All in the Family:
Generational Acculturation Among Immigrant Families

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Abstract

Over the past decade, a burgeoning literature has sought to determine how the "new" immigrant second generation is adapting to their host society. Acculturation (the linguistic and cultural adaptation of immigrants) is an important intervening variable in the assimilation process. However, little research has paid serious attention to conceptualizing and measuring acculturation. I argue that acculturation can be viewed as a familial process, occurring between parents and children. I utilize Waves I & II of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) to measure familial acculturation and examine its determinants. Analyses first reveal that nationality status and parental resources such as SES and years of experience in the U.S. combine to determine the likelihood of consonant acceptance, consonant rejection, and the level of dissonance that occurs within immigrant families. Second, there is little consistent evidence that the effects of parental resources on familial acculturation outcomes differ by nationality status, sex, or race of the child. In total, results suggest that in general, the strong effects of parental resources on familial acculturative outcomes are uniform across immigrant groups, a result which supports the tenets of straight-line assimilation theory.

Introduction

After many decades of nearly stagnant immigration, the U.S. congress, in 1965, passed the Hart-Celler Act, which drastically changed the character of in-migration to this country. The new law looked favorably on immigrants whose skills were in need and on those who desired to reunite with family members that were already in this country lawfully. More importantly however, it forever changed the "color" of the immigration stream. No longer were immigrants primarily comprised of people from Eastern and Western Europe. The "new" immigrants were more likely to come from Latin American, the Caribbean, and Asia. In addition, these new entrants were and still are more likely to be from visible racial and ethnic groups. Thus, the new immigration is now seen as distinctive with respect to the color of its entrants and the sending countries from which they come.

Given the distinctive nature of this immigration stream, a literature has developed which seeks to ascertain how these new entrants and their children will acquire the linguistic and cultural tools necessary to adapt to the new society and how these tools in turn help their children achieve favorable placement within the socioeconomic hierarchy. One strand of research argues that individual and structural factors such as second generation background factors (i.e. nationality status, race, & sex), family structure, parental or first generation resources, (socioeconomic status, networks, and experience in the United States), and the level and character of first generation community support directly determine the acquisition of linguistic and cultural tools, then directly determine child well-being outcomes. Another group of scholars (Portes & Zhou 1993; Portes & Rumbaut 1996) suggest that the effects of the tools depend heavily on the level of resources that the parents of the second generation have at their disposal upon entrance into the U.S. This reasoning, titled segmented assimilation, accompanies the canonical explanation of immigrant adaptation mentioned above.

Embedded within these arguments is an implicit understanding that the cultural and linguistic tools mentioned above (hereafter referred to as acculturation) are *intervening* variables in the relationship between parental and child background factors and well-being or assimilation outcomes. The crucial difference between the two literatures lies in how acculturation determines assimilation outcomes. Supporters of straight-line models argue for direct determinants of acculturation, while proponents of segmented assimilation theory suggest interactions between acculturation and the level of resources parents have at their disposal. While adjudicating between these debates is a worthwhile analysis, I leave that for another time. For now, I argue that prior to ascertaining how acculturation operates in the assimilation process, it must first be properly operationalized and measured. Thus far in the literature, little serious attention has been paid to the proper measurement of the concept. Beyond measurement, little work has focused on the determinants of acculturation, a crucial first step in ascertaining its importance as an intervening variable in the process of assimilation.

To fill these voids in the literature, I advance an argument for viewing acculturation as a *familial* process, occurring between parents and children. This possibility has been suggested by Portes and Rumbaut (1996) in their groundbreaking theoretical volume, but has not received serious attention in the empirical literature. First, I provide a brief review of the straight-line and segmented assimilation literature and offer a conceptual framework for thinking about familial acculturation. I then present an example of how this concept can be measured and conduct analyses of the determinants of this important intervening variable.

Theoretical Foundations & Conceptual Frameworks

Straight-line Assimilation

The concept of assimilation has its roots in the Chicago School of sociology and the writings of Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, their students, and their collaborators. In a very early

attempt at defining assimilation, Park and Burgess (1921) state that assimilation is "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and by *sharing* [emphasis mine] their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgess 1921:735). From a close reading of this definition, some (Alba and Nee 1997; 2003) argue that the concept of assimilation does not appear to require immigrants to shed all cultural attachment to the sending country. The definition merely suggests that immigrants will someday be brought into some general mainstream. Putting aside this theoretical controversy, straight-line assimilation theory argues that the inevitable adaptation is a social process which will eventually draw immigrants into the American mainstream.

It should be noted that this conceptualization of immigrants and their adaptation into the American mainstream makes it seem as if immigrants are the only ones changing in the assimilation process. On the contrary, recent work (provide citation later) suggests that while immigrants may indeed change to fit into the mainstream, the American mainstream itself can change. It can constantly be negotiated in daily practices and interactions among immigrants and with native-born residents.

For years after Park and Burgess' original definition was penned, social scientists were unable to reconcile some of the fuzzy concepts that were apparent in the definition. This conceptual confusion was temporarily put to rest when Milton Gordon published *Assimilation in American Life* (1964). His multidimensional conceptual framework of the assimilation model was groundbreaking because it was the first time that an analyst had been able to provide operational definitions of the concepts within the model.

Gordon (1964) provides an analytical and conceptual separation between acculturation and assimilation. He argues that acculturation, or cultural assimilation[1], is the minority group's adoption of the "cultural patterns" of the host society. That is, acculturation is the first step in the adaptation process where immigrants obtain the cultural "tools" that enable them to better navigate the "choppy waters" of their new host society. These tools can include speaking English and acquiring the cultural norms and values of American society. On the other hand, *structural assimilation* is the integration of primary groups into the host society, with intermarriage being the primary marker of this type of assimilation. Importantly, Gordon (1964) and Alba and Nee (2001) argue that once structural assimilation has taken place, all other forms of assimilation will follow.

Given this understanding of the meaning of acculturation and its role in the process of second generation adaptation, it is important realize that embedded within the canonical assimilation framework is an important argument concerning the determinants of acculturation. Specifically, Zhou (1997) makes it clear that according to straight-line assimilation models, second generation acculturation should be directly determined by individual factors such as first generation human capital, social capital, and amount of U.S. experience, as well as second generation place of birth, sex, and family structure. In addition, second generation acculturation should also be determined by structural factors such as their place of residence and the amount of discrimination they experience in the U.S.

