RACIAL/ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION AS A BARRIER TO SOCIOECONOMIC UPWARD MOBILITY AMONG SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS: A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF PREVALENCE AND SHORT- AND LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

A Dissertation
Submitted To
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Submitted to:
Temple University
Graduate School
College of Liberal Arts
Department of Sociology

---

by
René Ropač
December 2017

Examining Committee Members:

Dr. Joshua Klugman, Advisory Chair, Department of Sociology
Dr. James Bachmeier, Department of Sociology
Dr. Rebbeca Tesfai, Department of Sociology
Dr. Will Jordan, External Reader, College of Education

ABSTRACT

Today's second-generation immigrants who are mostly of Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean, and Asian descent face new challenges that prevent them from replicating the high levels of intergenerational upward mobility that were achieved by most European immigrants and their offspring in earlier periods. Segmented assimilation theory argues that the persistent racial and ethnic discrimination against nonwhite children of immigrants constitutes a major barrier to their incorporation into the middle class as such experiences foster a reactive mindset that is detrimental to socioeconomic incorporation. To test this claim, I analyze whether perceived discrimination (PD) has a negative impact on the educational and occupational outlooks, and ultimately on the socioeconomic status attainment of second-generation immigrants. Further, I examine how socioeconomic background and contextual factors influence the risk of PD on the one hand, and its short- and long-term consequences on the other. Drawing from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), which was conducted in three waves when respondents were on average fourteen, seventeen, and twenty-four years old, I include individual-level and school-level data and use school random effects logistic and linear regression modeling to examine the effects of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination on second-generation immigrant incorporation. I find very little evidence for the notion that PD has a negative impact on future outlooks or status attainment; only youth who come of age in relatively privileged socioeconomic circumstances are more likely to have higher educational aspirations than expectations, but this

mechanism does not translate into lower status attainment. I discuss possible explanations for the lack of support of segmented assimilation theory's claims as well as the theoretical and methodological implications of my study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The proportion of European immigrants coming to the United States has consistently eroded since the 1960s and was eventually superseded by large inflows of Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean newcomers (Brown and Stepler 2016). As a consequence, the ethnic and racial makeup of today's second-generation Americans—and of the country as a whole—has drastically changed. Twelve percent of the total U.S. population are children of immigrants, the vast majority of which are nonwhite, and this proportion will likely grow to nineteen percent by 2050 (Brown and Stepler 2016). While there is broad agreement among scholars that contemporary immigrant groups face new challenges that prevent them from replicating the high levels of intergenerational upward mobility that was granted to most European arrivals and their offspring in earlier periods, opinions vary on what those differences exactly are and how much they really matter (Portes and Zhou 1993; Massey 1995; Zhou 1997; Alba and Nee 1997; Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2001).

The degree to which the nonwhite racial status of most contemporary second-generation immigrants matters for their status attainment is a major point of contention among assimilation scholars. One of the most prominent theories of assimilation is segmented assimilation theory (Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2011; Brown and Bean 2006), which argues that the persistent racial and ethnic discrimination against nonwhite children of immigrants constitutes a major barrier to their incorporation into the middle-class (Portes and Zhou 1993). Further, without any sources of resiliency—that is, family or community resources—those experiences foster a reactive mindset that is detrimental to upward mobility and increases the risk of integration into the impoverished American "underclass" (Zhou 1997). Specifically, the prevalence of discriminatory experiences as well as their impact on the status attainment of immigrant children depend on their socioeconomic background, location of settlement, and the degree to which they are embedded in their co-ethnic or immigrant communities (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

The prediction that discrimination is a principal barrier to second-generation immigrant assimilation and that downward assimilation will be a common phenomenon among contemporary immigrant groups sets segmented assimilation theory (SAT) apart from the other major framework, "new assimilation theory" (NAT), which also recognizes that discrimination against nonwhite second-generation immigrants happens, but that does not consider that such experiences could have an actual detrimental impact on their status attainment (Alba and Nee 1997; Alba and Nee 2003). Moreover, NAT is more optimistic about immigrant incorporation in general, arguing that the vast majority of immigrant groups in fact experience "modest but significant upward mobility" (Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2011:768).

The relatively bright future prospects of immigrant assimilation put forward by NAT as well as its dismissal of racial discrimination as an influential factor to immigrant assimilation stems from the notion that minority children of immigrants are able to take advantage of policies and programs that were developed as a consequence of the civil rights struggle, such as diversity outreach programs, anti-discrimination policies, or affirmative action, which is greatly beneficial to their incorporation outcomes (Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2011; Alba 2008; Kasinitz et al 2008). In other words, those relative advantages are viewed as much more influential than any disadvantages that come with racial or ethnic discrimination, whereas broad institutional barriers to employment and the lack of economic opportunities are the principal obstacles of second-generation immigrant assimilation.

To further inform this debate with empirical evidence, my study will examine the role racial or ethnic discrimination plays when it comes to socioeconomic assimilation outcomes of children of immigrants. Specifically, I will analyze whether experiences discrimination have a negative impact on the future aspirations and expectations of immigrant youth as well as on their status attainment in young adulthood above and beyond other factors, and how the presence of co-ethnic communities influences the risk of experiencing discrimination on the one hand, and its short-term and long-term consequences on the other. In order to do so, I will draw both from the literature on immigration as well as research on racial and ethnic discrimination, which brings important insights to the table that have not been considered in the segmented assimilation framework.

In this first chapter, I will briefly outline segmented assimilation theory and the three distinct assimilation paths it predicts. Next, I will present a review of the literature on the predictors of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, the effects of perceived discrimination on short-term and long-term outcomes, and moderating factors. Finally, I will address my research goals and the significance of my research as well as provide a brief description of my data set and analyses I perform in this study.

Segmented Assimilation Theory

Theories of assimilation explain how immigrants integrate into a host society over time and how subsequent generations further incorporate in terms of cultural norms and behaviors, life expectations and aspirations, and socioeconomic status (Gordon 1964). However, there is no monolithic American society into which immigrants can uniformly assimilate (Waldinger 1993) and, on top of that, contemporary immigrants are highly heterogeneous themselves in terms of national origin, racial status, cultural and socioeconomic background, timing of arrival, and patterns of settlement (Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). This complexity results in various combinations of contextual factors that interact with different sets of individual-level and family-level factors, determining the pace and degree to which immigrants and their offspring become Americanized—as well as what "becoming Americanized" actually entails depending on the social and cultural environment immigrant children adapt to (Portes and Zhou 1993). Segmented assimilation theory identifies various determinants of incorporation paths in order to explain the divergent destinies of contemporary immigrant children (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997).

My study will test one of the main concepts of SAT: Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that the social and economic incorporation into the American middle-class is inhibited by racial or ethnic discrimination, as these experiences lead to "oppositional cultural" dispositions (Ogbu 1974) that are detrimental to socioeconomic success, such as low educational and occupational aspirations and expectations, as well as a gap between aspirations and expectations, i.e. having lower educational aspirations than expectations.

To be sure, Ogbu (1974) aimed to explain the racial gap in academic performance between American whites and African Americans, but he never made that claim about immigrant youth. Specifically, Ogbu (1974) argues that "involuntary minority" groups—which are only in the U.S. because they were conquered, colonized, or enslaved (e.g. American Indians, Puerto Ricans, African Americans)—see their marginalized position in society as enduring and are thus vulnerable to developing an "oppositional cultural" mindset, whereas "voluntary minorities"—who came to the United States on their own volition as documented or undocumented migrants, guest workers, or refugees (e.g. Cubans, Haitians, Filipinos)—look at prejudice and discrimination as temporary nuisances that will erode over time and eventually disappear; a view that protects them from adopting a reactive mindset that is inhibitive to educational success (Ogbu 1974).

However, there is a good amount of empirical evidence that indicates that African American students have *more* optimistic occupational expectations and take education more seriously than their white counterparts (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey

1998; Mangino 2013). Furthermore, a number of studies find a “net advantage” among blacks regarding college attendance once socioeconomic status background is accounted for (Charles, Roscigno, and Torres 2007). Finally, high-achieving black students do not face a higher risk of being negatively sanctioned by their peers than white students, even when they go to predominantly black schools (Downey and Ainsworth-Darnell 2002; Cook and Ludwig 1997).

In short, it is a bit of a leap of faith of segmented assimilation theory to argue that oppositional cultural dispositions apply to immigrant populations in the first place, and that they spoil future outlooks and inhibit eventual status attainment. That being said, Mangino (2013) asserts that while oppositional culture is indeed a “mechanism of disqualification,” it does not specifically apply to African Americans. Consequentially, immigrant youth who experience racial or ethnic discrimination might still be in danger to develop dispositions that are detrimental to their socioeconomic incorporation, but no more or less than other social groups (Mangino 2013).

To reveal the impact of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination (PD) on these assimilation outcomes, I will take into consideration a number of determinants of second-generation immigrant incorporation according to SAT, namely socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration in the immigrant community, and exposure to the disenfranchised and impoverished “underclass” (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Portes and Zhou (1993) categorize the manifold assimilation processes and outcomes into three possible—segmented—assimilation paths: (1)

upward assimilation, (2) downward assimilation, and (3) selective assimilation. The following paragraphs provide a brief description of each of these paths.

Path 1 – Upward Assimilation

Immigrant youth who live in more affluent neighborhoods and who develop social ties and friendships outside of their immigrant community are expected to adopt values, behaviors, and expectations that promote the socioeconomic incorporation into the American middle-class. They also have greater access to information about educational or job opportunities than less integrated individuals, which further boosts their chances for upward mobility. Finally, SAT suggests that non-white immigrant youth (and particularly black adolescents) who are exposed to a substantial number of white Americans experience relatively high levels of discrimination, which significantly dampens their chances for upward mobility, irrespective of the otherwise promising baseline conditions.

However, even though perceived discrimination is a significant factor that interferes with positive assimilation outcomes, its effects are presumably smaller in magnitude than those of social context, socioeconomic background, or social capital (Portes and Zhou 1993). Furthermore, since children of immigrants in this path can draw from various useful resources and are surrounded by positive role models—both of which arguably fosters ambition and positive outlooks—the negative influence of perceived discrimination is expected to be smaller than among less privileged youth. In other words, despite the high risk of being confronted with discrimination as nonwhite immigrants in a largely native white environment, immigrant youth in Path 1 are still expected to do better in terms of socioeconomic attainment than the rest.

Path 2 – Downward Assimilation

Second-generation immigrants who reside in marginalized inner-city neighborhoods are prone to adopt the "oppositional cultural" dispositions of their disenchanted peers (Ogbu 1974), which leads to downward assimilation, i.e. the social and economic incorporation into the poorly educated, underemployed, and impoverished "underclass" (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Immigrant youth who come of age in this kind of environment are expected to perceive less discrimination than their counterparts who reside and go to school in more privileged areas, as they are less exposed to white Americans and more likely to socialize with native-born minority youth with whom they share their nonwhite racial status. However, immigrant children who are acculturated into the American underclass who *do* perceive discrimination are more susceptible to internalize it, which means that PD in this context ultimately has a greater negative impact on socioeconomic outcomes than among those who hold middle-class values.

Path 3 – Selective Assimilation

Selective assimilation is the acquisition of useful cultural norms and skills while rejecting other American traits that are considered detrimental to upward mobility, combined with the deliberate preservation of the immigrants' native culture and co-ethnic solidarity (Portes and Zhou 1993). Segmented assimilation and having social ties with other children of immigrants are helpful to circumvent undesirable social influences, which is essential to avoid downward assimilation for those who reside in socially disorganized, low-income neighborhoods (Portes and Zhou 1993). Consequentially, the more culturally and socially entrenched immigrant youth are in their respective co-ethnic/immigrant communities, the less likely they are to perceive discrimination (Bolland 2003; Prelow et al. 2004). The same factors that keep levels of PD down also decrease the negative impact of discriminatory experiences. Specifically, being surrounded by, and socially connected with, ethno-racial peers inhibits the negative influence of perceived discrimination; this is particularly true for youth who are embedded in especially big and resource-rich communities, such as the Cuban enclave in Miami.

However, the utility and eventual incorporation outcomes of this third path depend on the occupational and socioeconomic structure of, and the level of support from, the existing immigrant community one is part of (Portes and Zhou 1993). At the same time, selective assimilation comes with two caveats: First, similarly to Path 2, selective assimilation limits immigrants' social ties outside their co-ethnic/immigrant community, which may restrict their access to certain educational or job opportunities. Second, co-ethnic ties and traditional family values may come with social obligations or expectations that inhibit upward mobility (DeWind and Kasinitz 1997). Consequently, Path 3 likely leads to intermediate socioeconomic outcomes between Path 1 (best outcomes) and Path 2 (worst outcomes).

In sum, SAT (Portes and Zhou 1993) argues that PD is a key predictor of the cultural, social, and economic incorporation of second-generation immigrants above and beyond all other factors. The following paragraphs outline the existing evidence regarding the determinants and effects of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination among immigrant populations, drawing from both the literature on immigration as well as empirical studies on racial/ethnic discrimination.

Predictors Of Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

The main determinants of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination among "the new second-generation" (Portes and Zhou 1993) are national origin, racial context, social integration in the immigrant community, acculturation, and gender. Below, I will address the claims and empirical evidence regarding each of these predictors.

National Origin And Racial Status

While the segmented assimilation framework considers racial or ethnic discrimination a major barrier to the incorporation of nonwhite children of immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993), it does not go into much detail about racial or ethnic differences regarding the level of perceived discrimination. Portes and Zhou (1993) merely predict that black second-generation immigrants are confronted with the most discrimination due to their resemblance of African Americans—a notion that is also recognized by other assimilation scholars (Alba and Nee 1997; Rumbaut and Portes 2001)—but they do not adequately address whether children of Hispanic or Asian immigrants are expected to face similar, or substantially lower, levels of discrimination compared to their phenotypically black counterparts.

Indeed, a recent national study that examined the levels of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination among African American and Afro-Caribbean youth found staggeringly high rates of PD among both these populations—90% of Caribbean black youth and 87% of African-American respondents reported discriminatory experiences (Seaton et al 2008). The results of this direct comparison of PD rates between African Americans and black immigrant children strongly support the notion that black people in America share a common fate of stigmatization and discrimination regardless of their ethnic background (Portes and Zhou 1993; Alba and Nee 1997; Rumbaut and Portes 2001).

However, another national study (Carlisle 2013) that includes Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Caribbean Americans shows that levels of PD vary between different panethnic immigrant groups. Here, only two thirds of Caribbean respondents reported experiences of discrimination, compared to only 44% of Latino and 42% of Asian American respondents. While these findings further support the claim that black immigrants are particularly disadvantaged when it comes to discrimination—even though PD rates are drastically lower than in the Seaton et al (2008) study—they also suggest a "racial hierarchy" in which Latinos and Asians are clearly better off than blacks, with Asians being the least discriminated nonwhite racial group in the United States (Carlisle 2013). In other words, the segmented assimilation framework does not do justice to the complexity of racial discrimination and how different nonwhite immigrant groups are affected by it.

The relatively low level of perceived discrimination among Asian Americans may stem from the their "model minority" status (Oyserman and Sakamoto 1997; Wong and Halgin 2006; Kiang, Witkow and Thompson 2015)—that is, the stereotype that Asians are hardworking, smart, and diligent overachievers (Kiang, Witkow and Thompson 2015; Kaduvettoor-Davidson and Inman 2012; Rosenbloom and Way 2004)—which may protect them from incidents of racial profiling, harassment, or discrimination (Alvarez, Juang, and Liang 2006). Further, Asian Americans might be more accepted because they have predominately legal status and are therefore not associated with the stigmatized undocumented immigration (Nee and Holbrow 2013).

However, it is not clear whether the Asian ethnic groups included in my study—i.e. Filipinos, Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians—are indeed less exposed to discriminatory experiences as a result of the model minority stereotype. Even though research shows that adolescents who belong to those groups have encounters in which they feel being stereotyped as model minorities (Thompson and Kiang 2010), other scholars point out that they still have to endure serious racial discrimination (Espiritu and Wolf 2001; Zhou and Bankston 2000; Zhou 2001) and—at least in the case of Indochinese refugee families—high levels of poverty. Hence, while the perceived discrimination literature suggests that *black second-generation immigrants perceive the highest levels of racial/ethnic discrimination, followed by Hispanic and Asian Americans,* the specific accounts of the Indochinese communities in San Diego create some doubts on whether the "model minority" phenomenon actually affects PD rates among the Asian groups included in my study.

Moreover, research also reveals significant intra-racial differences in PD rates (Carlisle 2013; Rumbaut 1994; Pérez, Fortuna, and Alegria 2008). Two different studies show that across Afro-Caribbean immigrant groups, Jamaicans are most likely to perceive discrimination—substantially more so than Haitians and other West Indians (Rumbaut 1994; Carlisle 2013). Specifically, in Rumbaut's (1994) study, three in four Jamaicans reported discrimination compared to only two thirds of Haitians, and Carlisle (2013) found that 68% of Jamaicans experienced discrimination whereas PD rates among Trinidadians and Haitians were only 63%, respectively.

Recent research that directly compares levels of PD across Hispanic national-origin groups does not suggest any major differences, with the exception of Cubans, who are, consistently across studies, less likely to perceive discrimination than the rest (Carlisle 2013; Rumbaut 1994; Pérez, Fortuna, and Alegria 2008). For example, Carlisle (2013) found that 45% of Mexican, 46% of Puerto Rican, and only 27% of Cuban respondents experienced discrimination.

The particularly low PD rates among Cubans—or, likewise, the very high ones among West Indians—are possibly at least in part the consequence of contextual factors such as co-ethnic community size and strength, political climate, or acculturation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Pérez, Fortuna, and Alegria 2008; Rumbaut 1994). On top of that, Cuban Americans have a substantially higher share of whites than other Hispanic groups (Portes and Rumbaut 1991-2006; Ennis, Rios-Vargas, and Albert 2011), which gives them an advantage over other Latin American immigrants, even outside of their protected co-ethnic enclave.

Lastly, there is mixed evidence regarding one specific Hispanic immigrant group—Mexican Americans. While Carlisle (2013), Pérez, Fortuna, and Alegria (2008), and Telles and Ortiz (2008) reveal Mexican PD rates that generally align with those of other Hispanic groups (with the exception of Cubans), other studies suggest that as many as two in three, three in four, or even 94% of Mexican-American adolescents experience discrimination (Edwards and Romero 2008; Rumbaut 1994; Romero and Edwards 2003; Flores et al. 2010), suggesting that they are just as vulnerable to PD as blacks.

Explanations for these high levels of PD remain speculative due to the lack of contextual control variables included in these studies, but the culprit of the situation of Mexican Americans may lie in (1) the presence of an already existing Mexican American underclass and their long history of exclusion in the U.S. (Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001), which may increase native hostility toward members of that ethnic group, (2) the lack of protection from exposure to out-group members due to their relatively underdeveloped and dispersed ethnic communities, and (3) the low percentage of whites and the high share of *mestizos* among Mexican Americans compared to other Hispanic immigrant groups (Portes and Rumbaut 1991-2006; Ennis, Rios-Vargas, and Albert 2011; Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001). Due to the lack of empirical evidence on the role each of these factors play, I do not have a clear expectation regarding PD rates among Mexican Americans.

Finally, disparate PD rates between Asian groups have been found (Carlisle 2013), but they are less dramatic compared to majority black or Hispanic immigrant groups—38% of Vietnamese Americans, 43% of Filipino Americans, and 44% of Chinese Americans reported PD (Carlisle 2013)—but, as noted above, those results do not account for the potential influence of contextual factors and assimilation strategies.

In sum, I expect clear differences in PD rates between Afro-Caribbea, Hispanic, and Asian children of immigrants, whereas intra-racial variations—say, between Jamaicans and Haitians or between Cubans and Mexicans—should at least be minimized once family- and community-level variables are taken into account. That being said, ethnic communities are complex social systems with many distinct features—such as population size or social/cultural dispositions—that cannot be fully and accurately captured with any given set of variables. In other words, it is plausible that national-origin groups serve as proxies for some of these community-specific features, even after controlling for various individual-, family-, and community-level factors.

Racial Context

Besides national origin and racial status, the ethno-racial composition of a neighborhood or school can have a dramatic impact on the level of discrimination second-generation immigrants perceive. The sociological literature on immigration suggests that, in general, *the more exposed children of immigrants are to ethnic or racial out-group members—and particularly to native whites—the more likely they are to experience racial or ethnic discrimination* (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Portes and Zhou 1993). Seaton and Yip's (2009) study supports this notion; analyzing a sample of African American adolescents, they found that perceptions of discrimination are more common among minority students in more integrated schools in which the exposure to ethno-racial out-group members is higher.

Social Integration In The Co-Ethnic/Immigrant Community

By implication, immigrant children who are embedded in, and sheltered by, co-ethnic communities are expected to perceive the lowest levels of discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993). This is particularly true for those who are integrated in "strong" co-ethnic communities that are big in size, occupationally diverse, and that offer useful resources and support to provide for socioeconomic upwards mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993). Further, second-generation immigrants with tight co-ethnic networks seem to be more likely to follow the path of selective assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). As an example, Portes and Zhou (1993) describe that Punjabi Sikhs preserve a certain social distance from their white American peers, which leads to even less contact with out-group members than the sheer ethno-racial composition of their neighborhood or school would suggest. The combination of these factors minimizes the threat of discriminatory experiences (Telles and Ortiz 2008). Hence, I hypothesize that *the more socially integrated second-generation Americans are in their co-ethnic or immigrant community, the less likely they are to perceive racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Gender

Finally, minority women are expected to perceive less racial or ethnic discrimination than males, mostly because nonwhite males are more likely to have negative encounters with social institutions (Pérez, Fortuna, and Alegria 2008; Nyborg and Curry 2003; Wilson 1996), such as police or the judicial system (Krieger and Sidney 1996). Indeed, research shows that male minority-group members perceive more discrimination than their female counterparts, both among Afro-Caribbean and African American youth (Waters 1996; Matthews et al 2005) as well as Latinos (Telles and Ortiz

2008; Pérez, Fortuna, and Alegria 2008). Furthermore, lower PD rates among immigrant women may be the result of being part of more traditional communities and families and thus being less likely to work outside of their home or ethnic community, which decreases their exposure to out-group members and therefore the prevalence of PD (Telles and Ortiz 2008). Hence, I hypothesize that *female second-generation immigrants perceive less racial or ethnic discrimination than their male counterparts*.

Summary Of Predictors Of Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

In sum, based on the literature on immigration and perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, I expect children of Afro-Caribbean immigrants to perceive the most discrimination followed by Hispanics, whereas Asian second-generation youths face the lowest levels of discrimination. Further, national-origin groups who have strong ethnic communities are more protected from experiences of discrimination as they tend to be surrounded with more ethno-racial in-group members than those who have only weak co-ethnic communities to fall back to. This is particularly true for individuals who are more socially integrated in their co-ethnic/immigrant community, regardless of sheer co-ethnic community strength. Additionally, the racial composition of one's social environment—and particularly the proportion of whites—impacts how often nonwhite children of immigrants are confronted with racial or ethnic discrimination against them. Finally, female children of immigrants are expected to be less exposed to experiences of racial or ethnic discrimination than their male counterparts.

Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

Segmented assimilation theory claims that persisting experiences of racial or ethnic discrimination have an adverse effect on the cultural and socioeconomic incorporation of children of immigrants, whereas socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration in the co-ethnic/immigrant community, and exposure to the marginalized "underclass" can function as moderators of these effects (Portes and Zhou 1993).

I should note that I will use self-reported measures of discrimination throughout my study. While this is an established and common way of operationalizing racial/ethnic discrimination in the literature (Pager and Shepherd 2008), it is important to keep in the mind the limitations that come with that. On top of the potential misinterpretation of situations—people may wrongly assume that they were discriminated against when in fact they were not, or people may not detect discrimination that did in fact take place—respondents may report racial or ethnic discrimination in order to justify their bad grades, not getting a promotion, or losing their job, even if these things happened for completely legitimate reasons. In short, the extent to which reports of PD depict reality is unclear because events may be misperceived or go unnoticed by the victim (Pager and Shepherd 2008), or incidents may be constructed to justify bad outcomes. Because of these limitations of self-reported perceived discrimination, my results will merely be suggestive instead of definite

My study will test *whether perceptions of racial or ethnic discrimination spoil immigrant children's academic and occupational aspirations and expectations, and whether these dynamics ultimately inhibit the socioeconomic incorporation into the American middle-class.* Furthermore, I hypothesize that *socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass" moderate the relationship between perceived discrimination and these short- and long-term outcomes.* In the following paragraphs will review the literature on the short- and long-term effects of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination as well as their moderating factors.

Short-Term Effects And Long-Term Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

There are several longitudinal studies of American middle- and high-school students that demonstrate that PD is associated with lower academic performance and spoiled academic values, utility, self-efficacy, and intrinsic motivation (Huynh and Fuligni 2010; Roeser, Eccles, and Sameroff 2008; Wong, Eccles and Sameroff 2003; Eccles, Wong, and Peck 2006; Chavous et al 2008). Further, research on Asian American adolescents shows that PD is associated with lower educational expectations (Kiang, Witkow, and Thompson 2015; Kiang et al 2015).

Specifically, PD seems to set in motion some sort of "chain reaction" that ultimately inhibits educational achievement and upward mobility. O'Hara et al (2012) conclude that, as PD lowers minority students' academic expectations, they are less motivated to do well in school and, as a result, less likely to get higher education. While there is no empirical research on the effects of PD on occupational aspirations, expectations, or achievement, it is plausible that discriminatory experiences during adolescence that inhibit educational outcomes also have a negative influence on job-related outcomes.

Moderators Of The Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

Several factors either buffer or amplify the negative impact of PD, including socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass."

