various social and cultural capital to maintain their pre-migration class status, children from disadvantaged families may not receive such a benefit. Evidently, not only are they less securely attached to school, less advantaged children are deprived of tactics that help them excel academically following high school graduation. These barriers put them behind their more privileged immigrant peers in part also through poor family interaction and low family cohesion. The fact that immigrant parents' education has minimal impact on their children's educational attainment warrants further assessment since the findings are likely to be held on non-immigrant parents, suggesting the uniqueness of immigrant families' dynamics.

My study shows that the profile of immigrant children differs in some aspects. Specifically, these findings seem to justify the fact that successful immigrant children are indeed reared in a family environment that is qualitatively distinct from their other lower achieving immigrant peers (Fuligni 1997; Shields and Behrman 2004). Strong family relations have far reaching implications on immigrant children's educational trajectories and this social outcome appears to vary substantially by the characteristics of the immigrant groups.

Even though immigrant families are economically and socially disadvantaged in the foreign society, immigrant parents are more likely to be self-selected in terms their family values and this value orientation. Immigrant children's aspirations are an important cultural asset for their school-aged children. However, it is important to recognize the interdependence between immigrant families' value orientation and

structural location. In this case, there was a cumulative advantage effect of immigrant family cohesion on their children's educational attainment for families with a higher level of family socioeconomic status at an early time point.

In terms of the control variables, immigrant children's number of study hours showed moderate stability throughout the analysis with those who invested more hours in school being more likely to reap the rewards of their hard labor. In the study, prior attainment in school appeared to be linked to further advancement in post-secondary educational. The differences in post high school attainment appear to stem from stronger high school performance which is likely to be shaped by the active roles that family plays. In spite of the smaller magnitude estimated by the first wave measure, its significance should not be overlooked.

Limitations to the Present Study

In sum, the results presented here strongly support the significance of family in structuring immigrant children's educational trajectories; some of the key limitations of the study must be noted. First, while this study acknowledges the important effect of family characteristics of an early time point on immigrant children's post-secondary educational outcomes, a true causal relationship cannot be implied from the analysis given the cross-sectional nature of the research design and the difficultly in isolating effects of some key measures. Therefore, this study only serves to provide a preliminary understanding of how family shapes immigrant children's post-secondary educational attainment. Second, although time lagged variables were used to establish ordering of event, the data are not able to capture the entire history of their childhood and family characteristics given immigrant children's family characteristics and

educational progress were only assessed at two time points. However, as this study also controlled for immigrant children's academic attainment at earlier time points, meaningful connections between their school performance and familial characteristics can be established more readily.

Like many studies, this study suffers from the problem of censoring. That is, this study is only able to assess immigrant children's post-secondary education at one time point (i.e. Wave 3). More variability in educational outcomes is expected in immigrant children's later life outcome. When the second follow up was conducted, some of the respondents might have been too young to complete their terminal degree; others might not have been ready to commit to a college program just yet. Despite this limitation, this study is able to establish meaningful patterns in the determinants of educational attainment. Moreover, the race and gender effects that were not statistically significant may change over time as immigrant children mature. The research design would have been more convincing had this study looked at immigrant children's outcomes in a later life course when school attainment is likely to have reached completion.

While this research endeavor cannot account for the effect of selectivity resulted from those who drop out of college, it is likely that those who possess strong family values and capital are relatively more successful than the others, an empirical finding which has been confirmed by previous studies (e.g., Lareau 2002; 2003). Further, respondents' higher attainment is also likely to be propelled by unmeasured genetic or biological factors rather than by ideational orientation or structural mechanisms examined in this study (e.g. Johnson, Deary and Iacono 2009). The

problem of simultaneity could also arise, since marriage and childbearing may be jointly determined with education. Both of these shortcomings could lead to bias or inconsistency in model parameters, whose magnitude and direction are difficult to establish with any degree of certainty.

Finally, some of the results are influenced by the size of the available data. It must also be noted that the research findings here are based on a limited study that only utilized a small number of the immigrant subpopulations. In particular, listwise deletion can result in a significant loss of cases and changes in statistical power. Due to the small sample size, I was also not able to estimate each conceptual model separately by race. Future researchers can consider exploring how race mediates the link between capital and school outcomes. A better understanding on the family mechanism that motivates or hinders the post-secondary academic attainment of immigrant children can aid in developing social programs that assist families who are at risk or in need.

CHAPTER THREE: 'NEW' IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S ASSIMILATION PATHWAYS

Throughout the twentieth century, the immigrant experience was characterized by successful integration into mainstream American life. Unlike earlier immigration waves which were dominated by European migrants bestowed with ample opportunities for social mobility, the destinies of contemporary immigrant offspring are challenged by the profound reshaping of U.S. economy as well as the increasing diversity of new immigrant communities from Latin American and Asia (Gans 1992b; Rumbaut 1994; 1996). In 2001, Portes and Rumbaut published one of the most important studies related to the life trajectories of young immigrant children. But in their work, the majority of the immigrant children interviewed in 1992 and 1995 were still in school. In this study, I examine how complexities in economic and social context put these immigrant children in an especially vulnerable position in the contemporary American context as they reached adulthood. In doing so I controlled for other confounding factors related to their family history and achievement at an earlier time point.

While immigrants' experiences in the American labor market have received considerable attention in immigration literature (e.g., Borjas 2003; 2011; Chiswick, Cohen, and Zach 1997; Chiswick and Miller 2011; Duleep and Dowhan 2008; Kaushal 2011), not enough research has focused on their descendants' social experiences beyond the school years. Likewise, empirical research has provided several decades of evidence illuminating the economic disadvantage confronted by immigrants (e.g., Borjas 2003; Chiswick et al. 1997), but research that sheds light on

the post-high school experience of their children who are raised and educated in the mainstream society remains underdeveloped. As children of the latest surge in immigration are approaching early adulthood, learning more about their ability to navigate the higher educational system or the U.S. labor market warrants immediate attention particularly in an era where a college degree is necessary for most entry level positions.

The dispute over immigrant children's assimilation pathways and capacity to succeed in the host society is multi-faceted, but it remains unclear to what extent race and family background account for their differences in educational and employability outcomes. Using two prominent explanations, this research explores challenges faced by immigrant children in their post-secondary educational attainment and current labor market assimilation. Segmented Assimilation Theory, developed within the last few decades by Portes and Zhou to describe the experiences of 'new' immigrants, contends that the assimilation trajectories of children of contemporary immigrants (i.e., largely Asians and Latinos) will differ greatly from that of "old" immigrants (i.e., mostly eastern and southern Europeans) (1993). That is, while some are able to attain upward mobility, others become socially stagnant or lag behind.

Placing an emphasis on race and family, my research question seeks to investigate how immigrant children's post- high school outcomes are segmented in the mainstream society. Specifically, are their divergent pathways of assimilation a function of race or conditioned by the baseline differences in familial capital?[21] What are the distinguishing features of immigrant families that confer an advantage within

[21] By baseline differences, I am referring to an earlier time in the immigrant children's life course when they are younger.

their post-secondary education or labor market participation? The analyses of four different groupings of immigrant children (i.e. full time workers, professional students, student workers and "slow achievers") will allow us to ascertain whether phenotypical differences or family socioeconomic status account for corresponding assimilation outcomes. My preliminary findings suggest the utility of adopting both frameworks and the significance of both race and family in understanding the life trajectories of immigrant children. In what follows, I give a synopsis of the current literature, introduce my study design, and discuss the outcome of my study.

Historical Context

Zhou (2001) refers to immigrant children as a "transitional generation" because they are trapped in the old world of their parents and the new world of the mainstream society. But much remains to be learned is about whether immigrant children will overcome similar social obstacles faced by their parents to attain upward mobility. To understand how immigrant children fare in the host society upon leaving high school, it is pertinent to reassess the social forces in which they are embedded and the divergent patterns of their assimilation outcomes.

One of the most profound changes in social experience that have affected immigrant children is structural changes in the America economy. Specifically, the growing bifurcation of the American economy has reshaped the opportunity structure and social outlook for the new immigrant population with a greater challenge placed on those with relatively low skills (Butcher and NiDardo 2002; Smith 2006). Contrary to their parents, or "old" immigrant groups from historical immigration waves, who were blessed with ample labor market opportunities, the second generation grew up in

an age in which those without a college degree face grim employment prospects (e.g., Belfield and Bailey 2011; Levey 2010; Stoll 2010).

Ultimately, the progressive decline in the manufacturing sector and rise in the service sector not only affected the relative wages available for immigrants but also widened the inequalities in living standard between rich and the poor immigrants in this new knowledge- based and service- dominated economy (Goodwin-White 2009). Overall, the pathways to which immigrant children will assimilate and the persistence of poor employment prospects has much to do with the wide variability in the amount of capital immigrant families brought with them and other social constraints related to their structural location (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993).

In addition to the rising inequality and change in work, closely linked to immigrant children's prospects for social mobility is the major demographic shift in the new immigration flow (Clark, Hatton, and Williamson 2007; Smith 2006).[22] While "old" immigrants are experiencing a cessation of immigration flows from their home countries, the rising immigration waves from Latin American and Asia have not yet subsided (Waters and Jiménez 2005). These changes in immigration flow have visibly altered the racial landscape of the United States from a primarily white-black dominated territory to a nation with increasing racial diversity. As changes in the demographic structure of the U.S. population mirror changes in the racialized labor market in various ways, immigrant children's life experiences are less likely to resemble those of their earlier cohorts. This is because the prevalence of immigration

[22] Unlike the earlier wave of immigrants who are predominantly of European background, the post 1965 wave of immigrants is dominated by those from the Latin and Asian countries (Ueda 2007).

increases the opportunity for interaction with co-patriots, and decreases the need to become fully assimilated.

How the influence of labor market segmentation translates across generation and different racial groups is beyond the scope of this paper, but membership associated with a particular racial group frequently interact with the immigrant family's cultural and structural factors to influence the social structure in which they are embedded (e.g., Kim 2002; Portes and Rivas 2011). Immigrants' racial classification is widely recognized as a significant determinant of their social placement (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Social class, especially, influences their place of residence, schooling, contact with peers, ethnic network with other compatriots and ethnic resources necessary to attain economic self-sufficiency (Yi et al. 2008). Given these factors, immigrant children's rate of college enrollment and labor market participation logically should reflect their racial classification and the distinct cultural and structural assets that family possesses. Considering the disappearance of work in the era of their parents' and the rise in educational expectations following industrial restructuring, immigrant children who are jobless or hold only a high school diploma face dim prospects.

Divergent patterns of assimilation: the influence of race

Traditional assimilation theorists believed immigrants would reach parity with the native population. That is, given hard work, talent, and the passage of time, immigrants would attain upward mobility eventually (Gordon 1964). In lieu of the same educational trajectories for all, segmented assimilation theory postulates three possible outcomes of assimilation that are segmented by race and class location:

upward assimilation, downward assimilation, and upward mobility with persistent biculturalism (Portes and Zhou 1993). Indeed, emerging but limited evidence suggests that immigrant children's college enrollment and application vary systematically depending on their structural location. Lower class students and ethnic minorities, for example, are less likely to apply to, or to be enrolled in, higher education (Cabrera and La Nasa 2001).

Although immigrant children attain academic levels similar to, or better than, their native peers in school (Glick and White 2004; Kao and Tienda 1995; Keller and Tillman 2008; Song and Glick 2004; Tillman, Guo and Harris 2006), the rate of success varies substantially across ethnic or racial groups. Hispanic immigrant children, for instance, tend to face more school difficulties, and are more likely to drop out. In addition, they are less likely to graduate and become prepared for college (Arbona and Nora 2007). Their lower college enrollment rate and greater likelihood of attending lower quality colleges (Llagas and Synder 2003) can be attributed in part to their lack of access to college preparatory courses and qualified school staffs to guide them in the enrollment process (McDonough 2005).

The possibility of college attendance also remains gloomy for some ethnic minorities such as the black immigrants from Caribbean countries that become entrenched in the black inner city neighborhood culture.[23] Parents of these ethnic minorities in particular have a harder time converting their limited resources to educational success for their children (Alon, Domina, and Tienda 2010). In general,

[23] Due to their darker phenotype, black immigrant children are especially susceptible to the negative influence embedded in the community context (Waters 1994). Hence, black immigrants from the Caribbean may feel compelled to isolate themselves from the negative influence in the inner city neighborhood.

less privileged immigrant children are less likely to attend college, more likely to quit school prematurely to join the workforce or to become socially and economically stagnant.

Ample evidence indicates that immigrant families exercise a strong influence on their social spheres. Specifically, research in the past has consistently found ethnic discrimination to be a roadblock to success for immigrant children who came with varying degrees of human and social capital endowment (e.g., Waters 1994; Waters and Kasinitz 2010). To become upwardly mobile, children of immigrants from historically disadvantaged groups must overcome structural barriers. Variation in home environment and cultural norms can mediate the link between family class structure and immigrant children's post high school outcome. Immigrant children of Asian descent, for instance, tend to have higher educational aspirations, (Cheng and Starks 2002; Sue and Okazaki, 1990), and are more likely to attend college due to their already high performance in school despite their initial social disadvantages. On the contrary, the low fluency in English and lower socioeconomic status of Hispanic families hinder active educational involvement and investment on the parents' behalf, and therefore prevents them from ascending the class ladder. The constant struggle to make ends meet can alter immigrant children's life outlook and prevent them from advancing to a professional degree or getting better jobs as parents' own educational paths and occupational outcomes serve as models for their children. Consequently, the cycle of poverty is reproduced due to a lack of parental resources.

Children who share their parents' financial concern, especially, are more likely to join the work force and give up the opportunity to attend college. Although there is

a short term rise in the standard of living with a paid job, the long-term benefits associated with having a college degree greatly outweigh the small increase in income. But balancing college and work is difficult, even more so if attempting to graduate with a degree. Presumably, immigrant children who are financially better off are less likely to assimilate into the student worker, or "slow achiever" pathway.

Immigrant parental capital and investment: the influence of family

Aside from racial influences, immigrant parents' structural location exerts a strong effect on the socialization of children, which can affect their post-secondary school outcomes. Factors such as parent's social class, degree of parental involvement, family aspirations and language skills constitute important forms of social advantage or hindrance to parental investment. Parenting in a foreign country can be a source of major conflict in immigrant families (Dumka 1997). But like other parents, parental capital and investment have a profound impact on children's scholastic performance and future outlook (Keane and Wolpin 2001; Melby et al. 2008).

Differences in social class regulate immigrant parents' preferred childrearing practices and beliefs to the extent that they affect the transmission of different advantages to their children. This is the case because highly educated parents are postulated to employ childrearing practices that encourage cognitive development and social functioning (e.g., Lareau 2002; 2003). Past research has also noted the greater likelihood of providing their children with a learning environment that cultivates and promotes talents (Kowaleski-Jones 2000). These parents frequently have taken a college level child development course, and thus are more sensitive to the maladaptive

effects of bad parenting, as well as being more receptive to a parenting class, counseling or seeking help from a child expert (Hays 1996). Consequently, these parents are more proactive in their children's schooling.

Post-secondary education is a means of acquiring human capital, and high parental involvement is proportionally related to superior educational performance, college attendance and aspiration (e.g., Bogenschneider 1997; Kowaleski-Jones 2000; McNeal 2001; Perna 2000). Consistent empirical findings have shown that good parenting contributes to a variety of positive child outcomes, including, but not limited to, decreased delinquency, reduced deviant peer association, and better psychosocial adjustment (e.g. Amato and Fowler 2002; Bronstein et al. 1996; Franco and Levitt 1998).

Abada and Tenkorang (2009) posited a significant connection between immigrant parents' university education and their children's post-secondary attainment. Highly educated parents may send implicit and explicit messages expecting their children to succeed in school, contrary to the ideas instilled by parents without a higher education. Since many immigrant parents were raised outside of the U.S and did not attend American postsecondary schools, a number of them depend on schools for information about post-secondary education for their children (Lareau 1987); others must constantly negotiate with the American school system to help their children excel in mainstream society. As such, childrearing practices are presumed to be conditioned by immigrant parents' life circumstances such as their socioeconomic status and education level. Without a doubt, class differences are significant factors accounting for variation in child outcomes. Whether immigrants' children will excel in

post-secondary education, join the workforce, juggle between the two or become socially stagnant is highly shaped by socioeconomic aspects of their family of origin.

Though not directly measured in this study, Coleman (1988) coined the term *social capital* to refer to depth and quality of the social structure that help facilitate individual goals. Applied to the family, this definition implies that the children's well-being is conditional on quality and quantity of the time parents spend with their children. Hao and Bonstead-Bruns (1998) argued that immigrant children's achievement is facilitated by within-family social capital. That is, parent-child interactions are infused with benefits that not only strengthen the parent-child relationship but also facilitate adjustment in school. Nevertheless, the amount of social capital is contingent upon a number of factors, such as parents' level of education, quality of parent-child relationships, parental marital status, type of household, ethnicity and the parents' process of assimilation (e.g., Björklund, Ginther, and Sundström 2007; Chen and Kaplan 1999; Strohschein, Roos, and Brownell 2009).

When immigrant parents and children acculturate at the same pace, it facilitates the formation of between-family social capital, characterized by the relations between family and other social institutions (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). Otherwise, it becomes socially difficult for them to connect to each other or any social institutions. An intact family has been shown to be a critical form of social capital that not only makes possible monitoring of educational progress but also instills necessary values to succeed. All else being equal, immigrant families with these positive attributes are more likely to produce offspring who are successful in college and the job market.

As stated earlier, differences in parenting practices resulting from cultural dissimilarities represent one mechanism through which families influence children's social encounters. The "feedback loop" of immigrant family's aspiration clearly depicts this trend. First, consider the rise in parents' expectations. According to the "immigrant optimism" hypothesis, immigrant families self-select into migration and therefore have high hopes for their children's future (Kao and Tienda 1995).[24] Second, owing to greater parental emphasis on education than non-immigrant parents (Chow 2001; Fuligni 1997), immigrant children are motivated to do well in school in order to repay their parents' sacrifices (Fuligni and Tseng 1999; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995; Fuligni and Pedersen 2002). Next, their educational expectation is affected by their previous attainment (Cheng and Starks, 2002), and this high school attainment in turn reinforces their likelihood of college enrollment and subsequent success in the job market.

Further, immigrant families' role in their children's language acquisition and maintenance is of paramount importance as mastery of English and native language signals their level of integration in the host society. In addition to the great emphasis placed at home on maintenance of their native language, immigrant parents, in some cases, may help increase their children's language mastery by enrolling their children in different ethnic schools or programs. Nekby, Rödin and Özcan (2009) claimed that when immigrant children are integrated into both cultures, their likelihood of

[24] First generation immigrants use their home country as a frame of reference, therefore bringing with them a sense of optimism (Kao and Tienda 1995; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). The second generation is said to be the most advantaged because they instill the traditional values of parents necessary to be successful in the mainstream society while being fluent in English (Kao and Tienda 1995).

completing a tertiary education increases. Linguistic assimilation also facilitates social participation in the host society and helps gain experiences in the new culture. The second generation's efforts to maintain their mother tongue generally symbolize attachment to their culture or family of origin. Immigrant children having poor English language skills are more likely to face social and economic disadvantages because success in the job market is closely linked to English proficiency (e.g., Waxman 2001).