Segmented Assimilation

While supporters of conventional assimilation describe immigrants' potential for adaptation in largely optimistic terms, supporters of segmented assimilation theory are slightly

[1] In this paper, I will refrain from using this term because of the disagreement in the literature concerning the appropriate definition of culture. Moreover, throughout this paper, I will develop an argument for a multi-dimensional approach to thinking about acculturation. This approach involves conceptualizing acculturation in terms of language and culture. Thus, I want to minimize any confusion between "cultural assimilation" as a concept and "culture" and language as dimensions of that concept.

more pessimistic. They argue that middle-class adaptation is but one of the potential destinations for some segments of the second generation immigrant population. Some second generation immigrant groups are at risk for becoming part of the underclass. As previously stated, this theory is born out of certain interpretations of the social realities that greet the new immigrants when they come to the U.S. First, segmented assimilation theorists (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes & Rumbaut 1996; Zhou 1997) point out that immigrants face an economy that is drastically different than those who came to U.S. a generation ago (see Piore 1979). Second, today's immigrants are visible minorities and face a society that is still not cured of its discriminatory ills. Both of these social realities contribute to divergent adaptation destinies for today's second generation immigrants.

In an elaborate description of the mechanisms that contribute to different types of social mobility, Portes and Zhou (1993) and Portes & Rumbaut (2001) assert that that parental (first generation) and second generation background factors such as parental socioeconomic status (SES), the social reception that the first and second generation receives from their host environment (modes of incorporation or context of reception), and second generation family structure, all affect different types or patterns of acculturation of the second generation. In turn, different types of acculturation, along with background factors, modes of incorporation, and family structure, affect the type and direction of assimilation (as measured by variables such as academic achievement, racial identities, and psychosocial factors) for the second generation *through* external obstacles such as the amount of racial discrimination experienced by the second generation, the types of labor markets that they encounter, and the messages they receive from the sub-cultures within the inner cites. Portes & Zhou (1993) and Portes & Rumbaut (1996) describe the interweaving of all of these effects as the entire process of assimilation.

[Insert Figure 1 about Here]

Two important points surface upon examination of Figure 1. First, this theoretical formulation, or the prediction of divergent outcomes, results from analysts' observation that the contexts of reception that today's immigrants encounter shape or determine the nature of their adaptation paths. That is, the model pictured above shows that after the second generation starts the acculturation process, eventual adaptation or assimilation depends on contexts of reception that immigrants face such as racial discrimination, bifurcated labor markets, and inner-city subcultures.

Second, Zhou (1997) argues that the proponents the segmented assimilation model and the conventional assimilation models both agree that the individual and structural factors mentioned above indeed determine whether or not second generation immigrants will acculturate. In turn, acculturation determines (indirectly or directly) the future well-being of immigrant children. This point is important because it establishes that the two theoretical camps agree that acculturation is an important *intervening variable* in the process of acculturation. However, there is disagreement concerning how these variables work to determine acculturation. While supporters of classical assimilation argue that structural and individual factors *directly* determine acculturation, proponents of segmented assimilation theory argue that individual and structural factors *interact* to determine acculturation. This point is also important because it highlights the differences in the empirical expectations of the determinants of acculturation.

Added to the disagreement in the literature concerning the determinants of acculturation is a serious void: little attention has been paid to conceptualizing and measuring the concept. Moreover, while Portes & Rumbaut (1996) did in fact create a typology that suggested ways of measuring acculturation, their empirical analyses of acculturation in *Legacies* (Portes & Rumbaut 2001) did not follow their theoretical guidelines. Specifically, they argued for thinking about acculturation as occurring between immigrant parents and children. However, their

measures of acculturation in their empirical volume leave out this crucial dimension. To fill that void, I offer below a conceptual framework for thinking about familial acculturation and a method of measuring the concept.

Intergenerational Acculturation

In the assimilation literature, culture is an important component of the adaptation process. However, in general, sociologists and immigration theorists who are concerned about acculturation have not had a clear and concise theory of culture. Many immigration scholars construct culture as an entity, or something that is "obtained" and able to be contrasted with American mainstream culture (see Reese 2002 for support of this interpretation). However, cultural anthropologists have long argued that culture is a process rather than an entity (Kottak and Colson 1994) and is constantly reproducing itself (Keesing 1994). Because of the lack of theoretical attention given to culture by immigration scholars and the insistence by anthropologists that culture is a process, analysts who were interested in studying acculturation were forced to clarify the specific meaning of culture.

To partially fill this void, Zhou (1997) suggests that individual and structural factors are intertwined with "immigrant culture" and group characteristics to determine the eventual fates of immigrant children. Here, immigrant culture is defined as the way of life, values, predispositions, ideas, languages, and beliefs that all immigrants bring with them upon arrival[1]. In order to adapt to the host lifestyle and be accepted by the members of the host society, immigrants must make use of norms, values, and English, tools that will help them make it in American society. To do this, they often selectively unpack their "cultural and language toolkits" and use the tools that best fit with the norms and values of the host society (Matute-Bianchi 1986).

[1] Theorists outside of immigration also have various definitions of culture (see Reese 2002 for an elaboration of these definitions). However, they all appear to agree that culture involves some combination of values, norms, traditions, and ideas.

Often, immigrant parents do this "cultural unpacking" for their young children. In an effort to pass on certain values and traditions, they decide what values and norms are beneficial to keep and what values are better left unpacked. Many encourage their children to learn English quickly so that they can do well in school and help their parents to negotiate their new environments effectively (Fillmore 1991). For example Orellena et al. (2003a; 2003b) point out that immigrant children are often used as translators for their parents, allowing them to actively participate in legal, educational, and medical domains.