Socioeconomic Background

Segmented assimilation theory suggests that second-generation immigrants with a high socioeconomic status background are less affected by perceived racial/ethnic discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993). Children with a high SES background are arguably more optimistic about their future and more likely to see formal education as a mobility ladder in the first place (Portes and Zhou 1993) and, more importantly, since they have more useful resources to fall back to as well as parental role models that embody ambition and upward mobility, they are presumably less likely to internalize negative stereotypes directed at them. Hence, I hypothesize that *the influence of* *perceived discrimination on future outlooks and socioeconomic status attainment is attenuated for more privileged children of immigrants.*

Selective Assimilation

One of the key tenets of SAT is the prediction that *immigrants who follow the path of selective assimilation are least affected by perceived racial or ethnic discrimination* (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Selective assimilation occurs when children of immigrants are in close contact and socially connected with co-ethnic or other second-generation immigrant peers. Hence, racial context and social integration in the co-ethnic/immigrant community moderate the effects of PD on educational and occupational outlooks and status attainment. Specifically, I will test whether *those who are less exposed to whites and those who have social ties with co-ethnic/immigrant peers are less affected by perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

However, the effect magnitude of perceived discrimination may increase when children of immigrants live and go to school in impoverished and marginalized communities where they are exposed to the "oppositional cultural" dispositions of their disenfranchised peers (Ogbu 1974; Portes and Zhou 1993). In other words, students who go to schools with high dropout rates and a substantial portion of poor students are presumably more likely to internalize the negative stereotypes directed at them, whereas those who live in more privileged areas or those who are deeply embedded in their co-ethnic/immigrant community shrug off discriminatory experiences more easily (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997).

Research Goals And Importance

To my knowledge, there is no empirical study that rigorously examines the effects of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination on the attitudes and socioeconomic incorporation of second-generation immigrants across a plurality of ethnic groups. Further, existing studies on the determinants or effects of PD do not take into account all the contextual factors that are deemed highly important by segmented assimilation theory. Finally, none of the longitudinal studies look at the short-term impact of PD on the academic and occupational aspirations and expectations of second-generation immigrant youth as well as the long-term consequences of these dynamics on socioeconomic status attainment in young adulthood.

My study will examine the experiences and life trajectories of members of some of the most important immigrant groups in the United States today: Cubans, Filipinos, Mexicans, Vietnamese, Nicaraguans, Colombians, Haitians, Jamaicans, Laotians, as well as other Central- and South Americans and West Indians. The CILS, a longitudinal survey with three waves, allows me to analyze how experiences of discrimination are associated with adolescent's educational and occupational expectations and aspirations and how these dynamics influence their socioeconomic status when they are young adults. I will also take into account various moderator variables, including socioeconomic background, racial context, social and cultural integration, and exposure to the "underclass."

This rigorous study of the determinants and effects of PD among contemporary second-generation immigrants will add important insights to the question of whether, and to what degree, racial discrimination against nonwhite children of immigrants inhibit the chances for socioeconomic upward mobility.

Data Set

I will use the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), which provides data on the adaptation process of the most important second-generation immigrant groups in the metropolitan areas of San Diego, CA, and Miami/Fort Lauderdale, FL. These two regions were chosen because they host extremely sizable and diverse second-generation populations. In this study, "second-generation immigrant" is broadly defined as either (1) a native-born child with at least one foreign-born parent or (2) a child that was born abroad but immigrated to the United States before age 12 (Rumbaut and Portes 2001:11).

The CILS consists of three waves. The data for the original survey was collected in private and public schools in 1992, when respondents were in eighth or ninth grade, with an average age of 14 years, i.e. at the last point when school attendance is presumably pretty close to universal (Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2011); the second wave was conducted three years later right before high school graduation (for those who did not drop out); and the third and final wave was administered a decade after the launch of the study, when respondents were already young adults. All schools where data was collected were in the San Diego Unified School District (San Diego, CA) and in the Dade and Broward County Unified School Districts (Miami, FL, and Fort Lauderdale, FL, respectively). The only children included in the CILS who attended private schools were Cuban and Nicaraguan Americans.

Both schools with a substantial share of second-generation immigrants as well as schools with a high proportion of students of native parentage are included in the study. However, due to the lack of data on the second-generation's distribution in schools in these areas at the time the study was designed, the survey teams in southern Florida and San Diego relied on their own knowledge of their respective areas in order to identify appropriate candidates as well as on the cooperation of the various school districts to target schools that served the most important immigrant groups (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

The sampling goal to include roughly proportional numbers of respondents from the most important immigrant groups in each metropolitan area, and to reserve about a quarter of the sample to national-origin groups that make up smaller factions of the second-generation, was met. Moreover, the sample was evenly divided by sex, school grade, and by whether children of immigrants were born in the U.S or born abroad but brought to the U.S. at an early age (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

The data for the first two waves was mainly collected via self-administered questionnaires in schools attended by the respondents. To conduct the third survey, most questionnaires had to be mailed to the respondents, who at this point had already finished high school and lived all over the United States and even overseas. Table D.1 (Appendix D) shows all variables used in this study, including the concept they measure, the wave(s) in which they were obtained, the wording of the question, answer categories, basic metrics such as minimum and maximum value, mean and standard deviation, as well as in which analyses they are utilized.

Methodology

To examine both the prevalence of PD as well as its effects on future outlooks and status attainment, I will utilize school random effects regression models. Random effects models allow me to estimate how much of the outcome variation (i.e. the variation in PD, educational and occupational outlooks, or status attainment) is happening between versus within schools.

Using school random effects models instead of regular linear regressions to analyze nested data like the CILS (where students are nested in schools) mitigates the possibility of underestimating standard errors and finding false positives. Another potential problem alleviated by performing random effects models are inefficiently estimated regression coefficients.

I will present my results using average marginal effects (AMEs). AMEs are superior to other ways of reporting logistic regressions (e.g. logits, odds ratios, marginal effects at mean), mainly because other types of coefficients are not comparable across model specifications Mood (2009). Since I utilize nested regression models, it is integral to use AMEs in order to be able to examine the effect changes between my models. On top of that, average marginal effects are easy and straightforward to interpret. For example, a one-unit change in the predictor variable changes the likelihood of perceiving discrimination by X percentage points.

In order to include the same individuals in all regression analyses within each chapter, I conduct listwise deletion. After doing so, the sample for the first analysis in this study, which examines the prevalence of perceived discrimination, consists of 1,507 individuals who go to a total of thirty-four different schools in San Diego, California, and Miami, Florida. The number of students per school range between one (minimum) and 209 (maximum), with a median of 35 respondents; the first and third quartiles are at 17 and 71 students, respectively.

Analyses

My study is organized into three main analyses. Analysis #1 (Chapter 2) is concerned with the predictors of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination. Specifically, I will examine how experiences of discrimination among children of immigrants vary across ethnic groups and how individual-level and contextual factors moderate these relationships. This is important, because SAT (Portes and Zhou 1993) assumes that the dynamics of discrimination are the same across all contemporary immigrant groups and that PD is a major determinant of second-generation immigrant incorporation. Hence, I will examine whether, and to what degree, PD rates differ across national-origin groups.

The findings of this first analysis will add further nuance to the rather vague claim put forward by segmented assimilation theory that all nonwhite children of immigrants are confronted with substantial levels of discrimination. Furthermore, since PD is a major predictor of assimilation outcomes in the segmented assimilation framework (Portes and Zhou 1993), knowing which ethnic groups are more likely than others to feel discriminated is integral to understanding any divergent assimilation outcomes between national-origin groups.

All independent variables in this first analysis, i.e. *national origin*, *gender*, *racial context*, *social integration in the co-ethnic/immigrant community*, and *native language skills* were obtained in Wave 1, while the dependent variable, i.e. *perceived racial/ethnic discrimination*, was measured in Wave 2. Lastly, all control variables, i.e. *age*, *English skills*, *birth place*, *number of friends*, *father's and mother's socioeconomic index (SEI) scores, school location*, *percentage of poor students at school*, *school dropout rate*, and *school population*, were collected in the first wave of the CILS. My method of analysis is a nested random effects binary logistic regression model that includes individual-level and school-level data.

Analysis #2 (Chapter 3) examines how experiences of racial or ethnic discrimination impact the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of second-generation immigrant youth. SAT (Portes and Zhou 1993) claims that perceptions of discrimination spoil the future outlooks of children of immigrants and foster a mindset of disenfranchisement and hopelessness that leads to downward assimilation.

Same as in Analysis #1, all independent measures, that is *perceived racial/ethnic discrimination*, *parental socioeconomic index (SEI) scores* and *education*, *racial context*, *social integration*, and *school dropout rate* and *school poverty rate* (i.e. *exposure to the "underclass"*) were obtained in Wave 1, whereas the five outcome variables, i.e. *educational aspirations*, *educational expectations*, the *mismatch between educational aspirations and expectations*, *occupational aspirations*, and *occupational expectations* were collected in Wave 2. All control variables, which include *national origin*, *gender*, *age*, *English skills*, *native language skills*, *birthplace*, *number of friends*, *school location*, and *school population* were measured in Wave 1.

I will include the same independent and control variables in each of the five regression analyses, using random effects ordered logistic regression models to reveal the influence of PD on academic aspirations, academic expectations, and occupational expectations, and random effects binary logistic regression models to test whether PD is associated with a mismatch between academic aspirations and expectations as well as occupational aspirations.

Finally, Analysis #3 (Chapter 4) investigates whether perceived racial or ethnic discrimination has an effect on second-generation immigrants' socioeconomic status attainment by the time they are young adults. Here, the main independent variable, i.e. *perceived racial/ethnic discrimination*, is a combination of the PD variables from Wave 1 and Wave 2 that differentiates between individuals who (1) never reported discrimination, (2) reported discrimination once, and (3) reported discrimination both in Wave 1 and Wave 2. All other predictor and control variables, however, are the same as in Analysis #2. Finally, the two dependent variables, that is *academic attainment* (i.e. years of education) and *occupational prestige*, were obtained in Wave 3. Since both these outcomes are numeric variables, I will conduct two random effects linear regression models to test whether experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination account for lower educational or occupational attainment.

CHAPTER 2

ANALYSIS #1 – PREDICTORS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

Introduction

Segmented assimilation theory and the academic literature on perceived racial/ethnic discrimination suggest that the main determinants of PD among the new second-generation are (1) racial status/national origin, (2) gender, (3) racial context, (4) social integration in the co-ethnic/immigrant community, and (5) acculturation.

SAT merely suggests that black second-generation immigrants are confronted with particularly high levels of discrimination, but it does not make any more detailed predictions regarding possible differences across the diverse set of ethno-racial immigrant groups that reside in contemporary America. However, empirical research on racial/ethnic discrimination strongly suggests that Hispanics and Asians are significantly less exposed to experiences of discrimination than their black counterparts (Carlisle 2013; Alvarez, Juang, and Liang 2006). My analyses in this chapter will bring more clarity to this question by comparing PD rates across ethno-racial groups after accounting for other important factors that plausibly explain at least some of this variation.

However, the role of gender is severely underdeveloped in the segmented assimilation framework. Hence, while SAT does not seem to be concerned about differential PD rates by gender, empirical studies have shown that female minority-group members experience less discrimination than males (Waters 1996; Matthews et al 2005).

Finally, one of the key claims of segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993) is that selective assimilation, i.e. the social and cultural embeddedness in a co-ethnic/immigrant community, shields children of immigrants from discriminatory experiences. Specifically, having little contact with ethno-racial out-group members (and particularly with native whites), having social ties with mostly other immigrant youth, and being culturally integrated in the co-ethnic/immigrant community (by speaking the native language) serves as a protection from experiences of racial or ethnic discrimination. While those are plausible claims, there is little empirical evidence to support them. Seaton and Yip (2009) found that the exposure to ethno-racial out-group members at school increases the risk of PD among African Americans, but these dynamics have not yet been demonstrated for immigrant populations. Similarly, there is no research on how the social or cultural integration in an immigrant community affects perceptions of discrimination among the new second-generation.

This chapter will examine whether or not levels of PD are indeed pretty much the same across immigrant groups regardless of racial status once gender, socioeconomic background, and crucial contextual factors are taken into consideration. Answering this question is important, insofar as perceived racial/ethnic discrimination is considered a major barrier to upwards mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993), so acknowledging any existing differences in PD rates by national origin/racial status is crucial for adequately understanding differential incorporation outcomes across ethnic groups.

Hypotheses

Based on segmented assimilation theory and the literature on perceived racial and ethnic discrimination, I formulated the following five hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1.1: *Black second-generation immigrants perceive the highest levels of racial/ethnic discrimination, followed by Hispanic and Asian Americans.*

Hypothesis 1.2: *Female second-generation immigrants perceive less racial/ethnic discrimination than their male counterparts.*

Hypothesis 1.3: *The more second-generation immigrants are exposed to white youth, the more likely they are to perceive racial/ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 1.4: *The more second-generation immigrants are integrated in their immigrant community, the less likely they are to perceive racial/ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 1.5: *The higher the level of second-generation immigrants' native language skills the less likely they are to perceive racial/ethnic discrimination.*

Sample

The analytical sample in this chapter consists of 1,507 children of immigrants of Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean, and Asian origin who reside in the metropolitan areas of San Diego, California, and Miami, Florida[1]–two of the most important immigrant hubs in the United States today. More specifically, my regression models include Cubans (25%), Nicaraguans (9%), Colombians (5%), Dominicans (2%), other Latin Americans (6%), Haitians (4%), Jamaicans (2%), and other West Indians (2%) from Miami, FL, and Mexicans (13%), Filipinos (26%), Vietnamese (6%), and Laotians/Cambodians (2%) in San Diego, CA. Further below, I will outline the socioeconomic and contextual characteristics of each ethnic subsample in my analysis and discuss their implications in detail. Finally, my sample is disproportionately female (55% compared to only 45% males).

Independent Variables

My independent variables in this analysis are national origin, gender, racial context, social integration in the immigrant community, and native language skills, all of which were obtained in the first wave of the CILS. National origin is derived from the

[1] No respondents from Fort Lauderdale, FL, are included in the analyses in this chapter, as they all ended up being dropped after performing listwise deletion.

respondents' fathers' and mother's birth countries; if father and mother were from different countries, the mother's national origin was assigned. Racial context is captured by the percentage of white students at school, based on school records. The level of social integration in the immigrant community is based on whether respondents reported that many or most of their friends have parents who were not born in the U.S. Finally, native language proficiency is represented by a numeric value that is based on how well respondents speak, understand, read, and write their parents' native language.

Dependent Variable

My outcomes variable—perceived racial/ethnic discrimination—was measured in the second wave of the CILS. Of the 1,507 respondents included in my analytical sample, 863 children of immigrants (57%) reported experiences of discrimination in Wave 2 and 644 adolescents (43%) did not report feeling discriminated in the past.

Characteristics Of Ethno-Racial Communities

One of the cornerstones of SAT is the importance of co-ethnic communities, both when it comes to the prevalence of discriminatory experiences as well as the effects of PD on the attitudes and socioeconomic incorporation of children of immigrants. While my model includes measures on *some* of the features and consequences of co-ethnic communities identified by SAT—i.e., the level of exposure to white students, respondents' ties with other immigrant children, native language skills, socioeconomic background, school poverty rate, school dropout rate, and school location—other factors, such as sheer community size, relative location to other ethno-racial communities, or the political, social, and economic context of reception are not directly measured in the CILS.

Because of that, the national-origin variables arguably serve as approximations of these otherwise unmeasured contextual and community-specific factors, even after accounting for all predictor and control variables included in my regression analysis. However, it should be noted that there are caveats regarding some of the predictor and control measures that I use in my analysis: First, the share of white students at school is an imperfect measure of ethno-racial density, as many of my respondents—especially among the Hispanic groups—consider themselves "white" as well.

Hence, it is plausible that at least some of the "white" students at school are actually co-ethnic peers or other immigrant youth, not native whites. Thus, using the percentage of white students as the measure for racial density potentially underestimates the association between PD and racial density, especially for those groups with a solid share of whites in the CILS sample, i.e. Cubans, Nicaraguans, Colombians, and Latin Americans. Furthermore, the proportion of white students obviously does not capture all components of racial context, i.e. the level of exposure to black, Hispanic, or Asian out-group members at school.

Similarly, respondents who report that many or most of their close friends have parents who came from foreign countries do not necessarily have *co-ethnic* second-generation immigrant friends. This is more of an important distinction to keep in mind when assessing the strengths of the ethnic communities in my sample, whereas it probably does not make a difference for the analysis in this chapter, as Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that having immigrant friends still indicates selective acculturation even if they are not co-ethnics. In other words, one's social integration in an immigrant community serves as a protection from experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination, regardless of whether or not his or her community consists of *co-ethnic* immigrant youth.

Consequentially, it is not necessarily a contradiction when a substantial proportion of respondents who belong to a numerically small ethnic group claim to have many or mostly immigrant friends, especially when that immigrant group is closely located to another ethnic group. For example, the share of Nicaraguan respondents who claim to have many/mostly immigrant friends is the highest in the entire sample, even though the Nicaraguan community itself is relatively small in number. However, since they live close to, and share resources with, the exceptionally strong and populous Cuban enclave, it is plausible that at least some of their friends with immigrant backgrounds are actually Cubans, not Nicaraguans. Similarly, native language proficiency among Hispanics (i.e. Spanish proficiency) is not necessarily only a function of cultural incorporation in the *co-ethnic* immigrant community, but could also reflect one's social/cultural connectedness with Hispanics of different national origin.

Table 2.1 shows the bivariate relationships between national origin and a selection of relevant statistics for all individuals included in Analysis #1 (n=1,507). All of these measures were obtained in 1992 (Wave 1[2]). For comparison, Table 2.2 classifies each national origin group under study by governmental and societal reception, socioeconomic/occupational community structure, spatial concentration, and overall community strength. The following paragraphs discuss the contextual and community-specific factors associated with each ethnic group according to existing research and compare them with the trends in my analytical sample.

Cubans

Cubans in Miami benefit from a particularly "strong" ethnic enclave that is characterized by a relatively high level of spatial concentration, social organization, self-employment, socioeconomic and occupational diversity, and institutional completeness. These community features provide Cuban Americans with a variety of social and cultural resources as well as job and educational opportunities that insulate them from contact with ethno-racial out-group members and thus protect from discrimination (Pérez 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). The relatively strong economic and social standing of the Cuban community is partially the result of an open-door policy toward Cuban refugees and unprecedented assistance from the U.S. government—important help that was not provided to refugees from Nicaragua or Haiti (Portes and Stepick 1993). In addition to

[2] Although variable *school dropout rate* was collected in Wave 2 of the CILS (1995/96), the data is based on the school records for the school year of 1992/93, i.e. the year Wave 1 was conducted.

Table 2.1. Bivariate Relationships Between National Origin And Predictor/Control Variables Of Analysis #1 And Additional Community-Related Variables[3]

Variable	Cuban	Nicara-guan	Colom-bian	Domi-nican	Mexican	Latin American	Haitian	Jamaican	West Indian	Filipino	Viet-namese	Laotian/ Cambodia n	**ANOVA/Crosstab** Cramer's V/R^2; p-value
Father SEI (Stand. Dev.)	38.7 (18.25)	39.8 (20.79)	35.1 (16.43)	40.7 (13.47)	29.5 (13.11)	25.3 (19.38)	39.7 (18.48)	28.4 (17.71)	38.2 (16.87)	35.7 (14.98)	37.3 (21.48)	34.4 (14.36)	R^2=.0721 p<.00005
Mother SEI (Stand. Dev.)	38.4 (17.07)	32.3 (17.89)	35.0 (18.20)	36.0 (18.46)	35.7 (12.36)	22.8 (15.58)	37.3 (17.79)	29.0 (11.68)	34.1 (12.67)	34.5 (14.69)	33.4 (18.13)	31.8 (18.38)	R^2=.0832 p<.00005
% Father College Degree[4,5]	27.8	49.2	25.4	38.4	16.7	8.0	25.0	15.0	22.7	35.3	35.4	20.0	Cramer's V=.3037 p<.00005
% Mother College Degree[6]	24.8	40.0	28.4	25.0	20.0	2.8	36.4	15.2	25.0	45.5	25.4	7.7	Cramer's V=.3473 p<.00005
% of Fathers Unemployed[7]	2.8	3.1	6.2	3.6	5.2	4.4	7.4	8.7	4.0	1.3	3.6	9.7	Cramer's V=.1092 p=.0089
% of Mothers Unemployed[8]	3.2	5.5	4.5	3.7	6.3	4.4	17.3	0.0	8.0	2.0	2.4	15.6	Cramer's V=.1673 p<.00005
% Self-Employed Fathers[9]	17.7	11.5	16.1	24.0	4.7	21.5	17.1	19.1	17.4	1.5	4.9	9.4	Cramer's V=. 2469 p<.00005
% Foreign-Born	28.2	95.5	57.4	51.1	25.0	42.4	60.0	50.0	36.0	43.9	69.1	93.8	Cramer's V=.3961 p<.00005
% White Students at School	15.5	11.6	16.0	21.1	11.5	29.8	34.2	13.7	30.8	34.6	42.7	36.2	R^2=.2595 p<.00005
% Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends	76.4	84.1	69.1	60.9	75.0	51.0	36.0	64.8	64.0	67.7	64.3	68.8	Cramer's V=.2150 p<.00005

[3] n=1,507, unless noted otherwise

[4] Rumbaut and Portes (2001) note that data on parental education or occupation provided by adolescents "is certain to be only approximate" (67).

[5] n=1,366

[6] n=1,386

[7] n=1,482

[8] n=1,484

[9] n=1,399

Table 2.1. (continued)

Variable	Cuban	Nicara-guan	Colom-bian	Domi-nican	Mexican	Latin American	Haitian	Jamaican	West Indian	Filipino	Viet-namese	Laotian/ Cambodian	**ANOVA/Crosstab** Cramer's V/R^2; p-value
Native Language Skills	3.0	3.3	3.1	2.9	3.1	3.3	1.3	2.4	2.4[10]	1.9	2.3	2.2	R^2=.2945 p<.00005
% Poor Students	43.8	46.3	46.8	41.9	46.2	58.5	36.6	57.2	39.2	35.0	42.0	46.1	R^2=.1161 p<.00005
School Dropout Rate (%)	6.9	6.9	6.8	8.1	4.5	6.6	8.3	6.0	6.5	4.3	3.0	2.6	R^2=.1867 p<.00005
% Inner-City School	30.0	24.2	38.2	29.4	46.4	61.6	8.0	35.2	16.0	4.6	31.0	40.6	Cramer's V=.4013 p<.00005
% White	37.8	18.9	23.5	0.0	1.0	23.9	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	-
% Black	0.3	0.0	2.9	3.6	0.5	1.1	75.9	60.0	56.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	-

[10] "Native language skills" among Jamaicans/West Indians may refer to proficiency in Jamaican/West Indian Creole (Harry 2006; Donahue 2011).

Table 2.2. Classification Of National Origin Groups By Ethnic Community Strength, Socioeconomic Structure, And Family Structure[11]

	Cuban	**Nicaraguan**	**Colombian**	**Dominican**	**Mexican**	**Haitian**	**Jamaican/ West Indian**	**Filipino**	**Vietnamese**	**Laotian/ Cambodian**
Government Reception[12]	Favorable to Hostile	Hostile	Hostile to Neutral	Neutral	Hostile	Hostile	Neutral	Neutral	Favorable	Favorable
Societal Reception[13]	Neutral to Prejudiced	Prejudiced	Prejudiced	Prejudiced	Prejudiced	Prejudiced	Prejudiced	Neutral to Prejudiced	Prejudiced	Prejudiced
Community SES	Entrepreneurial	Professional/ working class	Professional/ working class	Working class	Working class	Working class	Professional/ working class	Professional	Entrepreneurial/ working class	Poor
Spatial Concentration	Concentrated	Concentrated	Dispersed	Concentrated	Dispersed	Concentrated	Dispersed	Dispersed	Concentrated	Concentrated
Overall Ethnic Community Strength[14]	Strong	Weak	Weak	Weak	Weak	Weak	Weak	Strong	Strong	Weak

---

[11] Based on the descriptions by Portes and Zhou (1993) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001)

[12] Favorable reception accorded to groups composed of legal refugees and asylees; neutral reception to groups of legal immigrants; hostile reception to groups suspected to harbor large numbers of unauthorized immigrants or being involved in the drug trade, becoming targets of deportation by U.S. immigrant authorities.

[13] Prejudiced reception accorded to nonwhite immigrants and to those with perceived involvement in the drug trade; neutral to groups defined as mostly white.

[14] Overall co-ethnic community strength is based on the size of numerical concentrations of co-ethnics as well as the occupational structure.

the benefits of being embedded in a sizable and cohesive co-ethnic enclave, the fact that Cuban Americans have a relatively high share of whites[15] further shields them from racial or ethnic discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993).

My sample data supports this narrative of a strong Cuban community. First, both Cuban fathers and mothers have pretty high socioeconomic index (SEI) scores (38.7 and 38.4, respectively), decent rates of college graduates (28% among fathers and 25% among mothers), as well as a fairly high share of self-employed fathers (18%). Furthermore, the parents of my Cuban respondents are less likely to be unemployed than the parents of any other Hispanic group in my sample (2.8% among fathers and 3.2% among mothers, respectively).

Second, although only 28% of the Cuban adolescents in my sample were born outside of the United States, more than three out of four (76%) have many or mostly immigrant friends, reflecting an established community with long-standing roots in Miami on the one hand, and their relatively high level of social cohesion and cultural preservation on the other hand. Third, an important factor that is not reflected in my data, however, is the fact that the Cuban enclave in Miami consists of an exceptionally high number of co-ethnics, which puts them at a relative advantage to the other Hispanic groups in Miami (Pérez 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). On top of these protective community-level factors, my Cuban subsample has the by far highest

[15] The socioeconomic and racial diversity within the Cuban American community results from three distinct immigrant waves. The first wave (1959-1962) consisted of Cuban elites who were predominantly white and of higher socioeconomic status. The second wave (starting in 1965) brought people of somewhat lower socioeconomic segments of the Cuban society. Finally, the third wave (in 1980) primarily contained lower-class and nonwhite Cubans; however, this final wave was much smaller than the previous ones, so today's Cuban American community still has a relatively high share of whites.

proportion of self-identified “whites” (38%) of all ethnic groups under study, which presumably further decreases their vulnerability to experiencing discrimination.