A large difference between the language of origin and language of destination can complicate economic integration as poor language skills hinder negotiation with mainstream society (Beenstock et al. 2001).[25] It is therefore not surprising that those who are fluent in both their native language and English report more achievement than their monolingual peers. Bilingualism has also been associated with better cognitive development, educational attainment and personality adjustment (Portes and Rumbaut 2001) because the ability to speak both languages allows connections to both social worlds.[26] In terms of gender, Lutz and Crist (2009) found that biliterate boys perform better academically than their counterparts with little Spanish proficiency because biliteracy is linked to strong family cohesion.[27] This is consistent with other studies

[25] For example, the linguistic distance between Chinese and English is perceived to be greater than between Spanish.

[26] Not only that, those who speak both languages exhibit fewer emotional and behavioral problems (Toppleberg et al. 2002) as fluency in both languages helps widen friendship networks and develop diverse social skills.

[27] Biliteracy may be related to high parental involvement as children often learn their mother language outside of schools (Lutz 2004). But Mouw and Xie (1999) find that bilingualism only provides an advantage so long as the parents do not speak English, but once the parents are able to catch up with their English skills, bilingualism no longer provides the same benefits. Overall, the general trend has been that although many immigrants come from a home in which a non-English language is spoken, these languages are usually lost by the second or third generation (e.g., Swidinsky et al. 1997).

that documented the school success of children who maintain their own mother tongue rather than shifting rapidly and solely to English (i.e., Portes and Rumbaut 1996; 2001). In sum, fluency in both languages increases future prospects for good employment and positive educational outcomes.

Last but not least, gender role socialization can exert a strong influence on immigrant children's educational success and labor market participation patterns (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006; Mahaffey and Ward 2002). Although to date, no general consensus has been reached with respect to the gender effect, the intergenerational transmission of advantage or disadvantage can take on a gendered pattern. In traditional immigrant families that value male children over female children, families' decisions to invest in children's education are based on cost benefit analysis, with male children more likely to benefit from family economic resources (Becker 1991; Mahaffey and Ward 2002). Even if there is no systematic difference in aspirations by gender of the child, parents may place greater educational expectation on their male children, given family's limited resources.

Although women are historically disadvantaged in education, many have surpassed men in college enrollment (Buchmann and DiPrete, 2006; Peter and Horn 2005). Empirical studies have also found female immigrant children to demonstrate a higher educational attainment and to be more likely to earn a college degree than their male counterparts (Abada and Tenkorang 2009; Wells et al. 2011). Further, a change in gender role ideology and increased number of highly educated mothers may reverse the gender gap in educational participation (Lindberg, Hyde, and Hirsch 2008; Wood et al. 2010). That is, more females may be more likely to enroll in colleges than

males. Not surprisingly, a number of studies have found parents to become more involved in their daughters' education and engage in school discussions more regularly with their daughters (Carter and Wojtkiewicz 2000; Reynolds and Burge 2008). If these findings hold true, we will see a significant difference in their assimilation pathways with female immigrant children more likely to be enrolled in college than their male counterparts.

Statement of the Problem

This study examines the debate about the influence of race and family on immigrant children's post-secondary educational outcomes and full-time employability potential. To expand the understanding of both arguments, I explore the pathways to which immigrant children will assimilate. The segmented assimilation theory postulates that immigrant children do not fare equally well. Rather, immigrant children's propensity to succeed relies on the degree of their cultural assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993). While cultural maintenance is an interesting component of segmented assimilation, the main focus of this study is solely on the economic component. Thus, drawing on its insights rather than testing the segmented assimilation perspective, I ask why some immigrant children succeed while others fail. To examine this idea, I used data from all three waves of the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Study.

The first perspective sees race as a mechanism shaping immigrant children's life trajectories. Increasing diversity in the latest flow of immigration seems to have an unintended effect on immigrant offspring's opportunities for social mobility. One possible risk stems from the newcomers' different phenotypical characteristics in

relation to the mainstream society. Indeed, group membership associated with a racial category can hinder immigrant children's social incorporation and subsequent labor market assimilation. Specifically, race discrimination is a normative experience for ethnic minority groups that places immigrant children in a disadvantaged position relative to others. Due to the structural and social context associated with their group status, minority immigrant children were presumed to fare worse in comparison with white immigrant children.

The second perspective centers on the protective role that immigrant families play in buffering the negative effects associated with their racial group membership. I assert that family is the base from which immigrant children relate to the society. Therefore, which pathways immigrant children will assimilate into is contingent upon the baseline differences in family characteristics. Parent's social class and education are important criteria that account for great variance in child outcome as differences in social class are linked to varied parenting styles, and parents who are more educated have been consistently found to be more engaging in their children's schooling (e.g., Bogenschneider 1997; Kowaleski-Jones 2000). Hence, both of these elements were expected to exert a positive effect on their children's assimilation pathways.

While parent-child conflict can complicate children's social progress in the host society, intact family relationships have traditionally been regarded as a form of family social capital that contributes to a wide variety of positive child outcomes. Because a higher level of both English and native language mastery is necessary to become successful in school and be fully integrated into both American and the immigrant society, a higher level of proficiency in both languages was expected to

result in a positive assimilation pathway. Further, it was expected that the pathways to which immigrant children would assimilate were highly shaped by gender role socialization. Findings on female immigrant children's life outcomes are mixed, but presumably, females who confronted greater structural barriers were less likely to attain upward economic assimilation.

This study employed cross-sectional multinomial regression analysis with time-lagged variables to examine the validity of my conceptual model. My dependent variable is immigrant children's assimilation pathways; I incorporated various familial characteristics and race as my primary explanatory variables. To avoid other confounding factors, I also controlled for immigrant children's grade point average, length of time in the U.S., and family obligations as a parent in early adulthood. Immigrant children's previous school attainment was expected to be highly correlated with their potential in college and the job market. Children of immigrants who were born in the United States were hypothesized to have the advantage over their foreign born counterparts, since length of time is proportionally related to familiarity with the culture of the host society. Last but not least, having children at a young age could disrupt their life trajectories. This is because to support their family, young parents often face limited life options, such as putting their schooling on hold or joining the workforce prematurely.

To disentangle these complex effects, analyses were centered on four different groupings of immigrant children (i.e. full time workers, professional students, student workers and "slow achievers"). Presumably, immigrant children who were less privileged were more likely to integrate into the student worker or slow achiever

pathways. These two routes are considered to be less desirable than the pathways led by full time workers and professional students due to greater difficulty to concentrate in school work and greater possibility of becoming socially stagnate. If the above assertion holds true, we would see a relationship between racial or familial characteristics and employment, schooling or social stagnation.

Respondents are children of immigrants, ranging in age from 23 to 27 years, who were residing in the United States during the third data wave (2001-2003). The dependent variable was measured in the third wave. Unless otherwise noted, and with the exception of immigrant parents' socioeconomic index which was measured during the first wave (i.e., 1992-1993), all explanatory variables were measured at the second wave (1995-1996). Variables of earlier time points were utilized to establish an ordering of the events of interests. This research design allows us to simultaneously examine and compare various assimilation pathways that have not been investigated by previous research.

One of the potential limitations of using this dataset is its generalizability to the entire U.S. population, as the data were only collected in cities where immigration was prevalent. But it must be noted that immigrants are historically more likely to cluster in metropolitan areas and traditional gateway states rather than being spread out throughout the country (Waters and Jiménez 2005). At present, approximately one half of the immigrant children are residing in California, Texas, and New York (Fortuny et al. 2009). Providing a preliminary understanding of the two theoretical explanations on immigrant children's assimilation pathways is therefore attainable using this dataset.

Method

Data

The present study uses data from all three waves of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) to test the proposed hypotheses. CILS was conducted over the span of 14 years in the metropolitan areas of San Diego, California and Miami and Fort Lauderdale, Florida, cities that have experienced a great influx of new immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The sample includes a large number of foreign-born second generation children and native-born children with at least one foreign-born parent. The baseline survey, completed in the academic year of 1992 to 1993, included a sample of 5,262 eighth and ninth graders from 77 nationalities, who were recruited from public and private schools. The average age of the respondents was 14 years old when the first survey took place. The study is designed to include schools with a high number of foreign born immigrants as well as those who are dominated by the native born immigrant children.

The sampling goal is to include three-fourths of students from major immigrant groups and the remainder from smaller nationalities. Three years later, the school children were re-interviewed in their senior year. Respondents who dropped out of school were contacted and interviewed at work or at their residence. The response rate for wave two data was 81.5 percent. A parental survey was also conducted with the second follow up in which information was randomly collected from 46 percent of the sample. Finally, the third follow up was collected between 2001 and 2003 when respondents had reached adulthood. The response rate for the Wave 3 data collection was 68.9 percent. The purpose of the survey is to assess the adaptive process,

language proficiency, ethnic identities, family relations, educational attainment, and occupational outcomes for children of immigrants at three life points, from their early adolescence to adulthood (See Portes and Rumbaut 2001 for more information).

To answer my research question, I used data from interviews of immigrant children. Children's school GPA was obtained from school officials. To be included in the sample of analysis, respondents must meet one of the following requirements: working full time, attending class in a 4-year institution or beyond, or some combination of the two. Because having data collected at three time points is crucial to establish the order of causation, missing data was handled using listwise deletion and inverse probability weighting procedure which will be discussed in more detail below (See Appendix 3.1 for patterns of missing data).

Dependent Variable

My dependent variable in this analysis is immigrant children's assimilation pathway during the third wave of the data collection. This variable captures four mutually exclusive immigrant children's assimilation pathways: professional students (29.0 percent), full time workers (27.9 percent), student workers (26.8 percent), and "slow achievers" (16.4 percent). I omitted the "other" category due to ambiguity of interpretation.[28] Professional students are defined as those who were enrolled full-time in a 4-year degree program or beyond. Because there are qualitative differences between a 4-year degree program and a 2-year degree program, this study focuses solely on the former. Full-time workers are operationalized as workers who reported holding a full-time work position. In this study, working full-time makes it easier to attain self-sufficiency. Professional students, homemakers and those who were on

[28] About 87 cases (1.7 percent of the dataset) were excluded.

paternity/maternity leave or were unable to work due to disability are omitted from this category. The pathway of student workers captures those who were simultaneously engaging in schooling and employment. These students must be employed full time and were attending classes in a 4-year institution or beyond. "Slow achievers" are characterized by those who were neither enrolled in a 4-year degree program nor working full time.

Family Variables

Parent-child conflict index, a measure that has been tested in Portes and Rumbaut (2001), is operationalized as a four-item index created using the first component of principal component analysis by multiplying the value of the items and their respective eigenvector. These parent-child conflict items assess respondents' relationship with their parents and elicit responses on the frequency with which immigrant children got into trouble with their parents due to different ways of doing things, as well as the likelihood they were to agree that their parents did not like them, did not share common goals or became uninterested in what they said. A higher score of the index can be interpreted as a more intense parent-child relationship. Alpha reliability from the analysis is .71, indicating a high reliability. Approximately 54 percent of the variation was measured by the first principal component. The variable was scaled to have a minimum value of zero. The average index score for respondent was 1.73 (range: 0 – 6.88) (See Appendix 3.2).

Family's socioeconomic status was accounted for in the analysis using two measures. First, parent's education is an ordinal measure of their level of education during the second wave. To construct these two variables, I counted the highest level

of education completed. On average, both parents were high school graduates with fathers being slightly more educated than mothers (mean for fathers' = 4.22; mean for mothers' = 4.13). Second, the parent socioeconomic index, a measure available in the dataset, is a composite measure derived from parent's education, occupational status, and home ownership (range = 0 – 3.75) during the first wave. The average index score for a respondent was 1.74.

Because children's life outcomes are shaped by the type of family upbringing, immigrant children's responses to questions about their living arrangement were collapsed into two categories: intact or non-intact families. Intact households are characterized by households in which both biological parents are present and living in the same household. Slightly fewer than 75 percent of the immigrant children in my sample claimed to be living with both parents in their late adolescence.

Education/Language Variables

Respondents' grade point average is a continuous measure of their school performance. On average, respondents had a GPA of 2.64 (which is measured on a scale from 0 to 5). Respondents' proficiency in English and their native language was assessed with two indices in which they rated four items on a four-point Likert scale (1 = Very little; 4 = Very well) that evaluate their ability to speak, understand, read, and write in the respective language during the second wave. These responses were created using the first component of the principal component analysis to create two holistic measures (alpha reliability =.88 for both indices) (See Appendices 3.3 and 3.4)

Assimilation Related Variables

In this study, length of time in the U.S. is a measure taken in the second wave that reflects the length of time respondents have resided in the country up to that point. This variable was represented by three dummy variables (i.e., entire life, 10 years or more, and less than 10 years) and also captured information about respondents' nativity and generational status. In this study, native born children were treated as the reference category. Slightly more than half of them belonged to this category.

Demographic Variables

Relevant demographic characteristics of respondents were also controlled in the analysis to deepen our understanding of which immigrant children's life outcome are shaped by their personal characteristics. On average, immigrant children in my sample were 24.72 years old. Male is a dichotomous variable in which male respondents were coded as 1 and female respondents as 0. Table 3.1 shows that approximately 43.2 percent of the sample population was male. Race is a categorical variables represented by five dummy variables: "White," "Black," "Hispanic," "Asian," and "other,"[29] with whites as the reference category. In their early adulthood, only a small number of respondents (13.5 percent) claimed to have children.

[Table 3.1 About Here]

Analytical Approach

Since the outcome variable (i.e. immigrant children's assimilation pathway) is a nominal variable with four discrete categories having no intrinsic ordering, I employed multinomial logistic regression to estimate the effect of various

[29] The "other" category encompasses respondents who identified themselves as multiracial or their country of origin

determinants in this study. A multinomial model is a linear regression model that is used to handle polytomous responses. To estimate such model, a reference group is arbitrary chosen to represent the baseline group. In this analysis, the pathway of professional student was selected as the reference group in this study. Specifically, this model can be written as follows:

$$\Pr(y_i = m|x_i) = \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{\sum_{j=1}^{i}\exp(x_i\beta_j)} \text{ for } m>1,$$

in which $\Pr(y_i = m|x_i)$ represents the probability of observing category *m* response given our independent variables and *j* denotes the number of outcomes[30] (Long 1997). In the analysis, three distinct logistic regressions were estimated using Maximum Likelihood where each regression contrasted one of the three pathways with the reference pathway. Exponentiating the coefficient into odds ratio gave us the relative odds of being in one category versus another.

Because attrition is a common occurrence for longitudinal data and nonrandom missingness distorts the general representativeness of the sample population as well as the interferences drawn, probit estimation was used to examine the pattern of missing data prior to multinomial estimation. Further testing indicated that the assumption of random missingness was tenable. When data are considered missing at random, a systematic relationship is deemed to exist between the propensity for missingness and one or more measured variables. In other words, the probability of missing data is solely a function of measured variables that are irrelevant to my dependent variable (Enders 2010). I therefore applied inverse probability weighting (IPW) procedure to

[30] In this case, I used three contrasts.

handle missing data (see Fitzgerald et al. 1998). Table 3.2 represents the results of multinomial estimation. All data have been weighted.

Results and Discussion

[Table 3.2 About Here]

Starting with the results of racial variables, in reference to 'white', my results show that black immigrant children fared worse compared with their white counterparts, consistent with the prediction of the study. While black immigrant children were over two times more likely to work while attending college, Asian children, on the contrary, demonstrated lower odds of attending school while working (OR = 2.674, $p<.10$ for black immigrant children and OR = .409, $p<.01$ for Asian immigrant children).[31]

Turning to the family variables, parents' socioeconomic index bears out as a critical determinant of immigrant children's assimilation pathways. For a unit increase in the parent's socioeconomic index, the odds of becoming a full time worker or slow achiever versus a professional student decreased by 44 or 37.5 percent, respectively, holding other variables constant (OR = .560, $p< .01$ for full time workers; OR = .625, $p = .05$). In other words, not only do wealthy parents help pave the way for better education, they also can afford to help keep their children out of workforce and prevent them from becoming socially stagnant in early adulthood. Consequently, immigrant children of financially stable families are likely to be blessed with opportunities for improving their skills, expanding their credentials, and increasing their future earnings potential.

[31] While it was significant at the level of $p<.10$, it must be note that the chance of type I error is relatively high.

In terms of language skills, the odds of becoming integrated within the pathways of a "slow achiever" versus professional student decreased by 12.6 percent for a unit increase in foreign language index, controlling for other variables, but the underlying relationship was marginally significant (OR = .874; p<.10). Conversely, immigrant's English proficiency had no significant impact on their assimilation pathway.

With respect to how respondents' previous attainment shapes their subsequent life outcome, respondents' high school GPA significantly predicted the pathway to which they would assimilate, all else being equal. Specifically, the odds of assimilation into any pathway versus being a professional student decreased significantly for a unit increase in GPA, with a greater magnitude noticed on full time workers (See Table 3.2). In other words, students with a higher GPA in school had a higher propensity to continue their schooling upon graduating from high school.

Compared with their native born counterparts, foreign born respondents were twice as likely to become the slow achiever pathway versus the professional student pathway but this effect was only marginally significant (OR = 2.051; p<.10). It is also noteworthy that the odds ratio for assimilating into the full time worker pathway or student worker pathway versus the professional student pathway increased by 29 percent for a year increase in age (OR = 1.299, p<.10 for full time workers; OR = 1.292, p < .05 for student workers).

With respect to other demographic variables, respondents with children also fared worse as this group of respondents were significantly more likely to give up college in order to join the work force. They were also more likely to split their

attention between work and college (OR = 2.421, p >.01 for full time workers; OR = 1.886, p <.05).[32] Stated differently, it is harder for those who are burdened with family obligations to devote their time to studies. Those who choose to do so must juggle the responsibility of simultaneously being a parent and student. It should be noted that having children may be simultaneously determined with education and occupation. The same problem is possible for marital status. However, owing to a small number of respondents who were married, this variable could not be included in the analysis.

Conclusion

In this study, I examine the post-secondary assimilation experiences of the children of "new" immigrants, using explanations that highlight differences in their assimilation trajectories relative to "old" immigrants. The segmented assimilation theory posits diverse assimilation outcomes for immigrant children (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), but there is a paucity of research which simultaneously compares the different pathways into which the second generation will assimilate. In the current investigation, I examine immigrant children's post-secondary educational attainment and labor market participation, two crucial areas of assimilation which can be broadly classified into four different pathways (i.e. full time workers, professional students, student workers, and "slow achievers").