However, when children get older, there are often constant negotiations between parents and children concerning which traditions and values should be left unpacked and which should be used to aid in the acculturative process. For immigrants in tight-knit communities, parents and children actively negotiate the strategies that will best help children succeed. These strategies often involve selectively using the values of the host society that best help children get ahead (Gibson 1988). This type of parental-child negotiation occurs in a new environment where parents may not have as much control over their children as they did in the host society. This may lead to a clash or gap between the tools parents feel are important and the tools that children believe are important. While these intergenerational clashes or gaps are not specific to immigrant households (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995), they are particularly important in the immigrant context because acculturation is an important intervening variable in the adaptation process.

Portes & Rumbaut (1996) conceptualize the acculturation gaps between immigrant parents and children in terms of consonance and dissonance. They argue that generational[1] consonance occurs when parents and children choose to remain unacculturated *or* acculturate at the same rate. Put another way, when parents and children agree about the tools that should be

[1] I use the term "generational" here to refer to interactions between parents and children.

unpacked from the cultural language toolkits, there is generational consonance. On the other hand, generational dissonance occurs when parents and children disagree about which tools should be unpacked and which should be left unpacked. In simple terms, generational dissonance means that the level of English and cultural competence or acceptance is not the same between parents and children. Either parents are more acculturated (an admittedly rare occurrence) or children are more acculturated.

Crucial to this formulation is the possibility that generational consonance has two possible outcomes. Parents and children can agree to unpack the tools that match the norms of the host society. This can be is called *consonant acceptance*. On the other hand, parents and children can agree to unpack the tools that match the norms and beliefs of the sending society. This is can be called *consonant rejection*, or consonant resistance to acculturation (see Portes & Rumbaut 1996). Consonant acceptance and rejection then are opposite forms of the same concept, consonant acculturation.

Using this framework, I argue that acculturation can be viewed as a process that occurs within families (Tseng & Fuligni 2000). That is, although individual second generation children may exhibit forms or types of acculturation (i.e. they learn English rapidly and express values and norms that match the host society), the process by which this happens actually occurs between parents and children. The kinds of acculturation described above (consonant acculturation and dissonant acculturation) are the different types of outcomes that can result when parents and children participate in language and cultural negotiations with each other (Veltman 1983). In addition, I follow the developmental psychology literature by arguing that when parents and children have ongoing discussions throughout the life course, agreements and disagreements are possible (Steinberg 1990). While dissonance or disagreements between parents and children can and do occur (Collins 1989; Galambos & Almeida 1992; Kandal &

Lesser 1972; Offer 1969; Steinberg 1988), parents and children can also experience healthy conversations concerning what skills are necessary to navigate through the uncertainties of adapting to the new lifestyles in the U.S. These conversations can often lead to agreements between parents and children, an option that is also a normal part of adolescent development (Steinberg 1990). Thus, although the consonance/dissonance framework may appear to be a distinctively "immigrant" phenomenon, I argue that it is something that is characteristic of all families, not just immigrants.

While the literature does in fact suggest that acculturation can be conceptualized as a familial process (see Fuligni 2001; Tseng & Fuligni 2000), there has been no rigorous attempt to measure and model the concept in this way. Furthermore, no study has compared the effects of individual and structural factors along multiple dimensions of acculturation[1]. For example, we do not know whether the direct effects of parental resources influence cultural, language, and ethnic identity in the same ways. I attempt to partially fill these voids by measuring acculturation using language information from parents and children and then examining the determinants of acculturation across multiple measures or types of acculturation.

Generational Acculturation: Review of Conceptual Definitions

To review then, generational acculturation is a concept that intervenes in the relationship between child and parental background factors and future well-being outcomes. In this paper, I measure acculturation and examine its determinants. In future work, I will examine how generational or familial acculturation determines immigrant child well-being outcomes. This method of analyzing intervening variables was at one time accomplished simultaneously using

[1] While it is theoretically possible to think about acculturation along multiple dimensions, it is much more difficult to measure cultural and ethnic identity acculturation using the data here. I conducted several preliminary analyses, attempting to find suitable measures for the construct. However, many of the candidate measures were in my view unsuitable measures of cultural acculturation. Specifically, there were not enough appropriate candidate items that were asked of both parents and children. In addition, issues related to missing data and the symmetry of ethnic identity questions across generations prevented me from measuring ethnic identity as a familial process. Given these difficulties, I focus my attention and analyses on language acculturation, leaving analyses of cultural acculturation and ethnic identity for another time.

structural equation models. However, I make use of more easily understood regression models, with analyses here serving as the first step.

In concrete terms, generational language acculturation can be viewed in three ways. First, parents and children can both have a high level of competence of English. This can be is called *consonant language acceptance*. On the other hand, parents and children can both have a low level of competence of the English language. This is can be called *consonant language rejection*, or consonant resistance to acculturation. These are opposite forms of the same concept, consonant acculturation. Finally, if parents and children do not have the same level of English competence, *dissonant acculturation* occurs.

Research Questions

The theoretical discussions above lead me to propose three research questions. First, how do background factors (nationality status, sex, & race), parental SES and experience in the United States, family structure, and parental modes of incorporation combine to affect the likelihood of immigrant families to express consonant acceptance, rejection, and dissonant acculturation? Second, do the determinants of acculturation have uniform effects across multiple measures of acculturation? Third, do the effects of background factors, family structure, and modes of incorporation depend on the level of resources that immigrant parents have at their disposal?

Data

The data come from Waves I & II of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS). The CILS is a longitudinal survey designed to study the adaptation processes of the immigrant second generation. The baseline survey was conducted in 1992 with large samples of second generation immigrant children in 8th and 9th grades in Miami and San Diego. The follow-up survey was conducted three years later in 1995-1996, when the majority of students were

ready to graduate from high school. The two samples were drawn in 49 schools in the San Diego and Miami metropolitan areas. These cities were selected because they represented two of the areas with heavy populations of new immigrants from different parts of the world.

The CILS was developed to examine the evolution of assimilation outcomes such as language knowledge and preferences, the ethnic identities, self-esteem, academic attainment, and language ability. Moreover, because the CILS uses schools as part of its sampling frame, it has information on the schools that children attend, making it possible to obtain school-level contextual characteristics. Because of this fact, my data are considered nested within schools. Even though I am not using school-level variables in subsequent analyses, I employ robust standard error corrections in all analyses. In addition, researchers collected the home address of children who lived in San Diego County at both time points, making it possible to append census-tract information from the decennial census to the individual-level data in the CILS for the creation of neighborhood-level contextual variables.