Nicaraguans

The Nicaraguan community in Miami is much smaller in number and less developed than the Cuban enclave (Portes and Zhou 1993; Fernandez-Kelly and Curran 2001). In contrast to the Cuban exiles who received U.S. government assistance for economic adjustment, the Nicaraguans who fled the Communist Sandinista regime in the 1980s were not welcomed as warmly. The differential treatment of Nicaraguan refugees compared to Cuban arrivals—both of whom fled a regime that was considered “hostile” by the United States government (Dowty 1987)—is likely due a mixture of timing as well as U.S. foreign-policy considerations. Specifically, public opinion toward immigrants in Miami shifted after the “Mariel boatlift” in 1980, which brought an unusually high number of Cuban newcomers in a very short period of time, many of whom were not white, and most of whom were of lower status than their predecessors in the 1950s and 1960s, upsetting “Miami’s delicate equilibrium” (Portes and Stepick 1993). In addition, Dowty (1987) notes that Nicaraguan asylum seekers were generally rejected by the U.S. government in order to (1) deter increasing immigrant flows from Latin America and (2) because of the notion that the acceptance of Nicaraguan refugees would weaken the *Contra* War against the Sandinista regime by draining the pool of potential insurgents fighting the regime.

Consequentially, many Nicaraguan refugees became illegal aliens under constant threat of deportation and stuck in low-income menial and informal occupations despite their relatively high levels of human capital. Due to their complicated history in the U.S., the Nicaraguan community suffers from a relative lack of resources, social isolation, and perpetual stigma and social exclusion. However, thanks to the spatial and cultural proximity to the Cuban community, they benefit to some degree from the social and cultural resources available in the Cuban enclave, which may be a diminishing factor to PD rates (Fernandez-Kelly and Curran 2001).

As expected based on the literature, my sample data shows very high levels of parental education—49% of fathers and 40% of mothers have a college degree, which is much higher than among the other Hispanic groups—combined with levels of socioeconomic index (SEI) scores that are comparatively low—i.e. similar to the rest of the Hispanic sample—given their high levels of college graduates. For comparison, the share of college-educated Cuban fathers is much lower than the proportion of Nicaraguan fathers with college degrees (28% and 49%, respectively), but their socioeconomic index scores are virtually the same (38.7 for Cuban fathers and 39.8 for Nicaraguan fathers). Even more drastically, while only 25% of Cuban mothers are college-educated, their average SEI score is 38.4, compared to Nicaraguan mothers who have a much higher rate of college graduates (40%) but average substantially *lower* on the SEI scale (32.3) than their Cuban counterparts. Furthermore, the self-employment rate among Nicaraguan fathers is only 11.5%, which is the lowest percentage of all Hispanic groups under study except for Mexicans. In short, the mismatch between high education and relatively low SES and self-employment rates supports the narrative of highly-educated Nicaraguans who could not live up to their potential due to their political and societal reception in the United States (Fernandez-Kelly and Curran 2001).

Further, the fact that almost all Nicaraguan respondents are foreign-born (96%) mirrors their parents' relatively recent arrival in America. Hence, it is not surprising that Spanish proficiency in my sample is high (3.3) and that 84% of Nicaraguan youth have many or mostly immigrant friends, which indicates a substantial degree of social and cultural integration in the Hispanic immigrant community. However, as noted earlier, "having immigrant friends" does not equal to "having *co-ethnic* immigrant friends," so the high share of socially integrated Nicaraguans as well as their strong native language skills are likely at least partially the consequence of their spatial and cultural closeness to the disproportionately strong and populous Cuban community.

Colombians

Similarly to Nicaraguans, a significant amount of Colombians came to the U.S. illegally, faced a hostile public, and did not benefit from governmental support, resulting in a relatively fragile and spatially dispersed ethnic community that is vulnerable to racial/ethnic discrimination (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). However, while most unauthorized immigrants came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, many of the legal immigrants were professionals, positioning the overall Colombian community "close to the educational mean" (Portes and Rumbaut 1996:59).

In my Colombian subsample, the percentage of college-educated parents is similar to that of the Cuban sample—one in four fathers and 28% of mothers have higher education—, reflecting the fair share of Colombian professionals described in the literature (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). My Colombian American respondents are less socially connected with their second-generation immigrant peers compared to their Cuban and Nicaraguan counterparts; less than one in seven (69%) report to have many or mostly immigrant friends, which is arguably a function of the combination of a relatively small share of foreign-born Colombian youth (57%) and the community's spatial dispersion.

Dominicans

While Dominican immigrants faced a "neutral" governmental reception in the United States, they are still confronted with a prejudiced public (Portes and Zhou 1993). The Dominican community in Miami is spatially concentrated, which shields them from discrimination to some degree, but their relatively dark complexion (Grieco 2010) presumably increases their likelihood to experience racial or ethnic discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993). Further, Dominican Americans have a high self-employment rate, but relatively low household incomes (Portes and Rumbaut 1996).

Indeed, my Dominican subsample has a higher share of blacks (3.6%) than the other Hispanic groups and no self-identified whites, but they do not seem to be deeply embedded in their immigrant community despite their spatial concentration. While more than half of Dominican respondents are foreign-born (51%), only 61% are friends with many or mostly immigrant children, and their overall Spanish skills are low (2.9) compared to the other Hispanic immigrant groups under study. Furthermore, the average percentage of white students at school (21%) is substantially higher among Dominicans than among the rest of Latinos[16]. Regarding their economic standing, my Dominican American subsample has by far the highest percentage of self-employed fathers (24%) of all ethnic groups under study—which is in accordance to the literature—whereas the parental SEI scores in my sample do not suggest below-average household incomes.

Overall, while my Dominican subsample reflects their relatively dark complexion compared to other Hispanic groups as well as their high share of self-employed individuals that is described in the literature, the Dominican Americans under study have higher socioeconomic backgrounds and are less socially and culturally integrated in their co-ethnic/immigrant community than expected. The ethnic communities described on the following pages are all located in San Diego, California.

[16] I did not address the average percentage of white students for the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Colombian subsamples, as a fair share of individuals within those ethnic groups identify as "white" as well (see Table 1). Hence, the percentage of white students at school most likely also includes some of their co-ethnics—or even the respondents themselves—because students who report to be "white" in the CILS most likely also did so in the school records. Because of that, the share of white students in and of itself is not very indicative of their exposure to ethno-racial outgroup members, particularly when it comes to Cubans, Nicaraguans, Colombians, or the residual group "other Latin Americans."

Mexicans

The persistent negative stereotypes against Mexican Americans in southern California are the result of a long history of stigmatization, economic exploitation, discrimination, and exclusion. On top of that, the more recent inflow of a high number of Mexican newcomers coincided with the decline of the white middle- and working-class, which led to the scapegoating of Mexican Americans who were made responsible for the unfortunate economic situation, and led to political initiatives that created a climate of exclusion—such as California's Proposition 187 from 1994—that further increased the stigmatization of, and hostility toward, Mexicans in California (Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001).

In addition, Mexican Americans in San Diego live in close proximity to Asian immigrant communities, whose offspring is considerably more academically successful than Mexican American youth. The contrast between the academic performance of Asians, who settled in the U.S. comparatively recently, and Mexicans, whose third generation is struggling, adds to the already pervasive negative stereotypes of Mexican Americans (Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001).

Ironically, the longstanding historical roots and big number of Mexicans contribute to their visibility and stigma among the native white population. In short, the disproportionate poverty, big group size, relative location to other ethnic groups, and the deep historical roots of Mexican Americans in the region foster racial prejudice and discrimination they have to endure (Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001).

Similarly to the Cuban subsample, only a quarter of Mexican respondents are foreign-born, reflecting a community that has relatively deep roots their host country, but only 17% of fathers and 20% of mothers have college degrees, which is a testimony of the blue-collar, working-class structure of the Mexican American population. Furthermore, fewer than one in twenty Mexican fathers is self-employed (4.7%)—a much smaller proportion compared to the other Hispanic groups in my sample—indicating a scarcity of employment opportunities in small businesses owned by co-ethnics, which is an important means of incorporation among Cuban Americans, for example (Portes and Zhou 1993). On top of that, almost no Mexican adolescents under study identify as white (1%), which is presumably related to the racial stigmatization and discrimination of Mexican Americans in Southern California.

Furthermore, the Mexican youth in my sample go to schools that are less advantageous to socioeconomic upward mobility compared to their Hispanic counterparts in Florida. While their circumstances are not substantially different in terms of school poverty rate or the share of students who attend inner-city schools, the average school dropout rate is notably higher (8.1%) compared to the rest of the sample (except for Haitians) and the average percentage of white students Mexicans go to school with (11.5%) is lower than for any other group in the sample (although only very slightly lower than among Nicaraguans). Finally, the substantial share of Mexican respondents with many or mostly immigrant friends (75%) most likely does not exclusively reflect co-ethnic community strength, but could also be the consequence of their proximity to other immigrant groups, such as Asians or other Latinos, as well as of being socially excluded by the native white majority.

Haitians

Haitians are arguably one of the most vulnerable ethnic groups under study. Haitian newcomers were confronted with an extremely hostile government reception and a tough labor market with high unemployment and a lack of niches for immigrant workers (Stepick et al 2001; Lamphere, Stepick, and Grenier 1994). Similarly to the Nicaraguan case, the unfavorable reception of Haitians was a consequence of both a shifting social climate toward newcomers in Miami—a city that felt increasingly overwhelmed by the inflow of poor immigrants from the Caribbean, especially after the Mariel boatlift (Portes and Stepick 1993)—as well as U.S. policies that treated Haitians as "economic migrants" rather than refugees in order not to discredit American support for the authoritarian Haitian government (Dowty 1987).

As a result, the Haitian ethnic community is relatively poor, low in human capital, isolated, and has not developed the type of internal solidarity or cultural resources that foster the social and economic incorporation of immigrant children (Stepick et al 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). This unfortunate context of reception combined with Haitians' black racial status results in a particularly high degree of hostility and racial/ethnic discrimination against them (Bryce-LaPorte and Simón 1993; Stepick et al 2001).

Even though most Haitian American respondents are foreign-born (60%), they tend to have weak social ties with other immigrant children. Only a little over a third (36%) have many or mostly immigrant friends, which is by far the lowest percentage in my entire sample; their average native language skills (1.3) are also the lowest of all ethnic groups under study by a big gap; and the average proportion of white students at schools attended by Haitian youth is more than one third (34%), which exposes them to whites to a much higher degree than other Afro-Caribbean or Hispanic groups included in my study. Furthermore, while schools attended by Haitian youth are seldom located in the inner-city (8%) and have a relatively low proportion of poor students (37%), they have the highest average dropout rate in the sample (8.3%).

Interestingly, the Haitian Americans included in my study come from higher-status backgrounds than the literature suggests—paternal and maternal SEI scores are 39.7 and 37.3, respectively, and a quarter of fathers and more than a third of mothers (36.4%) is college educated—even though unemployment rates are pretty high (7.4% among fathers and 17.3% among mothers).

West Indians

Even though southern Florida has the second-biggest West Indian community in the U.S. after New York, there is no neighborhood that is actually dominated by West Indians. The strong migration ties with the United States, English language proficiency, familiarity with American culture and mass media, as well as relatively high educational degrees allowed for a fairly smooth immigration experience. However, many West Indians live, segregated from white Americans and established Hispanics, in high-crime areas that suffer from economic disinvestment, social disorganization, and underperforming public schools. Their close spatial proximity and phenotypic similarity to African Americans as well as their proficiency of the English language led to a lack of white recognition of West Indian immigrants as distinct from the highly stigmatized native black population (Kasinitz, Battle, and Miyares 2001), presumably resulting in comparatively high PD rates (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Both Jamaicans and West Indians do not have very high proportions of college-educated parents, but this is particularly true for my Jamaican subsample, in which only 15% of fathers and mothers have college degrees (compared to 23% and 25% of West Indian fathers and mothers, respectively). Likewise, while West Indian parents' SEI scores are pretty average (38.2 for fathers and 34.1 for mothers), those of Jamaican parents (28.4 for fathers and 29.0 for mothers) are considerably lower compared to the rest of the sample (except for the residual group "Latin Americans").

Further, schools attended by Jamaicans and West Indians are not underperforming in terms of school dropout rates, which revolve around the sample mean (6% and 6.5% for Jamaicans and West Indians, respectively), but Jamaicans are the only group under study whose schools have on average more than fifty percent poor students (57%). Further, at least the Jamaican subsample seems to live more segregated from whites than the rest, as less than 14% of the student body is white.[17] Other West Indians included in my sample, in contrast, reside in less segregated and less poor areas than their Jamaican counterparts (on average, 31% white students and 39% poor students)

Filipinos

Similarly to West Indian immigrants, Filipino arrivals are fairly familiar with the American lifestyle and cultural practices and tend to be proficient in English, as the Philippines are a former U.S. colony that still has strong ties with America. San Diego harbors the third-largest Filipino community in the country, which is characterized by a substantial proportion of people with middle-class backgrounds and high education. However, many Filipinos with professional job skills are employed in occupations unrelated to their knowledge and work experience, as they often cannot find work in their respective fields due to licensing restrictions or racial discrimination (Espiritu and Wolf 2001). Finally, the Filipino community in San Diego is dispersed, with many of them living in the suburbs (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Indeed, less than 5% of Filipino respondents in my sample go to inner-city schools, which corresponds with a low average dropout rate (4.3%), a comparatively small percentage of poor students (35%), and a relatively high exposure to white

[17] Since, in contrast to Hispanic immigrant children, barely any Afro-Caribbeans consider themselves white (no Jamaicans and only 4% of West Indians in my sample do so), the possibility that some of the "white students" captured in the school records are West Indian, i.e. ethno-racial in-group members, is virtually zero.

students (35%). Further, parents of Filipino youth have above-average educational degrees, with 35% of fathers and 46% of mothers being college graduates. Finally, the high level of English skills (3.9) and pretty low level of native language skills (1.9) indicate that the Filipino second-generation is highly acculturated, even though more than two out of three (68%) report to have many or mostly immigrant friends. In short, my sample generally reflects the prevailing view of the Filipino community regarding their socioeconomic standing and community features.

Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians

Refugees who came from Vietnam and other Indochinese regions, such as Cambodia and Laos, were confronted with a particularly unfavorable context of reception. Lacking any preexisting established co-ethnic communities in the U.S., many of them were dependent on government assistance and thus had little power over their location of settlement, which resulted in many of them ending up in poor, isolated, and socially disorganized neighborhoods inhabited by native-born minorities with problematic schools and high crime rates (Zhou and Bankston 2000; Zhou 2001).

Because of that, Indochinese youth are exposed to the values and expectations of their parents and co-ethnic communities that promote conformity, hard work, and high achievement on the one hand, and to what is considered the adversarial dispositions of the “underclass” that reject authority and proper education on the other hand (Ogbu 1974; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou and Bankston 2000; Zhou 2001). This tension between ethnic community pressure and "street" influences results in sharply divergent life trajectories among Indochinese children of immigrants. While some of them stand out in terms of academic performance and achievement—despite their low socioeconomic background—others join youth gangs and become delinquent, which results in disproportionate incarceration rates (Zhou and Bankston 2000; Zhou 2001; Arifuku, Peacock, and Glesmann 2006).

Discrimination against Indochinese Americans may stem from the fear of economic competition in the low-wage job market, racial prejudice, or their perceived association with disorganized neighborhoods and crime (Zhou and Bankston 2000; Zhou 2001). However, the Vietnamese community is considerably larger than both the Laotian and the Cambodian community combined, which may put them at an advantage when it comes to co-ethnic social capital and experiences of discrimination.

Even though by 1990, the socioeconomic standing of these communities has significantly improved in terms of college-graduation rates, labor force participation among males, entrepreneurialism, median household income, poverty rate, and home ownership, the Indochinese youth in my sample are still clearly more privileged than what the literature suggests (Zhou and Bankston 2000; Zhou 2001).

The parents of my Vietnamese and Laotian/Cambodian respondents have similar socioeconomic index (SEI) scores to the rest of the sample, and while the proportion of college-educated Vietnamese parents is pretty high (35% for fathers and 25% for mothers), but rather low among Laotian/Cambodian fathers and mothers (20% and 8%, respectively), Laotian/Cambodian fathers are almost twice as likely to be self-employed than their Vietnamese counterparts (9.4% compared to only 4.9%, respectively). Another contrast between Laotians/Cambodians and Vietnamese is that the former have the highest unemployment rates in the entire sample—one in ten fathers and 16% of mothers do not work—whereas they are pretty low among Vietnamese parents.

The high proportions of foreign-born Vietnamese and Laotian/Cambodian respondents in my sample—69% and 94%, respectively—are a manifestation of how recently these communities have formed. Hence, it is not surprising that about two thirds of Indochinese adolescents have many or mostly immigrant friends, despite their relatively high degree of acculturation (i.e. their low level of native language skills) and high exposure to whites (schools attended by Vietnamese and Laotian/Cambodian youth have on average 43% and 36% white students, respectively).

National-Origin Group Characteristics - Summary

In sum, the patterns in my ethnic subsamples generally reflect the prevailing views of each national-origin group, with a few exceptions. My Dominican, Haitian, Vietnamese, and Laotian/Cambodian respondents tend to have higher socioeconomic backgrounds than what the literature suggests. Interestingly, while there is quite some variation across Hispanic groups when it comes to parental education and self-employment rates, there is relatively little diversity in terms of overall socioeconomic background (i.e. SEI scores), especially among Hispanic mothers. Overall, the socioeconomic index scores across all ethnic groups (especially paternal SEI scores) indicate that Mexicans, Latin Americans, and Jamaicans are worse off than everybody else.

On top of that, as noted earlier, the variables deployed to measure certain concepts, such as racial context, social integration in the co-ethnic/immigrant community, and acculturation, do not perfectly capture each of those complex concepts. Because of that, the comparisons between the prevailing views on each of these ethnic communities and the patterns in my data are merely suggestive rather than definite and mainly serve the purpose of gaining a better understanding of any potential remaining associations between perceived discrimination and national origin once all other factors are accounted for in my analysis.

Attrition Analysis

However, before I address each of my five hypotheses, I examine sample attrition between Wave 1 and Wave 2. Of the 2,300 individuals included in the attrition sample (Table 2.3), 346 people (15%) dropped out of the survey by W2 while 1,954 people (85%) remained in the study. Haller, Portes, and Lynch (2011)—who also use the CILS data in their study on the adaptation process of second-generation immigrants—note that their analysis is underestimating the possibility of downward assimilation due to sample attrition, as survey dropout is predicted by nontraditional family composition and low academic performance. Therefore, in order to reveal any potential biases in my

Table 2.3. Attrition Analysis – Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression Of Wave 2 Survey Dropout[18] On National Origin, Gender, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Native Language Skills

	AME	Standard Error
Perceived Discrimination (W1)	0.020	0.016
National Origin		
(Reference Group: Cuban)		
Nicaraguan	-0.079*	0.038
Colombian	-0.060	0.044
Latin American	0.025	0.042
Dominican	-0.103	0.052
Mexican	-0.103**	0.038
Jamaican	0.021	0.064
Haitian	-0.071	0.050
West Indian	0.048	0.077
Filipino	-0.127**	0.036
Vietnamese	-0.130**	0.042
Laotian/Cambodian	-0.176**	0.045
Gender		
Female	-0.026	0.016
Racial Context		
% White Students	0.001	0.001
Social Integration		
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-0.018	0.017
Native Language Skills		
Native Language Skills	0.012	0.009
Control Variables		
Age	0.030**	0.010
English Skills	-0.049*	0.020
Foreign Born	-0.007	0.018
Number of Friends	0.003	0.008
Father SEI	0.000	0.000
Mother SEI	-0.001	0.001
Inner-City School	0.032	0.030
School Poverty Rate (%)	0.000	0.001
School Population	0.000	0.000
Sigma	.115	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 2,300

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

[18] Outcome "survey dropout" is a dichotomous variable coded *0=remain* and *1=survey dropout.*

own results, I analyze whether sample attrition could have any effects on the association between PD and its determinants in my study.

To do so, I generate a random effects binary logistic regression model that replicates the final model of my main analysis. Specifically, I use the same independent and control variables as for Analysis #1[19], but with attrition instead of perceived discrimination as the outcome variable. By comparing my attrition model (Table 2.3) to the final model of Analysis #1, I will assess whether or not my study design may underestimate (or overestimate) the relationships between PD and my predictor variables. This could be the case if individuals who feel particularly marginalized or discriminated are significantly less likely to remain in the survey than the rest.

My results (Table 2.3) show that Mexicans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Laotians/Cambodians are less likely to drop out of the survey by Wave 2 than Cubans, and that the same ethnic groups are also significantly *more* likely to perceive racial/ethnic discrimination. Moreover, the chance of dropping out increases with age and decreases with English skills (if only so slightly) but neither variable is significantly associated with PD. Finally, perceived discrimination as measured in Wave 1 does not predict someone's likelihood of dropping out.

Hence, the individuals who dropped out by W2 have very similar characteristics to those who remained in the study, including their likelihood of reporting PD in Wave 1 (but except for national origin). This strongly suggests that my analytical sample for

[19] The only independent variable from the main analysis that is not included in the attrition analysis is *school dropout rate* because these data were obtained when the second wave of the CILS was conducted, and including the variable prevented my attrition model from converging. I also included PD as measured in W1 in the attrition analysis, which will not be integrated in my main analysis of the determinants of PD.

Analysis #1 does not underrepresent particularly marginalized or discriminated youth. Thus, there is no indication that my results are under- or overestimating the strengths of association between PD and gender, racial context, social integration, or native language skills.

Methodology

This chapter examines how the rate of perceived discrimination (PD) among children of immigrants varies depending on national origin, gender, social integration in the immigrant community, and type of acculturation. Further, I will analyze whether the associations between PD and gender, racial context, social integration, and acculturation are consistent across ethnic groups.

To answer these questions, I perform a multilevel binary logistic regression analysis (Table 2.4), using individual-level and school-level independent variables from Wave 1 and perceived racial/ethnic discrimination as measured in Wave 2. Specifically, I generated a random effects model to reveal to what degree individual school characteristics (that are not directly measured in the CILS) affect perceived discrimination. Moreover, the longitudinal structure of my model eliminates the possibility of reverse causation, i.e. that PD reported in W2 affects its predictors that were obtained in W1 (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), namely national origin, gender, percentage of white students at school, social integration in the immigrant community, and native language skills. My analysis controls for age, level of English skills, birthplace,

Table 2.4. Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination On National Origin, Gender, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Native Language Skills

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin						
(Reference Group: Cuban)						
Nicaraguan	0.084	0.051	0.084	0.055	0.083	0.054
Colombian	0.091	0.066	0.086	0.066	0.091	0.066
Latin American	0.044	0.058	0.040	0.058	0.051	0.058
Dominican	0.148	0.097	0.139	0.098	0.138	0.098
Mexican	0.223**	0.043	0.229**	0.051	0.229**	0.054
Jamaican	0.376**	0.085	0.379**	0.086	0.413**	0.081
Haitian	0.354**	0.062	0.342**	0.067	0.360**	0.065
West Indian	0.336**	0.089	0.333**	0.092	0.355**	0.090
Filipino	0.193**	0.036	0.209**	0.039	0.221**	0.043
Vietnamese	0.326**	0.054	0.343**	0.057	0.347**	0.060
Laotian/Cambodian	0.451**	0.065	0.463**	0.065	0.469**	0.066
Gender						
Female	-	-	-0.017	0.025	-0.024	0.025
Racial Context						
% White Students	-	-	-	-	0.001	0.002
Social Integration						
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-	-	-	-	0.070*	0.028
Native Language Skills						
Native Language Skills	-	-	-	-	0.014	0.015
Control Variables						
Age	-	-	0.008	0.016	0.008	0.016
English Skills	-	-	0.031	0.036	0.035	0.036
Foreign Born	-	-	0.003	0.028	-0.008	0.029
Number of Friends	-	-	0.019	0.014	0.017	0.014
Father SEI	-	-	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001
Mother SEI	-	-	-0.001	0.001	-0.001	0.001
Inner-City School	-	-	0.056	0.038	0.065	0.038
School Poverty Rate (%)	-	-	-0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001
School Dropout Rate (%)	-	-	0.008	0.005	0.009	0.005
School Population	-	-	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,507

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

number of friends, socioeconomic background, school location, percentage of poor students at school, school dropout rate[20], and school population. All control variables were measured in W1, and all school-related variables were obtained from school records.

Finally, my stepwise regression approach compares three models: Model 1 merely uses *national origin* as predictor of *perceived racial/ethnic discrimination*. Model 2 includes *gender* as well as all control variables, i.e. *age*, *English skills*, *birthplace*, *number of friends* (log), *socioeconomic index* (SEI) *scores* of father and mother, *school location* (inner-city vs. suburban), the *percentage of subsidized lunch recipients at school*, *school dropout rate*, and *school population*. Lastly, Model 3 adds the contextual factors that SAT considers important predictors of perceived discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001), namely *ethno-racial context* (percentage of white students at school), *social integration in the immigrant community* (some/none vs. many/most immigrant friends at school), and *cultural integration in the immigrant community* (numeric native language score ranging 0-4). This model sequence will reveal to what degree the addition of basic control variables (M2) and community-level variables (M3) changes—i.e. decreases—the association between national-origin and perceived discrimination.

[20] As mentioned earlier, school dropout rates for the 1992/1993 school year (Wave 1) were obtained from the school archives during Wave 2, whereas all other school characteristics were obtained in Wave 1.

Results

Table 2.4 presents the results of the three nested regression models I generated to test the five hypotheses that I formulated at the beginning of this chapter. First and foremost, it is noteworthy that the associations between national origin and PD remain virtually unchanged across the three regression models, indicating that my control and contextual variables cannot explain the different levels of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination across the ethnic groups under study.

Model 3 shows that all Asians and Afro-Caribbeans as well as Mexicans are significantly more likely to perceive discrimination than Cubans. In contrast, there are no significant differences in PD rates between Cubans, Nicaraguans, Colombians, Dominicans, and other Latin Americans, i.e. all other Hispanic groups in Miami. However, even though these latter differences are not significant, the overall positive values of the average marginal effects (AMEs) for each of these ethnic groups indicate that Cubans are the least discriminated national-origin group under study. Further, neither gender, racial context, native language skills, nor any of the control variables are significantly associated with PD.

Interestingly, having many or mostly immigrant friends at school is—contrary to my prediction—*positively* associated with the likelihood to perceive discrimination. However, the effect magnitude is fairly small; respondents whose circle of friends consists to a high degree of other second-generation immigrants are only seven percentage points more likely to perceive discrimination than those who are less integrated in their immigrant community. Finally, in all three models individual school characteristics account for virtually no variation in PD rates at all.