Although differences in the structure of the economy are creating barriers to successful assimilation pathways for contemporary immigrant group, my study

[32] A sensitivity analysis was conducted to see how robust the finding was to the exclusion of this variable. Significant F-test indicated the inclusion of this variable was indeed warranted, although exclusion of this variable did not alter the results substantially. While the magnitude of the variables in the model fluctuated slightly (perhaps due to shared variance with the children variable), the significance level of these variables remained unchanged.

supports the view that family background is a significant predictor of post-secondary school success. In contrast to the view that racial minority status will hinder the upward mobility of new immigrants, I found the race argument to be of less concern.

Two theoretical explanations were adopted to advance this research endeavor. First, past research has indicated the importance of race on one's life outcome across a broad spectrum of arenas ranging from their social experience to overall quality of life (e.g., Anderson 1999; Lareau 2002; 2003; Massey and Denton 1993; Waters 1994; Wilson 1987). Likewise, immigrant children's pathways to success are likely to be jointly determined by their ethnic-racial profile with those of lower socioeconomic class and those with visible phenotypes to confront more social challenge and a greater risk of persistent poverty (Gans 1992b).

Second, given the dramatic transformation of U.S. economy or demographic structure as well as the increased prominence placed on educational credentials in the contemporary labor market, disparities in life outcomes are linked to baseline differences in family systems and parent's capacity to transmit valuable resources or convey expectations to their children. Parental socioeconomic status, measured by their level of education, especially have been shown to promote a higher level of involvement conducive to their children's academic success (Keane and Wolpin 2001; Melby et al. 2008).

Language retention and acquisition are most likely when immigrant children grow up in a sociocultural context that offers incentives for learning both languages and retaining respective proficiency. While intergenerational transmission may become more pronounced among male immigrant children given the contemporary

gender stratification in immigrant societies, contemporary gender equality norms in many U.S. contexts may override the gender effect (Lindberg et al. 2008; Wood et al. 2010).

Influences of Family and Race

My study finds that immigrant children's assimilation pathways in early adulthood are determined by several factors. While race is pertinent to success in mainstream America, it does not fully address the resilience of familial differences in relation to immigrant children's segmented pathways of assimilation. With respect to the race argument, its effect was only upheld partially, and only applies to the pathway of student workers. In the analysis, black children were more likely to juggle between work and school as opposed to being full-time students, contrary to their Asian counterparts, who were more likely to be professional students than student workers. While black children confront greater social and structural barriers, Asian children who bear the "model minority" burden may find it imperative to concentrate in school as long as the family economic situation warrants. Alternatively, greater emphasis placed on education by Asian families coupled with their unique family living environment that stresses family cohesion and pride may strengthen their focus on studying rather than working.

Based on the family argument, my analysis found parents' economic status to be a significant determinant of immigrant children's life trajectories at least during their early adulthood. The results parallel those found in other literature which shows wealthier children to be educationally better off (e.g. Lareau 2002; 2003). Professional students may differ from other groupings in terms of the amount of

family wealth and the level of education they have received given the fact that children without parental financial support are more likely to join the labor force than being enrolled in college full time.

This study demonstrates the significance of parental involvement and transmission of capital on immigrant children's future trajectories. Differences in high school performance early on could be a driving force that shapes the pathways to which they will assimilate. Specifically, those with a higher GPA were also more likely to assimilate into the pathway of professional students. In other words, bright students due to their previous achievement were more likely to enroll in a 4-year degree and professional degree program, all else being equal. Additionally, it is much easier for strong candidates to secure external funding such as scholarships as well as study grants to cover financial expenses incurred throughout their course of study, alleviating the need to work as an undergraduate or graduate student.

In sum, while non-white immigrant children were expected to encounter more social disadvantages than their counterparts with lighter skin tone, race was not the ultimate determinant of their educational and labor market participation at least in their early adulthood. Rather, they were influenced by the upbringing of their families and the familial capital in which they were embedded. The Segmented Assimilation Theory foresees the creation of the underclass from those who are experiencing downward assimilation. This is especially true for first generation immigrant and immigrant offspring who are phenotypically darker. Using race as a proxy measure in this study, this claim, however, is not supported in my study. Even so, it is likely that this finding may change over time as immigrant children older.

Influence of Other Relevant Social Context

Other facets of the social context were also examined in this study. In my analysis, the duration of residence in the U.S had a mild impact on slow achieving newcomers but exerted no effect on other pathways. Its magnitude, while marginally significant, signals the vulnerability of immigrant children who have not resided in the U.S. for a longer period of time. With increasing age, immigrant children are more likely to join the work force regardless of whether they are enrolled in college.

While it makes sense that the ultimate goal of post-secondary education is to secure a strong economic foundation in the labor force market, older and employed immigrant children may not be reluctant to give up a paid job just to be enrolled in college for fear of temporarily losing their earning power and job seniority. Returning to college may be more likely for those who have accumulated enough savings to warrant full-time enrollment. Hence, policy makers who want to raise the standards of living and educational credentials of immigrants and their offspring must prioritize targeting young adult immigrant children and those who are still in school. In particular, intervention programs can be designed at the school-level to aid parental involvement and to instill values conducive to academic success. Various forms of school and financial assistance can be provided to newly arrived immigrant children who are striving to do well in school in order to minimize the risk of dropping out.

The strong correlation between early childbearing and low educational attainment is generally uncontested. Literature on the impact of early childbearing and childrearing has consistently postulated the negative impact of early child birth on subsequent educational attainment (e.g. Bates, Maselko, and Schuler 2007; Dietz and

Mistry 2010; Hofferth, Reid, and Mott 2001). Like others, my study demonstrates that early childbearing may prompt early labor force participation for immigrant children. This is especially true for full time workers and student workers. While the underlying causal order is unclear, young adult children are compelled to join the workforce in order to support their family. Further, being a full time student is costly for any young parent. As such, childbearing and childrearing are likely to cause a delay in college entry due to additional time needed to adjust to new family responsibilities. Those who choose this route without temporarily giving up their job must find ways to balance added responsibilities.

Limitations to the Present Study

The current study allows us to examine the significance of group membership and family process on immigrant children's social outcomes, but there are notable limitations that merit discussion and attention. First, although my study utilizes predictors from three time points, children's adjustment outcomes were only assessed at one time point (i.e. the third wave). Realistically, adjustment outcomes and family process should be perceived as an ongoing process, rather than a static one as implied by these empirical analyses. It should therefore be noted that these findings are only an incomplete representation of the study outcome.

Second, because the outcomes of interest estimated in the third wave are not available in the earlier waves, I have no way to ascertain that changes in the outcome are indeed predicted by variables of the earlier waves. Without the limiting assumption that expects invariance between time points in the outcome, an attempt to establish an association between variables can be challenging. Thus, to increase

validity and reliability of the measurement process, I use four assimilation pathways to investigate the sustainability of family roles. While my study presents difficulties in assessing causality, empirical analyses were able to establish meaningful connections between variables. Establishing a meaningful causal order could be a major goal for future immigrant scholars.

Third, just like many other studies, data collected from self-reports are susceptible to less objective assessment as respondents' accuracy and may vary at different time points. Since my study only relies on the immigrant children's perspective and limited views from school officials, these responses may be subject to social desirability bias and shared method variance. Future research should consider soliciting information from teachers and school peers to understand immigrant children's life experience.

Despite these methodological limitations, my study demonstrates the important roles that race and immigrant families play on their children's life trajectories. Future studies should consider replicating these findings using a mixed method approach, naturalistic observations or a larger and more diverse data set that is nationally representative. As the segmented assimilation theory has proven to be a useful theoretical framework in understanding immigrant children's assimilation pathways, future research could consider the study of a variety of pathways or segments that best explain immigrant children's life span.

CHAPTER FOUR: ECOLOGY OF IMMIGRANT FAMILY

Family influence is a significant determinant of immigrant children's assimilation trajectory as it not only provides them with necessary resources to thrive, but also the guidance and support for healthy development (e.g., Bui 2009; Gorman 1998; Portes and Zhou 1993; Titzmann, Raabe, and Sibereisen 2008). Family especially shapes the influence of other ecological systems by fostering social connections within immigrant community networks, selecting an area of residence, and impacting the choice of friends or schools for their children. A great deal of attention in the immigration literature has been devoted to understanding the role that immigrant families' play in their children's behavioral and assimilation outcomes (e.g. Georgiades, Boyle, and Duku 2007; Nguyen and Cheung 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Few studies have focused on the ecological family paradigm to assess and promote existing family strengths.

Building on the work of Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller (2009) and drawing on the insights of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory, this study explores the critical function families play in affecting immigrant children's downward assimilation when they have reached early adulthood. In their published work in 2001, Portes and Rumbaut used various family determinants to study the life outcome of immigrant children but their focus of interest is limited to what occurred in immigrant children's early time point in life. Because successful integration of immigrant children into mainstream America is largely based on their ability to navigate the host society and attain economic self-sufficiency, respondents'

difficulties with employment and the criminal justice system are perceived in this paper as a form of downward assimilation.

My research question intends to illustrate how immigrant children's encounter with other ecological systems and assimilation outcomes are directed by differences and diversity in the family setting in early adulthood. To date, no other studies have employed a similar interpretive framework in studying the immigrant population. Since there are gender differences in terms of how families socialize their children and how men and women come into contact with the criminal justice system and labor market, emphasis is also placed on the significance of gender in immigrant children's assimilation outcomes.

Theories of Assimilation and the Ecological Perspective

The segmented assimilation theory, one of the most notable contemporary immigration theories, postulates three divergent pathways of assimilation for the second generation of immigrants: upward assimilation, downward assimilation, and upward mobility with persistent biculturalism. This theory is developed in contrast to the new assimilation theory postulated by Alba and Nee (2003), which was built on the work of Park (1950) and Gordon (1964).

First, in the upward assimilation model, the offspring of immigrants will attain upward mobility and become indistinguishable from the mainstream society over time. That is, they lose their cultural distinctiveness. In this view, all different cultures would eventually come together and form a national culture (Park 1950). This often entails transformation of a new identity and discarding old way of living.

Second, downward assimilation is associated with acculturation to oppositional cultural forces. Dissonant acculturation is more likely to take place when parental resources are low rather than high and children lose their culture of origin faster than their parents. This discrepancy in acculturation pace changes the power dynamics in the immigrant family to the extent that it downplays parental authority over their children and leads to family communication breakdown. Lastly, upward assimilation combined with biculturalism occurs when children acquire the necessary linguistic skills and embrace some aspects of the culture of the host society without abandoning the customs of their parents. To assure successful adaptation, immigrant parents may monitor their children closely and emphasize traditional cultural values. Marked by few intergenerational conflicts and association with co-ethnic friends and maintenance of parental language, the assimilation pattern predicts that immigrants will eventually attain upward mobility while maintaining their parental cultural values (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Extending Portes and Zhou (1993)'s theory of Segmented Assimilation Theory by incorporating the ecological work of Bronfenbrenner in the study of immigrant children, this study provides insights into the process of assimilation and looks at the influence of various ecological factors surrounding them. Specifically, Portes and Zhou (1993) examine the direct relationship between cultural maintenance and economic advancement as well as their influence on immigrant children's assimilation patterns. The application of Bronfenbrenner's theory goes beyond their research by depicting how this relationship branches out to other ecological systems in which the family is embedded.

Immigrant Family's Ecological System: Conceptual Framework

The family ecology paradigm focuses on the interrelationship between family and other ecological systems such as school, neighborhood, and peer network. The application of ecology as a holistic theoretical approach is crucial, as immigrant families do not exist in isolation; rather they are embedded within a larger social structure interconnected with other social institutions and domains. Taking this perspective helps provide a conceptual map for viewing complicated issues surrounding immigrant children and deepens the existing knowledge of how immigrant children adapt to their living environment and how family influence contributes to the process of assimilation.

While this study is not designed to test Bronfenbrenner's theory, his ecological framework is used to comprehend the roles that immigrant family plays in structuring the interactions among the various ecological systems. Extending Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory to the study of immigrant children's social development places them within five systems of interaction that reciprocally influence one another. These include the: *microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem* (Bronfenbrenner 1977; 1979). Each structure is unique and represents a significant development context for immigrant children. More explicitly, the application of the theory places immigrant children in the center of an interactive system.

The framework infers that the construction of immigrant children's social experience cannot be comprehended effectively without investigating the interconnectedness between these multiple layers of social structure (Bronfenbrenner

1979). The merit and implication of each system is discussed in this study, but a greater emphasis will be placed on the first three systemic structures which are the closest in space to immigrant children's unique life circumstances: *microsystem, mesosystem and exosystem*. Figure 4a provides the conceptual framework for this study.[33]

[Figure 4a About Here]

The innermost level, *microsystem*, denotes the relations between immigrant children and their immediate surroundings. These systems encompass their intimate contacts, interpersonal relationships, interactions with significant others, special events or settings that often serve as their point of reference. In these settings, immigrant children experience their day-to-day reality and immediate socialization. But, not all *microsystems* are identical, as the influence of one may outweigh the others. For example, the effect that family exerts may supersede the influence of peers or vice versa, contingent upon the developmental milestones of the children.

Next, the *mesosystem* refers to the connections among two or more *microsystems* in which immigrant children are active participants such as transactions and interactions between the immigrant family and their school or peers. Following

[33] The significance and function of the *macrosystem* and *chronosystem* are not examined empirically in this paper. The *macrosystem*, which is broadly defined as the large overarching influence of social values, cultural beliefs, political ideologies, customs, and laws that incorporate the *microsystem, mesosystem* and *exosystem*. Just like other lower social systems, changes in the macrosystem have a significant impact on the other lower level systems. This system may seem distant, but provides immigrant families with a social context in which parenting takes place. Since the *macrosystem* defines and directs the larger society, it can affect immigrant family's adjustment to the host country. Immigrant families, for instance, are socially disadvantaged as newcomers due to unfamiliarity with the dominant cultural practices and social norms. They are also less privileged in terms of their capacity to voice and to exercise their rights related to their children. If mainstream society and the immigration laws are perceived as welcoming and friendly, immigrant families are likely to feel supported. The *chronosystem* emphasizes a life transition and individual changes through time (e.g., in this case, immigrant children's transition to adulthood, a cross national migration, timing of migration, duration in the host society and other major life changes) (Bronfenbrenner 1974; 1979; 1986).

the *mesosystem* is the *exosystem* that brings together remote social settings that have an indirect effect on immigrant children (e.g., immigrant children's neighborhood). Figure 4b depicts a graphic representation of the conceptual framework guiding this study.

[Figure 4b About Here]

In my conceptual framework, immigrant family relations, peer network and school conditions form respective *microsystems*; the interactions between any of the two combinations of these three *microsystems* constitute their *mesosystems*; finally, immigrant children's neighborhoods make up their *exosystem*. While there are indefinite ways of modeling the interactive flow of these social systems, this investigation focuses primarily on the active roles immigrant families play in shaping their children's destiny, and thus the interactive effects examined are family oriented.

The Influence of Immigrant Family

Family is the most intimate *microsystem* for children of immigrants. A comprehensive and critical understanding of immigrant children's behavioral and social outcomes requires exploration within the context of immigrant family dynamics and gender differences. Family theorists contend that the immigrant family is an open, dynamic system that is susceptible to changes, just like non-immigrant families (e.g., Cox and Paley 2003). But unlike other families, the immigrant family sustains more social pressure to conform and fit in the mainstream society (e.g., Gans 1992b; Portes and Zhou 1993).

Healthy transactions among family members are crucial to regulating immigrant children's behaviors. Previous research suggests that balanced levels of

family cohesion are consistently linked to healthier family functioning and positive psychological adjustment (Cox and Paley 2003; Henry et al. 2006; Horwitz and Kazak 1990). Olson (2000) interprets family cohesion as the close emotional bonding among family members and their adjustment and compensation for the separateness or togetherness. These families are believed to be more supportive, flexible and responsive to their children's needs (Richmond and Stocker 2008), thereby reducing family stressors associated with assimilation. Because it promotes a warm family atmosphere that enhances the general welfare of the family, it is a buffer against immigrant children's externalizing and internalizing behaviors and thus reducing child delinquency and other poor social outcomes (Richmond and Stocker 2008; Johnson, Cowan and Cowan 1999). Parent-child conflict, on the contrary, is likely to result in immigrant children's behavioral difficulties (Choi et al. 2008)

Ample evidence suggests that other family characteristics such as family structure, parental education and family wealth also have a profound impact on child outcomes (e.g. Guryan, Hurst, and Kearney 2008; Harper and McLanahan 2004; Kowaleski-Jones 2000). Although non-traditional families are less prevalent in immigrant families, behavioral difficulties are more prevalent among children from non-intact families compared with children residing with both biological parents (Gottfredson and Hirshi 1990). The presence of both parents not only indicates a higher level of economic capacity but signals the ability to provide children with a higher level of parental supervision. Indeed, the relation between family socioeconomic status and child outcomes is well studied. Concerning parenting, Lareau (2003) shows the dramatic differences in parenting strategies between parents

of upper middle class and those of poor working class. This family social capital is essential for children's conduct development.

Gender is a significant determinant of the assimilation outcomes of immigrant children. Although there has not been a large scale comparative gender study on this population, empirical evidence supports the notion that immigrant girls have better sociocultural adjustment than boys (Berry et al. 2006). Male immigrant children, in particular, exhibit greater behavioral difficulties than females (Ma 2002). In the studies of gender stratification, many scholars have shown boys to be more at risk of various delinquent engagements and risky behaviors compared with their female counterparts (e.g., Bongers et al. 2004; Brody et al. 2003; Diamantopoulou et al. 2011; Fagan et al. 2007; Sampson and Laub 2003). But scholars have found female immigrant children to be prone to adjustment and family-related stress (Suárez-Orozco and Qin 2006). Further, other criminology research has asserted that males and females are likely to undergo dissimilar life events that propel them to crime or child delinquency (e.g., Chesney-Lind and Sheldan 1998; Chesney-Lind 1989). In addition, males and females may share a different interpretation and conceptualization of adverse experience they encounter. Unlike their male counterparts who are allowed more freedom to explore social ties or to navigate farther away from home, female children are supervised more closely and given less freedom in risk taking or exercising their decision making power (e.g. Hagan and Kuebli 2007; Knodel 1997; Morrongiello, Zdzieborski, and Normand 2010). Hence, their propensity to react to social events and respective pathways to downward assimilation vary.

In terms of coping, an impressive body of research postulated that girls to be more likely to internalize distress, while boys are more inclined to externalize their problems (Jang, 2007; Nolen-Hoeksema, Larson, and Grayson, 1999). For example, Broidy and Agnew (1997) suggest that women are more likely to respond to strain with depression rather than anger. Not only that, their experiences with depression are likely to be accompanied by other emotions such as guilt, fear, and shame. These emotions decrease their likelihood of committing violent crime against others. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that males and females should experience unique assimilation pathways. Immigrant boys, in particular, should demonstrate a higher risk of downward assimilation. With respect to the influence of various contextual factors, male immigrant children are hypothesized to be more susceptible to environmental forces while female children are perceived to be prone to family context in which they are embedded in.