At the time of the follow-up survey, Portes & Rumbaut (2001) also surveyed one parent or guardian of the child in the survey, making it possible to create measures of generational acculturation. Because funding for the parental interviews was only received at the time of the follow-up child questionnaire, the parental data only contain information at time 2 of the survey. In addition, due to the limited amount of funding and the expense of collecting the parental interviews[1], only about 50% of the child sample contains a corresponding parental interview. Thus, roughly half of all parents in San Diego and Miami were issued no parental survey, creating a non-trivial amount of missing information for the parental data.

The lack of parental interviews posed a serious hurdle for the present analyses because the dependent variables rely on child *and* parental information for their construction. Moreover,

[1] Parental interviews had to be completed in the home and in the language of the respondent, greatly adding to the expense of collection.

the most crucial independent variables are parental characteristics. To circumvent this problem, I decided to use the information for children whose parents were given a parental interview. This essentially eliminates just about half of the sample of children. However, the alternatives would involve the multiple imputation of parental characteristics and language acculturation. While these imputation methods are becoming more popular in the social sciences, I decided that it would be safer to make inferences about families that have complete information instead of making assumptions about parents' language use and their characteristics.

While only data where there was complete information for children and parents may be the most straightforward method for dealing with the missing data problem, it is not immune to deficiencies. It is quite possible that the parents for whom I have data have different language acculturation patterns than those for whom I do not have data. That is, any analyses that I report may be biased because I have essentially deleted respondents who have some sort of similarity beyond not having been given the questionnaire. To investigate this possibility, I include dummy variables for those who have missing information on all covariates in my models. While I do not show these results, they essentially reveal that the children whose parents were given a questionnaire are not systematically different from those were not given a questionnaire. This is an important finding because it suggests that parents with non-missing data are essentially the same as those with missing information. Based on these preliminary results, I believe I have sufficient evidence to use non-missing data in all subsequent analyses.

In total, the CILS sample contains 5,272 baseline child respondents, 4,288 of which were re-interviewed three years later. Of these 4,288 child respondents, 2,324 had a parent who had a parent who completed an interview. In subsequent analyses, I group respondents by their nationality status. There were 41 respondents who could not be neatly classified into

homogenous nationality groups large enough to form their own separate categories. Thus, I deleted them from the analyses. In all, 2,283 child records are used for all subsequent analyses.

Dependent Variables

I focus my attention in subsequent analyses on language acculturation, one of the multiple dimensions of acculturation. Again, it is important to understand that acculturation is an intervening variable in the acculturation process. Hence, the analyses here are concerned with the relationships in the first part of the assimilation process: the relationship between child and parental background and acculturation. In addition, I pay particular attention to the extent to which language acculturation occurs between parents and children, constructing acculturation from the information provided from the child and parental questionnaires of the CILS.

Language Acculturation

Knowledge of the English language is the foundation variable I use to measure language acculturation. In Wave II of the CILS, parents and children are asked about their ability to speak, read, write, and understand English. Each of these questions is measured on a 4-point likert scale where 1 represents speaking, reading, writing, or understanding English "not at all" and 4 represents speaking, reading, writing, or understanding English "very well."

To begin, I sum all four English competence variables (i.e. ability to speak, read, write, & understand English) to create a scale (range 4 – 16) of English competence. I do this separately for parents and children. Thus, I end up with two separate scales measuring English language competence, one for parents and one for children. Because English language knowledge varies greatly between parents, the distributions of these scales are not symmetrical. That is, the vast majority of children were at the top of the scale, expressing high levels of English competence. On the other hand, the distribution of parental English competence is much more normally distributed. This result follows theoretical expectations that the English language competence of

children will be higher than the competence of parents. This reality posed a potential problem because the proper creation of consonant acculturation variables required me to determine the point on the respective variables where parents and children *both* had high levels of English competence (consonant acceptance) or where parents and children *both* had low levels of English competence (consonant rejection).

To circumvent this problem, I make use of percentile ranks to determine the cut points for language competence. First, I consider children and parents to express *consonant acceptance* if parents and children are at or above the 75th percentile of language competence, *on their respective scales*. This yields a dummy variable, with 1 representing parents and children who are at or above the 75th percentile on their respective scales, and 0 representing otherwise. Second, I consider parents and children to express *consonant rejection* if they both are at or below the 25th percentile of language competence. This procedure yields another dummy variable, with 1 representing families who are at or below the 25th percentile of English competence, and 0 representing otherwise. Importantly, only 25% of the entire sample of children is at or above the 75th percentile of English competence *along with their parents* (see Table 1 for evidence of this fact). Moreover, only 18% of the sample of children is at or below the 25th percentile of English competence along with their parents. Nevertheless, while I am classifying such small percentages of respondents as expressing consonant acceptance or rejection, I argue forcefully that constructing the variables in this way fulfills the conceptual requirements of the concepts under study.

Finally, I create a scale of absolute language dissonance between parents and children using a different method than the one described above. In specific terms, this scale is simply the absolute value of the difference between child competence and parental competence. Conceptually, if children have a zero (0) on this scale, they are at parity with their parents with

respect to English competence. If they have values *greater than zero*, their English competence is different to their parent. This difference is language dissonance. Therefore, when I create this scale, I am not concerned with whether children are more competent than parents or if parents are more competent than children. My only interest is in the *absolute difference* between parental and child language competence. I make use of this absolute dissonance measure in analyses that follow, calling it the level of dissonance within immigrant families. Possible scores on this scale range from zero (parents and children are at parity) to twelve. In all then, I create three dependent variables: language consonant acceptance, language consonant rejection, and the level of language dissonance.

I separate my independent variables into four conceptual groups. I measure background factors and family structure, parental modes of incorporation, parental skills and resources, and the level of parental control as well as social cohesion. Although grouping the variables in this way replicates, to some extent, the analyses of Portes and Rumbaut (2001), I do not use the same explanatory variables they used because their analyses were focused solely on factors related to language acquisition of children. Given that my focus is on a different conceptualization of acculturation, I will use variables that are theoretically relevant to a study of familial acculturation. Thus, there will be differences in the types of independent variables I use in my models.