Table 2.5 shows the AMEs for the effects of being Jamaican, Haitian, and West Indian based on a smaller, alternative sample that only includes self-identified blacks of each of those ethnic groups[21]. While all three ethnic groups remain significantly more likely to perceive discrimination than Cubans, the effect magnitudes in the alternative sample are incrementally smaller than those in the original analysis, once all predictor and control variables are taken into account (M3). All other coefficients are virtually the same between the original sample (Table 2.4) and the alternative sample (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5. Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination On National Origin, Gender, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Native Language Skills; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin						
Jamaican	0.376**	0.055	0.375**	0.097	0.407**	0.090
Haitian	0.341**	0.064	0.326**	0.070	0.343**	0.068
West Indian	0.341**	0.043	0.334**	0.110	0.349**	0.108
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,491
Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

I will follow the same approach in the next two chapters as well. Specifically, in the third and fourth chapter, I will present the results based on this alternative

[21] Specifically, this smaller sample excludes Jamaicans, Haitians, and other West Indians who never self-identified as "black" throughout the survey (i.e. neither in W2 nor in W3). All other predictor and control variables in this alternative analysis are the same as in the main regression analysis (Table 2.4).

sampling, but confine the tables to merely showing the effects of the three Afro-Caribbean groups, and only present the effects of the control variables—which are all still included in these alternative models—if they are substantially different from those depicted in the main tables.

In sum, the associations between national origin and PD are robust to controlling for gender (Model 2) as well as racial context, social integration, and native language skills (Model 3). In fact, the strengths of association between the significantly different ethnic groups—i.e. all Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups as well as Mexicans—generally increase from model to model, if only incrementally. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on the results of Model 3 and interpret what they mean regarding each of my hypotheses as well as segmented assimilation theory at large.

Hypothesis 1.1

My first hypothesis predicts that *black second-generation immigrants perceive the highest levels of racial or ethnic discrimination, followed by Hispanics and Asians.* The regression model in Table 2.4 uses Cuban American immigrant children as reference group, as they have the highest share of self-identified whites and the strongest ethnic community—two factors that presumably help avoid experiences of discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993). Figure 2.1 shows the likelihood of experiencing discrimination in each national origin group and each panethnic group based on the full regression model (Model 3) presented in Table 2.4[22].

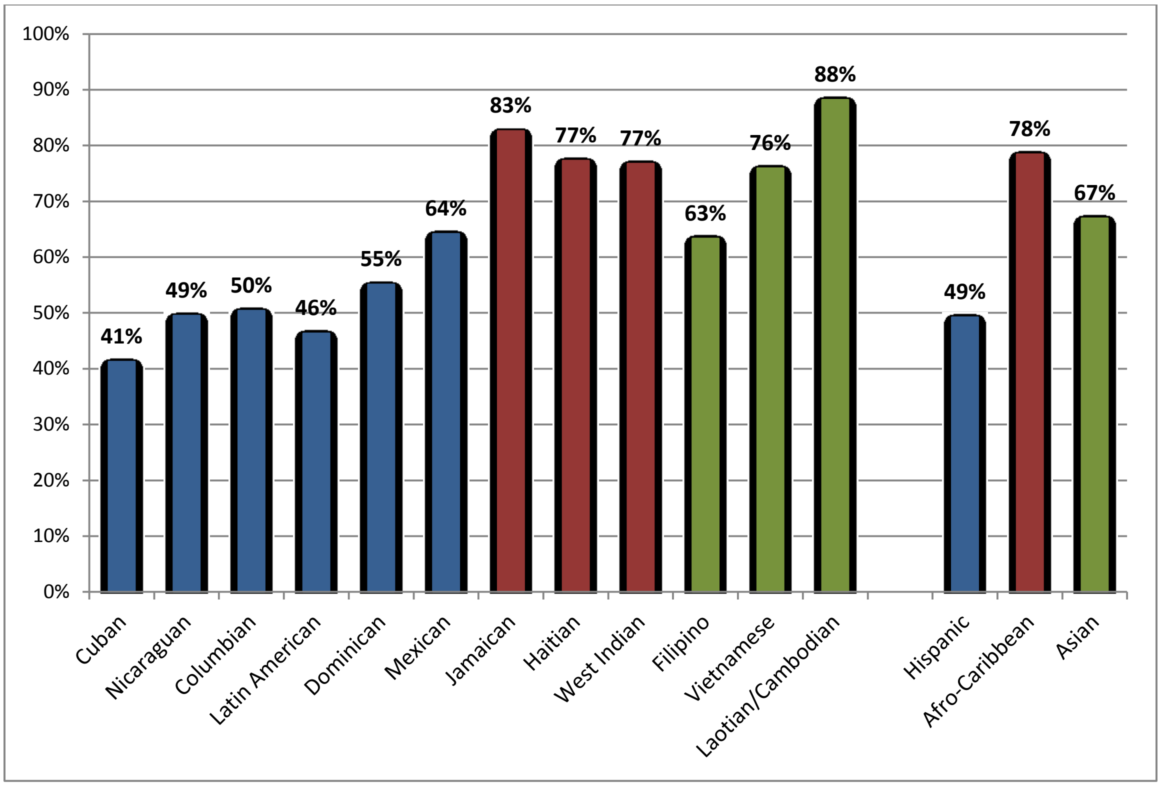

Figure 2.1. Likelihood to Perceive Racial/Ethnic Discrimination by National Origin and by Panethnic Group (based on Table 2.4/Model 3).

Afro-Caribbeans, i.e. Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians combined, have the highest rate of PD (78%) whereas Asians surprisingly rank second, with more than two thirds (67%) reporting discrimination. In contrast, less than half (49%) of Hispanic immigrant children report experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination. Hence, on the one

[22] To generate the PD rates per panethnic group, I ran regressions in which I replaced the national-origin dummy variables with panethnic indicators (not presented).

hand, Afro-Caribbeans perceive indeed the most discrimination, which is predicted by my first hypothesis; on the other hand, however, PD rates among Asian Americans are almost as high as those of their black counterparts, and Hispanics—who I hypothesized to be the second-most discriminated group after blacks—face the *lowest* risk of experiencing discrimination. This indicates that neither the “model minority” image of Asian Americans (Oyserman and Sakamoto 1997; Wong and Halgin 2006; Kiang 2010) nor the fact that Americans generally do not associate them with the highly stigmatized illegal immigration (Nee and Holbrow 2013; Lee and Kye 2016) seems to protect Filipino, Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian youth from PD.

Furthermore, PD rates vary substantially within the panethnic groups Afro-Caribbean, Asian, and Hispanic. However, even though my model takes into consideration gender, racial context, social integration, and native language skills, it is possible that the national-origin variables remain proxies for co-ethnic community size and strength as well as the societal, political, and economic context of reception in which immigrant groups are embedded (Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut and Portes 2001).

While all three Afro-Caribbean groups perceive high levels of discrimination, Jamaican youth feel substantially more discriminated (88%) than Haitians and other West Indians (77% each). Filipinos have the lowest PD rates among Asian Americans with only 63%, whereas more than three in four Vietnamese (76%) and almost nine out of ten Laotians/Cambodians (88%) perceive discrimination. Among Hispanics, there are two notable outliers. Mexicans face by far the highest risk of PD, with almost two thirds

(64%) reporting discrimination, whereas Cuban youth are least likely to feel discriminated (41%); the PD rates of all other Hispanic groups range between 46% and 55%.

As mentioned above, these differences within panethnic groups may possibly be explained by community-specific factors that are not captured in the CILS. More specifically, the particularly low PD rates among Cubans are not surprising, considering their extraordinarily strong and populous ethnic enclave as well as a high share of whites (Portes and Zhou 1993; Pérez 2001). Nicaraguans, in contrast, have a much weaker ethnic community, and the group's association with illegal immigration and the societal stigma attached to that could explain why they are more likely to feel discriminated than their Cuban counterparts. The same may apply to Colombians, who, in addition, only have a fairly fragile, dispersed ethnic community to fall back to. Dominicans are the most discriminated Hispanic group in Miami, possibly due to the fact that they tend to be of darker complexion than other Hispanics, which increases their risk of experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination compared to Cubans, Nicaraguans, or Colombians.

Mexican Americans, the only Hispanic group in San Diego, face very different circumstances than their Floridian counterparts. On top of their long history of exploitation, marginalization, and discrimination in southern California and their relatively underdeveloped ethnic communities that barely shield them from exposure to ethno-racial out-group members, most Mexicans do not pass as white. Moreover, their big number and disproportionate share of blue-collar workers are a perceived threat to the economic wellbeing of the declining white middle- and working-class (Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001). This results in a greater degree of societal hostility towards Mexicans as well as political campaigns—most notably Proposition 187, which was a hot topic at the time Wave 2 of the CILS was conducted—that arguably even further increased levels of PD among Mexican Americans in California. Finally, their proximity to Asian ethnic groups, whose offspring are generally more academically successful than Mexican youth, adds another layer to the already daunting set of prejudices held against the community. The combination of these factors may lead to Mexicans being the by far most discriminated Hispanic group under study.

PD rates among Afro-Caribbeans are pretty high across the board; however, Jamaicans are—for no apparent reason—more likely to feel discriminated than Haitians and West Indians, which is consistent with the findings in Rumbaut's (1994) and Carlisle's (2013) research.

It is not surprising that the highly Americanized Filipino Americans perceive less discrimination than the Indochinese groups, as the latter are associated with poverty, social disorganization, and government dependency (Zhou and Bankston 2000; Zhou 2001). Finally, the particularly high PD rates among Laotians/Cambodians could be due to the lack of protection through their especially small and weak ethnic communities.

Hypothesis 1.2

*M*y second hypothesis predicts that *female second-generation immigrant youths perceive less racial or ethnic discrimination than their male counterparts.* While Table 2.4 shows that females do not perceive significantly more discrimination than males, I generated an additional model that provides a breakdown by national-origin group to produce the interaction effects between national origin and gender on top of including all the same variables from my full regression model (Table 2.4/Model 3). Table A.1 (Appendix A), which presents the AMEs for gender by national origin based on this enhanced model, shows no statistically significant gender-differences regarding PD rates among any ethnic group except for Colombians. Colombian women are almost 25 percentage points less likely to perceive discrimination than their male counterparts. However, the chance of PD by national origin and gender, presented in Figure 2.2, tell a mixed story regarding PD and gender.

Specifically, my prediction that females perceive discrimination at lower rates than males holds true for all Hispanic groups except for Mexican Americans. Among Cubans, Nicaraguans, Colombians, Dominicans, and other Latin Americans, male youth are at least five percentage points more likely to perceive discrimination than their female counterparts, but male Mexicans are, even though only slightly, *less* likely to PD than females. Strikingly, female Afro-Caribbeans perceive *higher* levels of discrimination than males, regardless of national origin. However, the gender difference is particularly stark among Jamaicans, where females are almost thirty percentage points more likely to experience discrimination than males. In Asian American communities, gender-differences are much less pronounced. Among Filipino youth, gender plays virtually no role when it comes to PD, while Vietnamese men are marginally *more* (two percentage points), and Laotians/Cambodians slightly *less* (also two percentage points), likely to experience racial or ethnic discrimination.

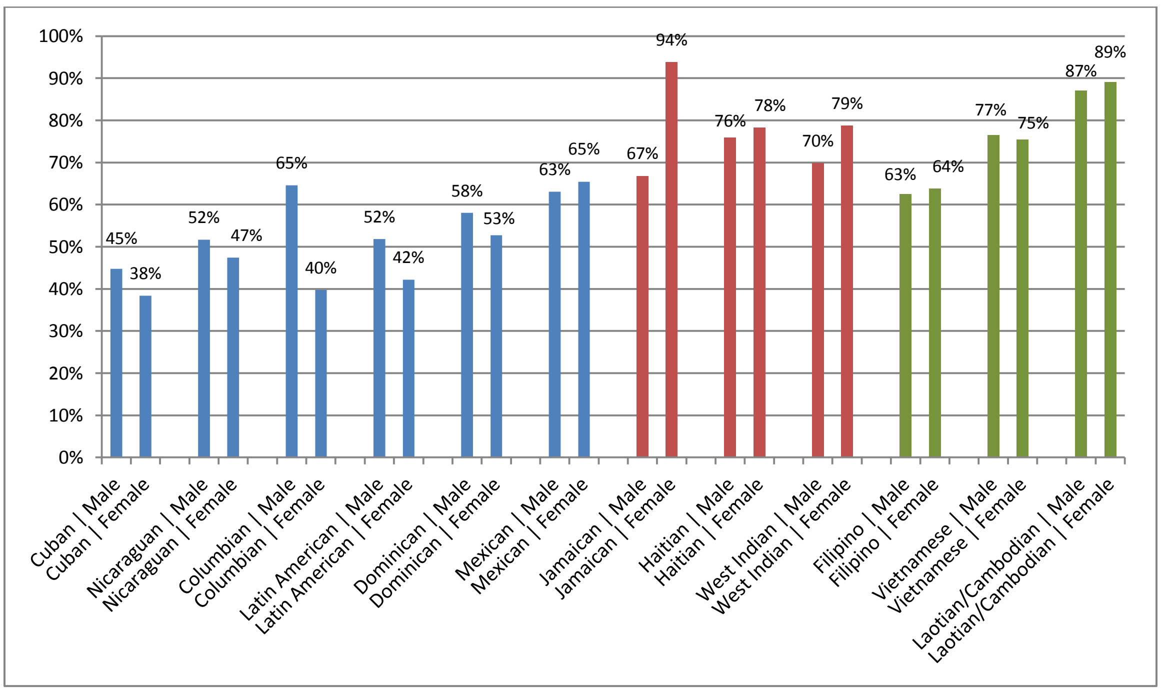

Figure 2.2. Likelihood to Perceive Racial/Ethnic Discrimination by Gender for each National Origin Group including all Variables from the Final Regression Model (M3) plus Interaction Terms between National Origin and Gender.

Hypothesis 1.3

My third hypothesis claims that *the more second-generation immigrants are exposed to whites, the more likely they are to perceive racial or ethnic discrimination.* The full regression model presented in Table 2.4 does not show any significant effects of white student population on perceived discrimination. Likewise, Table A.2 (Appendix A), which shows the AMEs for national origin by percentage of white students at school (based on the full regression model plus the interaction effects between national origin and ethno-racial context), neither provides any evidence that the share of white students at school affects PD rates among any of the national origin groups under study.

Hypothesis 1.4

Hypothesis 4 predicts that *second-generation youth who are socially integrated in their co-ethnic/immigrant community perceive less discrimination than those who are less integrated.* The results generated by the full regression model (Table 2.4/M3) show that, in fact, the reverse is true. Those who have many or mostly second-generation immigrant friends are seven percentage points *more* likely to perceive discrimination than those who have only some or none immigrant friends at all.

Here too did I generate an enhanced model that also includes interaction terms between national origin and my measure of social integration in order to find out whether there are any meaningful differences by national origin. Table A.3 (Appendix A) shows that significant differences in PD rates by social integration exist only among Cubans and Mexicans. Specifically, Cubans and Mexicans who have strong ties with other immigrant children are 11.6 and 16.1 percentage points, respectively, more likely to experience discrimination than their less socially integrated counterparts.

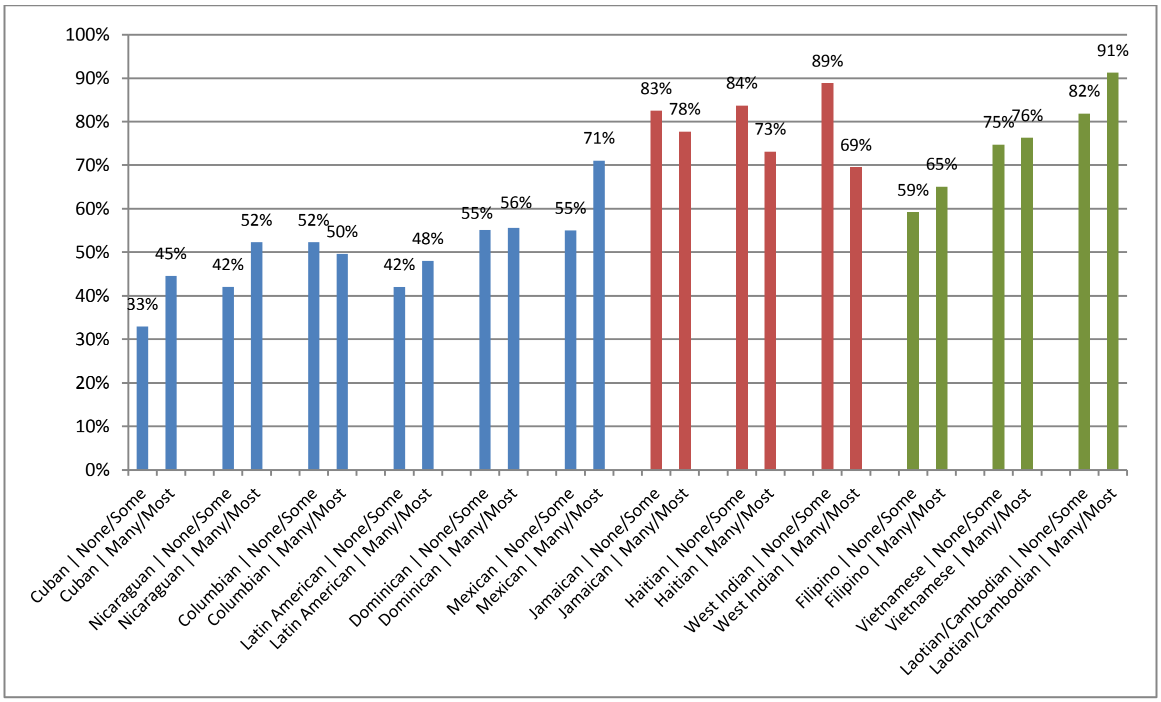

Figure 2.3. Likelihood to Perceive Racial/Ethnic Discrimination by Social Integration in Immigrant Community for each National Origin including all Variables from the Final Regression Model (M3) plus Interaction Terms between National Origin and Social Integration.

However, I also generated Figure 2.3 based on the full model that also includes the interaction terms between national origin and social integration. There are only four ethnic groups for which my hypothesized relationship holds true: Colombians, Jamaicans, Haitians, and other West Indians—in all other cases, respondents who are socially integrated in their immigrant community are *more* likely to perceive discrimination. However, while the difference by social integration is miniscule among Colombians (merely a two-percentage-point gap), there are clear differences among the three Afro-Caribbean groups; socially integrated Jamaicans, Haitians, and other West Indians are respectively five, nine, and twenty percentage points less likely to perceive discrimination than their counterparts with none or only some immigrant friends.

Hypothesis 1.5

The fifth and last hypothesis I test in this chapter is whether *native language skills are negatively associated with perceived discrimination.* Like the previous hypothesis, this prediction is based on SAT's claim that selected assimilation shields immigrant children from experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination. However, the full regression model reveals that native language skills are *not* significantly associated with perceived discrimination. Similarly, the marginal effects presented in Table A.4 (Appendix A) that are based on the full regression model plus interactions between national origin and native language skills do not show any significant results either.

Discussion

My analyses in this chapter have produced a number of unanticipated findings. First and foremost, PD rates remain virtually unchanged across regression models, indicating that the contextual factors that segmented assimilation theory considers important determinants of perceived discrimination are inconsequential. Specifically, according to SAT, different PD rates across ethnic groups are mostly due to their social and political environment, the level of community strength, and immigrant children's cultural integration in their co-ethnic or immigrant community. Based on this premise, the inclusion of racial context, social integration, and native language skills in my regression model should decrease—if not fully eliminate—the associations between ethnic group membership and perceived discrimination. Instead, the stark differences between and within panethnic groups remain virtually unchanged.

Accordingly, racial context and cultural integration in the immigrant community (i.e. native language skills) do not have any influence on PD rates. Interestingly, social integration in the immigrant community (i.e. having many or mostly immigrant friends) slightly *increases* the risk of perceiving discrimination; however, his is only true for Cubans and Mexicans, while the other ethnic groups under study are unaffected.

The findings suggest that there are unmeasured factors specific to ethnic communities that are not captured in this study. Specifically, while I accounted for important factors such as racial context and social and cultural integration in the co-ethnic/immigrant community, other crucial variables such as community size, residential density, socioeconomic and occupational diversity, as well as cultural, historical, and political factors are not captured in my data. Furthermore, any single variable cannot adequately measure complex and multifaceted concepts such as ethno-racial context or social or cultural integration. Hence, my national-origin variables are approximations of all these unmeasured, but obviously influential, factors.

To be sure, however, my results indicate that embeddedness in a co-ethnic/immigrant community does not protect second-generation immigrant children from experiences of racial or ethnic discrimination. In fact, strong social ties with other immigrant youth make things worse instead of better, at least among Cubans and Mexicans.

SAT's claim that black immigrant children perceive more discrimination than all other racial groups, in contrast, is supported by my results. While segmented assimilation theory does not provide a clear "ranking" of social acceptance by racial or ethnic group, the literature on perceived racial/ethnic discrimination suggests that Hispanics perceive less discrimination than blacks and that Asian Americans benefit from their "model minority" status and thus feel less discriminated than both Hispanics or blacks. However, even after taking into consideration contextual factors such as racial environment, social integration, and native language skills, Asians are still substantially *more* likely to perceive discrimination than Hispanics, who are the least-discriminated panethnic group. These findings (1) strongly suggest that the "model minority" stereotype has little, if any, relevance when it comes to PD rates among Filipinos, Vietnamese, or Laotian/Cambodian youth and (2) show that Hispanics find themselves in a much better situation than black immigrant children when it comes to PD.

The mixed findings regarding PD rates by gender are quite surprising. Female Hispanic adolescents are in general less likely to report discrimination than males—except for Mexican females, who face an incrementally higher risk to experience discrimination. Further, whereas gender differences are only minuscule among Asian

Americans (within a two-percentage-point range of one another), Afro-Caribbean females are substantially *more* likely to perceive discrimination than their male counterparts—a finding that is particularly striking, since black males are considered the primary target of racial discrimination in the United States (Sidanius and Pratto 1999; Navarrete et al 2010).

Finally, my results do not conclusively support SAT's notion that selective assimilation shields immigrant children from experiences of discrimination. First, respondents' native language skills and the share of white students at school have no significant effect on PD rates whatsoever. Second, having friendships with other immigrant youth is associated with lower PD rates only among Afro-Caribbeans and, though much less nuanced, Colombians. Across all other national origin groups, however, social integration seems to be a *handicap* rather than an advantage, which is especially true for Cubans and Mexicans.

Hence, selective assimilation does not seem to be a powerful "strategy" to avoid racial/ethnic discrimination. The only exception to this is Afro-Caribbeans, who benefit from maintaining strong social ties with immigrant peers. Among Hispanics and Asians, on the other hand, being embedded in the immigrant community is not a protection from experiencing discrimination whatsoever.

In sum, the findings in this chapter contradict major tenets of segmented assimilation theory as well as the prevailing view that females are less exposed to racial discrimination than their male counterparts. Most importantly, the fact that ethnic group differences in PD rates are almost completely unaffected by the inclusion of a number of meaningful and established control variables warrants serious questioning of segmented assimilation theory and its implications.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS #2 – SHORT-TERM EFFECTS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

Introduction

Segmented assimilation theory claims that second-generation immigrant youths who experience racial or ethnic discrimination are at risk to develop "oppositional cultural" dispositions that put them at odds with the educational attitudes and life expectations of the American middle-class, which ultimately increases their vulnerability to downward assimilation (Ogbu 1974; Portes and Zhou 1993). However, socioeconomic background, social context, and immigrant community cohesion can moderate the negative influence of perceived discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993).

To test these claims, I will use data from the first two waves of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), which surveyed second-generation immigrant students with multiple ethnic backgrounds when they were on average fourteen (Wave 1) and seventeen years old (Wave 2). The regression analyses presented in this chapter will show whether PD (as reported in W1) has a negative impact on short-term incorporation outcomes, i.e. immigrant youth's educational and occupational outlooks (as reported in W2), and whether socioeconomic background, racial context, social ties with immigrant peers, and exposure to the "underclass" influence this relationship. Specifically, I will test the following hypotheses.

Hypotheses

Main Short-Term Effects

Hypothesis 2.1: *Perceived racial or ethnic discrimination is negatively associated with short-term outcomes, such as educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.*

Hypothesis 2.2: *Perceived racial or ethnic discrimination is positively associated with educational aspirations that exceed educational expectations.*

Moderators

Hypothesis 2.3.1: *The higher second-generation immigrants' socioeconomic background, the lower the effects of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 2.3.2: *The higher the exposure to racial or ethnic out-group members, the greater the effects of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 2.3.3: *The higher the level of social integration in the immigrant community, the lower the effects of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 2.3.4: *The higher the exposure to the marginalized "underclass," the greater the impact of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Sample

My analytical sample consists of 1,386[23] second-generation immigrant students of Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean, and Asian descent who live and go to school in the metropolitan areas of San Diego, CA, and Miami, FL.[24] Specifically, my sample includes Cubans (25%), Nicaraguans (8%), Colombians (5%), Dominicans (2%), other Latin Americans (5%), Haitians (3%), Jamaicans (2%), and other West Indians (1%) from Miami, FL, as well as Mexicans (13%), Filipinos (28%), Vietnamese (5%), and Laotians/Cambodians (2%) located in San Diego, CA. Lastly, women are slightly overrepresented in my analysis (56% females compared to 44% males).

Independent Variable

My independent variable is perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, which was obtained in the first wave of the CILS. Of the 1,386 respondents in my sample, 728

[23] Of the 1,520 respondents who gave valid responses to all W1-questions included in my analyses, only 63 (4.1%) dropped out of the survey, whereas 1,457 individuals (95.9%) also participated in the second wave of the CILS.

[24] No respondents from Fort Lauderdale, FL, are included in the analyses in this chapter, as they all ended up being dropped after conducting listwise deletion.

adolescents (53%) reported that they had experienced racial or ethnic discrimination, while 658 individuals (47%) did not report such incidences.

Dependent Variables

My dependent variables—all of which were obtained in Wave 2 of the CILS—are academic aspirations, academic expectations, and whether academic aspirations exceed academic expectations, as well as occupational aspirations and occupational expectations. Tables 3.1 through 3.4 show the univariate statistics of each dependent variable.