The Role of Peers and School

Second to the family, school and peers represents other *microsystems* and alternative avenues through which immigrant children are socialized. American schools are frequently the social institution in which immigrant children experience their first exposure to mainstream culture (Trickett and Birman 2005). Social contact with peers in school can foster and strengthen social integration in the host society (Bacallao and Smokowski 2009). Through socialization and experiences with school personnel and classmates, immigrant children form a belief system and a frame of reference about American society. In general, the characteristics of immigrant children's friendship network signify their degree of assimilation in the mainstream

community. Close ties with immigrant peers, for example, may reinforce their ethnic identity while regular contact with national peers strengthens national identity (e.g. Waters 1994). Negative experiences in school can place immigrant children at risk for a host of social problems, such as child delinquency and school failure, which not only interfere with their conduct development but also subsequent social adjustment in the larger society (e.g., Chavous et al. 2008; Juang and Alvarez 2011).

The risk of downward assimilation also depends in part on the characteristics of schools such as the level of safety, minority representation, and the number of foreign born students (Parcel and Dufer 2001; Perreira, Harris and Lee 2006). Being an immigrant is associated with school problems such as dropping out, lower performance, drug use and gang involvement (Peguero 2008), but the relationship between social outcomes and immigrant status is also contingent upon many other immigrant related factors. Since schools in the U.S. are still widely segregated based on race and ethnicity (Moody, 2001), this has increased some ethnic groups' likelihood of attending poorer quality schools (Crosnoe 2005). Further, in schools that are deemed to be socially disorganized, immigrant children are more likely to feel unsafe in school and subjected to ridicule, discrimination and harassment from their peers, teachers and school administrators.

This is especially true if English is not their native language and if they have a thick accent (Peguero 2008). Because full integration in the mainstream society requires high English language fluency, immigrant children whose family's native language is not English experience more social difficulties in school (Bacallao and Smokowski 2009). Children with a limited command of English are often placed in

classes or academic tracks far from the mainstream, which limit their opportunities to interact with other English-speaking native peers. The incidence of "white flight" and decline of white enrollment, which become prevalent as the number of foreign speaking students increases can result in the erosion of social ties for immigrant children (Van Hook and Snyder 2007). Consequently, not only are immigrant children more likely to attend a school of lower quality (Crosnoe 2005), they also tend to have lower rates of enrollment in high school (Hirschman 2001).

While some immigrant children experience negative discriminatory treatment by their native peers, not all interaction with native peers is harmful. Some of these friendships are depicted as helpful, in which American peers offer assistance to immigrant children in school, serve as a broker for the two cultures, provide aid in English, help them gain experiences in the new country, and strengthen their social ties with mainstream society (Ballacao and Smokowski 2008). While findings on the benefits associated with assimilation are mixed, other scholars expect family protective effects (also known as immigrant paradox) associated with immigration to decrease following regular contact with American peers immersed in an oppositional subculture (Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1994). Immigrant children's exposure to this type of environment may lead to the adoption of behaviors that promote downward assimilation. The Immigrant paradox is usually used to describe the counterintuitive finding that immigrants fare better despite their adverse social experience and lower socioeconomic position.

Interaction of Family and Peer/School

School and peer groups, although they represent another *microsystems*, are still very much affected by the activities of parents. In the immigration literature, immigrant families typically represent their culture of origin while the school represents American culture. The segmented assimilation theory contends that immigrant children's assimilation outcomes are shaped by the degree to which they choose to maintain or discard their own culture and mainstream norms. Group affiliation, whether it is with co-ethnic members or national peers, is influenced by immigrant family characteristics, which in turn shapes immigrant children's acculturative attitudes in the host society (Portes and Zhou 1993).

In the *mesosystem* linking the family and peer, protective parents may monitor their children's peer relations closely or enforce rigid rules that limit free interaction with the mainstream society. Others may encourage participation of ethnic activities that promote strong bonds with co-ethnic friends (e.g., Gorman 1998; Rodríguez, Donovick and Crowley 2009). Immigrant children reared in "tight" and cohesive families, for example, may opt for immigrant friends who share similar family values. Alternatively, immigrant parents may encourage association with other immigrant peers in order to preserve strong family values related to their immigration status.

Immigrant parents also influence their children's school experience in other ways. Their socioeconomic characteristics, in particular, determines the type of school that their children will attend and thus the type of classmates or schoolmates they will have. Low socioeconomic status on the parents' behalf increases the chance of

attending schools that are of poor quality and are socially disorganized (e.g., Massey 1993; Wilson 1987).

Neighborhood Contextual Factors

Children of immigrants will adapt better in the larger society when there is public support for cultural diversity. Whether an immigrant family chooses to live closer to someone like themselves or their national peers, the community in which the immigrant family resides can influence their children's subsequent social adaptation. Neighborhoods represent an *exosystem* that provides the context in which schooling and socialization takes place.

When immigrant families first move to the United States, many choose to settle down in the communities with a high number of compatriots in order to help them adjust to the new environment, navigate the new country, or gain employment. Indeed, segregation of Asians and Hispanics from whites has increased as a result of the high flow of immigration in the recent decades (Charles 2003). Alba et al. (1999) postulated that immigrants are creating residential enclaves in the suburbs rather than inner-city neighborhoods. Although the spatial assimilation model suggests that immigrant families begin to leave enclaves as their human capital levels increases, immigrant children who live in ethnic communities have advantages over their immigrant peers who must find their way and navigate a harder path (Charles 2003). Even so, there is wide variation with respect to the characteristics of the co-ethnic communities in which an immigrant family chooses to settle down.

Some ethnic networks, for example, tend to be more successful than others (e.g., Miller et al. 2009; Wang 2010; Wen, Lauderdale, and Kandula 2009). The

immigrant family's affiliations with networks of social contacts serve as a source of ethnic capital,[34] which can affect their children's chance of success. In addition to emotional and social support from co-ethnic members in the host society, a relationship with the ethnic communities promotes family values and strengthens social solidarity. Immigrant children, for example, are regularly reminded of their duty to be respectful to the elders, to work hard and to care for the families. Reinforcement of familial values and beliefs lowers the risk of behavioral problems and moderates negative influences from an adversarial mainstream subculture (e.g., Gorman 1998; Portes and Zhou 1993).

Immigrant parents' decision to live in an ethnic neighborhood is not without risk. While an ethnic enclave provides immigrant children with temporary access to others with similar norms, customs, and language, an extended period of settlement in a neighborhood with a high concentration of coethnics can delay assimilation insofar as it is linked to lower fluency of the host language. Further, an ethnic enclave may be so segregated from the mainstream society that immigrants in such neighborhoods experience social isolation that keeps them out of the most up-to-date information regarding the job market and network systems which instill and promote appropriate work norms (Bygren and Szulkin 2010; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987). This is especially true for ethnic neighborhoods that are characterized by dense, overlapping social ties that do not branch out into the wider community, and hence are not privy to diverse sources of information (Granovetter 1973).

Since attendance in the public school in the U.S. is based on place of residence, students from an economically disadvantaged neighborhood are likely to attend a

[34] Ethnic capital is conceptualized as the social or cultural capital provided by the ethnic community.

school with substandard infrastructure. School attendance in neighborhoods which promote adversarial subculture are likely to lower immigrant children's educational aspirations and influence their behaviors and norms related to their educational attainment. Due to a lack of positive experience, immigrant parents may become skeptical about the educational system in the neighborhood and become withdrawn from participation in their children's education.

Crime and delinquency are also more likely to occur in a community that is "socially disorganized" where residents are less likely to exert guardianship over the community when the need arises (Shaw and McKay 1969). The lower likelihood of residents in the community to exert social control is referred to as to the lack of "Collective Efficacy" (Sampson 2004: 232). Early work by Shaw and McKay indicates that the incidence of crime can promote "social disorganization" in the neighborhood. Variability of the crime rate is attributable to the geographical location itself rather than the characteristics of the residents *per se*. Neighborhoods with high crime rates are especially featured by their poor physical quality and high social disorder (Shaw and McKay 1969). A low collective efficacy in a community can threaten the overall well-being of the community. But unlike socially disorganized neighborhoods, cohesive neighborhoods facilitate collective parenting and reinforce social control of their children. Without this support, parental control can wane fast when these children are confronted with challenges of oppositional culture and consumerism (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Figure 4c summarizes the main theoretical arguments put forth by this study.

[Figure 4c About Here]

Statement of the Problem

Placing special emphasis on the use of ecology, this study intends to construct a better understanding of the family mechanisms affecting immigrant children's assimilation trajectories. Hypotheses were advanced by drawing on insights from Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory. Specifically, I ask what family ecological factors propel immigrant children's adverse life experiences and what other ecological factors exert a protective effect. I argue that the family plays an active role in shaping immigrant children's experience with mainstream America. This is accomplished by exerting influence through its interaction with other social systems such as peers, school and neighborhoods, which represent other *microsystems,* and the *mesosystems and exosystems*, respectively. To answer my research question, I used second generation immigrants' assimilation outcome as my dependent variable and various time lagged variables related to family, peer, school or neighborhood as my independent variables in the negative binomial regression analysis.

Variation in the family system can lead to divergent assimilation outcomes for their children. In this study, child's assimilation outcomes were measured in terms of the number of adverse experiences with the work force or criminal justice system they encountered in their early adulthood such as if they have ever lost a job, were arrested or spent time in a reform school, a detention center, jail or prison during the last five years. Conceptually, children who were well adjusted were expected to have a better life outcome, which is ultimately shaped by family characteristics.

Immigrant parents' influence on their children's social domain is salient. A poor quality familial relationship is among the most important prelude to child

misconduct and downward economic assimilation (e.g., Conger et al. 1992; 1994). As such, family cohesion was presumed to have a buffering effect against children's downward assimilation. The presence of both parents in the household is central to immigrant children's positive adaptation. Because family wealth helps facilitate pathways to academic and economic success, it is pertinent for healthy adjustment in the host society. Persistent poverty caused by low parental educational attainment and socioeconomic status in early and middle childhood, on the contrary, was expected to be a risk marker for social maladjustment and later development (e.g., Horgan 2009).

Looking beyond the family *microsystem*, immigrant parents shape their children's social relationships with peers and school through close parental monitoring (e.g., Gorman 1998; Rodríguez et al. 2009). Having foreign born peers was hypothesized to exert a "protective effect" on immigrant children's downward assimilation in part through common sharing and regular emphasis on values that strengthen the family relationship. Being highly integrated in school, on the contrary, does not have this effect. Attendance of a school that is deemed unsafe could threaten immigrant children's well-being given the substandard education and quality of supervision they would receive from the school personnel. I anticipated the relationship of family to be shaped by peer and school context in several ways. First, the level of family cohesion could be improved substantially with the presence of immigrant peers, or a group of friends who share similar family values. Second, the adverse effect of poor socioeconomic status on the parents' behalf could be more pronounced on immigrant children who attended a school that was socially disorganized.

Depending on the nature of the community, residence in an ethnic enclave can reinforce familial values but may delay assimilation (e.g., Bygren and Szulkin 2010). Findings on the effect of ethnic enclave are mixed, but a neighborhood's social disorganization was hypothesized to exert a negative impact on children's social adaptation. Neighborhood's collective efficacy, on the contrary, was presumed to improve immigrant children's social experience. When the practice of collective efficacy is rare, lax social control increases the incidence of child delinquency and behavioral difficulties (Sampson 2004). Other relevant variables were also examined in my analysis. In particular, immigrant children's English or native language proficiency as well as their school GPA were expected to be related to their downward assimilation in a negative way. Fluency in English is required to become fully integrated in the mainstream society while ability to speak one's own native language signals the likelihood of preserving family values, a characteristic pertaining to balanced social adjustment.

In terms of their demographic characteristics, racial minorities were expected to fare worse compared with their counterparts who resemble the majority population in the mainstream society. When marital status was taken into consideration, I suspected immigrant children who were married in their young adult years were slightly better adjusted than other immigrants due to greater social support. While it is uncommon for children of immigrants to bear and raise children in their young adult years, those who did so were hypothesized to fare worse than their childless counterparts due to greater family obligations associated with having a child.

Given the fact that the above influences are structured along gendered lines, the effect of gender was assessed by presenting separate models by gender and a pooled model. It was likely that male immigrant children were at higher risk of downward assimilation relative to their female counterparts based on the reasoning stated in the literature review.

In sum, this study has outlined the significance of family determinants shaping immigrant children's life trajectories. To test my hypotheses, I used data from the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Study. This study provides a new perspective in understanding immigrant children's assimilation outcomes and how they are influenced by other ecological systems that are intimately related to family. The rich information that this dataset provides was designed specifically to study second generation immigrants. Its longitudinal study design allows us to establish the time ordering of events.

However, my results and conclusions are challenged by several data limitations. Specifically, since the survey used in this study was conducted only in three areas where immigration was prevalent, a possible limitation of using this dataset is the generalizability of my findings to the entire immigrant population. Because the immigration process is not based on random selection, immigrant children in my sample represent a highly selected group due to the immigration screening process.

Further, because immigrant children self-select into their friendship networks, potential problems related to self-selection can limit the interpretation of the study findings. With the exception of the neighborhood variables reported by parents and respondents' GPAs reported by schools, all variables are based on child's own reports,

and therefore, are susceptible to social desirability bias. These measures, though not ideal, provide some insights into immigrant families and other ecological systems shaping their children's life trajectories.

Method

Data

The Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Study (CILS) began in 1992 with a sample of 5,262 eighth and ninth graders. With two follow up surveys occurring in 1995 and between 2001 and 2003, this study includes detailed and rich measures related to second generation immigrant's family relationship, language skills, school experiences, peer network, educational attainment and occupational outcomes. The second generation is defined as native born immigrant children with at least one foreign born parent or foreign born immigrant children who came to the U.S. as young children. Almost half of the parents (46 percent) were randomly selected to be interviewed during the second wave of the data collection. The response rate for the second and third survey was 81.5 and 68.9 percent, respectively. In this study, immigrant children's assimilation outcomes were observed during the second follow up when they had reached early adulthood. Listwise deletion of cases for missing data resulted in a sample of 1,019 (See Appendix 4.1 for patterns of missing data). I restricted my sample to respondents with valid parental survey responses and those who participated in all three waves of the survey.

Dependent variable

The outcome variable in this study is respondents' reported experience related to downward assimilation measured during the second follow-up survey. These items

have been tested in Portes et al. (2009) as three of six items included in their scale measure. This variable is created by summing values over three discrete life change events (i.e. whether the respondent lost his or her job; was arrested; or spent time in a reform school, detention center, jail or prison) occurring during the last five years.[35] Immigrant children were considered to be at risk of oppositional assimilation if they experienced a higher number of these events.

Family Variables

To better assess the role that family plays, family characteristics were measured using five variables. First, parental education was measured by the level of education each parent completed during the second wave of the data collection. Education was measured in categories ranging from "Elementary school or less" (coded as 1) to "College graduate or more" (coded as 6). On average, both parents were high school graduates, but fathers appeared to be more educated than mothers (mean for fathers' = 3.99; mean for mothers' = 4.16).[36] Second, to capture family's financial well-being, a parent socioeconomic index, a measure readily available from the dataset, was based on information from parents' level of education, occupational status and home ownership status at Wave 1.

Due to the qualitative differences between intact households and non-intact households, two-parent households were coded such that households with the presence

[35] Sensitivity analysis was conducted by estimating a set of models that excluded the first item (i.e. whether the respondent lost his or her job). With the exception of the neighborhood variables, other findings did not change substantially. In the analysis, respondents who were residing in an ethnic enclave had a 48.3 propensity lower of experiencing downward assimilation while those who were living in a socially disorganized neighborhood faced 14.2 percent chance higher. All three items were retained in the analysis because this study is interested in the assimilation outcome of second generation immigrants, rather than their criminal or deviance outcome *per se*.

[36] Sensitivity analysis revealed minimal meaningful changes in findings when parental education was included in the model as a set of ordinal measures.

of both biological parents were coded as 1, others were coded as 0. About 77.2 percent of the immigrant children in my sample claimed to be living with both parents during the second interview. Next, following Portes and Rumbaut (2001), family cohesion is a composite measure derived from three items intended to capture the behavioral and attitudinal dimensions of bonding among family members and how they cope with separateness and togetherness (Olsen 2000). Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the following statements on a 5-point scale (ranging from 0 "Never" to 5 "Always"): 1) "Family members like to spend free time with each other," 2) "Family members feel very close to each other," and 3) "Family togetherness is very important." The items were summed using the first component from the principal component analysis derived from multiplying the value of the items with their respective eigenvector (alpha from the reliability analysis = .85). Approximately 76.5 percent of variation was explained by the first principal component. The index was scaled so that the minimum value of the index is zero. On average, the respondents' index score was 4.00 (range: 0 – 6.09) (See Appendix 4.2).

Peer/School Variables

Respondents' social interaction with the mainstream society was assessed by their contact with peers and school. With respect to peers, respondents were asked to identify whether they had close friends who were foreign born or with foreign-born parents. Responses that indicated "many or most" were coded as 1, while those who responded with a "none" or "some" were collapsed to be 0. The second measure counted the number of close friends they had in school during the second wave. A log

transformation was applied to normalize its skewness. By the end of the second wave of data collection, an average respondent claimed to have about 8.08 friends.

Respondents' school social disorganization measures school characteristics pertaining to their safety during the second interview. Using the same method described earlier, responses to the following items were summed using the first component from the principal component analysis: 1) "I don't feel safe at this school," 2) "Disruptions by other students get in the way of learning," and 3) "Fights often occur between different racial or ethnic groups," The alpha reliability coefficient is .70. About 50.5 percent of variation was explained by the first principal component analysis. The index was scaled to have a minimum of zero (See Appendix 4.3).

Neighborhood Variables

Turning to neighborhood domain, descriptive statistics reveals that a total of 31 percent of the respondents were living in an ethnic neighborhood. An ethnic neighborhood is conceptualized as a community in which most residents came from the same country as the respondent. Residence in an ethnic enclave is a parent- or guardian-reported measure in which respondents who were residing in such neighborhoods were coded as 1, otherwise, 0. Neighborhood social disorganization, a measure of neighborhood's safety and structure, is a 5-item scale assessed using a response format ranging from "Not a problem" (coded as 1) to "A big problem" (coded as 3). Respondents' parent or guardian were asked how much of a problem the following incident was to their neighborhood 1) "Different racial or cultural groups who do not get along with each other," 2) "Little respect for rules, laws, and authority," 3) "Assaults and muggings," 4) "Delinquent gangs or drug gangs," and 5)

"Drug use or drug dealing in the open " (alpha from the reliability analysis being .87) (range = 0 – 8.19; mean = 1.00) (See Appendix 4.4).