Background Factors & Family Structure

Nationality status of second generation immigrant children is measured by a set of dummy variables indicating the country of origin of the child's mother. When the mother is not interviewed or is missing, I make use of the paternal place of birth. When parental information is completely missing, I use the place of birth that was provided by the child. I also measure the sex and race of the child respondent. For racial status, I group all respondents that are not white into

a non-white category, distinguishing them from those who are white. I do this because segmented assimilation theory says that second generation children who are visible minorities will have vastly different outcomes than those who are white.

I include two variables that measure family structure in the models. I make use of an indicator variable that measures whether or not children have two parents in the household. I also include a variable that measures the number of siblings that are living in the child's household. Both of these variables have been used extensively in past work as measures of family structure.

Parental Skills & Resources

With one exception, all of the parental SES and parental experience variables come from the parental survey which was administered at time 2. Parental SES is measured using three variables. At time 2, parents were asked to provide their annual family income, their years of completed education, and their current occupation. Income was originally measured as a categorical variable, allowing respondents to indicate the range of annual income they currently earn. To approximate a continuous variable, I create a new variable that is the midpoint of the income bracket. I top-code the open-ended income bracket to $300,000[1]. Education was originally a continuous variable and I leave it in its original form. The original authors of the study transformed the occupational groupings into Treiman prestige scores (Treiman 1977; Ganzeboom & Treiman 1996). I make use of these prestige scores in my analyses.

I measure parental experience using three variables. In the parental survey, parents were asked their ages and the year they migrated to the United States. These two bits of information combined with the date of the interview enabled me to create a variable measuring the number of years of experience parents had in the United States. In addition, I also create an indicator

[1] In preliminary analyses, I follow Jargowsky (1995) and use linear and pareto distributions to obtain the average family income associated with each income bracket. However, these preliminary analyses revealed no substantive differences in the effects of income when I use this method as opposed to the more popular method described above. Given the simplicity of the method described here, I decided to use it to approximate a continuous distribution for income.

variable measuring whether or not the parent or guardian was a child (under the age of 13) at the time of migration. Finally, I include an indicator variable that measures whether or not the child has at least one native-born parent in the home, which I consider to be an indicator of the presence of a parent who has some knowledge of how to make it in the United States.

There are two important facts about the parental SES and experience variables that are worth noting. First, as previously stated, most of the parental SES and parental experience variables come from the parental survey which was administered at time 2. Therefore, I lose temporal ordering with these indicators. However, I argue that for most of them, especially the parental SES variables, this should have a minimal effect on the overall results. I assert this because even though these variables are measured three years after baseline survey, it is unlikely that in that brief interim, overall placement in the socioeconomic hierarchy would have changed drastically for the vast majority of immigrants.

Second, as previously mentioned, there is a non-trivial amount of missing parental information because the parental survey was not administered to the parents or guardians of *all* children in the child data. To circumvent this problem, I make use of mean imputation techniques to prevent the loss of a substantial portion of the data. Imputation techniques are included in the technical appendix.

Modes of Incorporation

Modes of incorporation are the specific social contexts that greet first or second generation immigrants upon arrival in the United States. I include three measures of modes in subsequent analyses. Importantly, although I measure the modes with questions from parental questionnaire, all of these questions query parents about the situations they encountered *at the time of immigration*. Thus, I do my best to minimize the endogeneity of modes of incorporation and acculturation.

First, in the parental survey, parents were asked about the number of friends and relatives they had at the time of migration. I create a scale of the number of friends and family by adding together the two indicators. Second, I create and include in the analyses a variable that measures whether or not parents had access to economic assistance when they arrived in the United States. Third I include an indicator variable that measures whether or not the supervisor or coworkers of the parents' first job were of the same national background. I argue that this variable is really a measure of the extent to which parents have help from supervisors and co-workers from within their own communities when they first come to America.

Parental Control and Social Cohesion

I include a set of covariates in my analyses that measure the extent to which parents have control over their children's activities and the extent to which they have the ability to monitor and control what their children do, which I conceptualize as social cohesion. A large literature in developmental psychology argues that parental control and social cohesion are related to several child well-being indicators and to the likelihood of shedding the norms and values of the sending country (see Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001 for an extensive discussion of this literature). Via exploratory factor analysis[1], I construct a composite index that measures the level of neighborhood input in raising children and the level of social cohesion in the community. Candidate items for these scales were taken from the parental questionnaire. I also include a variable that measures whether or not parents know the children with whom their kids associate. And finally, I include two composite indexes of the level of control parents have over the television viewing of their children and their overall education.

Analytical Plan

[1] Scale construction techniques are located in the technical appendix.

The analyses in this paper will be divided into two parts[1]. In the first part of the analyses, I determine which groups of variables have the strongest effects on the dependent variables. This will be a fairly straightforward set of analyses. Results will help to ascertain which factors combine to affect different types of language acculturation. In the second portion of the analyses, I determine whether there is any evidence that the effects of background factors, family structure, and family control and cohesion on acculturation depend on the level of parental skills and resources that parents possess. Specifically, the analyses will determine whether parental SES, experience and modes of incorporation magnify the importance of background factors, family structure, and family control and cohesion in determining acculturation. To accomplish this goal, I ascertain whether interaction effects provide more explanatory power than models only containing main effects of the variables mentioned above. Again, if this is indeed the case, this would provide some evidence for the segmented assimilation paradigm, as outlined above.

Results

Univariate & Bivariate Analyses

Table 1 provides means and standard deviations for all independent and dependent variables used in the analyses. Of particular interest is the distribution of acculturation measures. Preliminary results indicate that just over 25% of immigrant families express consonant acceptance of English. Similarly, few immigrant families actively reject learning English. This suggests that consonant acceptance and rejection do occur within immigrant families, but is not exactly widespread.

[Insert Table 1 about Here]

On Table 2, I provide means and proportions for all independent and dependent variables by the nationality status of immigrant children. Bivariate analyses of familial language

[1] Model specifications are located in the technical appendix.

acculturation first indicate that Filipino, Cuban, and Black West Indian/African families have the highest rates of familial English competence. On the other hand, familial English competence is quite low for all other families. Laotians/Hmong and Southeast Asian families have the highest rates of consonant rejection. Analyses of the level of language dissonance in immigrant families indicate that Filipino and Black West Indian/African families have the lowest levels of dissonance, while Southeast Asian families have the highest dissonance levels. This finding is important because no prior work, to my knowledge, has described nationality status differences in the level of familial dissonance within immigrant families. Findings here suggest that such differences are indeed non-trivial.