To measure educational aspirations and expectations, respondents were asked, *"What is the highest level of education that you would like to achieve"*, directly followed by the question *"And realistically speaking, what is the highest level of education that you think you will get?"* The answers to these two questions are presented in Table 3.1. Very few respondents aspire to or expect less than a high school degree (.2% and .1%, respectively) or to finish high school (2.3% and 4.0%, respectively). In contrast, the vast majority of respondents want to attain at least an undergrad degree (94%) and almost 87% of the sample expect to finish college. In short, both educational aspirations and expectations are generally pretty high, but aspirations tend to be higher than expectations.

Table 3.1. Academic Aspirations And Expectations

Educational Milestones	**Academic Aspirations**		**Academic Expectations**	
	f	**%**	**f**	**%**
Less than High School	3	0.2	1	0.1
Finish High School	32	2.3	55	4.0
Finish Some College	52	3.8	129	9.3
Finish College	288	20.8	543	39.2
Finish a Graduate Degree	1,011	72.9	658	47.5
TOTAL	**1,386**	**100.0**	**1,386**	**100.0**

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

My third dependent variable—the gap between educational aspirations and expectations—is based on the responses to the two questions presented above. Specifically, I identified all respondents who reported *higher aspirations than expectations* and distinguished between those who have this specific type of mismatch and those who either have the same expectations as aspirations or lower aspirations than expectations (presented in Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Mismatch Between Academic Aspirations And Expectations

Recoded Values	**Match/Mismatch Between Academic Aspirations and Expectations**	f	%
0	Expectations **>** Aspirations	22	1.6
	Expectations **=** Aspirations	916	66.1
1	Expectations **<** Aspirations	448	32.3
	TOTAL	**1,386**	**100.0**

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table 3.2 shows that only 1.6% of my sample expects to attain more education than they aspire to, while expectations and aspirations are the same among two out of three respondents (66%). A little under one third (32%), in contrast, does not expect to achieve as much education as they aspire to. The aspirations-expectations mismatch in the latter group is problematic when it comes to socioeconomic incorporation, because second-generation immigrants who feel that they cannot materialize their educational aspirations are arguably more likely to be disenfranchised, less motivated, and thus more vulnerable to downward assimilation than the rest.

Because of this important implication of academic aspirations that exceed expectations (and due to the fact that the share of respondents whose expectations are higher than aspirations is very small) I only distinguish between respondents who have higher educational aspirations than expectations (32%; coded as "1") and those who do not (68%; coded as "0").

Regarding occupational aspirations, respondents were asked *"Among the following job categories, which is the one that comes closest to the job you would like to have as an adult?"* The answer categories and frequency and percentage of responses per category are presented in Table 3.3. I differentiate between "professional/executive" occupations (recoded as "1") and "non-professional/non-executive occupations" (recoded as "0"), which allows me to analyze whether respondents who report PD are less likely to aspire to professional or executive occupations than those who did not report perceived racial/ethnic discrimination. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of adolescents (84%) aspire to hold professional/executive positions when they are adults, compared to only about 16% who did not express such a preference.

The last outcome variable in Analysis #2 is occupational expectations (Table 3.4). Following the question regarding occupational aspirations, respondents were asked *"And realistically speaking, how do you see your chances of getting this job?"* For this last analysis, I am only interested in the occupational expectations of people who aspire to professional/executive occupations, which only applies to 1,169 individuals of the 1,386 respondents that will be included in all the other analyses in this chapter. In that smaller sample, about one third (34%) of respondents think that they have "*very good*" chances and a little less than six in ten (58%) immigrant adolescents expect to have "*good*" chances to get their desired job. In contrast, only 6% and 1% have "*poor*" or "*very poor*" job expectations, respectively.

Table 3.3. Occupational Aspirations

Recoded Values	Respondent job classification	f	%
1	Technician/Computer Programmer	80	5.8
	Nurse/Physical Therapist/Dietician	198	14.3
	Business Executive/Manager	185	13.4
	Engineer	158	11.4
	Teacher/Professor	168	12.1
	Lawyer	91	6.6
	Doctor/Physician	289	20.9
0	Factory Worker	8	0.6
	Office Clerk	14	1.0
	Salesperson	15	1.1
	Other	138	10.0
	Actor/Entertainer/Artist	39	2.8
	Professional Athlete	3	0.2
	TOTAL	**1,386**	**100**

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table 3.4. Occupational Expectations

Respondents' Expected Chances to get Aspired Job	**f**	**%**
Very poor	13	1.1
Poor	72	6.2
Good	683	58.4
Very good	401	34.3
Total	**1,169**	**100.0**

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Methodology

To assess whether there is a relationship between PD and educational and occupational outcomes, I conduct nested random effects binary logistic regression analyses and nested random effects ordered logistic regression analyses, using individual-level and school-level independent variables from Wave 1 and educational aspirations, expectations, the gap between aspirations and expectations, as well as occupational aspirations and expectations from Wave 2.

Same as in Chapter 2, I generated random effects models to reveal to what degree individual school characteristics (that are not directly measured in the CILS) affect educational and occupational outcomes. Moreover, due to the longitudinal design of my study, it is impossible that my outcome variables (i.e. educational and occupational aspirations and expectations), which were collected in Wave 2, affect my predictor variable (perceived racial/ethnic discrimination), which was obtained in Wave 1 (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

All regression models in this chapter include the same moderator variables, i.e. socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration, school dropout rate, and school poverty rate, as well as control variables, i.e. national origin, gender, age, English skills, native language skills, birth country, number of friends, school location, and school population. Each regression analysis consists of the same two models: Model 1 includes perceived discrimination (IV), measures of socioeconomic background (i.e. the first set of moderator variables), and control variables national origin, gender, age, English skills, native language skills, birth place, number of friends, school location, and school population. Model 2 adds the rest of the moderator variables, i.e. racial context, social integration into the immigrant community, and exposure to the American "underclass."

Note that the model sequences in this chapter (as well in the next chapter) are a little different from the one I used in Chapter 2. While the literature indicates that there are some factors that both predict PD and moderate its effects, such as racial context and social integration, there are no documented moderating effects of national origin. In fact, according to SAT, gender, acculturation, and national origin are not associated with the effect magnitude of PD, implying that all immigrant groups are affected by experiences of discrimination the same way once all other factors are accounted for. However, SAT argues that the exposure to the marginalized "underclass" (i.e. school dropout rate and school poverty rate) amplifies the negative influence of PD as youth are more likely to internalize those experiences. In short, predictors of PD (Analysis #1) and moderators of PD (Analysis #2 and Analysis #3) overlap only to some degree, which is why my model sequences for Analysis #1 are different from the rest of my study.

Further, I conducted listwise deletion in order to include the same individuals in all regression analyses in this chapter (n=1,386); the only exception in terms of sample size is the last regression analysis that tests whether PD is associated with occupational expectations, which only includes the 1,169 individuals who aspire to work in professional/executive occupations when they are adults. I exclude all other individuals from this last analysis because I want to examine if, and to what degree, immigrant adolescents who have "middle-class aspirations," i.e. those who want to eventually hold professional/executive positions, are discouraged by experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination.

Results

Educational Aspirations, Expectations, And Aspirations That Exceed Expectations

The first part of this chapter is concerned with effects of PD on educational outcomes, i.e. academic aspirations, academic expectations, and whether academic aspirations exceed academic expectations. To answer the first two of these questions, I conducted random effects ordered logistic regression analyses and to answer the third question, I performed a random effects binary logistic regression analysis.

Academic Aspirations

Table 3.5 presents the results of the nested random effects ordered logistic regression analysis of academic aspirations by showing the average marginal effects (AMEs) for respondents aspiring to a graduate degree. Model 1 does not reveal an association between PD and academic aspirations. However, Dominican and Mexican youth are less likely to aspire to attain a graduate degree whereas Vietnamese adolescents are more likely to want to finish graduate school compared to Cubans. Female students are more likely to aspire to an advanced degree than males, and English skills are positively associated with educational aspirations.

Model 2 includes racial context, social integration in the immigrant community, and exposure to the "underclass." Interestingly, while perceived racial/ethnic discrimination remains a non-significant predictor of educational aspirations, the proportion of white students at school is slightly negatively associated with aspiring to an advanced educational degree. Since this unexpected result does not occur in any of the other regression analyses in this chapter, it could merely be the consequence of the likely possibility that variable *"% white students*" (which is derived from school records) does not only include native white students but also a substantial number of Hispanics who identify as "white" (e.g. Nicaraguans, Cubans). Considering the combination of the small effect magnitude, the lone occurrence of the relationship in this particular analysis, and the ambiguity of who exactly is counted as "white students," I do not consider this association a meaningful finding.

Table 3.5. AMEs For Aspiring To Finishing A Graduate Degree Based On Random Effects Ordered Logistic Regression Of Academic Aspirations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Perceived Discrimination	0.031	0.024	0.029	0.024
Socioeconomic Background				
Father SEI Score	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Mother SEI Score	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Father Less Than HS	0.001	0.032	0.001	0.032
Father College Grad	0.018	0.032	0.022	0.032
Mother Less Than HS	-0.014	0.032	-0.012	0.031
Mother College Grad	0.039	0.032	0.040	0.032
Racial Context				
% White Students	-	-	-0.003*	0.002
Social Integration				
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-	-	0.028	0.024
Exposure to "Underclass"				
School Dropout Rate (%)	-	-	-0.008*	0.004
School Poverty Rate (%)	-	-	-0.001	0.001
National Origin				
(Reference Group: Cuban)				
Nicaraguan	0.027	0.050	0.029	0.051
Colombian	-0.070	0.059	-0.065	0.059
Latin American	-0.009	0.055	0.002	0.055
Dominican	-0.208*	0.090	-0.201*	0.090
Mexican	-0.094*	0.047	-0.076	0.052
Jamaican	-0.023	0.098	-0.010	0.094
Haitian	-0.025	0.075	-0.026	0.076
West Indian	-0.091	0.118	-0.068	0.112
Filipino	0.004	0.038	0.020	0.040
Vietnamese	0.144**	0.047	0.162**	0.048
Laotian/Cambodian	-0.064	0.096	-0.045	0.097
Gender				
Female	0.132**	0.022	0.134**	0.022
Control Variables				
Age	-0.014	0.014	-0.011	0.015
English Skills	0.103**	0.031	0.103**	0.030
Native Language Skills	0.017	0.013	0.015	0.013
Foreign Born	0.042	0.027	0.039	0.027
Number of Friends	-0.006	0.012	-0.004	0.012
Inner-City School	-0.048	0.028	-0.055	0.035
School Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,386

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Further, the likelihood of aspiring to an advanced degree decreases with school dropout rate. (However, both the share of white students at school and school dropout rate are no longer significantly associated with academic aspirations when I control for only one of the school-level variables, i.e. percentage of white students, dropout rate, and school poverty rate, at a time.) The rest of the predictors that are significant in M1 are still significant in M2—the only exception being Mexican Americans, who are no more or less likely to want to finish graduate school than Cubans once all moderator variables are taken into account. Like in the previous chapter, I generated the same regression models as presented in Table 3.5, excluding Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians who do not self-identify as black, i.e. neither in W2 nor in W3 (Table 3.6). However, the results are virtually the same.

Table 3.6. AMEs For Aspiring To Finishing A Graduate Degree Based On Random Effects Ordered Logistic Regression Of Academic Aspirations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin				
Jamaican	-0.027	0.108	0.008	0.103
Haitian	0.000	0.074	-0.001	0.076
West Indian	0.070	0.117	0.089	0.113
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,374

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

In addition to the full regression model (M2), I generated several models that—on top of all variables used in Model 2—include interactions between PD and my moderators. Specifically, Table B.1 (Appendix B) shows the interaction effects of paternal and maternal SEI scores and PD; of father's and mother's education and PD; the share of white students at school and PD; whether or not respondents have many/mostly immigrant friends and PD; and the interactions between PD and school dropout rate as well as percentage of students who get free lunch at school, respectively[25]. However, none of these analyses reveal any significant influence of PD on academic aspirations either.

Academic Expectations

Like in the previous ordered logistic regression analysis output (Table 3.5), Table 3.7 presents the average marginal effects that predict whether or not respondents expect to finish an advanced degree. The first model shows that PD is not significantly associated with academic expectations, but respondents with college-educated fathers are more likely to expect to finish a graduate degree. Further, Mexicans and Dominicans are less likely, and Vietnamese children are more likely, to expect to attain a graduate degree than Cubans. Females are more likely to expect to finish an advanced degree than males, and English skills are positively associated with academic expectations.

[25] I tested the moderating effects of each variable in separate models (this applies to all results presented in Tables B.1 – B.5). Specifically, I added one interaction term at a time (PD with paternal SEI, PD with maternal SEI, PD with father's education, etc.) to Model 2 of each regression analysis.

Table 3.7. AMEs For Expecting To Finishing A Graduate Degree Based On Random Effects Ordered Logistic Regression Of Academic Expectations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Perceived Discrimination	-0.002	0.025	-0.002	0.025
Socioeconomic Background				
Father SEI Score	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Mother SEI Score	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Father Less Than HS	-0.020	0.034	-0.016	0.034
Father College Grad	0.065*	0.033	0.066*	0.033
Mother Less Than HS	-0.064	0.034	-0.063	0.034
Mother College Grad	0.055	0.033	0.056	0.033
Racial Context				
% White Students	-	-	-0.003	0.002
Social Integration				
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-	-	0.002	0.026
Exposure to "Underclass"				
School Dropout Rate	-	-	-0.016**	0.004
School Poverty Rate	-	-	-0.002	0.001
National Origin				
(Reference Group: Cuban)				
Nicaraguan	-0.076	0.053	-0.069	0.053
Colombian	-0.064	0.061	-0.060	0.061
Latin American	-0.064	0.057	-0.057	0.057
Dominican	-0.221**	0.076	-0.217**	0.077
Mexican	-0.138**	0.050	-0.153*	0.056
Jamaican	0.064	0.103	0.073	0.103
Haitian	0.066	0.081	0.077	0.082
West Indian	0.049	0.120	0.058	0.119
Filipino	-0.010	0.049	-0.011	0.053
Vietnamese	0.213**	0.062	0.200**	0.068
Laotian/Cambodian	-0.017	0.097	-0.040	0.100
Gender				
Female	0.164**	0.023	0.167**	0.023
Control Variables				
Age	-0.008	0.016	-0.011	0.016
English Skills	0.079*	0.035	0.079*	0.035
Native Language Skills	0.023	0.013	0.024	0.013
Foreign Born	0.020	0.028	0.020	0.028
Number of Friends	0.015	0.013	0.017	0.013
Inner-City School	-0.035	0.035	-0.002	0.045
School Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sigma	.0006		.0009	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,386

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Model 2, which introduces the rest of the moderator variables, still does not reveal a significant relationship between academic expectations and PD, but shows that school dropout rate is negatively associated with expecting to attain an advanced degree. All other associations that are significant in Model 1 remain significant in Model 2.

Table 3.8 shows the results of the same regression model, except that it only includes Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians who at some point in the study self-identified as "black." Here, I merely present the AMEs of maternal education (specifically, of mothers that have less than a high school degree), since this variable is now a significant negative predictor of educational expectations, as well as the coefficients of Jamaicans, Haitians, and other West Indians. However, all three ethnic groups are still not associated with educational expectations.

Table 3.8. AMEs For Expecting To Finishing A Graduate Degree Based On Random Effects Ordered Logistic Regression Of Academic Expectations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Socioeconomic Background				
Mother Less Than HS	-0.069*	0.034	-0.068*	0.034
National Origin				
Jamaican	0.065	0.113	0.077	0.112
Haitian	0.111	0.081	0.122	0.081
West Indian	0.111	0.142	0.125	0.139
Sigma	.0001		.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,374

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Like in the previous analysis of academic aspirations, I created multiple regression models that also include the interaction effects between PD and the measures of each moderator variable (Table B.2 in Appendix B). Still, none of these models show significant associations between perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and academic expectations.

Gap Between Academic Aspirations And Expectations

Table 3.9 presents the results of the random effects binary logistic regression analysis of the gap between academic aspirations and expectations. Model 1 does not support my prediction that second-generation immigrants who perceive discrimination are more likely to have higher educational aspirations than expectations. However, Nicaraguans are more likely than Cubans, and females are less likely than males to think of their academic aspirations as unrealistic. Lastly, respondents' reported number of friends at school is negatively associated with the likelihood of having higher educational aspirations than expectations. The addition of the moderator variables racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass" (Model 2) reveals that—while PD remains a non-significant factor—school dropout rate is positively associated with the likelihood of having higher educational aspirations than expectations. Interestingly, Model 2 also shows that Mexicans youth are more likely to have educational aspirations that exceed their expectations than Cubans, whereas

Table 3.9. AMEs For Having Higher Aspirations Than Expectations Based On A Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression Of Gap Between Aspirations And Expectations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Perceived Discrimination	0.038	0.026	0.038	0.026
Socioeconomic Background				
Father SEI Score	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.001
Mother SEI Score	-0.000	0.001	0.000	0.001
Father Less Than HS	0.041	0.035	0.038	0.035
Father College Grad	-0.08	0.034	-0.061	0.034
Mother Less Than HS	0.046	0.034	0.045	0.035
Mother College Grad	-0.060	0.034	-0.058	0.035
Racial Context				
% White Students	-	-	-0.001	0.002
Social Integration				
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-	-	0.026	0.028
Exposure to "Underclass"				
School Dropout Rate (%)	-	-	0.009*	0.004
School Poverty Rate (%)	-	-	0.001	0.001
National Origin				
(Reference Group: Cuban)				
Nicaraguan	0.152*	0.058	0.142*	0.057
Colombian	0.037	0.064	0.041	0.062
Latin American	0.076	0.061	0.084	0.060
Dominican	0.159	0.101	0.154	0.100
Mexican	0.078	0.054	0.139*	0.060
Jamaican	-0.083	0.090	-0.058	0.092
Haitian	-0.096	0.067	-0.104	0.061
West Indian	-0.040	0.102	-0.028	0.100
Filipino	0.013	0.049	0.050	0.051
Vietnamese	-0.072	0.058	-0.026	0.065
Laotian/Cambodian	-0.046	0.088	-0.003	0.065
Gender				
Female	-0.062*	0.025	-0.064*	0.025
Control Variables				
Age	-0.013	0.016	-0.008	0.017
English Skills	0.011	0.036	0.014	0.036
Native Language Skills	-0.022	0.014	-0.026	0.014
Foreign Born	0.025	0.029	0.025	0.029
Number of Friends	-0.030*	0.014	-0.031*	0.014
Inner-City School	-0.032	0.036	-0.091*	0.044
School Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sigma	.040		.022	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,386

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

students who attend inner-city schools are less likely to have a mismatch between aspirations and expectations compared to suburban youth. All other associations that are significant in M1 are also significant in M2.

Table 3.10 presents the results based on the same regression as shown in Table 3.9, except that this alternative sample excludes Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians who do not self-identify as "black" (neither in W2 nor in W3). Interestingly, while there are no changes regarding the AMEs of Jamaicans and West Indians, black Haitians are significantly less likely to have higher educational aspirations than expectations compared to Cubans. Furthermore, native language skills are negatively associated with having an educational aspirations-expectations gap once all non-black Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians are excluded from the analysis (compared to not being associated with this outcome in the main analyses).

Table 3.10. AMEs For Having Higher Aspirations Than Expectations Based On A Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression Of Gap Between Aspirations And Expectations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin				
Jamaican	-0.086	0.097	-0.066	0.098
Haitian	-0.112	0.066	-0.119*	0.059
West Indian	0.021	0.130	0.029	0.128
Control Variables				
Native Language Skills	-0.024	0.014	-0.028*	0.014
Sigma	.041		.022	

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,374
Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

I also generated a number of additional models that include interaction terms between PD and measures of socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass" (Table B.3 in Appendix B) in order to further scrutinize whether there are any meaningful relationships between experiences discrimination and educational outlooks. Indeed, I found four significant interaction effects.

Table B.3 shows that PD among respondents with college-educated fathers and/or mothers is linked to an educational aspirations-expectations mismatch, whereas there is no such association among immigrant children with less-educated parents. Further, those who perceive discrimination and who go to schools with fifty percent white students are more likely to have aspirations that exceed their expectations compared to youth who go to schools with a lower share of whites. Finally, respondents who go to school with a relatively low proportion of poor students (21%, i.e. one standard deviation below the sample mean) and who reported PD are also more likely to have pessimistic educational outlooks, i.e. higher aspirations than expectations.

The combination of these interaction effects indicates that second-generation immigrants that grow up in more advantaged social contexts with greater exposure to the American "mainstream" are less likely to expect to live up to their educational expectations if they feel discriminated because of their race or ethnicity. However, this adverse influence of PD does not materialize among immigrant children who come of age in less privileged contexts.

Occupational Aspirations And Expectations

The second part of this chapter examines the relationship between PD and occupational aspirations and expectations. To do so, I perform a random effects binary logistic regression (occupational aspirations; Table 3.11) as well as a random effects ordered logistic regression (occupational expectations; Table 13).

Occupational Aspirations

Table 3.11 presents the random effects binary logistic regression analysis of the relationship between PD and occupational aspirations. The first model does not show a significant association between perceived discrimination and occupational aspirations. Unexpectedly, however, maternal socioeconomic index (SEI) score is slightly negatively associated with the likelihood of expecting to work a professional/executive job in adult life. No other variables are significantly related to occupational aspirations in M1.

In the full regression model (M2), the influence of PD stays non-significant while maternal SEI score remains a negative predictor of aspiring to work in a professional/executive occupation. However, this result is likely to be a false negative; the small effect magnitude, the counterintuitive direction of the relationship, the fact that this result only appears in one out of five regression analyses in this chapter, and the fact that my models also control for other SES variables on top of maternal SEI score all indicate that this result suggests a relationship between maternal SEI and

Table 3.11. AMEs For Aspiring To A Professional/Executive Occupation Based On Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression Of Occupational Aspirations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Perceived Discrimination	0.004	0.020	0.002	0.020
Socioeconomic Background				
Father SEI Score	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.001
Mother SEI Score	-0.002*	0.001	-0.002*	0.001
Father Less Than HS	0.016	0.027	0.014	0.027
Father College Grad	-0.032	0.026	-0.032	0.026
Mother Less Than HS	-0.038	0.027	-0.038	0.027
Mother College Grad	0.044	0.027	0.044	0.027
Racial Context				
% White Students	-	-	-0.001	0.001
Social Integration				
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-	-	0.028	0.021
Exposure to "Underclass"				
School Dropout Rate (%)	-	-	0.001	0.004
School Poverty Rate (%)	-	-	-0.001	0.001
National Origin				
(Reference Group: Cuban)				
Nicaraguan	-0.067	0.056	-0.066	0.058
Colombian	-0.088	0.061	-0.080	0.062
Latin American	-0.058	0.055	-0.046	0.056
Dominican	-0.065	0.090	-0.067	0.093
Mexican	0.016	0.043	0.050	0.048
Jamaican	0.049	0.080	0.070	0.078
Haitian	0.119	0.077	0.125*	0.053
West Indian	0.111	0.086	0.123	0.072
Filipino	0.147	0.100	0.162**	0.032
Vietnamese	0.142	0.096	0.162**	0.040
Laotian/Cambodian	0.091	0.077	0.115	0.068
Gender				
Female	0.014	0.020	0.015	0.020
Control Variables				
Age	0.000	0.013	0.002	0.013
English Skills	0.001	0.028	0.001	0.028
Native Language Skills	0.015	0.011	0.012	0.011
Foreign Born	0.025	0.023	0.025	0.023
Number of Friends	0.006	0.011	0.006	0.011
Inner-City School	0.013	0.023	0.002	0.029
School Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,386

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

occupational aspirations that, in reality, does not exist. Finally, Haitian, Filipino, and Vietnamese youth are significantly more ambitious than Cubans once all moderator variables are taken into account.

Table 3.12 shows the results for three Afro-Caribbean groups based on the same regression models (i.e. using the same predictor and control variables), whereas the sample excludes all Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians who do not self-identify as "black" (i.e. neither in W2 nor in W3). However, the effects of PD on occupational aspirations remain virtually unchanged in this alternative model.

Table 3.12. AMEs For Aspiring To A Professional/Executive Occupation Based On Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression Of Occupational Aspirations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin				
Jamaican	0.069	0.083	0.088	0.082
Haitian	0.141**	0.047	0.148**	0.051
West Indian	0.138	0.074	0.151	0.077
Sigma	.0009		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,374

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

As in the previous analyses, I conducted several additional regression models that include interactions between PD and all the moderator variables included in M2 (Table B.4 in Appendix B). These additional analyses produced only one significant result: Second-generation youth with college-educated mothers who reported PD in W1 are *more* likely to aspire to a professional/executive occupation that those who did not report discrimination. Again, since there is no plausible reason why experiences of discrimination would *foster* immigrant children's occupational aspirations—regardless of maternal educational degree—and since this relationship is not shown for any other outcome, I consider this finding a Type I error, i.e. a false positive.

Occupational Expectations

Finally, the random effects ordered logistic regression analysis of the effects of PD on occupational expectations (Table 3.13) tests whether PD has a significant influence on respondents' likelihood of having *"very good*" job expectations. The two models only include the 1,169 respondents who aspire to work in professional/executive occupations, because I only analyze to what degree perceived discrimination inhibits the job expectations of those who express more ambitious occupational aspirations.

Model 1 shows that PD is not significantly associated with the likelihood of having "*very good*" expectations to actually get their desired job in adulthood. However, paternal SEI score is positively related with very optimistic occupational outlooks. On top of that, Mexican, Filipino, and Vietnamese youth are less likely than Cubans to expect to work in their desired occupation, whereas females and those with higher levels of English proficiency are more likely to have "*very good*" occupational expectations.