Collective efficacy evaluates the likelihood of the community to intervene in the following events from the parent or guardian's perspective using a response options ranging from "Very unlikely" (coded as 1) to "Very likely" (coded as 4): 1) "If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was being beaten," 2) "If someone were trying to sell drugs to one of your children in plain sight," and 3) "If your kids were getting into trouble (alpha from the reliability analysis being .91). Because deleting the first item did not result in a substantial change in alpha, all items were retained in the study. Approximately 85 percent of the variation was explained by the first principal component. For the same reason mentioned earlier, these indices were both scaled to zero in order to increase interpretability of the index (See Appendix 4.5).

Education/Language Variables

In the analyses, I used three education/language measures: English Proficiency Index, Foreign Language Proficiency and grade point average collected during the second interview. Respondents were asked to report their comfort and ability to speak, understand, read, and write in these languages. Responses to the items which range from 1 "Very little" to 4 "Very well" were created using the first component of the principal component analysis to create two holistic measures of proficiency (alpha from the reliability analysis is .92 and .87, respectively). Roughly 80.5 and 72.7 percent of the variation was explained by the first principal component, respectively. Each index value was scaled to have a minimum value of zero. Because respondents'

subsequent adjustment in the host society is likely to correlate with their previous attainment, grade point average in high school was held constant in the analysis. This variable is a continuous measure reported by the high school they were attending in the past decade (i.e. 1995) (See Appendices 4.6 and 4.7).

Assimilation Related Variables

Respondents' continuous contact with the host society was captured using three dummy variables that indicate the amount of time they had resided in the country during the second wave. Summary statistics shows that foreign born second generation and native born immigrant children constituted the majority of the sample (44.5 and 43.1 percent, respectively).

Demographic variables:

Respondents' age was measured in years. On average, respondents in my sample were 24.77 years old, with male respondents being slightly older on average. Gender is a dichotomous variable in which males were coded as 1 and females as 0. Respondents' race was differentiated based on five categories: "White," "Black," "Hispanic," "Asian," and "other[37]," with whites being the reference category. Respondents' marital status at the third wave of the data collection was indicated by four dummy variables: married/engaged, divorced/separated, single, cohabiting, and other, with married/engaged being the reference category. Only 20.5 percent of the immigrant children claimed to be married or engaged, yet interestingly, 24.4 percent of them reported having children. Table 4.1 reports summary statistics for variables of interest.

[37] Close to one-fourth of these respondents identified Mexico as their country of origin, perhaps suggesting that they held a more fluid conception of race than the one held by many Americans.

[Table 4.1 About Here]

Analytical Approach

In my analysis, I used negative binomial regression to estimate the magnitude of various ecological systems on immigrant children's assimilation outcomes. While the Poisson regression analysis is commonly used with count data, the application of this approach requires the limiting assumption that the mean and the variance of the distribution are equal (also known as "equidispersion").[38] In this study, the properties of the negative binomial distribution, λ can be thought of as immigrant children's expected number of adverse life events for the past five years. The negative binomial regression coefficients were transformed into percentages that reflect the net changes in their relative propensity to engage in these events followed by a unit change in the predictor variables. Models were estimated separately for males and females because the magnitude of each ecological system and its separate entities for each gender might be concealed when they were estimated together as a pooled sample. To provide insight into the gender discrepancies in outcomes, each set of coefficients was assessed using the following formula (see Brame et al. 1998):

$$z = \frac{\theta_1 - \theta_2}{\sqrt{\text{SE}\ \theta_1^2 + \text{SE}\ \theta_2^2}}$$

[38] Negative binomial regression is used to correct the problem of overdispersion as Poisson regression is rarely practical when conditional variance of the dependent variable is greater than its conditional mean. The Poisson model can be written as follows Prob $(Y_i = y_i|x_i) = \frac{e^{-\lambda}\lambda_{yi}^{i}}{y_i^!}$. In the negative binomial regression model, the expected value, λ is consistent with the Poisson model. When the assumption of equidispersion, $u = \exp(x_i\beta_i)$ is violated, negative binomial replaces the u with a random variable $\tilde{u}$ which is derived from $\exp(x_i\beta + \varepsilon_i)$ where ε is random error presumed to be independent of x (Long 1997). Overdispersion can result in overestimation of significance caused by small standard errors (Long 1997).

To minimize selective exclusion due to non-response and to correct for possible difficulties introduced by the missing data mechanism, I used inverse probability weighting procedure in the estimation once the missingness was assumed to be missing at random. The regression results of the pooled sample were presented by subsequently introducing variables related to each ecological system that was hypothesized to interfere with immigrant children social adjustment. A likelihood ratio test was conducted by comparing the null model without any predictors to each model of interest.[39] The outcome measure by gender was examined following this estimation procedure.

[Tables 4.2 and 4.3 About Here]

Results and Discussion

Table 4.2 shows that for a unit increase in mother's educational level, immigrant children's probability of downward assimilation decreased by 14 percent, while other variables were held constant. This finding is consistent with previous literature and its effect remained fairly robust across models. Living in an intact household had a consistent marginal negative effect. The effect of family cohesion is statistically significant. It indicates that a unit increase in perceived cohesion in the family yielded an approximately 9 percent decrease in propensity of becoming downwardly assimilated.

While the association with immigrant peers had no bearing on the life outcomes studied here, the number of friends they had in school increased their

[39] Although the likelihood ratio test did not suggest a significant test when the models were compared with their respective preceding model, the test, however, was significant when the null model was the basis of comparison, regardless of which model was being compared with it. This indicates that all the models fit better than the null model.

marginal probability of downward assimilation. Controlling for immigrant children's other characteristics, their grade point average in high school exerted a protective effect on their negative life events. Although its magnitude fluctuated with inclusion of different social variables, its significance remained unchanged (e.g., IRR = .712, p<.001 in Model 3). Partially in support of the existing immigrant paradox research, this study found that immigrant children who were relatively new to the United States experienced a lower probability of experiencing downward assimilation compared to the native born.

The analysis also found males to be significantly more likely to experience downward assimilation (IRR = 1.812, p<.001 in the final model). In terms of their demographic characteristics, both singlehood and early childbearing significantly predicted their adverse life experience, consistent with the research hypotheses. Parent's socioeconomic status had a marginal impact on immigrant children's assimilation but this effect was contingent upon the condition of their school (see Table 4.2).[40]

When results were examined separately by gender, (see Table 4.3), father's education had an adverse effect on female immigrant children's life outcomes but it had no impact on male sample population (IRR = 1.229, p < .01, z = -2.481). A significant z-test indicated that the population parameters for males and females were indeed different. Neighborhood characteristics appeared to be more relevant for male immigrant children but not female children. Specifically, residing in neighborhoods which were socially disorganized significantly increased male immigrant's propensity for downward assimilation (IRR = 1.108, p< .05, z = 2.527) while residence in ethnic

[40] Note: Since this effect was marginally significant, the chance of making a Type I error is higher.

neighborhood had a protective effect against negative assimilation (IRR = 0.642, p <.05, z = -1.862).

Contrary to expectations, better foreign language skills did not prevent female immigrant children from experiencing downward assimilation, rather, it exerted the opposite effect (IRR = 1.173, p < .05, z = 2.099). While other variables were held constant, high school grade point average significantly reduced both genders' rate of downward assimilation with 22.5 percent of probability for males and 42.2 percent for females (IRR = .775, p <.01, IRR = .578, p <.001, z = 2.090) (See Table 4.3).

Conclusion

A preponderance of evidence has outlined the importance of family in understanding immigrant children's social adjustment (e.g., Bui 2009; Gorman 1998; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Titzmann, Raabe, and Sibereisen 2008). In the present investigation, I expand the depth of this knowledge by analyzing immigrant children's later age outcomes and extending lessons from Portes and Rumbaut (2001) by drawing on the insight of Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework. My research advances the literature by identifying the underlying family mechanisms shaping the life experiences of immigrant children during their young adult years and by using with dependent variables not yet examined in extant research.

The family ecology model asserts that the immigrant family is not an isolated entity; it interacts with other ecological systems to influence child outcomes. This insight was not explicitly spelled out by many other contemporary immigration theories (e.g. Gans 1992a; Gordon 1964). Effective and supportive ecological systems are likely to facilitate immigrant children's healthy adaptation and turnout in early

adulthood. My study shows how these systems are intimately interrelated and omission of this information is likely to result in incomplete representation of the study outcome. Additionally, while previous research has shown females and males to experience different propensities for crime, few studies have studied male and female immigrant children's downward assimilation trajectories.

Influences of Family

Viewing the family in a holistic way in examining immigrant children's assimilation outcomes should be perceived as a crucial step in understanding the challenges awaiting children of immigrants. The most notable set of findings pertaining to this study are the influence exerted by mother's education and family cohesion, factors relevant to their most intimate *microsystem*. Specifically, my study shows that relatively highly educated mothers helped keep their children from experiencing downward assimilation. The fact that it is the mother's education rather than the father's that exercised a significant impact when these effects were examined in the pooled model is not surprising, given that mothers have historically been known to be the primary caregivers for their children. This, however, does not mean that we should overlook the implication of fathers' education as immigrant children are likely to reside in an intact family in which both parents pool their financial resources to care for their children. Rather, improving immigrant mothers' access to education and training should be a priority for improving the quality of life for immigrant children.

With respect to other family variables, there was a tendency to experience fewer adverse social events among those who perceived a higher level of family cohesion. When its effect was analyzed in the pooled model, family cohesion helped

reduce the risk of immigrant children's chances of downward assimilation. In addition to its association with a greater level of parental support, family cohesion has shown in past studies to mediate the relationships between children's adjustment and acculturative stress as cohesion in family helps provide a supportive environment in which effective parenting can be delivered more readily (e.g., Leidy, Guerra, and Toro 2010; Richmond and Stocker 2008).

Influences of Peer Network, School and Neighborhood

In terms of the *microsystem* associated with peers, having a larger number of friends in school had a marginally detrimental effect on immigrant children's assimilation outcomes using the pooled sample, an interesting finding that warrants further exploration. Monitoring one or two friends of a child may involve only minimal effort, but supervising a large group of children's interaction could be arduous for any parent. Additionally, teenagers are susceptible to peer pressure and become distracted easily when they are surrounded by peers. Thus, conditional on the quality of these friendships, a greater level of school social integration can have little bearing on their positive social turnout. While family determines the characteristics of the school that their children will be attending, this effect was only marginally conditioned by parent's socioeconomic status.

Gender Stratification

My study shows that males were more likely to experience downward assimilation. This finding is consistent with the criminology literature which shows men to be over-represented in criminal outcomes and to exhibit greater behavioral difficulties (Bongers et al. 2004; Brody et al. 2003; Diamantopoulou et al. 2011; Fagan

et al. 2007; Gottfredson and Hirshi 1990; Ma 2002; Sampson and Laub 2003). However, male and female children in my study faced different trajectories as the former were more susceptible to their living environment and neighborhood characteristics. While the *exosystem* is a distant ecological system, residence in an ethnic neighborhood had a protective effect against male immigrant children's downward assimilation when it was examined separately by gender. Residence in such communities benefited male immigrant children more than female children, perhaps because it facilitates the maintenance of traditional values and norms that might be overlooked otherwise. Social disorganization, on the contrary, exerted an opposite effect. These findings of the neighborhood effect imply that male immigrant children may be more prone to negative influences in their surroundings than their female counterparts who have a better social-cultural adjustment and different coping mechanism. Specifically, male children's greater likelihood to act out their problems rather than internalize their stressors as well as their freedom to navigate away from home reduce the protective effect of family and put them at risk of experiencing various negative influences that propel downward assimilation. Further, the fact that female children are supervised more closely at home may attenuate their chance associated with negative assimilation. Future research should take gender into consideration in studies involving neighborhood effects. Different parenting strategies and gender role socialization are likely to shape immigrant children's relations with their community.

Other Factors

While respondents' English proficiency and nativity posed no direct connection with the Bronfenbrenner's theory, these characteristics interfere with respondents' connection with the various ecological systems mentioned by the theory. Although English proficiency had no impact on immigrant children's social adjustment, proficiency in their own native language could increase female immigrant children's risks of downward assimilation, a finding contrary to my hypothesis. This effect, however, attenuated when it was estimated using a pooled sample.

Contrary to Portes and Rumbaut (2001) which regarded parents' native language as a positive social determinant, the fact that female children's mother tongue worked against their life outcome deserves further investigation. It is likely that female children's expertise in their native language prevents them from becoming fully integrated in the mainstream society, all else being equal. Traditional gender norms that value male children over female children may explain why fathers' education exerted a positive effect on female immigrant children's downward assimilation if female children are perceived as temporary family members that are less valued in the family.

With respect to their nativity and duration of residence in the U.S., my analysis demonstrates that newer immigrant children were less likely to experience downward assimilation compared with their native counterparts. Newer immigrants' higher aspiration and greater likelihood to upheld strong family values are likely to put them in a socially advantaged position.

When gender is taken into consideration, males, on average, experienced a heightened risk of this adverse life experience. This finding is consistent with a vast number of studies that find males to be overrepresented in our criminal justice system (e.g. Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). Last but not least, my study found that, compared with married immigrant children, those who were single were more susceptible to multiple negative life events examined in this study. While it might be useful to control for their living arrangement, unfortunately, this information is not available in this dataset.

Limitations to the Present Study

My study thus far has demonstrated the most fundamental role that families and other ecological systems play in immigrant children's assimilation outcome. But several limitations need to be addressed in future studies. Self-selection bias is the primary methodological challenge confronted by this study. Immigrant children's assimilation outcomes and peer affiliation as well as neighborhood characteristics are likely to be spuriously related to conscious decisions to join particular friendship circles or to family socioeconomic status. While it is likely that immigrant children's behavioral and occupational outcomes are shaped by family, school, peer, and neighborhood, other unmeasured genetic effects such as intelligence, mental illness, and physical limitations could also impede the findings of this study. Even though the possible effect caused by self-selection cannot be ruled out completely, controlling for parent's socioeconomic status and education level is helpful in alleviating some of the statistical concerns caused by selectivity.

While this study was able to establish an association between various ecological systems and immigrant children's adverse life experience, no claim of any causal relationship is made due to the cross-sectional nature of this study design. Like other studies, self-response measures may suffer from social desirability bias. Future researcher could address the challenge of generalizability by collecting or utilizing a larger and more nationally representative datasets.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In the United States, there has been a wide emphasis on the great inflow of multicultural immigrants over the past few decades (e.g., Ueda 2007). This high representation of new immigrants in American society has, to a great extent, resulted in widespread attention to the acculturative experiences and adjustment outcomes of immigrant children. Children of immigrants, also referred as the second generation, are broadly defined as offspring of recent immigrants or foreign born children who immigrate to the U.S. with their parents. Scholars are curious about whether children with immigrant parents are able to fit in mainstream society due to their unique life experiences and different social needs.

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a framework for knowledge that helps explain the acculturative process of immigrant children from early adolescence to adulthood. Transitioning from adolescence to a young adult is a critical period for immigrant children. The focus on immigrant children in the context of family is the core feature of this dissertation. In the first research question, I examine how immigrant ideational orientation, as well as family structural mechanisms impact children's educational outcomes. In my second research question, I investigate the extent to which race and family shape immigrant children's assimilation pathways. Finally, in my third research question, I assess immigrant children's assimilation outcome by drawing on the family-centered ecological perspective.

In sum, by presenting a systematic empirical analysis of immigrant children's assimilation outcomes, my study provides a theoretical consideration for working with immigrant families and children. First, immigrant parents' value orientations and unique living environment are a valuable cultural asset and strengthen factor that are

linked to their children's post-secondary academic attainment. This effect holds after controlling for elements related to family's structural assimilation and post-migration class status, suggesting that immigrant children are indeed reared under a family climate that is qualitatively distinct from the mainstream society. Second, in assessing immigrant children's assimilation pathways, baseline differences in family capital trump race in immigrant children's post-secondary educational and labor market participation. Third, immigrant family is not an isolated entity; rather, it is intimately related to other ecological systems to shape the second generation's outcome in assimilation. But immigrant children's experience with other ecological systems is ultimately regulated by discrepancies in the family setting. Examination of parental human capital differences, family dynamics, social adaptation, and educational assimilation of this population helps yield answers to the types of policies and intervention programs that facilitate and regulate the process of assimilation for immigrant families. In order to reduce the adverse assimilation experience for immigrant children as well as to bridge the relationship between immigrants and society at large, the important function that family plays should be taken seriously.

This dissertation has attempted to fill the gap of the current family and immigration literature in several ways. Going beyond Portes and Rumbaut (2001), I investigated how immigrant families shaped their children's adaptation and assimilation explicitly and implicitly, and how immigrant family process and impacts were stratified by their racial and gender classification, a topic that has not been investigated extensively. To provide a better snapshot of how the second generation fares in mainstream America and to offer different perspectives of understanding

assimilation, immigrant children's assimilation outcomes were measured in multiple formats encompassing their post-secondary educational attainment, labor market participation and positive social integration in the host society. A more precise measurement of their life outcomes and a multidimensional approach of understanding their life history are pertinent to aid in the development of a more efficient policy and intervention programs that ease immigrant children's assimilation and assist those who are at risk of downward assimilation. The Segmented Assimilation Theory postulated by Portes and Zhou (1993) and further assessed by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) foresees the creation of the underclass from those who are experiencing downward assimilation. This is especially true for first generation immigrant and immigrant offspring who are phenotypically darker. In contrast to this assertion, I found racial classification to be a minor concern in my analyses.

This dissertation has clearly outlined the role that family plays in immigrant's assimilation outcomes. School policy should promote parental involvement in order to close the performance gap between immigrant children. To aid parental involvement in immigrant children's school work, immigrant parents can benefit from clear information from school authorities. Classroom teachers and school based counselors, in particular, can lower assimilation pressure by helping immigrant parents understand the educational system and prerequisites in the public school system. School authorities should make additional efforts to reach out to newly arrived immigrant families and help them participate in their children's education. After school support groups facilitated by parent volunteers can provide an avenue for

immigrant families to discuss concerns related to school performance and address the needs of their children.

If their performance warrants, children of immigrants should be encouraged to join mainstream classes rather than English as second language (ESL) classes to promote full integration. Young immigrant children especially should be encouraged to take a language class that features their native tongue. School teachers can help immigrant children who may not have any solid plans after high school by disseminating information about college and providing assistance with college enrollment. Because the social needs of female and male immigrant children are likely to differ, teachers and school counselors must demonstrate sensitivity and recognize gender differences when working with immigrant children.