[Insert Table 2 about Here]

Multivariate Analyses

As previously stated, a major portion of the subsequent analyses will be concerned with determining which set of factors best determine familial language acculturation. Since I use three dependent variables, summarizing overall results will be critical to promoting brevity and simplicity. To facilitate this process, I use model fit statistics (not shown here) that determine which set of factors are most important in affecting acculturation. The multivariate models that generate these statistics are non-nested. That is, I begin with a group of predictors that are conceptually related, removing and adding other conceptually related predictors in later models. In each of these intermediate models, I access the relative fit of the model in focus against all previous models. In the final model, I fit additive equations that contain all candidate predictors, determining the relative fit of the full model against all simpler or intermediate models. The overall conclusion is that factors related to parental skills and resources as well as child

characteristics are the most powerful and consistent determinants of multiple types of acculturation[1].

Cross-Model Comparisons

On Table 3 below, I present the results of three models of familial acculturation. All models contain the same covariates. Models of consonant acculturation (acceptance and rejection) make use of logistic regression techniques, while OLS techniques are used for the model of language dissonance[2]. Overall, analyses reveal strong and consistent effects of parental skills and resources as well as second generation background factors and family structure on multiple measures of familial acculturation.

Results for logistic and OLS regressions of familial language acculturation indicate that across all dependent variables, parental experience is statistically significant and in the expected direction in all models examined. By and large, immigrant children whose parents have more parental experience are more likely to learn English at the same rate as their parents (i.e. they are more likely to experience consonant acceptance of language acculturation) and less likely to reject the learning of English with their parents. Specifically, net of all other characteristics, a one year increase in parental experience increases the odds of consonant acceptance of language by 7.00% ($\exp^{.064} - 1$) and decreases the likelihood of familial consonant rejection of language by 13%. In addition a one unit increase in parental experience decreases the level of language dissonance by .040 units.

Other results pertaining to parental experience indicate that when children have a parent that migrated to the U.S. as a child, their odds of consonant acceptance are substantially higher than when they do not have such a parent. For example, in comparison to those who do not have

[1] Goodness-of-fit statistics comparing full and non-nested intermediate models are available upon request.

[2] Within the table, coefficients that are lightly bolded indicate significant effects that are of substantive or conceptual importance. However, there are some that are bolded, but not discussed specifically in the text.

a parent who was a child migrant, children who have such an advantage are 129% more likely to experience consonant acceptance of acculturation within their families. Similarly, when children have a parent who was a child migrant, their odds of familial language rejection are 80% lower than those who do not have such a privilege. In the same way, having such an experienced parent decreases the overall level of familial dissonance by 1.33 units.

Similar results surface when I consider the effects of parental income and education on the measures of language acculturation. The evidence suggests that parental human capital and income contribute to familial decisions to either accept or reject the learning of English. Increases in parental education and income also diminish the likelihood that parents and children will learn English at different rates. For example, a one-unit increase in parental income *increases* the odds that parents and children will learn English at the same rate by 44% and decreases the odds of consonant agreement to reject learning English by 26%. Moreover, there are strong curvilinear relationships between parental income and language dissonance. Results presented on Figure 2 reveal that as parental income increases, the level of familial dissonance increase for parents and children who are at the very bottom end of the income distribution. However, this positive relationship reverses when parents earn more than $1800 per year ($\exp^{7.5}$). When parents earn more than $1800 per year, families experience less language dissonance. Examination of the group means on Table 2 indicates that immigrant families from Laos and other parts of Southeast Asia are more likely to be at the bottom end of the income distribution, increasing the likelihood that they will experience familial language dissonance.

[Insert Figure 2 about Here]
[Insert Table 3 about Here]

Finally, analyses suggest some interesting findings with respect to the effects of parental knowledge of their children's companions. Specifically, analyses reveal that when children have parents that know their companions', their odds of experiencing consonant acceptance within

their families are 52% *higher* than children whose parents are unaware of their friends. Similarly, when children have parents who know their friends, they are 29% less likely to experience consonant rejection than their counterparts whose parents have no knowledge of their friends. This is a very important finding because it provides preliminary evidence that when parents are able to monitor what happens with their children outside the confines of the home, there is an increased probability that families will pick up English skills together. Put another way, when parents are able to monitor the company their children keep, immigrant families are able to accrue positive benefits with respect to family dynamics.

Background Factors: Nationality Status Effects

As mentioned above, goodness-of-fit statistics indicate that across all models, background factors significantly determine familial language acculturation among immigrant families. One of the strongest determinants of acculturation is nationality status. Examination of the coefficients on Table 3 indicates that in every model, several nationality status effects reach statistical significance. However, those effects simply mean that when all control variables are held constant at the grand mean (or the mean of the entire distribution), one or more groups are more or less likely than Cubans, the reference category, to experience some form of familial acculturation.

A more informative way to interpret the effects of nationality status would be to ascertain what would happen if all groups could be made to look like their own group and then compared to Cubans, who are the omitted category. In addition, it would also be informative to know what would happen if all groups had the characteristics of Cubans while being compared to someone who is Cuban. Any leftover group differences can either be attributed to a penalty for being from a specific country or to factors not accounted for. Finally, it would be interesting to ascertain

what would happen if all groups were made to look like Mexicans (i.e. had the profile of the average Mexican child) and then compared to the average Cuban.

Taken together, these counterfactual simulations would answer the following questions: If one could statistically make nationality status groups have their own characteristics (instead of just the mean of all variables) while being compared to the most advantaged or disadvantaged group in the sample, what would their acculturation outcomes look like? If one could magically give all nationality groups the socioeconomic and experience distribution of Cubans or Mexicans, how would their acculturation outcomes change and, importantly, would there still be an effect of nationality status left over[1]?