Table 3.13. AMEs For Expecting To Have "Very Good" Chances Of Getting Their Aspired Professional/ Executive Job Based On Random Effects Ordered Logistic Regression Of Occupational Expectations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Perceived Discrimination	-0.011	0.027	-0.008	0.027
Socioeconomic Background				
Father SEI Score	0.002**	0.001	0.002*	0.001
Mother SEI Score	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.001
Father Less Than HS	-0.063	0.036	-0.058	0.036
Father College Grad	-0.012	0.034	-0.012	0.034
Mother Less Than HS	-0.021	0.037	-0.023	0.037
Mother College Grad	0.056	0.034	0.058	0.033
Racial Context				
% White Students	-	-	0.001	0.002
Social Integration				
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-	-	-0.036	0.028
Exposure to "Underclass"				
School Dropout Rate (%)	-	-	-0.006	0.005
School Poverty Rate (%)	-	-	0.001	0.001
National Origin				
(Reference Group: Cuban)				
Nicaraguan	-0.093	0.057	-0.101	0.058
Colombian	-0.097	0.068	-0.110	0.069
Latin American	-0.114	0.061	-0.125*	0.062
Dominican	-0.028	0.019	0.023	0.111
Mexican	-0.135**	0.051	-0.177*	0.054
Jamaican	-0.078	0.107	-0.093	0.109
Haitian	0.121	0.085	0.118	0.086
West Indian	-0.016	0.117	-0.016	0.120
Filipino	-0.091*	0.044	-0.111*	0.047
Vietnamese	-0.136*	0.062	-0.172**	0.065
Laotian/Cambodian	-0.106	0.096	-0.144	0.097
Gender				
Female	0.084**	0.026	0.083**	0.026
Control Variables				
Age	0.010	0.016	0.010	0.017
English Skills	0.098*	0.037	0.095*	0.037
Native Language Skills	0.019	0.014	0.022	0.014
Foreign Born	-0.043	0.029	-0.046	0.029
Number of Friends	-0.011	0.014	-0.010	0.014
Inner-City School	0.029	0.033	0.026	0.041
School Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,169

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

In Model 2, which adds the rest of the moderator variables, all relationships are virtually identical to those in Model 1, including the non-significant influence of PD. Also, same as in the previous regression analyses in this chapter, I replicated the regression analysis on occupational expectations (Table 3.13) but excluded Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians who do not self-identify as black (neither in W2 nor in W3). However, the results—presented in Table 3.14—show that using this reduced sample produces practically the same results as the original sample, as there are still no significant associations between being Jamaican, Haitian, or West Indian and occupational expectations. Finally, the additional regression models that I generated by including interaction terms (Table B.5 in Appendix B) also fail to show any significant associations between PD and job expectations among second-generation immigrant youth.

Table 3.14. AMEs For Expecting To Have "Very Good" Chances Of Getting Their Aspired Professional/ Executive Job Based On Random Effects Ordered Logistic Regression Of Occupational Expectations On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass" ; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin				
Jamaican	-0.087	0.114	-0.099	0.116
Haitian	0.138	0.086	0.134	0.086
West Indian	0.002	0.135	0.006	0.138
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,160

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Discussion

Overall, my results show that perceived racial/ethnic discrimination does not predict short-term educational and occupational outcomes. A notable and meaningful exception, however, is the influence of PD on the gap between educational aspirations and expectations. Specifically, the interaction effects of my third regression analysis of the gap between academic aspirations and expectations (Table B.3) show four significant relationships: second-generation immigrants who report discrimination and who (1) have a college-educated father, (2) have a college-educated mother, (3) go to schools with a substantial share of white youth, or (4) go to schools with a relatively low proportion of poor students are more likely aspire to higher educational degrees than they expect to realistically be able to achieve.

These findings indicate that second-generation immigrants whose familial and social contexts are generally favorable to upward assimilation—i.e. who have college-educated parents and who go to schools with a high share of (native) white students and a relatively low share of poor children—pay a higher psychological toll for experiencing discrimination than those whose social and familial context is less favorable to successful socioeconomic incorporation in the first place.

In other words, PD does not constitute an additional significant barrier to upward mobility for those who are already disadvantaged and discouraged due to their socioeconomic background and social environment—i.e. those with less-educated parents who attend majority-minority schools or schools with a high proportion of poor students—while there is evidently much more potential for experiences of discrimination to diminish the outlooks of immigrant children who grow up in a more fortunate social environment.

To be sure, some of the moderation effects indicated in the literature are not supported by these findings. First, SAT implies that children with high SES backgrounds are less affected by experiences of discrimination because they are more likely to focus on education and to take advantage of resources that help them achieve their goals despite feeling victimized by racial or ethnic discrimination (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), but my results show that PD predicts an educational aspirations-expectations gap only among those with high SES backgrounds, whereas there is no relationship among youth with parents who are not college-educated. In other words, while SAT predicts that more disadvantaged children are more likely to internalize experiences of discrimination and are thus more affected by them, my results suggest that the exact opposite is the case.

Second, my results do not support the claim that second-generation immigrant youth who are exposed to, and possibly adopt, the “oppositional cultural” dispositions of the native-born “underclass” (Ogbu 1974; Portes and Zhou 1993) are particularly affected by PD as they are also more likely to internalize experiences of discrimination. Again, the opposite seems to be true; my results show a negative impact of PD on future outlooks among those whose exposure to poor youth is relatively low, but no such association among the rest.

The lack of association between PD and future outlooks among those who go to schools with a substantial share of economically disadvantaged youth indicates that the "oppositional cultural" dispositions that are supposedly held by marginalized native-born youth (Ogbu 1974; Portes and Zhou 1993) do not apply to second-generation immigrant children. This non-finding constitutes a major contradiction to one of the principal claims made by segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993).

However, my results support the prediction that the negative impact of PD decreases with co-ethnic/co-racial contact. The higher the exposure to ethno-racial outgroup members (such as native whites), the more severe the impact of experiences of racial/ethnic discrimination. Only students who go to schools with 50% white students have diminished educational outlooks associated with PD, whereas those who go to more racially diverse schools are not affected by experiences of discrimination.

Further, my results also consistently show direct effects of school dropout rate on the educational outlooks of second-generation immigrants. Specifically, the higher the school dropout rate, the less likely students are to aspire or expect to finish a graduate degree (Table 3.5 and Table 3.7), and the less likely they are to think that they can actually achieve their aspired educational degree (Table 3.9). Even though school dropout rate ceases to be a significant predictor of academic aspirations once percentage of white students and school poverty rate is excluded from the regression analysis, it is a perfectly plausible finding that youth who go to schools with high dropout rates are less optimistic about their own future. However, my analysis does not reveal whether this association exists primarily as a consequence of a "mental" barrier that comes from being exposed to the adversarial culture of the "underclass" (Portes and Zhou 1993) or whether second-generation immigrants perceive low-quality schools *per se* as a *structural* barrier to their college-going aspirations and socioeconomic upward mobility.

Evidence regarding the effects of the other moderator variables on educational or occupational outlooks is much more tenuous or non-existent. As to be expected, paternal socioeconomic status is positively associated with academic and occupational expectations (Table 3.5 and Table 3.13), whereas maternal socioeconomic status, on the other hand, is—interestingly—*negatively* related to occupational aspirations (Table 3.11). However, I consider the latter finding, which is pretty small in magnitude, a Type I error, since this relationship does not show up in any of the other regression analyses and since none of the other socioeconomic background variables are negatively associated with the short-term outcomes analyzed throughout this chapter.

Another unexpected finding is that the proportion of white students at school is *negatively* associated with academic aspirations (Table 3.5), but there are a couple reasons not to make too much of this finding either. First, as I noted earlier in this chapter, the share of white students at school most likely includes both native whites as well as immigrant children who identify as "white," so the variable does not perfectly measure second-generation immigrants' exposure to the native white majority. Second, since there is no plausible reason to assume that academic aspirations are spoiled by being exposed to white students, and since there are no other findings in this chapter that indicate that the share of whites at school influences academic or occupational outlooks, it is likely that this particular outcome constitutes a Type I error as well.

Finally, even though gender differences are not the focus of this analysis, it is noteworthy that females are clearly better off than males; they are more likely to aspire to and to expect a graduate degree and less likely to have higher academic aspirations than expectations. Further, while females are not any more likely to aspire to a professional/executive occupation than their male counterparts, they are more likely to be very optimistic about their ambitious job prospects—that is, their aspirations to work in a professional/executive position—than males.

In sum, my rigorous analyses in this chapter reveal that PD is associated with an unhealthy gap between educational aspirations and expectations, but only among immigrant children who come of age under relatively privileged circumstances.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS #3 – LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

Introduction

Segmented assimilation theory argues that perceptions of racial or ethnic discrimination inhibit second-generation immigrants' socioeconomic incorporation into the American middle-class, and that socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration in the immigrant community, and exposure to the "oppositional cultural" dispositions of the disenfranchised "underclass" (Portes and Zhou 1993; Ogbu 1974) moderate the association between PD and status attainment.

This final chapter will examine whether perceptions of discrimination that were reported in the first two waves of the CILS have an effect on children of immigrants' educational attainment and occupational prestige when they are young adults (i.e. as reported in Wave 3). Specifically, I will test the following hypotheses:

Hypotheses

Main Long-Term Effects

<u>*Hypothesis 3.1:*</u> *Perceived racial or ethnic discrimination is negatively associated with long-term outcomes, such as academic and occupational attainment.*

Moderators

Hypothesis 3.2.1: *The higher second-generation immigrants' socioeconomic background, the lower the effects of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 3.2.2: *The higher the exposure to racial or ethnic out-group members, the greater the effects of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 3.2.3: *The higher the level of social integration in the immigrant community, the lower the effects of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Hypothesis 3.2.4: *The higher the exposure to the marginalized "underclass," the greater the impact of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination.*

Sample

My main analyses of the association between perceived discrimination and educational attainment and occupational prestige consist of 910 and 734 individuals, respectively. In contrast to the analyses on the short-term effects of PD (Chapter 3), I use two different sample sizes in this chapter in order to include the highest possible number of respondents in both analyses.[26] The smaller sample that I use for the analysis of occupational attainment does, by definition, not include people who are unemployed. On top of that, there are a number of respondents who reported to have employment when asked about their "present work situation," but who did not answer the more specific question of what their current occupation is. This selection issue poses problems regarding the external validity of my finding regarding occupational attainment.

However, the national-origin and gender distributions are very similar between the two analytical samples: The bigger sample is 26% Cuban (compared to 27% in the smaller sample) and 13% Mexican Americans (compared to 12% in the smaller sample); other than that, both samples include 8% Nicaraguans, 5% Colombians, 6% Latin Americans, 1% Dominicans, 1% Jamaicans, 3% Haitians, 2% West Indians, 30% Filipinos, 4% Vietnamese, and 1% Laotians/Cambodians. Furthermore, like in the previous chapter's sample, women are overrepresented—58% (n=910) and 57% (n=734) of respondents are female.

Independent Variable

My independent variable is a combination of the perceived racial/ethnic discrimination measures from Wave 1 and Wave 2. Specifically, I created an ordinal variable with three categories: (1) people who never reported discrimination

[26] No respondents from Fort Lauderdale, FL, are included in the analyses in this chapter, as they all ended up being dropped after conducting listwise deletion.

throughout the first two waves; (2) people who reported PD once (either in the first wave or in the second wave); and (3) people who reported discrimination in both Wave 1 and Wave 2.

Among the first set of respondents included in the regression analysis of the effects of PD on academic attainment (n=910), 30% never reported experiences of discrimination, 32% reported PD once, and 38% reported perceived racial/ethnic discrimination in both Wave 1 and Wave 2; the national-origin breakdown in the second sample (n=734), which includes all respondents who reported occupational attainment in Wave 3, is virtually identical.

Dependent Variables

My two dependent variables—academic attainment and occupational prestige—were obtained in the third and final wave of the CILS. Table 4.1 shows the univariate statistics of educational attainment; respondents were asked, *"What is the highest grade or year of school you have completed?"* The answers to this question were recoded into years of school completed, i.e. a numeric variable (Table 4.1). The vast majority of respondents continued education after high school; almost one third (32%) of respondents are getting or have already obtained a 2-year college degree, 21% are in the process of getting an undergraduate degree, 23% already have a Bachelor's degree or something equivalent, and another 7% of the sample are either in graduate school or have already finished graduate school. Only 2% have not finished high school and 15% of respondents have a high school degree.

Table 4.1. Educational Attainment

<table>
<tr><th>Highest Grade/Year of School Completed</th><th>Years of Education (recoded)</th><th>f</th><th>%</th></tr>
<tr><td>Some High School (Grades 9-12, No Diploma)</td><td>10</td><td>18</td><td>2.0%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Graduated from High School</td><td>12</td><td>137</td><td>15.0%</td></tr>
<tr><td>1 or 2 Years of Post-High School Vocational Training/College</td><td rowspan="2">14</td><td rowspan="2">290</td><td rowspan="2">31.9%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Graduated 2-Year College/Vocational School (Associates Degree)</td></tr>
<tr><td>3 or more Years of College (No Degree yet)</td><td>15</td><td>192</td><td>21.1%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Graduated from 4/5-Year College (e.g. Bachelor’s Degree)</td><td>16</td><td>206</td><td>22.6%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Some Graduate School (No Degree yet)</td><td rowspan="3">18</td><td rowspan="3">67</td><td rowspan="3">7.4%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Master’s Degree</td></tr>
<tr><td>Professional/Doctoral Degree (JD, MD, DDS, Ph.D.)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>TOTAL</td><td>910</td><td>100.0%</td></tr>
</table>

To measure occupational attainment, I use the Occupational Prestige Score (Treiman Scale), which is based on the answer to the open-ended question, *“Currently, what is your main occupation or job; that is, the paid job that you spend the most time at now?”* Specifically, the CILS data collectors converted each given response to a “generic prestige score” (i.e. a numeric value) that could be integrated into the “Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale” created by Treiman (1976). The prestige score for each occupation is derived from the results of numerous studies in which respondents in many different countries were asked to “rate or rank a set of occupational titles with respect to their prestige or social standing” (Treiman 1976:285).

The lowest score among the 734 respondents is 16 and the maximum score is 78, with a mean score of about 45 (SD=11.505).

Attrition Analysis

Since sample attrition between Wave 2 and Wave 3 is quite substantial (26%), I conducted an attrition analysis in order to reveal any possible biases in my results. Table 4.2 shows that respondents who reported perceived racial/ethnic discrimination in Wave 1 *and* in Wave 2 are *less* likely to drop out of the survey by Wave 3 than those who never reported experiences of discrimination. Further, the more second-generation immigrants were exposed to white students at school, the higher their chance of dropping out of the study by W3. Finally, female respondents are less likely to drop out of the study than males, and age as well as school population are positively associated with the likelihood of dropping out of the CILS by Wave 3.

None of these significant predictors of survey dropout are associated with educational or occupational attainment, except for gender—males were more likely to drop out of the survey, and the young men who remained in the study attained on average lower educational degrees and less prestigious jobs than their female counterparts. However, it is possible that those who did *not* report PD (or those who reported PD only once) and those who are more exposed to white students—both of which are more likely to drop out of the survey than the rest—get more education and more prestigious jobs than the rest. In this case, their dropping out could lead to smaller

Table 4.2. Attrition Analysis – Random Effects Binary Logistic Regression of Wave 2 Survey Dropout[27] on Perceived Discrimination, Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, and Exposure to the "Underclass"

	AME	Standard Error
Perceived Discrimination		
Reported PD once	-0.013	0.032
Reported PD twice	-0.069*	0.032
Socioeconomic Background		
Father SEI Score	0.000	0.001
Mother SEI Score	0.000	0.001
Father Less Than HS	0.031	0.034
Father College Grad	-0.060	0.035
Mother Less Than HS	0.051	0.034
Mother College Grad	0.009	0.035
Racial Context		
% White Students	0.005**	0.002
Social Integration		
Many/Most Immigrant Friends	-0.009	0.027
Exposure to "Underclass"		
School Dropout Rate (%)	0.006	0.004
School Poverty Rate (%)	0.003	0.001
National Origin		
(Reference Group: Cuban)		
Nicaraguan	0.008	0.054
Colombian	-0.041	0.058
Latin American	0.002	0.056
Dominican	0.200	0.107
Mexican	-0.016	0.052
Jamaican	0.015	0.118
Haitian	0.112	0.087
West Indian	-0.042	0.111
Filipino	-0.041	0.042
Vietnamese	0.081	0.075
Laotian/Cambodian	0.189	0.114
Gender		
Female	-0.076**	0.025
Control Variables		
Age	0.053**	0.016
English Skills	0.004	0.034
Native Language Skills	0.014	0.014
Foreign Born	0.006	0.028
Number of Friends	0.002	0.013
Inner-City School	0.023	0.037
School Population	<0.001**	0.000
Sigma	<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,254

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

[27] Outcome "survey dropout" is a dichotomous variable coded *0=remain* and *1=survey dropout.*

observed associations between perceived discrimination and educational attainment or occupational prestige.

Methodology

I conduct two random effects linear regression analyses to assess if there is a significant relationship between PD and educational or occupational attainment, using individual-level and school-level predictor variables from Wave 1 and academic attainment and occupational prestige from Wave 3. As in the previous chapters, I generate random intercept models to show how much of the variations in academic and occupational attainment are due to individual school characteristics that are not directly measured in the CILS. Further, both regression analyses control for national origin, gender, age, English skills, native language skills, birth country, number of friends, school location, and school population and include moderator variables regarding socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass."

Results

Educational Attainment

Table 4.3 shows the results of the nested random effects linear regression analysis of educational attainment on PD, SES background, racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass." Like my regression analyses in the previous chapter, Model 1 includes perceived discrimination, socioeconomic background (i.e. the first set of moderator variables), and control variables national origin, gender, age, English skills, native language skills, birth place, number of friends, school location, and school population. Model 2 adds the rest of the moderator variables, i.e. racial context, social integration into the immigrant community, and exposure to the "oppositional cultural" dispositions of the native-born "underclass."

The results of Model 1 do not show a relationship between perceived discrimination and educational attainment, regardless of whether PD was reported once or twice throughout the first two waves of the study. However, maternal socioeconomic status is positively associated with educational achievement and those with college-educated mothers have even more of an advantage when it comes to the years of education they attain. Among national-origin groups, Dominicans tend to achieve less, and West Indians and Vietnamese more, education than Cuban respondents. Further, females are more academically successful than males, English skills are positively

Table 4.3. Random Effects Linear Regression Of Educational Attainment On Perceived Discrimination, Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The “Underclass”

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Perceived Discrimination				
Reported PD once	.058	.135	.048	.135
Reported PD twice	-.104	.138	-.119	.138
Socioeconomic Background				
Father SEI Score	.003	.003	.003	.003
Mother SEI Score	.009*	.004	.009*	.004
Father Less Than HS	-.087	.157	-.097	.157
Father College Grad	.151	.140	.157	.140
Mother Less Than HS	-.004	.160	.018	.160
Mother College Grad	.304*	.139	.297*	.139
Racial Context				
% White Students			.003	.006
Social Integration				
Many/Most Immigrant Friends			.254*	.119
Exposure to “Underclass”				
School Dropout Rate (%)			-.014	.019
School Poverty Rate (%)			.002	.005
National Origin				
(Reference Group: Cuban)				
Nicaraguan	.228	.230	.219	.230
Colombian	-.027	.251	-.011	.252
Latin American	.417	.241	.456	.243
Dominican	-1.376**	.491	-1.378**	.490
Mexican	-.225	.213	-.244	.237
Jamaican	.873	.460	.984*	.463
Haitian	.534	.337	.592	.338
West Indian	.904*	.448	.913*	.451
Filipino	.115	.173	.076	.182
Vietnamese	1.250**	.294	1.200**	.309
Laotian/Cambodian	.890	.466	.779	.479
Gender				
Female	.426*	.108	.406**	.109
Control Variables				
Age	-.083	.069	-.074	.071
English Skills	.432**	.157	.431**	.157
Native Language Skills	.110	.060	.095	.061
Foreign Born	-.238	.122	-.256*	.122
Number of Friends	-.054	.058	-.055	.058
Inner-City School	-.317**	.138	-.296	.169
School Population	<.0001	.000	<.0001	.000
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 910

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

associated with educational attainment, but immigrant children who attended inner-city schools have on average lower education than their suburban counterparts.

In Model 2, which adds the rest of the moderator variables, PD is still a non-significant predictor of educational attainment, but respondents who had strong social ties with other immigrant children (i.e. with many/mostly immigrant friends at school) attain on average .25 years more education than those who are less integrated in their immigrant community. Further, once racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass" are taken into account, Jamaicans achieve significantly more education than Cubans, being foreign-born is associated with lower educational attainment, but school location (inner city vs. suburban) is not a significant predictor of years of education anymore. All other associations that are significant in Model 1 remain significant in Model 2.

Table 4.4. Random Effects Linear Regression Of Educational Attainment On Perceived Discrimination, Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin				
Jamaican	1.377*	0.542	1.472**	0.544
Haitian	0.614	0.348	0.666	0.349
West Indian	0.786	0.543	0.783	0.546
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 899

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Interestingly, one of the major barriers to upward mobility according to SAT (Portes and Zhou 1993), i.e. second-generation immigrants' exposure to the "underclass" (measured by school dropout rate and school poverty rate), does not have a significant effect on educational attainment. This finding is particularly striking as school dropout rate has a significant negative effect on both educational aspirations (Table 3.5) and educational expectations (Table 3.7), and is positively associated with having higher educational aspirations than expectations (Table 3.9).

Table 4.4 presents the AMEs of Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians based on a smaller, alternative sample that excludes non-black Jamaicans, Haitians, and West Indians, whereas all predictor and control variables are the same. However, the only noteworthy change in results is that West Indians no longer attain more education that Cubans. To examine whether there are any moderating effects, I created a number of regression models that, in addition to all variables included in Model 2, account for interactions between PD and my moderators socioeconomic background, racial context, social integration in the immigrant community, and exposure to the "underclass." The results of these interaction models are presented in Table C.1[28] (Appendix C) and show that respondents who reported discrimination once and who have a mother without a high-school degree attain on average *more* education than their counterparts who never reported PD throughout the study. However, given that this is the only significant

[28] Like in the previous chapter's analyses, I tested the moderating effects of each variable in separate models (this applies to all results presented in Tables C.1 – C.2). Specifically, I added one interaction term at a time (PD with paternal SEI, PD with maternal SEI, PD with father's education, etc.) to Model 2 of each regression analysis.

interaction effect and considering its counterintuitive implication, this result is very likely a false positive.

Occupational Attainment

Table 4.5 shows the results of the random effects linear regression analysis of occupational prestige. Just like the findings on educational attainment (Table 4.3), the first model does not support the claim that PD inhibits upward assimilation, whereas maternal socioeconomic index (SEI) score is positively associated with occupational prestige. Mexican Americans' occupational attainment is substantially lower than that of Cuban Americans, females attain more prestigious jobs than males, and native language skills are positively associated with occupational attainment.

The addition of racial context, social integration, and exposure to the "underclass" leaves these results virtually unchanged. Same as in the regression model on educational attainment (Table 4.3), being exposed to "oppositional cultural" dispositions, i.e. going to schools with higher dropout rates and more poor students, is not associated with occupational prestige. In other words, contrary to SAT's claims, coming of age in a downtrodden social environment does not have any negative effects on status attainment. Interestingly, while having many/mostly immigrant friends has a positive effect on educational achievement, it does not affect occupational attainment, whereas native language proficiency is positively associated with job prestige. Table 4.6 shows the results of the same regression model, except that it only includes Jamaicans,

Table 4.5. Random Effects Linear Regression Of Occupational Prestige Score On Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, And Exposure To The "Underclass"

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
Perceived Discrimination				
Reported PD once	-.618	1.042	-.637	1.044
Reported PD twice	-1.301	1.06	-1.335	1.065
Socioeconomic Background				
Father SEI Score	.005	.026	.004	.026
Mother SEI Score	.069*	.029	.069*	.029
Father Less Than HS	-1.334	1.197	-1.349	1.198
Father College Grad	1.489	1.108	1.480	1.112
Mother Less Than HS	.270	1.221	.293	1.224
Mother College Grad	-.620	1.084	-.629	1.087
Racial Context				
% White Students			.001	.049
Social Integration				
Many/Most Immigrant Friends			.414	.920
Exposure to "Underclass"				
School Dropout Rate (%)			-.031	.166
School Poverty Rate (%)			-.008	.038
National Origin				
(Reference Group: Cuban)				
Nicaraguan	-.085	1.751	-.017	1.768
Colombian	.047	1.942	.088	1.952
Latin American	-.377	1.860	-.301	1.875
Dominican	-4.029	4.246	-4.007	4.248
Mexican	-5.549**	1.637	-5.552**	1.838
Jamaican	-1.851	3.827	-1.661	3.863
Haitian	.918	2.654	-1.075	2.668
West Indian	2.827	3.266	2.716	3.296
Filipino	-1.153	1.345	-1.225	1.430
Vietnamese	1.3911	2.358	1.240	2.516
Laotian/Cambodian	-1.111	3.871	-1.350	3.979
Gender				
Female	3.900**	.838	3.857**	.846
Control Variables				
Age	-0.716	.541	-.747	.554
English Skills	1.390	1.228	1.418	1.230
Native Language Skills	.970*	.468	.949*	.476
Foreign Born	-1.040	.949	-1.019	.957
Number of Friends	-.288	.455	-.291	.489
Inner-City School	-.103	1.075	.202	1.302
School Population	-.001	.001	-.001	.001
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 734

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Haitians, and West Indians who at some point in the study self-identified as "black." However, the results remain essentially unchanged, including the AMEs for those three ethnic groups.

Table 4.6. Random Effects Linear Regression of Occupational Prestige Score on Socioeconomic Background, Racial Context, Social Integration, and Exposure to the "Underclass"; Sample Excluding Non-Black Identifying Afro-Caribbean Group Members

	Model 1		Model 2	
	AME	**Std. Err.**	**AME**	**Std. Err.**
National Origin				
Jamaican	-4.677	4.287	-4.482	4.315
Haitian	1.873	2.763	1.999	2.777
West Indian	1.464	4.030	1.362	4.077
Sigma	<.0001		<.0001	

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 725
Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Like for the previous analysis of the association between PD and educational attainment, I generated interaction-effect models (presented in Table C.2 in Appendix C) that are built on top of the full regression model (Model 2), but none of these additional models reveal any significant relationships between perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and occupational attainment either.

Discussion

Perceived racial or ethnic discrimination is not associated with socioeconomic status attainment, i.e. academic achievement and occupational prestige. These results do not come as a big surprise, given the lack of associations between PD and academic and occupational outlooks revealed in the previous chapter. Likewise, the only finding regarding the effects of PD on future outlooks—i.e. an increased chance of having higher educational aspirations than expectations among relatively privileged immigrant children who feel discriminated—does not translate into lower status attainment among that group. Even though those individuals are more likely to feel discouraged due to experiences of discrimination, their favorable family background (i.e. college-educated parents) and social context (i.e. integrated schools with relatively few poor students) seems to compensate for the lower self-esteem.