To formulate an effective treatment and intervention program, nonprofit or human agencies working with newly arrived immigrant families should address immigrant children's perception about cultural maintenance. Guidance can be provided to help them resolve conflict and strengthen familial relationships. To minimize the risk of distress, agencies must only employ licensed practitioners who are culturally competent. Training on cultural diversity must be provided for new practitioners to preserve the quality of services that immigrant children and their families will receive. In working with immigrant families, practitioners should acknowledge their ethnic and cultural differences and be ready to value diversity. Family centered psychotherapy can be extended to immigrant children on how to increase family cohesion, negotiate proper boundaries, resolve parent-child conflict and attain common ground. Further, to facilitate bicultural adaptation, cultural brokers

can be employed to help immigrant children maintain their cultural values and learn new customs. Such services may be provided at minimal cost to facilitate problem solving and address the needs of immigrant children.

Because immigrant parents' education is highly relevant to their children's social outcome, affordable educational plans or college loans offered by various financial institutions can be provided for immigrant parents who lack the adequate educational credentials in the job market. Since low English language proficiency not only increases frustration in day-to-day transactions, but also limits access and knowledge to information about the American legal structure, free language classes can be offered by qualified volunteers in a community center. Without language barriers, immigrant parents may find it easy to acquire the norms of parenting in the mainstream society and thus become more involved in their children's lives. If parents have reservations about class attendance, linguistic support can also be provided by a certified translator whenever the need arises.

Since biculturalism is perceived as a protective factor for immigrant children's assimilation outcome, mainstream society needs to understand the assimilation process rather than trying to convert the second generation to become a "fully" Americanized citizen. Local government's attempt to improve policies pertaining to immigration can facilitate immigrant children's assimilation into the host society. Immigrant children are likely to feel at home when cultural diversity is highly valued by mainstream society. Likewise, cultural maintenance is more likely when there are more incentives to do so.

Last but not least, if family wealth plays an important role in new immigrants' life trajectories, and if immigrant family dynamics are shaped partially by parents' socioeconomic statuses, social programs can be developed by state policy planners to assist low income immigrant population in reducing family strain caused by financial stressors. Because class reproduction can take place from one generation to the next, support should be widely disseminated so that the social benefits of producing a well-adjusted future generation can be extended to society at large.

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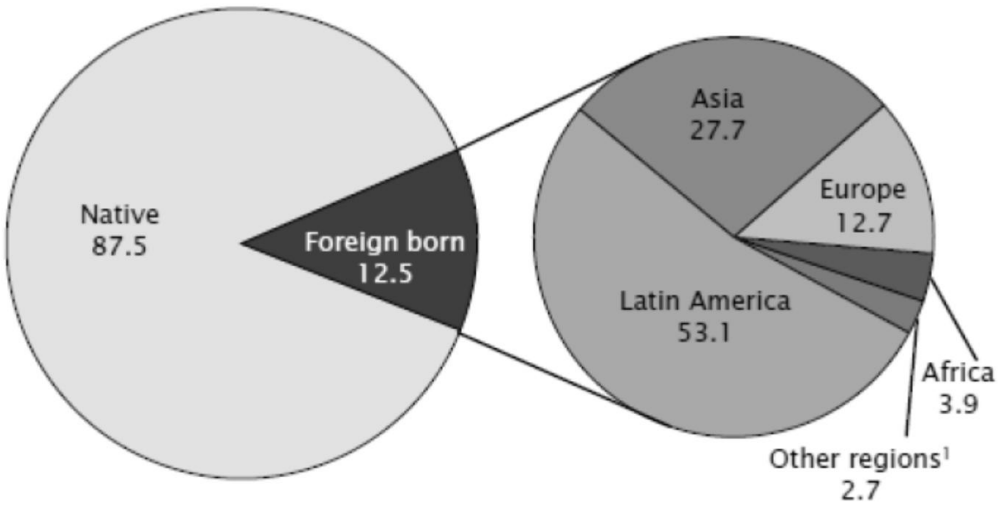
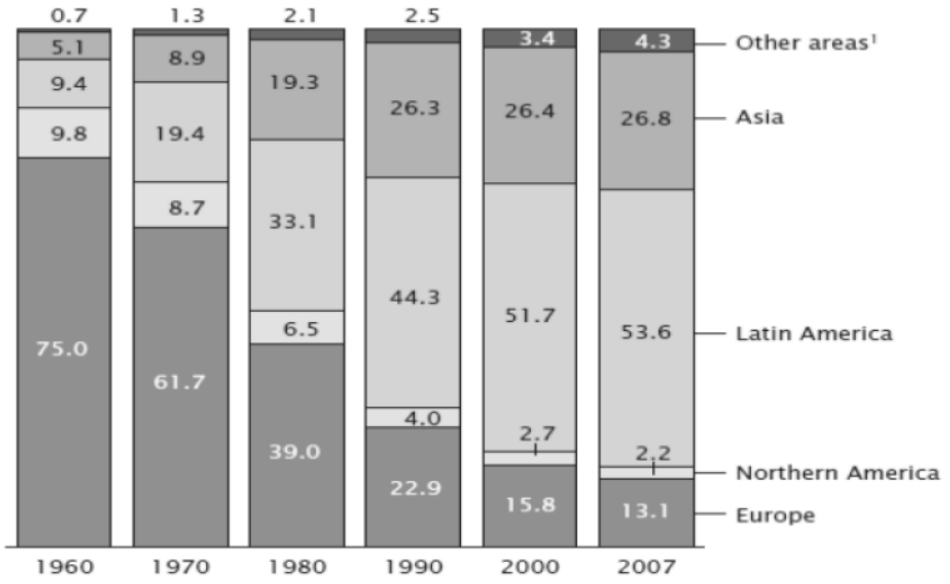
APPENDIX A: FIGURES

Figure 1a: Total Population by Nativity and Foreign-Born Population by Region of Birth: 2009 (adopted directly from Grieco and Trevelyan 2010)



[1]Other regions include Oceania and Northern America.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2009.

Figure 1b: Percent Distribution of Foreign-Born Population by Region of Birth: 1960 to 2007 (adopted directly from Grieco 2010)



[1] Other areas include Africa and Oceania.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1960 to 2000, and 2007 American Community Survey.

Figure 2a: Immigrant Children's Educational Outcomes: Conceptual Framework

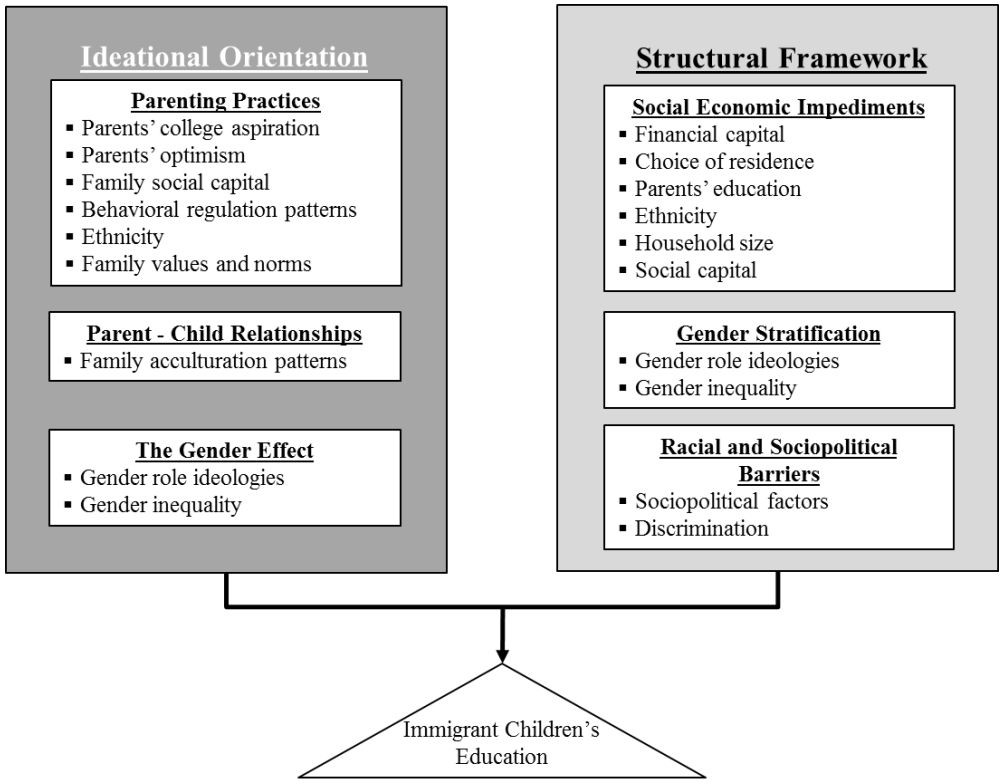


Figure 2b: Interactive Effect of Parent Socioeconomic Status and Family Cohesion

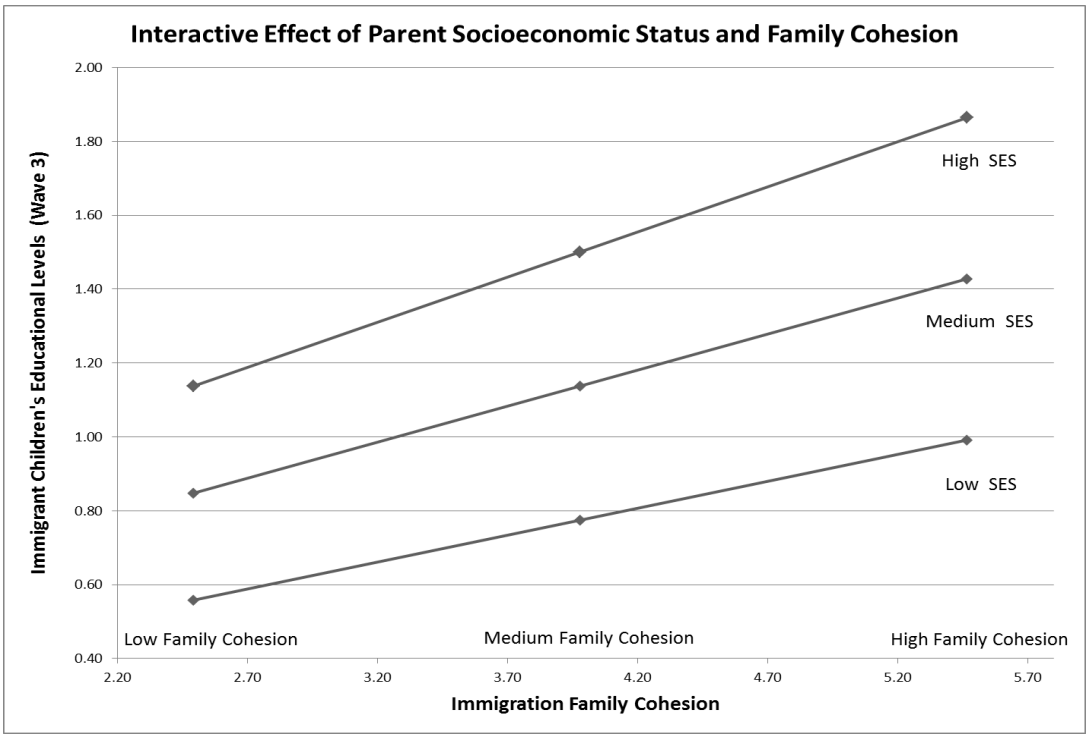


Figure 4a: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model

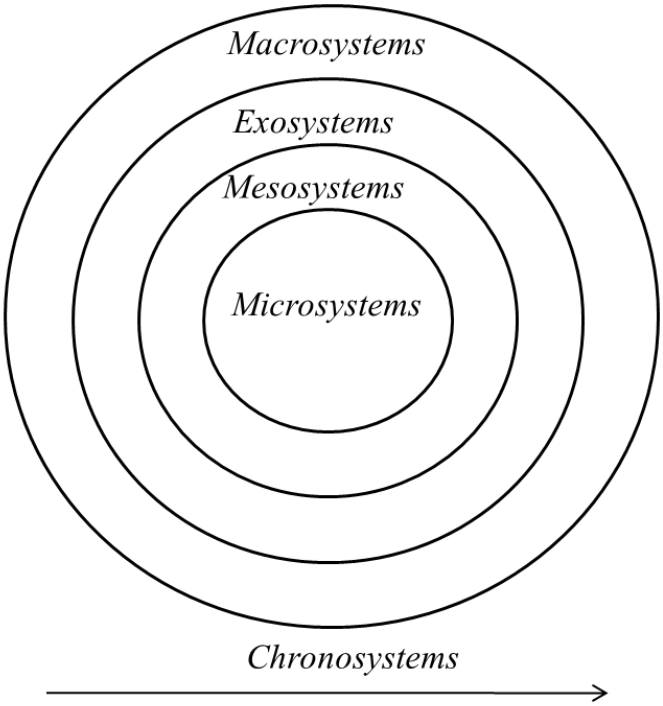


Figure 4b: Ecology of Immigrant Family: Conceptual Framework

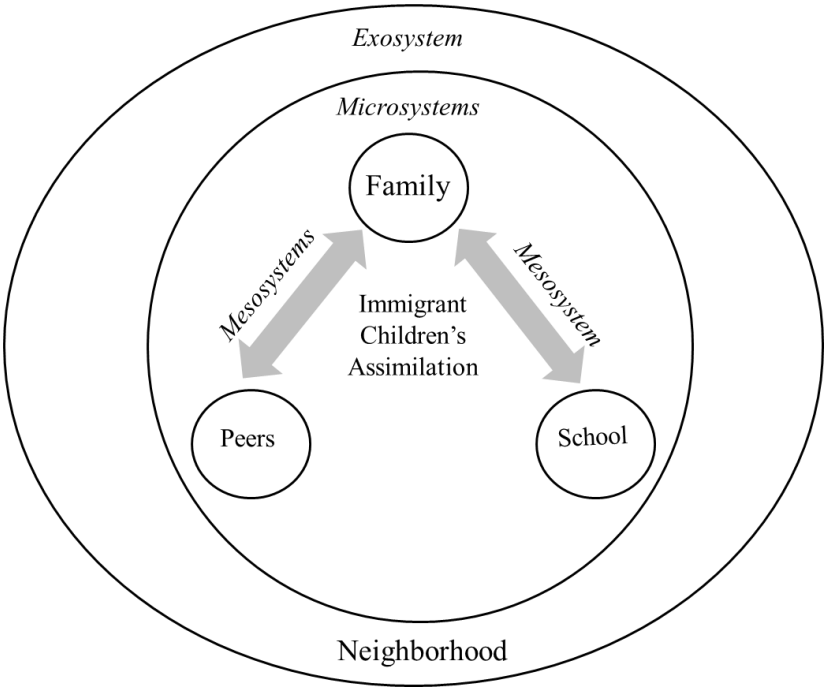
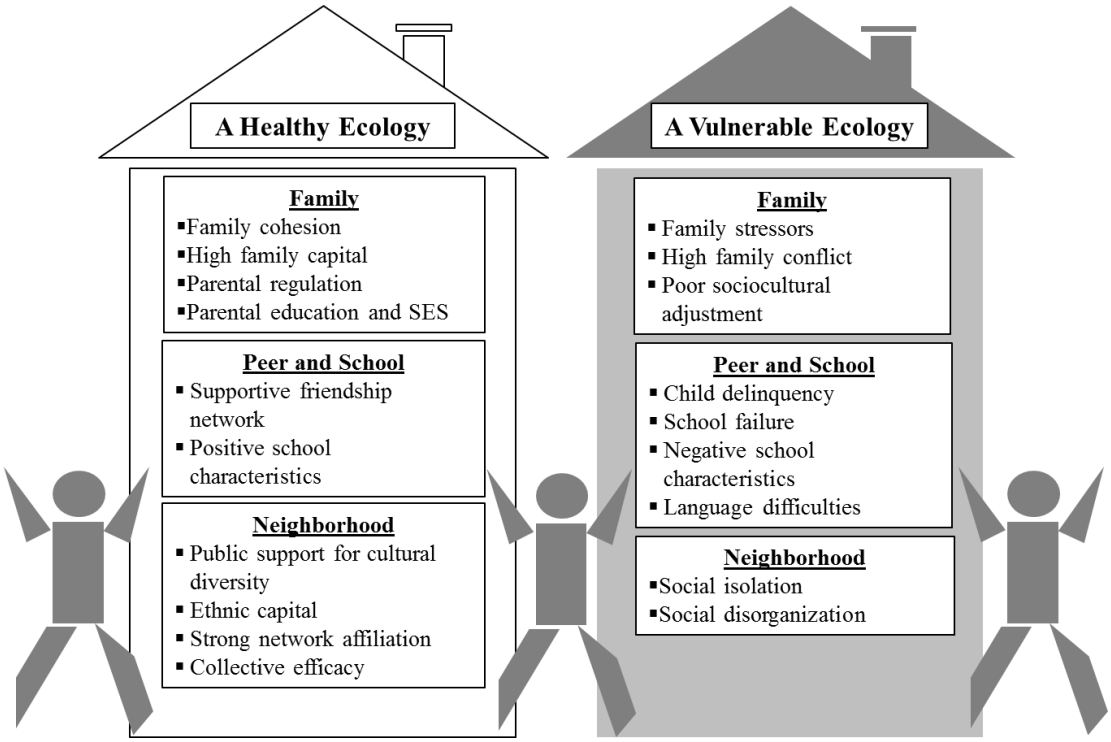


Figure 4c: Ecology of Immigrant Family: Visual Representation of Theoretical Framework



APPENDIX B: TABLES

Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables in the Analysis				
Variables	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Dependent Variable				
Immigrant Children's Educational Levels, W_3	1	9	4.383	1.702
Ideational Orientation Variables				
College Aspiration, W_2	0	1	0.935	0.247
Intergenerational Household, W_2	0	1	0.148	0.355
Household Size, W_2	1	19	5.118	1.736
Intact Household, W_2	0	1	0.780	0.415
Parent-Child Conflict (Index), W_2	0	6.881	1.795	1.491
Familism (Index), W_2	0	6.288	1.693	1.237
Family Cohesion (Index), W_2	0	6.085	3.978	1.487
Structural Variables				
Parent Socioeconomic (Index), W_1	0	3.539	1.699	0.783
Mother's Education, W_2	1	6	4.095	1.708
Father's Education, W_2	1	6	4.216	1.678
Experience with Discrimination, W_2	0	1	0.637	0.481
Adverse School Condition (Index), W_2	0	7.652	5.108	1.473
Acculturation Variables				
Length in the U.S, W_2				
My Entire Life	0	1	0.461	0.499
10 Years or More	0	1	0.424	0.494
Less than 10 Years	0	1	0.115	0.319
Languages Proficiency, W_2				
Fluent Bilingual	0	1	0.263	0.440
English Dominant	0	1	0.460	0.499
Foreign Language Dominant	0	1	0.086	0.280
Limited Bilingual	0	1	0.191	0.393
Had Most or Many Immigrant Peers, W_2	0	1	0.653	0.476
Number of Close Friends in School (log), W_2	1	5.500	2.662	0.864
Living in an Ethnic Enclave, W_2	0	1	0.300	0.458
Education Related Variables				
Study Hours, W_2	1	6	2.898	1.458
Work Hours, W_2	0	50	6.509	10.409
Grade Point Average, W_1	0.167	4.667	2.854	0.816
Grade Point Average, W_2	0	5	2.794	0.900