To accomplish these simulations, I use the coefficients on Table 3 to calculate either the predicted probability (when I have dichotomous dependent variable) of language acculturation or the predicted level of language dissonance (where the outcome is continuous). Second, in the calculation of the probability or level of acculturation for each nationality group, I vary the means that are used in the calculations of the acculturation outcomes for each group.

On Table 4, I display tabular results from the counterfactual simulations. In general, the ratios displayed on the table are the predicted acculturation outcomes of various immigrant groups compared to the probability or mean outcome of the "average" Cuban child in the survey. To obtain the ratios, I go through several steps. First, for Cubans, I compute the predicted probability of consonant acceptance and rejection, as well as the mean level of language acculturation. I accomplish this by calculating the outcomes and using the group mean for Cubans in the equation for the calculation. I interpret these adjusted probabilities and means as the predicted acculturation outcomes for a Cuban respondent who has their own average

[1] I thought quite a bit about contrasting groups with the grand mean instead of a specific immigrant group. However, I decided to use Cubans and Mexicans as comparisons for three reasons. First, given that the distribution of groups in the sample is unweighted, those that have greater sample sizes would contribute more weight to the grand mean. Second, the immigrants in the sample come from vastly different social background and vary widely with respect to their characteristics. Hence, it would be very unclear what and "average" immigrant would represent in the comparisons.

characteristics. In each column, this single mean or probability serves as the denominator for each group ratio and appears at the bottom of each panel on Table 4 (see Treiman & Lee 1996 for a similar type of analysis).

The numerator of each ratio varies across the columns. Within each group of simulations, the numerators are the acculturation outcomes (i.e. predicted probabilities or predicted means) for each group. For ratio 1, I calculate the numerator or acculturation outcome by imputing the group mean on all variables for all respondents instead of the grand mean. The interpretation of these numerators is the outcome for each group, *if that group member were to have their own characteristics instead of just average characteristics*. For ratio 2, I compute the outcomes by imputing the entire profile of Cubans for all variables in the equation. Put another way, I use the means for Cubans that appear on Table 2. I interpret these numerators to be the acculturation outcomes of each group *if that group had the entire profile of Cubans*. Finally, I compute the acculturation outcome for each group, if that group had the profile of Mexicans. It is most instructive to compare the resulting ratio from this simulation to the third simulation. This final ratio would represent the penalty attached to each group for obtaining the *disadvantaged* profile of Mexicans.

[Insert Table 4 about Here]

Simulation Results

To promote simplicity in the interpretation of the simulation results, I focus most of my attention on patterns of results across all three types of simulations. Results suggest a fairly straightforward pattern. I find that when immigrant families are given the profile that matches their respective group, acculturative disparities mirror the bivariate results presented on Table 2. Most groups are less likely than Cubans to experience consonant acceptance, more likely to experience consonant rejection, and have more language dissonance between parents and

children. However, if all groups could have the advantaged profile of Cubans, the vast majority of these disparities would be erased. This finding mirrors the multivariate results presented on Table 3. They suggest that most of the nationality status differences in familial acculturation are due to the advantages that Cubans have with respect to parental skills and resources.

Even though most groups would have the same familial acculturation outcomes as Cubans if they were made to look like Cubans, these advantages would be disappear if groups were made to look like Mexicans. Results suggest that obtaining the profile of Mexicans would reverse any gains groups made by having the profile of Cubans and in the case of consonant acceptance, would make them *worse* off than if they had their own characteristics (i.e. the ratios in column 3 would be worse than the ratios in column 2). This pattern is especially prominent when I examine the effects on consonant acculturation (i.e. consonant acceptance and consonant resistance). For example, if Laotion and the Hmong families had the profile of Cubans, their acculturative outcomes would be roughly similar to Cubans. However, if they had the profile of Mexicans, their probability of consonant rejection would jump substantially to *6 times* greater than Cubans. Thus, I find preliminary evidence that because Mexicans lack the resources that aid in positive forms of acculturation, they may indeed be at risk for negative assimilation outcomes later in life.

Of special importance are the results pertaining to West Indians, Africans, and Filipinos. Multivariate results presented on Table 3 indicate that relative to Cubans, these families are *more likely* to experience consonant acceptance, *less likely* to experience consonant rejection, and experience significantly *less* language dissonance in their homes. Their advantage relative to Cubans is not accounted for by factors related to parental skills and resources. Thus, there are special benefits that accrue to West Indians, Africans, and Filipinos with respect to language acculturation that are not accounted for in the present analyses.

Together, the results from the simulations support the more general findings reported on Table 3. Indeed, many of the acculturative disadvantages families have relative Cuban families primarily results from the fact that Cubans possess significantly more resources to aid in positive family dynamics. I find that if many of the groups under study had the advantaged profile of Cubans, these disadvantages would be substantially reduced, if not eliminated.

Interaction Effects

In an attempt to determine if the relationships between background factors, family structure, parental control, and cohesion depend on parental modes of incorporation, experience, and SES, I fit multiple interaction effects. These results (not shown here) reveal that while a few interaction terms reach statistical significance, none of these non-additive models provide significantly better fits than the simpler models displayed on Table 4. That is, while a few interaction terms are statistically significant, none of these interaction effects explain acculturation outcomes more effectively than the simpler models I described earlier. The lack of a significant pattern of interaction effects is particularly important because it suggest that the strong effects of parental skills and resources do not depend on the ascribed characteristics (i.e. sex, race, and nationality status) of immigrant children. Put another way, the effects of ascribed characteristics are not made stronger or weaker by different levels of parental skills and resources. The effects of parental resources are uniform across ascribed characteristics.

Discussion

The research questions in this paper were motivated by the two deficiencies in the current literature. First, past empirical work has not examined the theoretical possibility that acculturation is a familial process. This theoretical option is made quite clearly by Portes & Rumbaut (1996) and is supported by the developmental psychology literature (see Steinberg 1990). However, it is not investigated in a rigorous empirical fashion in the literature. Therefore,

although generational acculturation may not be new to the literature, I add to past work by providing specific measures and empirical analyses of the concept.