Indeed, maternal socioeconomic status is positively associated with educational and occupational attainment (whereas paternal socioeconomic status does not predict second-generation immigrants' incorporation). Interestingly, those who are socially connected to other immigrant youth achieve more years of education, but do not hold more prestigious occupations than their counterparts who are less connected with other immigrant children. However, it is not clear whether or not this finding is particularly meaningful since the effect magnitude is fairly low and since there is no plausible explanation for this outcome based on the literature.

Furthermore, acculturation—i.e. English skills and being born in the United States—is positively associated with years of education, whereas individuals who have a higher level of native-language proficiency tend to have more prestigious jobs than those who are less culturally integrated in their immigrant community. While the former findings reflect the positive impact of Americanization on academic attainment, the latter outcome supports the notion that co-ethnic resources can be helpful to find a decent job, despite the fact that they do not necessarily constitute an advantage when it comes to educational achievement (Portes and Zhou 1993). Finally, female respondents do better than young men, both in terms of academic achievement and occupational prestige—a pattern that emerges throughout this study.

In sum, my study does not support segmented assimilation theory's notion that contemporary immigrant children who feel discriminated tend to develop a reactive mindset that prevents them from assimilating into the middle-class. However, I found some evidence that the various benefits that come with the presence of co-ethnic communities moderate the relationship between individual-level and contextual factors and PD as well as influence status attainment. The next section will provide possible explanations for my results and discuss implications for the standing of segmented assimilation theory and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 5

OVERALL DISCUSSION

Determinants Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

My results do not support key predictions of segmented assimilation theory. Differences in levels of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination by national-origin group are unaffected by the inclusion of several factors that SAT considers to be protective. Specifically, national-origin differences in PD rates are not mediated by racial context, social or cultural integration, acculturation, or socioeconomic background. Moreover, while I found support for the claim that black second-generation immigrants face the highest risk of perceiving discrimination, none of the Hispanic groups, including Mexican Americans, are anywhere near the levels of PD of Afro-Caribbeans or even Asian Americans.

Unfortunately, the CILS data does not include native white and native black comparison groups to examine whether the issue of PD is different (e.g. more pronounced) among immigrant populations compared to African Americans or native whites who come of age in diverse urban areas. Hence, my study cannot answer whether children of immigrants are at a higher (or lower) risk of perceived discrimination than their peers with native-born parents.

Another finding that contradicts the segmented assimilation framework is the role of selective assimilation. Among most ethnic groups, social integration in the immigrant community leads to higher exposure to discriminatory experiences—only Afro-Caribbeans are protected by having immigrant friends. Whether or not unmeasured community-level factors affect PD rates remains speculation. In short, there is only tenuous support for segmented assimilation theory's predictions regarding the determinants of perceived discrimination.

Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

Reported perceptions of discrimination are neither associated with educational or occupational outlooks during adolescence nor related with academic attainment or occupational prestige in young adulthood. The only exception is my finding that more privileged immigrant youths who feel discriminated are less likely to expect to achieve their aspired academic goals, which—supposedly—constitutes a barrier to the socioeconomic incorporation into the middle-class (Portes and Zhou 1993). However, these dynamics do not result in lower educational attainment or occupational prestige in young adulthood.

Similarly, children of immigrants who go to bad schools have lower educational aspirations and expectations and are less likely to think that they can achieve the education they want. As discussed earlier, it remains unclear whether this association primarily implies the adaptation of a reactive subculture that is supposedly prevalent in socially disorganized neighborhoods and low-quality schools, or whether those students have rather pessimistic outlooks because they are simply aware of the intense structural barriers they have to overcome in order to succeed in America. Interestingly, these negative future outlooks do not translate into inhibited status attainment in young adulthood either.

There is some evidence, however, that supports the idea that selective assimilation can benefit upward mobility despite the absence of formal education. While English skills and being born in the United States increases educational attainment, these factors do not affect occupational prestige. In contrast, native language skills lead to more prestigious jobs whereas there is no such effect on academic attainment.

Finally, although female second-generation immigrants do not seem to be specially protected from experiences of discrimination, they still do better than their male counterparts across the board; not only are they more ambitious and optimistic about their future prospects, they also fare better in terms of educational and occupational attainment.

Conclusion

Overall, segmented assimilation theory's claims concerning the dynamics of racial or ethnic discrimination in regards to second-generation immigrants' status attainment are not supported by my results. However, even though only speculative, there are possible explanations for the non-findings regarding the effects of PD, all of which touch upon the issue of whether explicit perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination alone are indicative of all possible barriers minority children face due to their nonwhite racial status.

First, Steele and Aronson's (1995) stereotype threat theory explains how racial stereotypes can have a negative effect on people's test performance and, by extension, arguably on their educational and occupational attainment, even in the absence of explicit perceptions of discrimination that would be reported in a survey. Specifically, people who hold a certain group identity about which a negative stereotype exists—for example, holding a "black" identity—can be affected by this mechanism, regardless of whether or not they believe in that stereotype themselves and whether or not they are able to recall specific incidences of being discriminated based on that stereotype. This means that it is possible that the frequent, yet not necessarily always consciously noticed, exposure to expressions of negative racial or ethnic stereotypes can inhibit academic performance and achievement.

Hence, my measure of PD does not capture the full extent of prejudice and discrimination non-white immigrant children have to constantly endure that could also have negative effects on their life trajectories. As a result, my study not revealing an effect of PD on future outlooks and status attainment might be due to the fact that the aspirations, expectations, and life success of those who did not report discrimination are similarly spoiled as they are among those who recall, and report, specific discriminatory events.

Second, children of immigrants who report perceptions of discrimination might also refer to hostile encounters they had with members of other immigrant groups. For example, Rosenbloom and Way (2004) documented tensions between Puerto Rican and Dominican adolescents in an urban school setting. Such conflicts may be even more intense between groups that do not share the same native language or who come from very different cultural backgrounds in general.

However, a Vietnamese adolescent who feels heavily discriminated by her Hispanic peers might not be affected by such experiences the same as if she felt discriminated by native white students or her teachers. This could make an important difference, as perceptions of being treated unfairly by "mainstream society," i.e. by white Americans or by authority figures such as teachers or police, could be viewed as a barrier to social acceptance in America and thus to the fulfillment of educational or occupational aspirations, which may ultimately inhibit actual socioeconomic status attainment. Being mistreated by peers that belong to another, maybe similarly marginalized, immigrant group, on the other hand, is arguably less likely to create such a daunting perception of society as a whole or of her chances for upward mobility. In short, whether perceptions of racial or ethnic discrimination have a negative impact on the socioeconomic incorporation of children of immigrants may depend on who the perpetrator is—a question that future studies should pay attention to.

Third, it is possible that the associations revealed in my study do not reflect causal effects of PD due to spurious relationships. For example, an immigrant student who is assigned to an ESL class in order to enhance her English skills may interpret this as racial or ethnic discrimination, but, at the same time, the additional language training could greatly benefit her in terms of academic performance. Hence, in this hypothetical scenario, having to take ESL causes the student to feel discriminated, which in turn has negative effects on her academic motivation and achievement, whereas her increased English proficiency, that also results from being enrolled in ESL, could have a much bigger positive effect on her grades or likelihood of eventually going to college. This is just one possible scenario of how the negative impact of PD could be counteracted by the bigger, positive influence of potential unobserved variables that affect both adolescents' perceptions of discrimination as well as their incorporation outcomes.

Fourth, my measure of PD may conflate experiences of interpersonal discrimination with perceived and internalized racial power structures in general. That is, youth who do not recall being personally discriminated due to their race or ethnicity might still feel that they, or their community at large, are a constant target of discriminatory forces such as formal or informal restrictions in the labor market, their forced settlement into undesirable neighborhoods (in the case of refugee groups), or just a general sense of not being fully accepted by white (or black) Americans in general.

With these caveats in mind, the little evidence I found for detrimental consequences of PD contradict the claims of SAT. It is advantaged children from privileged family backgrounds and proper schools who are discouraged by discrimination (i.e. who have lower educational expectations than aspirations while all other short-term outcomes are unaffected), not those who are already more likely to be disenfranchised and marginalized due to their socioeconomic situation and social environment in the first place. Furthermore, these short-term effects do not translate into inhibited upward mobility. This strongly suggests that SAT's importation of Ogbu's

(1974) already highly controversial “oppositional culture” theory is not warranted. As addressed earlier, the positive relationship between attending low-quality schools and spoiled educational prospects does not confirm the proclaimed role of oppositional cultural dispositions either.

In sum, even though my research findings do not support the idea that racial or ethnic discrimination inhibit second-generation immigrants’ chances for socioeconomic upward mobility, this could be due to the difficulty of accurately operationalizing and measuring racial or ethnic discrimination, and—moreover—of sensibly differentiating between perceptions of discrimination that are presumably detrimental to socioeconomic assimilation and those that are not. Hence, my findings should by no means be considered a definite rebuttal of the claim that racial discrimination is a major barrier to immigrant assimilation, which sets apart the segmented assimilation theory framework from “mainstream” assimilation theories (Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters 2011). Specifically, in contrast to SAT, “new assimilation theory” (Alba and Nee 1997; Alba and Nee 2003) argues that even though discrimination against nonwhite immigrant children is a common phenomenon, it is inconsequential to status attainment, as broad institutional and economic structures play a much more important role for assimilation outcomes.

To settle on this question, future research should aim at using data that allows for a direct comparison between the mobility patterns of children of American parents and immigrant youth who come from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and who are embedded in the same, or at least similar, social contexts (e.g. schools, neighborhoods), and how they are affected by experiences of discrimination. Furthermore, considering a more multifaceted concept of what exactly racial or ethnic discrimination entails—i.e. how it can be experienced by minority youth and which incidences are more detrimental to socioeconomic incorporation than others—would greatly improve the analytical strength of empirical studies on the topic. For example, using more specific questions that touch upon how often respondents felt discriminated in the past year; whether respondents were confronted with positive or negative stereotypes about the racial or ethnic group they identify with; or the degree to which minority children feel discriminated against as a result of feeling structurally segregated from mainstream society by being stuck in underfunded schools or forgotten neighborhoods. Furthermore, social-psychological studies on whether the "stereotype threat" (Steele and Aronson 1995)—which has demonstrably negative effects on academic performance—also influences immigrant children's mindsets and future outlooks could yield findings relevant to the relationship between reported experiences of discrimination and status attainment.

Limitations And Future Research

My research has a few limitations. First, as addressed above, the question on whether respondents felt discriminated due to their race or ethnicity might be interpreted very differently from person to person. Hence, the variable may not only capture incidents of interpersonal discrimination but also more general perceptions of racial power structures in the U.S. At the same time, perceived discrimination does not capture, by definition, the impact of racial prejudice that goes unnoticed but that still has real-life effects on immigrant children's mindsets and life success. On top of that, respondents may report incidences of discrimination in order to justify their lack of success, such as low educational achievement. Because of these limitations of self-reported perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination, my results are only suggestive instead of definite.

Second, it is debatable how well and to what degree my variables capture the factors that moderate the exposure to, and effects of, experiences of discrimination according to SAT. For example, having second-generation immigrant friends is not the only aspect of (co-ethnic) social capital that could play a role when it comes to the risk of perceiving discrimination as well as its consequences, even though it is certainly a sensible proxy for one's level of social integration in their co-ethnic/immigrant community. Future research that experiments with the inclusion of different variables that represent similar concepts could point to more accurate measures of rather complex concepts such as social cohesion, social and cultural integration, or co-ethnic support. Ultimately, the question is if the utilization of different (or more) variables would erode the differences in PD rates across ethnic groups. If so, it would suggest that the measures I used in my study are not ideal to identify protective factors against racial/ethnic discrimination. If the choice of variables is more or less inconsequential to PD rates, however, it would further support my conclusion that some key predictions of segmented assimilation theory do not hold up to empirical scrutiny.

Third, on top of the possibility that the variables I included in my study are not the most ideal choices, some potentially important moderators, such as family cohesion or strength of ethnic identity are not accounted for in my analyses. Specifically, SAT suggests that family cohesion buffers the negative influence of PD (Portes and Zhou 1993), and empirical research has shown that ethnic identity moderates and/or mediates the effects of racial/ethnic discrimination (Mossakowsi 2003; Lee 2003; Yoo, Hyung, and Lee 2005). The omission of these factors from my study is a consequence of the combination of the data limitations of the CILS as well as the lack of precise predictions in the literature regarding these variables for each ethnic group under study.

Fourth, my study is not representative for the entirety of the United States, as my data only represent Miami, FL, and San Diego, CA. At the same time, however, the fact that my samples are confined to these specific metropolitan areas adds to the analytical strength of my research, as national studies on the effects of PD cannot adequately acknowledge all the particularities of a given local social context (Syed and Juan 2012).

Fifth, the respondents under study were on average only twenty-four years old when the final wave of the CILS was conducted, so the assimilation paths of many of these individuals were most likely still ongoing at the time the data on educational and occupational attainment was collected. However, given that my study does not show any influence of experiences of discrimination that happened during adolescence on people's socioeconomic status when they are young adults, it is unlikely that such effects will materialize later in life after even more time has passed.

Sixth, the CILS does not contain a native white or native black comparison group. This is a serious limitation as it prevents me from evaluating the extent of downward assimilation, as well as the extent to which PD impacts attitudes and status attainment among immigrant populations compared to native minorities. Since the role of specific local particularities should not be underestimated when it comes to the dynamics of racial structures and immigrant incorporation, native comparison groups from the same metropolitan areas would have enabled me to compare whether or not the mechanisms that apply to children of immigrants are different for native populations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ainsworth-Darnell and Douglas Downey. 1998. “Assessing the oppositional culture explanation for racial/ethnic differences in school performance.” *American Sociological Review* 63:536-53.

Alba, Richard. 2008. “Why we still need a theory of mainstream assimilation.” *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 48(special edition):37-56.

Alba, Richard, Kasinitz, Philip, and Mary Waters. 2011. “The Kids Are (Mostly) Alright: Second-Generation Assimilation.” *Social Forces* 89(3):763-774.

Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee. 1997. “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration.” *International Migration Review.* 31(4):836-874.

Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Alvarez, Alvin, Juang, Linda, and Christopher Liang. 2006. “Asian Americans and Racism: When Bad Things happen to ‘Model Minorities.’” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 12(3):477-492.

Arifuku, Isami, Peacock, Delores, and Caroline Glesmann. 2006. “Profiling Incarcerated Asian and Pacific Islander Youth: Statistics Derived from California Youth Authority Administrative Data.” *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community:* 4(2):95-110.

Bolland, John. 2003. “Hopelessness and risk behaviour among adolescents living in high-poverty inner-city neighbourhoods.” *Journal of Adolescence* 26(2):145-158.

Brown, Susan, and Frank Bean. 2006. “Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process.” Migration Information Source. Retrieved August 2, 2017 (http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process)

Brown, Anna, and Renee Stepler. 2016. “Statistical Portrait of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States.” Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. Retrieved November 4, 2016 (http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/04/19/statistical-portrait-of-the-foreign-born-population-in-the-united-states-key-charts/).

Bryce-LaPorte, and Roy Simón. 1993. “Voluntary Immigration and continuing encounters between blacks: The post-quintcentenary challenge.” *Annals, AAPS* 530 (November):28-41.

Carlisle, Shauna. 2013. “Perceived discrimination and chronic health in adults from nine ethnic subgroups in the USA.” *Ethnicity & Health* 20(3):309-326.

Charles, Camille, Roscigno, Vincent, and Kimberly Torres. 2007. “Racial Inequality and College Attendance: The Mediating Role of Parental Investments.” *Social Science Research* 36(1):329-352.

Chavous, Tabbye, Rivas-Drake, Deborah, Smalls, Ciara, Griffin, Tiffany, and Courtney Cogburn. 2008. “Gender matters, too: The influences of school racial discrimination and racial identity on academic engagement outcomes among African American adolescents.” *Developmental Psychology* 44(3):637-654.

Cook, Philip and Jens Ludwig. 1997. “Weighing the Burden of ‘Acting White’: Are There Race Differences in Attitudes toward Education?” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 16(2):256-278.

DeWind, Josh, and Philip Kasinitz. 1997. “Everything old is new again? Processes and theories of immigrant incorporation.” *The International Migration Review*, 12/1997, Volume 31(4):1096-1111.

Donahue, Jennifer. 2011. “Bringing the Other into View: Confronting the West Indian Creole in The Conscious Lovers and the West Indian.” *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 26:(1-2):41-126.

Downey, Douglas, and James Ainsworth-Darnell. 2002. “The Search for Oppositional Culture among Black Students.” *American Sociological Review* 67(1):156-164.

Dowty, Alan. 1987. *Closed Borders: The Contemporary Assault on Freedom of Movement*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Eccles, Jacquelynne, Wong, Carol, and Stephen Peck. 2006. “Ethnicity as a social context for the development of African-American adolescents.” *Journal of School Psychology* 44(5):407-426.

Edwards, Lisa, and Andrea Romero. 2008. “Coping with Discrimination among Mexican Descent Adolescents.” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science* 30(1):24-39.

Ennis, Sharon, Rios-Vargas, Merarys, and Nora Albert. 2011. “The Hispanic Population: 2010.” 2010 Census Briefs. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau.

Espiritu, Yen Le, and Diane Wolf. 2001. "Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk." Pp. 157-186, in R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Fernandez-Kelly, Patricia, and Sara Curran. 2001. "Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk." Pp. 127-156, in R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Flores, Elena, Tschann, Jeanne, Dimas, Juanita, Pasch, Gauri, and Cynthia de Groat. 2010. "Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, posttraumatic stress symptoms, and health risk behaviors among Mexican American adolescents." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 57(3):264-273.

Gordon, Milton. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Haller, William, Portes, Alejandro, and Scott M. Lynch. "Dreams Fulfilled, Dreams Shattered: Determinants of Segmented Assimilation in the Second Generation." *Social Forces* 89(3):733-762.

Harry, Otelemate. 2006. "Illustrations of the IPA." *Journal of International Phonetic Association* 36(1):125-131.

Huynh, Virginia, and Andrew Fuligni. 2010. "Discrimination Hurts: The Academic, Psychological, and Physical Well-Being of Adolescents." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 20(4):916-941.

Kaduvettoor-Davidson, Anju, and Arpana Inman. 2012. “South Asian Americans: Perceived Discrimination, Stress, and Well-Being.” Asian American Journal of Psychology 4(3):1-15.

Kasinitz, Philip, Mollenkopf, John, Waters, Mary, and Jennifer Holdaway. 2008. *Inheriting the City: Children of Immigrants Come of Age.* Russell Sage Foundation and Harvard University Press.

Kasinitz, Philip, Battle, Juan, and Inés Miyares. 2001. “Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk.” Pp. 229-266, in R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kiang, Lisa, Witkow, Melissa, and Taylor Thompson. 2015. “Model Minority Stereotyping, Perceived Discrimination, and Adjustment Among Adolescents from Asian American Backgrounds.” *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 45(7):1366-1379.

Kiang, Lisa, Witkow, Melissa, Gonzalez, Laura, Stein, Gabriela, and Kandace Andrews. 2015. “Changes in academic aspirations and expectations among Asian American adolescents.” *Asian American Journal of Psychology* 6(3):252-262.

Krieger, Nancy, and Stephen Sidney. 1996. “Racial discrimination and blood pressure: the CARDIA Study of young black and white adults.” *American Journal of Public Health* 86(10):1370-1378.

Lee, Jennifer C., and Samuel Kye. “Racialized Assimilation of Asian Americans.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 42:253-73.

Lee, Richard. 2003. “Do ethnic identity and othergroup orientation protect against discrimination for Asian Americans?” *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 50(2):133–141.

López, David, and Ricardo Stanton-Salazar. 2001. “Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk.” Pp. 57-90, in R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Mangino, William. 2013. “A Critical Look at Oppositional Culture and the Race Gap in Education.” *ISRN Education*, 2013, 5.

Massey, Douglas. 1995. “The New Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States.” *Population and Development Review* 21(3):631-652.

Matthews, Karen, Salomon, Kristen, Kenyon, Karen, and Fan Zhou. 2005. “Unfair treatment, discrimination and ambulatory blood pressure in Black and White adolescents.” *Health Psychology* 24(3):258-265.

Mood, Carina. 2009. “Logistic Regression: Why we cannot do what we think we can do, and what we can do about it.” *European Sociological Review* 26(1):67-82.

Mossakowski, Krysia. 2003. “Coping with Perceived Discrimination: Does Ethnic Identity Protect Mental Health?” Journal of Health and Social Behavior 44(3):318-331.

Navarrete, Carlos David, McDonald, Melissa, Melissa, Ludwin, and Jim Sidanius. 2010. “Prejudice at the Nexus of Race and Gender: An Outgroup Male Target Hypothesis.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98(6):933:945.

Nee, Victor, and Hilary Holbrow. 2013. “Why Asian Americans are Becoming Mainstream.” *Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences* 142(3):65-75.

Nyborg, Vanessa, and John Curry. 2003. “The Impact of Perceived Racism: Psychological Symptoms Among African American Boys.” *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology* 32(2):258-266.

O’Hara, Ross, Gibbons, Frederick, Weng, Chih-Yuan, Gerrard, Meg, and Ronald Simons. 2012. “Perceived Racial Discrimination as a Barrier to College Enrollment for African Americans.” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 38(1):77-89.

Ogbu, John. 1974. *The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood*. New York. Academic Press.

Oyserman, Daphna, and Izumi Sakamoto. 1997. “Being Asian American: Identity, cultural constructs, and stereotype perception.” *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 33(4):435–453.

Pager, Devah, and Hana Shepherd. 2008. “The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 34(1):181–209.

Pérez, Lisandro. 2001. “Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk.” Pp. 91-126, in R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Pérez, Debra, Fortuna, Lisa, and Margarita Alegria. 2008. “Prevalence and Correlates of Everyday Discrimination among U.S. Latinos.” *Journal of Community Psychology* 36(4):421-433.

Population and Development Review 21(3):631-52.

Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou. 1993. “The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530(1):74-96.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 1996. *Immigrant America: A Portrait.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. “Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), 1991-2006.” ICPSR20520-v2. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. Retrieved November 4, 2016 (http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR20520.v2).

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, Alejandro, and Alex Stepick. 1993. *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Prelow, Hazel, Danoff-Burg, Sharon, Swenson, Rebecca, and Dana Pulgiano. 2004. “The impact of ecological risk and perceived discrimination on the psychological adjustment of African American and European American youth.” *Journal of Community Psychology* 32(4):375-389.

Roeser, Robert, Eccles, Jacquelynne, and Arnold Sameroff. 1998. “Academic and emotional functioning in early adolescence: Longitudinal relations, patterns, and prediction by experience in middle school.” *Development and Psychopathology* 10(2):321-352.

Romero, Andrea, and Robert Roberts. 2003. "Stress within a bicultural context for adolescents of Mexican descent." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 9(2):171–184.

Rosenbloom, Susan Rakosi, and Niobe Way. 2004. "Experiences of Discrimination among African American, Asian American, and Latino Adolescents in an Urban High School." *Youth & Society* 35(4):420-451.

Rumbaut, Ruben. 1994. "The Crucible within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation among Children of Immigrants." *The International Migration Review* 28(4):748-794.

Rumbaut, Rubén, and Alejandro Portes. 2001. *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrant in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Seaton, Eleanor, and Tiffany Yip. 2009. "School and Neighborhood Contexts, Perceptions of Discrimination, and Psychological Well-Being Among African-American Adolescents." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 38:153–163.

Seaton, Eleanor, Caldwell, Cleopatra, Sellers, Robert, and James Jackson. 2008. "The prevalence of perceived discrimination among African American and Caribbean Black youth." *Developmental Psychology*. 44(5):1288-1297.

Second Generation. University of California Press.

Sidanius, Jim, and Felicia Pratto. 1999. *Social Dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Steele, Claude, and Joshua Aronson. 1995. "Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 69(5):797-811.

Stepick, Alex, Stepick, Carol Dutton, Eugene Emmanuel, Teed, Deborah, and Yves Labissiere. 2001. "Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk." Pp. 229-266, in R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Syed, Moin, and Mary Joyce Juan. 2012. "Discrimination and Psychological Distress: Examining the Moderating Role of Social Context in a Nationally Representative Sample of Asian American Adults." *Asian American Journal of Psychology* 3(2):104-120.

Telles, Edward, and Vilma Ortiz. 2008. *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race.* Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, Taylor, and Lisa Kiang. 2010. "The Model Minority Stereotype: Adolescent Experiences and Links with Adjustment." *Asian American Journal of Psychology* 1(2):119-128.

Treiman, Donald. 1976. "A Standard Occupational Prestige Scale for Use with Historical Data." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7(2):283-304.

Waldinger, Roger and Cynthia Feliciano. 2004. "Will the Second Generation Experience 'Downward Assimilation?' Segmented Assimilation Re-Assessed." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27(3):376-402.

Waldinger, Roger. 2003. “The Sociology of Immigration: Second Thoughts and Reconsiderations.” Pp. 21-43, in Jeffrey G. Reitz (ed.) *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants.* Center of Comparative Immigration Studies. University of California, San Diego, CA.

Waters, Mary. 1996. “The intersection of gender, race and ethnicity in identity development of Caribbean American teens.” Pp. 65-81, in B. Leadbeater & N. Way (Eds.), *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities*. New York: New York University Press.

Wilson, William-Julius. 1996. *More Than Just Race*: *Being Black and Poor in the Inner-City*. New York: Norton & Company.

Wong, Carol, Eccles, Jacquelynne, and Arnold Sameroff. 2003. “The Influence of Ethnic Discrimination and Ethnic Identification on African American adolescents' School and Socioemotional Adjustment.” *Journal of Personality* 71(6):1197-1232.

Wong, Carol, Eccles, Jacquelynne, and Arnold Sameroff. 2003. “The Influence of Ethnic Discrimination and Ethnic Identification on African American adolescents' School and Socioemotional Adjustment.” *Journal of Personality* 72(6):1197-1232.