Demographic Variables				
Age	23	27	24.762	0.752
Male	0	1	0.451	0.498
Race				
White	0	1	0.143	0.350
Black	0	1	0.050	0.218
Hispanic	0	1	0.220	0.415
Asian	0	1	0.311	0.463
Other	0	1	0.276	0.447
Marital status				
Married	0	1	0.205	0.404
Cohabiting	0	1	0.052	0.223
Single	0	1	0.718	0.450
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	0	1	0.018	0.134
Other	0	1	0.006	0.079
Number of Children	0	4	0.243	0.600
Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Wave 1, 2, and 3)				
N=1,262				

Table 2.2: OLS Regression Analysis with Immigrant Children's Educational Levels as the Dependent Variable.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Variables	b/(SE)		b/(SE)		b/(SE)		b/(SE)		b/SE)	
Intercept	3.847	**	2.247		2.301		1.145		1.271	
	(1.403)		(1.405)		(1.382)		(1.381)		(1.379)	
Ideational Orientation Variables										
College Aspiration, W_2			0.724	***			0.598	***	0.604	***
			(0.181)				(0.172)		(0.172)	
			0.091				**0.075**		**0.076**	
Intergenerational Household, W_2			0.195	†			0.106		0.112	
			(0.114)				(0.113)		(0.113)	
			0.042				**0.023**		**0.024**	
Household Size, W_2			-0.062	*			-0.032		-0.030	
			(0.025)				(0.025)		(0.025)	
			-0.062				**-0.032**		**-0.030**	
Intact Household, W_2			0.160	†			0.130		0.121	
			(0.091)				(0.090)		(0.090)	
			0.038				**0.031**		**0.029**	
Parent-Child Conflict, W_2			0.013				0.017		0.013	
			(0.032)				(0.032)		(0.032)	
			0.011				**0.015**		**0.011**	
Familism, W_2			-0.042				-0.023		-0.027	
			(0.033)				(0.032)		(0.032)	
			-0.030				**-0.017**		**-0.019**	
Family Cohesion, W_2			0.098	**			0.089	**	0.088	**
			(0.030)				(0.030)		(0.029)	
Structural Variables			**0.085**				**0.077**		**0.076**	
Parent Socioeconomic Index, W_1					0.236	**	0.215	**	0.213	**
					(0.075)		(0.075)		(0.075)	
					0.110		**0.100**		**0.099**	
Mother's Education, W_2					0.054	†	0.047		0.048	
					(0.033)		(0.033)		(0.033)	
					0.053		**0.046**		**0.048**	
Father's Education, W_2					0.056	†	0.050	†	0.048	
					(0.030)		(0.030)		(0.030)	
					0.055		**0.048**		**0.047**	
Experience with Discrimination, W_2					-0.061		-0.061		-0.061	
					(0.079)		(0.079)		(0.079)	
					-0.017		**-0.017**		**-0.017**	
Adverse School Condition, W_2					-0.011		-0.022		-0.024	
					(0.025)		(0.026)		(0.026)	
					-0.010		**-0.019**		**-0.020**	
Assimilation Related Variables										
Length in the U.S[2], W_2										
10 Years or More	-0.213	*	-0.226	**	-0.141	†	-0.162	†	-0.165	*
	(0.084)		(0.084)		(0.082)		(0.083)		(0.083)	
	-0.062		**-0.066**		**-0.041**		**-0.047**		**-0.048**	
Less than 10 Years	-0.439	**	-0.430	**	-0.378	*	-0.385	**	-0.368	*
	(0.152)		(0.151)		(0.148)		(0.147)		(0.146)	
	-0.081		**-0.079**		**-0.070**		**-0.071**		**-0.068**	

Language Proficiency, W_2										
English Dominant	-0.041		-0.001		-0.066		-0.033		-0.018	
	(0.102)		(0.102)		(0.101)		(0.101)		(0.100)	
	-0.012		**0.000**		**-0.019**		**-0.010**		**-0.005**	
Foreign Language Dominant	-0.118		-0.065		0.081		0.085		0.108	
	(0.177)		(0.178)		(0.174)		(0.174)		(0.173)	
	-0.019		**-0.010**		**0.013**		**0.013**		**0.017**	
Limited Bilingual	-0.416	**	-0.277	*	-0.243	*	-0.164		-0.154	
	(0.127)		(0.127)		(0.123)		(0.124)		(0.124)	
	-0.093		**-0.062**		**-0.054**		**-0.037**		**-0.034**	
Living in an Ethnic Enclave, W_2	-0.159	†	-0.132		-0.118		-0.099		-0.102	
	(0.083)		(0.082)		(0.080)		(0.080)		(0.080)	
	-0.043		**-0.036**		**-0.032**		**-0.027**		**-0.028**	
Had Most or Many Immigrant Peers, W_2	0.223	**	0.189	*	0.244	**	0.213	**	0.219	**
	(0.080)		(0.079)		(0.079)		(0.079)		(0.078)	
	0.062		**0.053**		**0.068**		**0.059**		**0.061**	
Number of Close Friends in School (log), W_2	-0.011		-0.026		-0.033		-0.043		-0.042	
	(0.044)		(0.044)		(0.042)		(0.042)		(0.042)	
	-0.005		**-0.013**		**-0.016**		**-0.021**		**-0.021**	
Education Related Variables										
Study Hours, W_2	0.062	*	0.048	†	0.065	*	0.053	*	0.054	*
	(0.027)		(0.027)		(0.027)		(0.027)		(0.027)	
	0.055		**0.042**		**0.057**		**0.046**		**0.047**	
Work Hours, W_2	-0.006		-0.005		-0.006	†	-0.005		-0.005	
	(0.004)		(0.004)		(0.004)		(0.004)		(0.004)	
	-0.034		**-0.028**		**-0.036**		**-0.030**		**-0.028**	
GPA, W_1	0.351	***	0.325	***	0.322	***	0.304	***	0.303	***
	(0.082)		(0.080)		(0.079)		(0.078)		(0.078)	
	0.162		**0.150**		**0.149**		**0.141**		**0.141**	
GPA, W_2	0.728	***	0.695	***	0.692	***	0.676	***	0.673	***
	(0.069)		(0.068)		(0.069)		(0.068)		(0.068)	
	0.383		**0.366**		**0.365**		**0.356**		**0.355**	
Demographic Variables										
Age	-0.085		-0.049		-0.053		-0.030		-0.035	
	(0.057)		(0.056)		(0.056)		(0.055)		(0.055)	
	-0.037		**-0.021**		**-0.023**		**-0.013**		**-0.015**	
Male	0.097		0.098		0.038		0.047		0.044	
	(0.081)		(0.080)		(0.079)		(0.079)		(0.079)	
	0.028		**0.029**		**0.011**		**0.014**		**0.013**	
Race[1]										
Black	0.158		0.292		0.256		0.330		0.322	
	(0.198)		(0.204)		(0.195)		(0.201)		(0.199)	
	0.018		**0.034**		**0.030**		**0.038**		**0.037**	
Hispanic	-0.107		-0.084		-0.035		-0.032		-0.034	
	(0.131)		(0.130)		(0.127)		(0.127)		(0.126)	
	-0.025		**-0.020**		**-0.008**		**-0.008**		**-0.008**	
Asian	-0.468	***	-0.371	**	-0.333	*	-0.289	*	-0.284	*
	(0.127)		(0.130)		(0.129)		(0.131)		(0.131)	
	-0.132		**-0.104**		**-0.094**		**-0.081**		**-0.080**	
Other	-0.437	***	-0.372	**	-0.262	*	-0.243	*	-0.231	†
	(0.118)		(0.120)		(0.118)		(0.119)		(0.119)	
	-0.113		**-0.096**		**-0.068**		**-0.063**		**-0.060**	

Marital status[3], W_3										
Cohabiting	-0.084		-0.080		-0.086		-0.079		-0.084	
	(0.180)		(0.185)		(0.186)		(0.188)		(0.187)	
	-0.011		**-0.010**		**-0.011**		**-0.010**		**-0.011**	
Single	0.098		0.087		0.080		0.075		0.067	
	(0.108)		(0.108)		(0.106)		(0.107)		(0.106)	
	0.025		**0.022**		**0.021**		**0.019**		**0.017**	
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	-0.610	*	-0.638	*	-0.657	*	-0.661	*	-0.648	*
	(0.283)		(0.269)		(0.285)		(0.273)		(0.272)	
	-0.044		**-0.046**		**-0.048**		**-0.048**		**-0.047**	
Other	-0.643	†	-0.584	†	-0.228		-0.231		-0.235	
	(0.348)		(0.324)		(0.375)		(0.351)		(0.374)	
	-0.028		**-0.026**		**-0.010**		**-0.010**		**-0.010**	
Number of Children, W_3	-0.572	***	-0.522	***	-0.513	***	-0.483	***	-0.492	***
	(0.074)		(0.071)		(0.072)		(0.071)		(0.071)	
	-0.187		**-0.170**		**-0.168**		**-0.158**		**-0.161**	
Interaction Terms										
Familism * Parent Socioeconomic Index									-0.029	
									(0.038)	
									-0.017	
Family cohesion * Parent Socioeconomic Index									0.063	*
									(0.032)	
									0.043	
R^2	0.439		0.457		0.469		0.480		0.482	
RMSE	1.280		1.263		1.248		1.239		1.237	

† refers to p<.10, * refers to p< .05, ** refers to p< .01, *** refers to p< .001

[1] reference category: Immigrant children who identified themselves as White .

[2] reference category: Native born immigrant children.

[3] reference category: Immigrant children who were married at the time of the interview.

Note: This table presents OLS regression model with unstandardized coefficients, standard errors in parentheses, and standardized coefficients in bold

All data have been weighted.

N=1,262

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Wave 1, 2, and 3)

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics of Variables in the Analysis

	Pooled Sample				Professional Student		Full Time Worker		Student Worker		"Slow Achiever"	
	N=1,019				N=295		N=284		N=273		N=167	
Variables	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Family variables												
Parent-Child Conflict (Index), W_2	0	6.881	1.733	1.441	1.716	1.409	1.738	1.435	1.689	1.504	1.830	1.410
Mother's Education, W_2	1	6	4.129	1.575	4.380	1.549	3.894	1.592	4.223	1.489	3.928	1.656
Father's Education, W2	1	6	4.217	1.614	4.478	1.569	3.951	1.627	4.293	1.648	4.084	1.546
Parent Socioeconomic (Index), W_1	0	3.747	1.738	0.711	1.906	0.684	1.577	0.710	1.791	0.666	1.627	0.756
Intact Household, W_2	0	1	0.735	0.442	0.776	0.417	0.680	0.467	0.733	0.443	0.760	0.428
Education/Language variables												
GPA, W_2	0.139	5	2.642	0.823	2.965	0.799	2.316	0.800	2.767	0.687	2.425	0.850
English Language Skill (Index), W_2	0	8.612	7.884	1.470	12.247	1.470	12.011	1.593	12.339	1.255	12.154	1.555
Foreign Language Skill (Index), W_2	0	6.474	4.060	1.779	3.863	1.829	4.054	1.789	4.420	1.660	3.830	1.786
Assimilation Related variables												
Length in the U.S, W_2												
My Entire Life	0	1	0.502	0.500	0.505	0.501	0.504	0.501	0.498	0.501	0.503	0.501
10 years or more	0	1	0.390	0.488	0.414	0.493	0.380	0.486	0.385	0.487	0.371	0.485
Less than 10 years	0	1	0.108	0.310	0.081	0.274	0.116	0.321	0.117	0.322	0.126	0.333
Demographic variables												
Age	23	27	24.724	0.732	24.617	0.669	24.803	0.745	24.769	0.724	24.707	0.809
Male	0	1	0.432	0.496	0.414	0.493	0.451	0.498	0.403	0.491	0.479	0.501
Race												
White	0	1	0.159	0.366	0.139	0.347	0.155	0.362	0.183	0.388	0.162	0.369
Black	0	1	0.037	0.190	0.020	0.141	0.025	0.155	0.059	0.235	0.054	0.226
Hispanic	0	1	0.280	0.449	0.254	0.436	0.275	0.447	0.341	0.475	0.234	0.424
Asian	0	1	0.258	0.438	0.349	0.478	0.225	0.419	0.168	0.375	0.299	0.459
Other	0	1	0.266	0.442	0.237	0.426	0.320	0.467	0.249	0.433	0.251	0.435
Number of Children, W_3	0	4	0.135	0.447	0.051	0.249	0.236	0.598	0.136	0.454	0.114	0.371

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Wave 1, 2, and 3)

Table 3.2: Multinomial Regression Analysis with Immigrant Children's Assimilation Pathways during the Last Wave as the Dependent Variable.

Variables	Full-Time Workers N=284		Student Workers N=273		"Slow Achievers" N=167	
	Coef/(SE)	OR	Coef/(SE)	OR	Coef/(SE)	OR
Intercept	-1.965		-6.201 †		1.352	
	(3.437)		(3.304)		(4.107)	
Family Variables						
Parent-Child Conflict, W_2	-0.002	0.998	0.064	1.066	0.004	1.004
	(0.067)		(0.068)		(0.069)	
Mother's Education, W_2	0.030	1.030	0.033	1.034	-0.065	0.937
	(0.080)		(0.081)		(0.087)	
Father's Education, W_2	-0.061	0.941	-0.052	0.949	-0.053	0.949
	(0.080)		(0.078)		(0.086)	
Parent Socioeconomic Index, W_1	-0.580 **	0.560	-0.188	0.829	-0.470 *	0.625
	(0.203)		(0.200)		(0.236)	
Intact Household, W2	-0.121	0.886	0.132	1.141	0.203	1.225
	(0.222)		(0.214)		(0.248)	
Education/Language Variables						
Grade Point Average, W_2	-1.108 ***	0.330	-0.244 *	0.784	-0.950 ***	0.387
	(0.144)		(0.123)		(0.153)	
English Language Skill, W_2	-0.022	0.978	0.078	1.081	0.061	1.063
	(0.067)		(0.072)		(0.077)	
Foreign Language Skill, W_2	-0.083	0.921	0.065	1.067	-0.135 †	0.874
	(0.064)		(0.059)		(0.069)	
Assimilation Related Variables						
Length in the U.S, W_2[2]						
10 years or more	-0.173	0.842	-0.070	0.933	-0.097	0.907
	(0.205)		(0.197)		(0.263)	
Less than 10 years	0.327	1.387	0.460	1.584	0.718 †	2.051
	(0.350)		(0.354)		(0.405)	
Demographic Variables						
Age	0.262 †	1.299	0.256 *	1.292	0.076	1.079
	(0.137)		(0.130)		(0.161)	
Male	-0.086	0.917	-0.014	0.986	0.119	1.127
	(0.195)		(0.195)		(0.224)	
Race[1]						
Black	0.124	1.132	0.984 †	2.674	0.508	1.662
	(0.639)		(0.559)		(0.662)	
Hispanic	0.065	1.067	0.005	1.005	-0.353	0.702
	(0.304)		(0.279)		(0.367)	
Asian	0.008	1.008	-0.894 **	0.409	-0.029	0.972
	(0.344)		(0.324)		(0.410)	
Other	0.187	1.205	-0.234	0.791	-0.353	0.703
	(0.307)		(0.301)		(0.362)	

Number of Children, W_3	0.884	**	2.421		0.635	*	1.886		0.413		1.512	
	(0.276)				(0.274)				(0.311)			
2 Log Pseudolikelihood	-1543.656											
† refers to p<.10, * refers to p< .05, ** refers to p< .01, *** refers to p< .001												
[1] reference category: Immigrant children who identified themselves as White.												
[2] reference category: Immigrant children who are native born.												
Note: This table presents multinomial regression model with unstandardized coefficients, standard errors, as well as												
the odd ratios. Standard errors are in parentheses												
Professional Students are the reference category.												
All data have been weighted.												
N=1,019												
Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Wave 1, 2, and 3)												

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics of Variables in the Analysis								
	Pooled (N=1,103)				Male (N=493)		Female (N=610)	
Variables	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Dependent variable								
Downward Assimilation, W_3	0	3	0.301	0.640	0.416	0.770	0.208	0.494
Family Context								
Mother's Education, W_2	1	6	3.992	1.726	4.083	1.668	3.918	1.769
Father's Education, W_2	1	6	4.157	1.715	4.252	1.656	4.080	1.759
Parent Socioeconomic (Index), W_1	0	3.539	1.653	0.793	1.694	0.788	1.619	0.796
Intact Household, W_2	0	1	0.772	0.419	0.793	0.405	0.756	0.430
Family Cohesion, W_2	0	6.085	4.005	1.495	4.030	1.459	3.986	1.525
Peer/School Context								
Had Most or Many Immigrant Peers, W_2	0	1	0.665	0.472	0.651	0.477	0.677	0.468
Number of Friends in School (log), W_2	0	4.500	1.648	0.857	1.850	0.951	1.486	0.735
School Social Disorganization (Index), W_2	0	6.129	2.438	1.423	2.404	1.449	2.466	1.402
Neighborhood Context								
Living in an Ethnic Enclave, W_2	0	1	0.309	0.462	0.298	0.458	0.318	0.466
Social Disorganization (Index), W_2	0	8.185	0.993	1.816	0.849	1.684	1.108	1.910
Collective Efficacy (Index), W_2	0	5.625	3.761	1.554	3.769	1.602	3.754	1.516
Language/Education variables								
English Language Skill (Index), W_2	0	12.919	11.974	1.768	11.873	1.779	12.055	1.756
Foreign Language Skill (Index), W_2	0	6.474	4.084	1.750	3.963	1.731	4.182	1.760
Grade Point Average, W_2	0.100	5.000	2.772	0.903	2.578	0.948	2.928	0.835
Assimilation Related variables								
Length in the U.S[1], W_2								
My Entire Life	0	1	0.431	0.495	0.491	0.500	0.382	0.486
10 years or more	0	1	0.445	0.497	0.383	0.487	0.495	0.500
Less than 10 years	0	1	0.124	0.330	0.126	0.332	0.123	0.329
Demographic variables								
Age	23	27	24.768	0.759	24.822	0.779	24.725	0.740
Male	0	1	0.447	0.497				
Race[2]								
White	0	1	0.140	0.347	0.154	0.361	0.128	0.334
Black	0	1	0.035	0.185	0.020	0.141	0.048	0.213
Hispanic	0	1	0.238	0.426	0.245	0.431	0.231	0.422
Asian	0	1	0.316	0.465	0.292	0.455	0.336	0.473
Other	0	1	0.271	0.445	0.288	0.453	0.257	0.438
Marital status[3], W_3								
Married	0	1	0.205	0.404	0.132	0.339	0.264	0.441
Cohabiting	0	1	0.047	0.212	0.045	0.207	0.049	0.216
Single	0	1	0.723	0.448	0.795	0.404	0.664	0.473
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	0	1	0.019	0.137	0.020	0.141	0.018	0.133
Other	0	1	0.006	0.079	0.008	0.090	0.005	0.070
Number of Children, W_3	0	4	0.244	0.593	0.166	0.482	0.307	0.663

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Wave 1, 2, and 3)

[1] reference category: Native born immigrant children.