Wong, Frieda, and Richard Halgin. 2006. “The ‘model minority’: Bane or blessing for Asian Americans?” *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 24(1):38-49.

Yoo, Hyung, and Richard Lee. 2005. “Ethnic Identity and Approach-Type Coping as Moderators of the Racial Discrimination/Well-Being Relation in Asian Americans.” Journal of Counseling Psychology 52(4):497-506.

Zhou, Min. 1997. “Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation.” *International Migration Review* 31(4):975-1008.

Zhou, Min. 2001. “Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk.” Pp. 187-228, in R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Zhou, Min, and Carl Bankston. 2000. “Stradling Two Social Worlds: The Experience of Vietnamese Refugee Children in the United States.” Teaching Tolerance: A Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved June 1, 2017 (http://www.tolerance.org/sites/default/files/kits/vac_brief_history.pdf).

APPENDIX A

PREDICTORS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION - INTERACTION EFFECTS

Table A.1. Average Marginal Effects For Gender By National Origin

Interaction Terms	**AME**	**Standard Error**
Female | Cuban	-0.064	0.052
Female | Nicaraguan	-0.042	0.087
Female | Colombian	-0.249*	0.119
Female | Latin American	-0.096	0.104
Female | Dominican	-0.053	0.189
Female | Mexican	0.023	0.069
Female | Jamaican	0.270	0.156
Female | Haitian	0.024	0.118
Female | West Indian	0.088	0.204
Female | Filipino	0.013	0.048
Female | Vietnamese	-0.011	0.092
Female | Laotian/Cambodian	0.020	0.113

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,507

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table A.2. Average Marginal Effects For Percentage Of White Students By National Origin

Interaction Terms	**AME**	**Standard Error**
% White Students | Cuban	0.003	0.002
% White Students | Nicaraguan	0.002	0.003
% White Students | Colombian	0.001	0.004
% White Students | Latin American	0.002	0.003
% White Students | Dominican	-0.003	0.006
% White Students | Mexican	0.000	0.003
% White Students | Jamaican	0.000	0.003
% White Students | Haitian	-0.003	0.003
% White Students | West Indian	0.002	0.004
% White Students | Filipino	0.001	0.002
% White Students | Vietnamese	0.001	0.004
% White Students | Laotian/Cambodian	-0.001	0.003

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,507

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table A.3. Average Marginal Effects For National Origin By Social Integration In Immigrant Community

Interaction Terms	AME	Standard Error
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Cuban	0.116*	0.059
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Nicaraguan	0.102	0.117
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Colombian	-0.027	0.131
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Latin American	0.060	0.107
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Dominican	0.005	0.218
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Mexican	0.161*	0.069
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Jamaican	-0.048	0.166
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Haitian	-0.106	0.115
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | West Indian	-0.194	0.156
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Filipino	0.059	0.052
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Vietnamese	0.015	0.097
Many/Most Immigrant Friends | Laotian/Cambodian	0.093	0.132

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,507

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table A.4. Average Marginal Effects For National Origin By Native Language Skills

Interaction Terms	AME	Standard Error
Native Language Skills | Cuban	0.065	0.034
Native Language Skills | Nicaraguan	0.107	0.061
Native Language Skills | Colombian	-0.012	0.075
Native Language Skills | Latin American	-0.052	0.056
Native Language Skills | Dominican	-0.060	0.166
Native Language Skills | Mexican	-0.003	0.042
Native Language Skills | Jamaican	(not estimable)	
Native Language Skills | Haitian	0.082	0.064
Native Language Skills | West Indian	-0.034	0.072
Native Language Skills | Filipino	-0.004	0.022
Native Language Skills | Vietnamese	-0.054	0.067
Native Language Skills | Laotian/Cambodian	0.044	0.102

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,507

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

APPENDIX B

SHORT-TERM EFFECTS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION – INTERACTION EFFECTS

Table B.1. Average Marginal Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination (PD="Yes") On Academic Aspirations By Different Values Of Moderator Variables

Interaction Terms	AME	Standard Error
AMEs of PD by Paternal SEI Score[29]		
Father SEI Score = 0 (–2 SD)	0.074	0.059
Father SEI Score = 18 (–1 SD)	0.050	0.034
Father SEI Score = 36 (mean)	0.027	0.024
Father SEI Score = 54 (+1 SD)	0.007	0.035
Father SEI Score = 72 (+2 SD)	-0.011	0.051
AMEs of PD by Maternal SEI Score		
Mother SEI Score = 0 (–2 SD)	0.070	0.056
Mother SEI Score = 17 (–1 SD)	0.048	0.034
Mother SEI Score = 34 (mean)	0.028	0.024
Mother SEI Score = 51 (+1 SD)	0.009	0.034
Mother SEI Score = 68 (+2 SD)	0.008	0.050
AMEs of PD by Paternal Education		
No High School Degree	0.038	0.043
High School Degree	0.033	0.034
College Degree	0.013	0.045
AMEs of PD by Maternal Education		
No High School Degree	0.034	0.044
High School Degree	0.008	0.035
College Degree	0.064	0.045
AMEs of PD by Percentage of White Students		
% White = 5%	0.029	0.028
% White = 25%	0.029	0.024
% White = 50%	0.027	0.042
AMEs of PD by Social Integration		
None/Some Immigrant Friends	0.006	0.040
Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends	0.042	0.029
AMEs of PD by Percentage of Poor Students at School		
School Dropout Rate = 2.1% (–1 SD)	0.017	0.031
School Dropout Rate = 5.5% (mean)	0.029	0.024
School Dropout Rate = 8.9% (+1 SD)	0.043	0.034
AMEs of PD by School Dropout Rate		
Free Lunch Recipients = 21% (–1 SD)	0.020	0.032
Free Lunch Recipients = 43% (mean)	0.029	0.024
Free Lunch Recipients = 65% (+1 SD)	0.039	0.033

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,386
Predicted Outcome: Academic Aspirations = Finish Graduate Degree

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

[29] I also ran all SES moderations (paternal and maternal SEI and education) excluding the other SES variables. For example, the model that tests for the moderating effects of paternal SEI does not include maternal SEI, paternal education, and maternal education. All these alternative models produced virtually the same results to those presented in Tables B.1 – B.5.

Table B.2. Average Marginal Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination (PD=”Yes”) On Academic Expectations By Different Values Of Moderator Variables

Interaction Terms		AME	Standard Error
AMEs of PD by Paternal SEI Score			
Father SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	0.044	0.055
Father SEI Score = 18	*(–1 SD)*	0.021	0.035
Father SEI Score = 36	*(mean)*	0.003	0.026
Father SEI Score = 54	*(+1 SD)*	-0.027	0.036
Father SEI Score = 72	*(+2 SD)*	-0.051	0.057
AMEs of PD by Maternal SEI Score			
Mother SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	0.050	0.054
Mother SEI Score = 17	*(–1 SD)*	0.024	0.035
Mother SEI Score = 34	*(mean)*	0.003	0.025
Mother SEI Score = 51	*(+1 SD)*	-0.030	0.036
Mother SEI Score = 68	*(+2 SD)*	-0.057	0.056
AMEs of PD by Paternal Education			
No High School Degree		0.017	0.047
High School Degree		0.022	0.036
College Degree		-0.062	0.047
AMEs of PD by Maternal Education			
No High School Degree		0.040	0.046
High School Degree		-0.022	0.037
College Degree		0.013	0.048
AMEs of PD by Percentage of White Students			
% White = 5%		0.041	0.034
% White = 25%		0.002	0.025
% White = 50%		-0.056	0.039
AMEs of PD by Social Integration			
None/Some Immigrant Friends		0.016	0.042
Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends		-0.012	0.030
AMEs of PD by Percentage of Poor Students at School			
School Dropout Rate = 2.1%	*(–1 SD)*	-0.025	0.036
School Dropout Rate = 5.5%	*(mean)*	0.003	0.025
School Dropout Rate = 8.9%	*(+1 SD)*	0.020	0.035
AMEs of PD by School Dropout Rate			
Free Lunch Recipients = 21%	*(–1 SD)*	-0.036	0.036
Free Lunch Recipients = 43%	*(mean)*	0.004	0.026
Free Lunch Recipients = 65%	*(+1 SD)*	0.028	0.034

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,386

Predicted Outcome: Academic Aspirations = Finish Graduate Degree

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table B.3. Average Marginal Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination (PD="Yes") On Gap Between Academic Aspirations And Expectations By Different Values Of Moderator Variables

Interaction Terms		AME	Standard Error
AMEs of PD by Paternal SEI Score			
Father SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	0.001	0.055
Father SEI Score = 18	*(–1 SD)*	0.019	0.035
Father SEI Score = 36	*(mean)*	0.039	0.026
Father SEI Score = 54	*(+1 SD)*	0.059	0.037
Father SEI Score = 72	*(+2 SD)*	0.080	0.058
AMEs of PD by Maternal SEI Score			
Mother SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	0.019	0.057
Mother SEI Score = 17	*(–1 SD)*	0.029	0.036
Mother SEI Score = 34	*(mean)*	0.039	0.026
Mother SEI Score = 51	*(+1 SD)*	0.048	0.037
Mother SEI Score = 68	*(+2 SD)*	0.058	0.058
AMEs of PD by Paternal Education			
No High School Degree		-0.013	0.051
High School Degree		0.017	0.038
College Degree		0.115**	0.044
AMEs of PD by Maternal Education			
No High School Degree		-0.032	0.050
High School Degree		0.045	0.038
College Degree		0.097*	0.045
AMEs of PD by Percentage of White Students			
% White = 5%		-0.022	0.038
% White = 25%		0.040	0.026
% White = 50%		.111**	0.041
AMEs of PD by Social Integration			
None/Some Immigrant Friends		0.029	0.043
Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends		0.042	0.031
AMEs of PD by Percentage of Poor Students at School			
School Dropout Rate = 2.1%	*(–1 SD)*	0.058	0.034
School Dropout Rate = 5.5%	*(mean)*	0.039	0.026
School Dropout Rate = 8.9%	*(+1 SD)*	0.016	0.038
AMEs of PD by School Dropout Rate			
Free Lunch Recipients = 21%	*(–1 SD)*	0.092*	0.037
Free Lunch Recipients = 43%	*(mean)*	0.042	0.026
Free Lunch Recipients = 65%	*(+1 SD)*	-0.010	0.036

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,386
Predicted Outcome: Academic Aspirations = Finish Graduate Degree

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table B.4. Average Marginal Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination (PD="Yes") On Occupational Aspirations By Different Values Of Moderator Variables

Interaction Terms	**AME**	**Standard Error**
AMEs of PD by Paternal SEI Score		
Father SEI Score = 0 (–2 SD)	0.005	0.046
Father SEI Score = 18 (–1 SD)	0.004	0.029
Father SEI Score = 36 (mean)	0.002	0.020
Father SEI Score = 54 (+1 SD)	0.001	0.026
Father SEI Score = 72 (+2 SD)	-0.001	0.039
AMEs of PD by Maternal SEI Score		
Mother SEI Score = 0 (–2 SD)	-0.018	0.034
Mother SEI Score = 17 (–1 SD)	-0.010	0.025
Mother SEI Score = 34 (mean)	0.001	0.020
Mother SEI Score = 51 (+1 SD)	0.015	0.030
Mother SEI Score = 68 (+2 SD)	0.032	0.052
AMEs of PD by Paternal Education		
No High School Degree	-0.021	0.034
High School Degree	0.012	0.030
College Degree	0.014	0.040
AMEs of PD by Maternal Education		
No High School Degree	-0.032	0.050
High School Degree	0.045	0.038
College Degree	0.097*	0.045
AMEs of PD by Percentage of White Students		
% White = 5%	0.007	0.024
% White = 25%	0.002	0.021
% White = 50%	-0.007	0.038
AMEs of PD by Social Integration		
None/Some Immigrant Friends	-0.025	0.036
Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends	0.015	0.024
AMEs of PD by Percentage of Poor Students at School		
School Dropout Rate = 2.1% (–1 SD)	-0.028	0.031
School Dropout Rate = 5.5% (mean)	0.000	0.020
School Dropout Rate = 8.9% (+1 SD)	0.028	0.028
AMEs of PD by School Dropout Rate		
Free Lunch Recipients = 21% (–1 SD)	0.005	0.026
Free Lunch Recipients = 43% (mean)	0.003	0.020
Free Lunch Recipients = 65% (+1 SD)	0.000	0.028

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 1,386

Predicted Outcome: Academic Aspirations = Finish Graduate Degree

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

Table B.5. Average Marginal Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination (PD="Yes") On Occupational Expectations By Different Values Of Moderator Variables[30]

Interaction Terms		AME	Standard Error
AMEs of PD by Paternal SEI Score			
Father SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	0.057	0.051
Father SEI Score = 18	*(–1 SD)*	0.027	0.035
Father SEI Score = 36	*(mean)*	-0.008	0.027
Father SEI Score = 54	*(+1 SD)*	-0.047	0.040
Father SEI Score = 72	*(+2 SD)*	-0.088	0.064
AMEs of PD by Maternal SEI Score[31]			
Mother SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	-0.029	0.059
Mother SEI Score = 17	*(–1 SD)*	-0.018	0.038
Mother SEI Score = 34	*(mean)*	-0.008	0.027
Mother SEI Score = 51	*(+1 SD)*	0.020	0.038
Mother SEI Score = 68	*(+2 SD)*	0.013	0.059
AMEs of PD by Paternal Education			
No High School Degree		0.002	0.049
High School Degree		0.001	0.039
College Degree		-0.030	0.048
AMEs of PD by Maternal Education			
No High School Degree		0.018	0.050
High School Degree		-0.010	0.038
College Degree		-0.013	0.050
AMEs of PD by Percentage of White Students			
% White = 5%		-0.038	0.036
% White = 25%		-0.008	0.027
% White = 50%		0.032	0.043
AMEs of PD by Social Integration			
None/Some Immigrant Friends		-0.066	0.047
Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends		0.017	0.031
AMEs of PD by Percentage of Poor Students at School[32]			
School Dropout Rate = 2.1%	*(–1 SD)*	0.011	0.038
School Dropout Rate = 5.5%	*(mean)*	-0.008	0.027
School Dropout Rate = 8.9%	*(+1 SD)*	-0.027	0.038
AMEs of PD by School Dropout Rate			
Free Lunch Recipients = 21%	*(–1 SD)*	0.034	0.036
Free Lunch Recipients = 43%	*(mean)*	0.008	0.027
Free Lunch Recipients = 65%	*(+1 SD)*	-0.052	0.039

* p < .05; ** p < .01
Number of Observations = 1,169
Predicted Outcome: Academic Aspirations = Finish Graduate Degree

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

[30] The standard deviations of maternal SEI score and percentage of poor students at school is slightly different within the subsample of n=1,169.

[31] For this subsample, the standard deviation of maternal SEI score is only 16 (instead of 17)

[32] For this subsample, the standard deviation of percentage of poor students is 3.5% (instead of 3.4%)

APPENDIX C

LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION – INTERACTION EFFECTS

Table C.1. Average Marginal Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination (PD="Yes") On Educational Attainment By Different Values Of Moderator Variables

	Reported PD Once		Reported PD Twice	
Interaction Terms	**AME**	**St. Error**	**AME**	**St. Error**
AMEs of PD by Paternal SEI Score[33]				
Father SEI Score = 0 (–2 SD)	.375	.313	.278	.298
Father SEI Score = 18 (–1 SD)	.217	.199	.085	.192
Father SEI Score = 36 (mean)	.060	.135	-.108	.138
Father SEI Score = 54 (+1 SD)	-.097	.186	-.301	.186
Father SEI Score = 72 (+2 SD)	-.255	.298	-.494	.289
AMEs of PD by Maternal SEI Score				
Mother SEI Score = 0 (–2 SD)	-.006	.321	-.208	.302
Mother SEI Score = 17 (–1 SD)	.020	.203	-.134	.193
Mother SEI Score = 34 (mean)	.046	.136	-.119	.138
Mother SEI Score = 51 (+1 SD)	.072	.185	-.075	.191
Mother SEI Score = 68 (+2 SD)	.098	.299	-.030	.299
AMEs of PD by Paternal Education				
No High School Degree	.499	.270	-.034	.280
High School Degree	-.138	.199	-.042	.194
College Degree	-.050	.241	-.292	.234
AMEs of PD by Maternal Education				
No High School Degree	.560*	.280	.219	.275
High School Degree	-.116	.193	-.208	.195
College Degree	-.080	.248	-.204	.236
AMEs of PD by Percentage of White Students				
% White = 5%	.202	.184	.057	.192
% White = 25%	.020	.136	-.133	.138
% White = 50%	-.207	.237	-.372	.225
AMEs of PD by Social Integration				
None/Some Immigrant Friends	.382	.235	.208	.229
Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends	-.116	.164	-.286	.166
AMEs of PD by Percentage of Poor Students				
School Dropout Rate = 2.1% (–1 SD)	-.119	.214	-.198	.204
School Dropout Rate = 5.5% (mean)	.038	.136	-.128	.138
School Dropout Rate = 8.9% (+1 SD)	.194	.197	-.057	.202
AMEs of PD by School Dropout Rate				
Free Lunch Recipients = 21% (–1 SD)	-.095	.192	-.194	.191
Free Lunch Recipients = 43% (mean)	.046	.135	-.117	.138
Free Lunch Recipients = 65% (+1 SD)	.184	.189	-.039	.193

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 910

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

[33] I also ran all SES moderations (paternal and maternal SEI and education) excluding the other SES variables. For example, the model that tests for the moderating effects of paternal SEI does not include maternal SEI, paternal education, and maternal education. All these alternative models produced virtually the same results to those presented in Tables C.1 – C.2.

Table C.2. Average Marginal Effects Of Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination (PD="Yes") On Occupational Attainment By Different Values Of Moderator Variables

		Reported PD Once		Reported PD Twice	
Interaction Terms		**AME**	**St. Error**	**AME**	**St. Error**
AMEs of PD by Paternal SEI Score					
Father SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	-1.218	2.383	-2.205	2.235
Father SEI Score = 18	*(–1 SD)*	-.930	1.508	-1.767	1.444
Father SEI Score = 36	*(mean)*	-.642	1.044	-1.329	1.067
Father SEI Score = 54	*(+1 SD)*	-.354	1.046	-.892	1.470
Father SEI Score = 72	*(+2 SD)*	-.066	2.321	-.454	2.270
AMEs of PD by Maternal SEI Score					
Mother SEI Score = 0	*(–2 SD)*	-4.015	2.474	-2.690	2.280
Mother SEI Score = 17	*(–1 SD)*	-2.367	1.552	-2.035	1.466
Mother SEI Score = 34	*(mean)*	-.7187	1.044	-1.380	1.065
Mother SEI Score = 51	*(+1 SD)*	.930	.1.472	-.726	1.496
Mother SEI Score = 68	*(+2 SD)*	2.580	2.374	-.071	2.337
AMEs of PD by Paternal Education					
No High School Degree		1.356	2.055	1.589	2.124
High School Degree		-1.640	1.537	-2.153	1.479
College Degree		-.761	1.908	-2.214	1.866
AMEs of PD by Maternal Education					
No High School Degree		-.869	2.153	.692	2.072
High School Degree		-.619	1.482	-1.068	1.497
College Degree		-.435	1.949	-3.342	1.874
AMEs of PD by Percentage of White Students					
% White = 5%		-.803	1.409	-1.098	1.480
% White = 25%		-.633	1.058	-1.305	1.073
% White = 50%		-.421	1.860	-1.563	1.746
AMEs of PD by Social Integration					
None/Some Immigrant Friends		-1.026	1.783	-2.041	1.778
Many/Mostly Immigrant Friends		-.426	1.275	-.979	1.284
AMEs of PD by Percentage of Poor Students					
School Dropout Rate = 2.1%	*(–1 SD)*	-1.567	1.703	-1.414	1.579
School Dropout Rate = 5.5%	*(mean)*	-.670	1.048	-1.441	1.071
School Dropout Rate = 8.9%	*(+1 SD)*	.228	1.572	-1.467	1.546
AMEs of PD by School Dropout Rate					
Free Lunch Recipients = 21%	*(–1 SD)*	-1.370	1.497	-2.215	1.492
Free Lunch Recipients = 43%	*(mean)*	-.664	1.044	-1.358	1.065
Free Lunch Recipients = 65%	*(+1 SD)*	.041	1.043	-.502	1.460

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Number of Observations = 734

Source: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

APPENDIX D

VARIABLES TABLE

Table D.1. Complete List Of Variables

Concept	Variable Name	Wave	Question/Description	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Racial/Ethnic Discrimination	Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination	1 2	*Have you ever felt discriminated against?* • *1=Yes; 2=No* Category "No" also includes respondents who answered "yes" to the above question, but indicated in the follow-up question ("*What do you think is the main reason for discriminating against you?*") that they were discriminated because of either (1) their *gender or sex*, (2) their *behavior or appearance unrelated to their ethnicity*, or (3) *shortcomings of the discriminators*—i.e. reasons that have nothing to do with the victim's racial status or ethnicity.	0	1	.51 .57	.500 .495
Racial/Ethnic Discrimination	Perceived Racial/Ethnic Discrimination	1+2	Recoded from PD (W1) and PD (W2) • *0=never reported PD; 1=reported PD either in W1 or in W2; 2=reported PD in both waves*	0	2	1.08	.816
National Origin	National Origin	1	*National Origin: Constructed from father's birth country, mother's birth country, and respondent's birth country. If father and mother are from different countries, mother's national origin is assigned.* • *1=Cuba; 2=Nicaraguan; 3=Colombian; 4=Latin American; 5=Dominican; 6=Mexican; 7=Jamaican; 8=Haitian; 9=West Indian; 10=Filipino; 11=Vietnamese; 12=Laotian/Cambodian*	-	-	-	-
Gender	Gender	1	*What is your sex?* • *1=male; 2=female*	0	1	1.55	.497
SES	Father/Mother Education	1	*What is the highest level of education that he completed?* *What is the highest level of education that she completed?* • *1=Elementary school or less; 2=Middle school or less; 3=Some high school; 4=High school graduate; 5=Some college/university; 6=College graduate or more*	1	6	4.36 4.27	1.487 1.553
SES	Father/Mother SEI	1	Unit-weighted standardized scale of father's and mother's education, and occupational SEI scores, plus family home ownership. Scores computed for all cases with valid measures in three or more of the component variables. • *Father's Socioeconomic Index (SEI) score* • *Mother's Socioeconomic Index (SEI) score*	14.53 13.98	89.57 89.57	35.5 33.6	17.691 16.616
Social Context	School Location	1	Type of School Attended • *0=Suburban; 1=Inner-City*	0	1	.27	.447
Exposure to "Underclass"	School Poverty Rate	1	Percent of Students Eligible for Subsidized Lunch at School	0	92.3	43.94	22.343
Exposure to "Underclass"	School Dropout Rate	1	Annual Dropout Rate at 1995 School (School Records)	.4	27.6	5.64	3.469
Racial Context	% White Students at School	1	Percentage of White Students (School Records)	.1	64	24.82	19.619

Table D.1. (continued)

Concept	Variable Name	Wave	Question/Description	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Social Integration	How Many 2nd-Generation Immigrant Friends?	1	*How many of these close friends have parents who came from foreign countries, that is who were not born in the U.S.?* • *0=Many or Most; 1=None or Some*	0	1	.68	.467
Academic Aspirations	Education Respondent Wants	2	*What is the highest level of education that you would like to achieve?* • *1=less than high school; 2=Finish high school; 3=Finish some college; 4=Finish college; 5=Finish a graduate degree*	1	5	4.61	.708
Academic Expectations	Education Respondent Expects to get	2	*And realistically speaking, what is the highest level of educ. that you think you will get?* • *1=less than high school; 2=Finish high school; 3=Finish some college; 4=Finish college; 5=Finish a graduate degree*	1	5	4.26	.821
Gap between Aspirations & Expectations	Academic Aspiration-Expectations Gap	2	Calculated as: Academic Aspirations (no college vs. college) *minus* Academic Expectations (no college vs. college) • *0=Expectations >= Aspirations* • *1=Expectations < Aspirations*	0	1	0.33	.471
Occupational Aspirations	Occupation Respondents Wants	2	Dichotomized variable: *1=Aspires Professional/Executive Position; 0=Other* Original Survey Question: *Among the following job categories, which is the one that comes closest to the job that you would like to have when you become an adult?* • ***Professional/Executive Position:*** *Technician/Computer Programmer; Nurse/Physical Therapist/Dietician; Business Executive/Manager; Engineer; Teacher/Professor; Lawyer; Doctor/Physician* • ***Other:*** *Factory Worker; Office Clerk; Salesperson; Other; Actor/Entertainer/Artist; Professional Athlete*	0	1	.84	.367
Occupational Expectations	Expected Chances of Getting Aspired Job	2	*And how do you see your chances of getting this job?* • *1=Very poor; 2=Poor; 3=Good; 4=Very good*	1	4	3.23	.627
Educational Attainment	Educational Attainment	3	*What is the highest grade or year of school you have completed?* (numeric) • *10; 12; 14; 15; 16; 18*	10	18	14.51	1.695
Occupational Attainment	Current Job Treiman Prestige Score	3	Current job Treiman Prestige Score	16	78	44.97	11.548
Age	Respondents' Age at W1	1	*How old are you?*	12	17	14.14	.837
School	School	1	*What is the name of your school?* [Name of school has been removed from file]	-	-	-	-
Social Context	School Population	1	Total School Population	707	3,568	1,889	776.75

Table D.1. (continued)

Concept	Variable Name	Wave	Question/Description	Min	Max	Mean	SD
English Proficiency	English Proficiency Index	1	Knowledge of English in 1992-93 (Average of Scores in Questions 1-4 below) <u>Original Survey Questions:</u> *1. How well do you speak English?* *2. How well do you understand English?* *3. How well do you read English?* *4. How well do you write English?* *1=Not at all; 2=Not well; 3=Well; 4=Very well*	1	4	3.80	.377
Acculturation	Native Language Proficiency	1	Knowledge of Foreign Language in 1995-96 (Average of Scores)	0	4	2.65	1.061
Birth Place	U.S.-Born	1	*In what country were you born?* • *0=United States; 1=Other country*	0	1	.48	.500
Social Integration	Number of Close Friends (Log)	1	Log of Number of Close Friends at School (Question: *"How many close friends to you have at school?"*)	0	4.58	2.08	.946