[2]reference category: Immigrant children who identified themselves as White .

[3] reference category: Immigrant children who were married at the time of the interview.

Table 4.2: Negative Binomial Analysis with Downward Assimilation as the Dependent Variable.

	Model 1 Microsystem			Model 2 Mesosystem			Model 3 Exosystem		
Variables	Coef/(SE)		IRR	Coef/(SE)		IRR	Coef/(SE)		IRR
Intercept	-0.996			-1.615			-1.604		
	(2.342)			(2.330)			(2.318)		
Family Context									
Mother's Education, W_2	-0.154	**	0.857	-0.154	**	0.857	-0.151	**	0.860
	(0.055)			(0.055)			(0.055)		
Father's Education, W_2	0.073		1.076	0.071		1.074	0.069		1.071
	(0.055)			(0.054)			(0.054)		
Parent Socioeconomic Index, W_2	-0.122		0.885	-0.129		0.879	-0.140		0.869
	(0.139)			(0.139)			(0.139)		
Intact Households, W_2	-0.247	†	0.781	-0.242	†	0.785	-0.250	†	0.779
	(0.144)			(0.145)			(0.144)		
Family Cohesion, W_2	-0.106	*	0.899	-0.100	*	0.905	-0.099	*	0.906
	(0.042)			(0.043)			(0.043)		
Peer and School Context									
Had Most or Many Immigrant Peers, W_2	-0.062		0.940	-0.042		0.959	-0.019		0.981
	(0.131)			(0.134)			(0.135)		
Number of Close Friends in School (log), W_2	0.132	*	1.142	0.128	†	1.137	0.128	†	1.137
	(0.067)			(0.066)			(0.066)		
School Social Disorganization, W_2	0.072		1.075	0.075		1.078	0.070		1.072
	(0.046)			(0.045)			(0.046)		
Family X Peer/School Context									
Family Cohesion * Immigrant Peers				0.028		1.028	0.029		1.029
				(0.084)			(0.084)		
Parents Socioeconomic Index * School Social Disorganization				0.094	†	1.099	0.091	†	1.096
				(0.053)			(0.053)		
Neighborhood Context									
Living in an Ethnic Enclave, W_2							-0.224		0.799
							(0.145)		
Social Disorganization, W_2							0.010		1.010
							(0.036)		
Collective Efficacy, W_2							0.010		1.010
							(0.041)		
Language/Education Variables									
English Language Skill, W_2	-0.022		0.979	-0.024		0.977	-0.022		0.978
	(0.043)			(0.042)			(0.042)		
Foreign Language Skill W_2	0.034		1.035	0.036		1.036	0.038		1.039
	(0.044)			(0.044)			(0.044)		
Grade Point Average, W_2	-0.352	***	0.703	-0.337	***	0.714	-0.340	***	0.712
	(0.071)			(0.070)			(0.070)		
Assimilation Variables									
Length in the U.S.[1], W_2									
10 Years or More	-0.141		0.868	-0.137		0.872	-0.159		0.853
	(0.151)			(0.150)			(0.150)		
Less than 10 Years	-0.544	*	0.581	-0.540	*	0.583	-0.554	*	0.575
	(0.261)			(0.260)			(0.259)		
Demographic Variables									
Age	0.024		1.024	0.029		1.030	0.030		1.030
	(0.091)			(0.091)			(0.091)		
Male	0.581	***	1.788	0.600	***	1.821	0.594	***	1.812
	(0.141)			(0.141)			(0.141)		

Race[2]										
Black	0.604		1.830		0.605		1.831		0.557		1.745
	(0.379)				(0.378)				(0.379)		
Hispanic	0.229		1.257		0.195		1.216		0.173		1.189
	(0.231)				(0.230)				(0.230)		
Asian	0.246		1.278		0.214		1.239		0.245		1.278
	(0.261)				(0.258)				(0.258)		
Other	0.445	†	1.561		0.406	†	1.501		0.422	†	1.526
	(0.230)				(0.229)				(0.231)		
Marital Status[3], W_3											
Cohabiting	0.385		1.470		0.400		1.492		0.370		1.448
	(0.361)				(0.364)				(0.356)		
Single	0.446	*	1.562		0.458	*	1.581		0.440	*	1.553
	(0.197)				(0.196)				(0.196)		
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	0.294		1.341		0.280		1.323		0.261		1.298
	(0.344)				(0.340)				(0.332)		
Other	-0.017		0.983		0.018		1.018		0.038		1.039
	(0.439)				(0.440)				(0.429)		
Number of Children	0.261	*	1.298		0.272	*	1.313		0.266	*	1.305
	(0.118)				(0.117)				(0.117)		
Log pseudolikelihood	-847.235				-845.573				-844.109		
† refers to p<.10, * refers to p< .05, ** refers to p< .01, *** refers to p< .001											
[1] reference category: Native born immigrant children.											
[2]reference category: Immigrant children who identified themselves as White .											
[3] reference category: Immigrant children who were married at the time of the interview.											
Note: This table presents negative binomial regression model with unstandardized coefficients, standard errors and Incident Rate Ratios.											
Standard errors are in parentheses											
All data have been weighted.											
N=1,103											
Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Wave 1, 2, and 3)											

Table 4.3 Negative Binomial Analysis with Downward Assimilation as the Dependent Variable.								
	Male			Female			z-test	
	(N=493)			(N=610)				
Variables	Coef/(SE)		IRR	Coef/(SE)		IRR		
Intercept	-0.996			-2.190				
	(3.087)			(3.456)				
Family Context								
Mother's Education, W_2	-0.083		0.920	-0.177	*	0.837	0.882	
	(0.081)			(0.070)				
Father's Education, W_2	-0.047		0.954	0.206	**	1.229	-2.481	*
	(0.072)			(0.072)				
Parent Socioeconomic Index W_1	-0.023		0.977	-0.287		0.751	1.027	
	(0.169)			(0.193)				
Intact Household, W_2	-0.429	*	0.651	-0.130		0.878	-1.034	
	(0.205)			(0.204)				
Family Cohesion, W_2	-0.120	*	0.887	-0.082		0.921	-0.468	
	(0.058)			(0.057)				
Peer/School Context								
Had Most or Many Immigrant Peers, W_2	-0.060		0.942	-0.050		0.951	-0.035	
	(0.192)			(0.199)				
Number of Close Friends in School (log), W_2	0.109		1.115	0.194		1.214	-0.600	
	(0.073)			(0.120)				
School Social Disorganization, W_2	0.123	†	1.130	-0.024		0.976	1.533	
	(0.064)			(0.071)				
Family X Peer/School Context								
Family Cohesion * Immigrant Peers	0.059		1.061	-0.029		0.971	0.534	
	(0.112)			(0.121)				
Parent Socioeconomic Index * School Social Disorganization	0.108		1.114	0.036		1.037	0.625	
	(0.078)			(0.085)				
Neighborhood Context								
Living in an Ethnic Enclave, W_2	-0.443	*	0.642	0.100		1.106	-1.862	†
	(0.203)			(0.210)				
Social Disorganization, W_2	0.103	*	1.108	-0.089		0.915	2.527	*
	(0.045)			(0.061)				
Collective Efficacy, W_2	-0.036		0.965	0.095		1.099	1.533	
	(0.050)			(0.069)				
Language/Education variables								
English Language Skills, W_2	-0.040		0.960	-0.018		0.982	0.250	
	(0.054)			(0.070)				
Foreign Language Skills, W_2	-0.026		0.974	0.159	*	1.173	2.099	*
	(0.061)			(0.064)				
Grade Point Average, W_2	-0.255	**	0.775	-0.548	***	0.578	2.090	*
	(0.086)			(0.111)				
Assimilation Related variables								
Length in the U.S.[1], W_2								
10 years or more	-0.139		0.870	-0.294		0.745	0.535	
	(0.196)			(0.213)				
Less than 10 years	-0.520		0.594	-0.683	†	0.505	0.317	
	(0.331)			(0.390)				

Demographic Variables								
Age	0.046		1.047	0.018		1.019	0.154	
	(0.120)			(0.132)				
Race[2]								
Black	0.079		1.082	0.764		2.146	-0.836	
	(0.669)			(0.472)				
Hispanic	-0.056		0.946	0.318		1.375	-0.807	
	(0.305)			(0.350)				
Asian	0.078		1.081	0.571		1.769	-0.958	
	(0.350)			(0.377)				
Other	0.259		1.295	0.504		1.656	-0.528	
	(0.313)			(0.343)				
Marital Status[3], W_3								
Cohabiting	0.630		1.877	0.213		1.237	0.589	
	(0.465)			(0.534)				
Single	0.970	**	2.638	0.211		1.234	1.798	†
	(0.342)			(0.248)				
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	-0.068		0.934	0.282		1.326	-0.566	
	(0.424)			(0.451)				
Other	0.117		1.124	-0.112		0.894	0.207	
	(0.510)			(0.982)				
Number of Children, W_3	0.567	**	1.763	0.147		1.158	1.632	
	(0.202)			(0.159)				
Log Pseudolikelihood	-436.816			-382.869				
† refers to p<.10, * refers to p< .05, ** refers to p< .01, *** refers to p< .001								
[1] reference category: Native born immigrant children.								
[2]reference category: Immigrant children who identified themselves as White .								
[3] reference category: Immigrant children who were married at the time of the interview.								
Note: This table presents negative binomial regression model with unstandardized coefficients, standard errors and Incident Rate								
Ratios. Standard errors are in parentheses								
All data have been weighted.								
Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Wave 1, 2, and 3)								

APPENDIX C: APPENDICES

Appendix 2.1: Patterns of Missing Data Prior to Listwise Deletion		
Dependent Variable	**Number**	**Percentage**
Immigrant Children's Educational Levels, W_3	33	1.95
Ideational Orientation Variables		
College Aspiration, W_2	2	0.12
Intergenerational Household, W_2	0	0
Household Size, W_2	9	0.53
Intact Household, W_2	8	0.47
Parent-Child Conflict (Index), W_2	14	0.83
Familism (Index), W_2	14	0.83
Family Cohesion (Index), W_2	6	0.35
Structural Variables		
Parent Socioeconomic (Index), W_1	0	0
Mother's Education, W_2	88	5.20
Father's Education, W_2	169	9.99
Experience with Discrimination, W_2	9	0.53
Adverse School Condition (Index), W_2	29	1.71
Acculturation Variables		
Length in the U.S, W_2		
My Entire Life	0	0
10 Years or More	0	0
Less than 10 Years	0	0
Languages Proficiency, W_2		
Fluent Bilingual	0	0
English Dominant	0	0
Foreign Language Dominant	0	0
Limited Bilingual	0	0
Had Most or Many Immigrant Peers, W_2	63	3.73
Number of Close Friends in School (log), W_2	144	8.52
Living in an Ethnic Enclave, W_2	5	0.30
Education Related Variables		
Study Hours, W_2	10	0.59
Work Hours, W_2	22	1.30
Grade Point Average, W_1	19	1.12
Grade Point Average, W_2	19	1.12
Demographic Variables		
Age	5	0.30
Male	0	0

Race		
White	0	0
Black	0	0
Hispanic	0	0
Asian	0	0
Other	0	0
Marital status		
Married	9	0.53
Cohabiting	9	0.53
Single	9	0.53
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	9	0.53
Other	9	0.53
Number of Children	6	0.35
N prior to Listwise Deletion = 1,691		

Appendix 2.2: Principal Component Analysis of Parent-Child Conflict

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.161	0.540
2	0.764	0.191
3	0.604	0.151
4	0.471	0.118
Items	Component 1	
Respondent in trouble w/parents/doing different things	0.435	
Parents don't like me much	0.490	
Parent/I argue/conflicting goals	0.523	
Parents not interested in what I say	0.546	

Appendix 2.3: Principal Component Analysis of Familism

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	1.654	0.551
2	0.753	0.251
3	0.593	0.198
Items	Component 1	
Should help relative over friend	0.544	
Serious problems/only relatives can help	0.619	
Better find job near parents	0.567	

Appendix 2.4: Principal Component Analysis of Family Cohesion

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.294	0.765
2	0.423	0.141
3	0.283	0.094
Items	Component 1	
Family likes spend time together	0.560	
Family members feel close	0.596	
Family togetherness important	0.576	

Appendix 2.5: Principal Component Analysis of Adverse School Condition

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.304	0.576
2	0.789	0.197
3	0.512	0.128
4	0.396	0.099
Items	Component 1	
Teaching is good	0.520	
Teachers interested in students	0.518	
Students graded fairly	0.493	
Discipline is fair	0.466	

Appendix 3.1: Patterns of Missing Data Prior to Listwise Deletion			
Dependent Variable	**Number**	**Percentage**	
Segment	0	0	
Family Variables			
Parent-Child Conflict (Index), W_2	12	0.94	
Intact Household, W_2	7	0.55	
Mother's Education, W_2	108	8.46	
Father's Education, W2	52	4.07	
Parent Socioeconomic (Index), W_1	0	0	
Education/Language Variables			
GPA, W_2	19	1.49	
English Language Skill (Index), W_2	2	0.16	
Foreign Language Skill (Index), W_2	118	9.24	
Assimilation Related Variables			
Length in the U.S, W_2			
My Entire Life	0	0	
10 years or more	0	0	
Less than 10 years	0	0	
Demographic Variables			
Age	2	0.16	
Male	0	0	
Race			
White	0	0	
Black	0	0	
Hispanic	0	0	
Asian	0	0	
Other	0	0	
Number of Children, W_3	0	0	
N prior to Listwise Deletion = 1,277			

Appendix 3.2: Principal Component Analysis of Parent-Child Conflict

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.161	0.540
2	0.764	0.191
3	0.604	0.151
4	0.471	0.118
Items	Component 1	
Respondent in trouble w/parents/doing different things	0.435	
Parents don't like me much	0.490	
Parent/I argue/conflicting goals	0.523	
Parents not interested in what I say	0.546	

Appendix 3.3: Principal Component Analysis of English Language Skill

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	3.220	0.805
2	0.383	0.096
3	0.216	0.054
4	0.180	0.045
Items	Component 1	
Respondent speak English well	0.496	
Respondent understand English well	0.501	
Respondent read English well	0.510	
Respondent write English well	0.493	

Appendix 3.4: Principal Component Analysis of Foreign Language Skill

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.909	0.727
2	0.676	0.169
3	0.294	0.074
4	0.121	0.030
Items	Component 1	
Respondent speak 2nd Language well	0.494	
Respondent understand 2nd Language well	0.466	
Respondent read 2nd Language well	0.524	
Respondent write 2nd Language well	0.514	

Appendix 4.1: Patterns of Missing Data Prior to Listwise Deletion			
Dependent Variable	**Number**	**Percentage**	
Downward Assimilation, W_3	69	4.08	
Family Context			
Mother's Education, W_2	88	5.20	
Father's Education, W_2	169	9.99	
Parent Socioeconomic (Index), W_1	0	0	
Intact Household, W_2	8	0.47	
Family Cohesion, W_2	6	0.35	
Peer/School Context			
Had Most or Many Immigrant Peers, W_2	63	3.73	
Number of Friends in School (log), W_2	144	8.52	
School Social Disorganization (Index), W_2	34	2.01	
Neighborhood Context			
Living in an Ethnic Enclave, W_2	5	0.30	
Social Disorganization (Index), W_2	32	1.89	
Collective Efficacy (Index), W_2	48	2.84	
Language/Education variables			
English Language Skill (Index), W_2	1	0.06	
Foreign Language Skill (Index), W_2	154	9.11	
Grade Point Average, W_2	19	1.12	
Assimilation Related variables			
Length in the U.S[1], W_2			
My Entire Life	0	0	
10 years or more	0	0	
Less than 10 years	0	0	
Demographic variables			
Age	5	0.30	
Male	0	0	
Race			
White	0	0	
Black	0	0	
Hispanic	0	0	
Asian	0	0	
Other	0	0	

Marital status, W_3			
Married	9	0.53	
Cohabiting	9	0.53	
Single	9	0.53	
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	9	0.53	
Other	9	0.53	
Number of Children, W_3	6	0.35	
N prior to Listwise Deletion = 1,691			

Appendix 4.2: Principal Component Analysis of Family Cohesion

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.294	0.765
2	0.423	0.141
3	0.283	0.094
Items	Component 1	
Family likes spend time together	0.560	
Family members feel close	0.596	
Family togetherness important	0.576	

Appendix 4.3: Principal Component Analysis of School Social Disorganization

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.022	0.505
2	0.789	0.197
3	0.698	0.175
4	0.491	0.123
Items	Component 1	
Don't feel safe in school	0.479	
Student disruptions prevent learning	0.434	
Fights between racial/ethnic groups	0.539	
Many gangs in school	0.540	

Appendix 4.4: Principal Component Analysis of Neighborhood Social Disorganization

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	3.292	0.658
2	0.647	0.129
3	0.449	0.090
4	0.403	0.081
5	0.209	0.042
Items	Component 1	
Neighborhood problem/racial group conflict	0.401	
Neighborhood problem/no respect-rules/laws	0.438	
Neighborhood problem/assaults, muggings	0.437	
Neighborhood problem/gangs	0.484	
Neighborhood problem/drug use/dealing	0.472	

Appendix 4.5: Principal Component Analysis of Collective Efficacy

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	2.550	0.850
2	0.306	0.102
3	0.144	0.048
Items	Component 1	
People intervene/fight or beating	0.556	
People intervene/sell drugs	0.587	
People intervene/kids getting in trouble	0.588	

Appendix 4.6: Principal Component Analysis of English Language Skill

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Explained
1	3.220	0.805
2	0.383	0.096
3	0.216	0.054
4	0.180	0.045
Items	Component 1	
Respondent speak English well	0.496	
Respondent understand English well	0.501	
Respondent read English well	0.510	
Respondent write English well	0.493	

Appendix 4.7: Principal Component Analysis of Foreign Language Skill

Component	Eigen Value	Variation Exlained
1	2.909	0.727
2	0.676	0.169
3	0.294	0.074
4	0.121	0.030
Items	Component 1	
Respondent speak 2nd Language well	0.494	
Respondent understand 2nd Language well	0.466	
Respondent read 2nd Language well	0.524	
Respondent write 2nd Language well	0.514	