Second, I investigate the possibility that generational acculturation can occur along multiple dimensions. Portes & Rumbaut (2001) correctly point out that language is an important dimension of acculturation. However, I extend their ideas to include the possibility that language acculturation can take on multiple forms. For example, the consonant acculturation that Portes & Rumbaut (2001) speak of can take on two forms. It is possible that together, parents and children can learn English at the same rate (i.e. they can experience consonant acceptance of English) or they can both choose not to learn English (i.e. they can experience consonant rejection of English). Finally, I consider the possibility that the actual amount or level of dissonance between parents and children can be directly measured.

Both of the aforementioned gaps in the literature are partially filled by analyses reported above. First, I find that parental experience in the United States, as well as parental income and human capital combine to affect all types and dimensions of acculturation. Simply, the likelihood that immigrant families will learn English together increases when parents have more socioeconomic resources and more experience in the United States on which to draw. Similarly, immigrant children whose parents have generous amounts of these resources are less likely to refrain from learning English. Moreover, they also experience less English language dissonance with their parents.

The results pertaining to the effects of parental resources are particularly difficult to reconcile with those reported by Portes & Rumbaut (2001) because their analyses were focused on second generation bilingualism, conceptualizing this concept as representative of acculturation. That is, they argue that fluent bilingualism represents an effort to retain the host language and learn English, which they conceptualize as a type acculturation. Importantly, they

measure acculturation using only information from children's responses. On the other hand, I focus on acculturation as a familial process, measuring acculturation with parent and child information. Moreover, I use parental information to construct my measures of SES, while they use child information[1]. Together, these two facts make comparison of results difficult. Nevertheless, I argue that my method of constructing relevant determinants of acculturation, my focus on acculturation as a familial process, and my usage of multiple dimensions of acculturation add a valuable and arguably more accurate lens for viewing the true relationship between parental SES and acculturation than was previously available.

The results pertaining to the effects of parental resources are important for theoretical reasons as well. As stated previously, straight-line assimilation models posit that the more time parents spend in the U.S. and the more parental resources they have, the more likely their children are to acculturate. Results reported above provide some support for that expectation. Parental resources increased the likelihood of consonant acceptance, and decreased the likelihood of consonant rejection and overall dissonance. Importantly, the majority of these analyses suggest that the effects of parental resources are uniform across all groups. Thus, most immigrant families experience a similar benefit from having more parental resources at their disposal, a result that is in line with the expectations of straight-line assimilation models.

In addition to the results above, I find that when parents know their children's companions, families are more likely to experience consonant acceptance of English and less likely to experience consonant rejection. Again, this finding is important because it suggests that in addition to experience, income, and human capital, if parents are able to know something about their children's companions, there is an added acculturative benefit for immigrant families.

[1] I conduct preliminary analyses to determine the relative fit of models containing parental SES measures as predictors versus measures with child information. I find that models with parental SES information provide significantly better fit than models containing measures used by Alejandro Portes and colleagues.

Viewed in another context, this finding provides some evidence that knowledge of what is going on in their children's lives is conducive for positive types of family dynamics in immigrant families. Parents and children will be more likely to accept language acculturation together and less likely to reject language acculturation together. This may happen because when parents know their children's companions, they are less likely to insulate themselves in their homes and more likely to learn more about their surroundings. More familiarity with younger people may encourage parents to learn English so that they can communicate with their children's peers. This is likely to spur them to learn English skills faster, joining their children in their ability to understand the language.

While I offer my best insight concerning the source of this finding, I do not in any way claim that my explanation is the best one. I firmly believe that future work can provide a more firm explanation concerning these effects. Thus, I am sure that if future scholars conceptualize acculturation in the way that I have and pay more strict attention to ascertaining the source of this finding, more firm answers surely will follow.

Much of the discussion above was concerned with ascertaining which sets of variables are consistent determinants of multiple types of acculturation. As explained above, I find that parental SES and experience are the most consistent determinants of multiple types of acculturation. Additionally, the effects were in the theoretically expected direction. Results pertaining to nationality status effects indicated that when immigrant groups are given the advantaged profile of Cubans, their acculturative disadvantages become advantages relative to average Cubans. Importantly, when I allow these groups to have the socioeconomic and experience profile of Cubans, a substantial portion of their acculturative disadvantages relative are accounted for, indicating that much of the penalty in acculturation outcomes that they immigrants face is due to their parents' lack of parental resources.

Of special import are the results pertaining to West Indians, Africans, and Filipinos. Findings suggest even after accounting for relevant factors, they are still better off than their Cuban counterparts with respect to language acculturation. These may seem anomalous, but they with past work. For example, Espiritu (2001) which shows that Filipino families go to special lengths to make sure that they only utilize the acculturative tools that will help them get ahead. Importantly, parents and children often agree with respect to how to acculturate. Similarly, Waters (2001) shows that many West Indian families actively work to make sure that they speak like Americans, even though their cultural practices are still distinctively West Indian. Thus, the findings here suggest that because Filipinos and West Indians actively work to make sure that the pick up the norms, values, and language abilities that make them more Americans, their efforts place them ahead of their Cuban counterparts with respect to language acculturation. What remains to be seen is whether these acculturative advantages will help Filipinos, West Indians, and Africans get ahead in the socioeconomic hierarchy.

To sum up then, results present above provide three additions to the literature. First, immigrant familial acculturation is primarily determined by parental resources (i.e. parental SES and experiences in the U.S.) and nationality status. These factors determine multiple types of acculturation. Second, by and large, the effects of parental resources are uniform across many kinds of ascribed characteristics, such group status. Third, although some immigrant groups do not have acculturation outcomes that may be conducive to later assimilation, these disadvantages can be partially explained by the fact that these families lack the parental resources that aid healthy dynamics within families. Thus, if parents in these families could somehow attain more of these resources, that improvement could go a long way to improving family dynamics within the home and to improving well-being outcomes later in life.

Directions for Future Research

While I am reasonably confident that the results presented above make valuable contributions to the existing literature, I also believe that many deficiencies in the analyses and the data prevent me from making firmer conclusions. First, most of the measures for parental resources were not measured at Time 1. This essentially means that I am unable to establish clear temporal ordering, which complicates my ability to make causal conclusions. This is most unfortunate, given the empirical and theoretical importance of these variables as determinants of familial acculturation. Scholars who take up this line of work should do everything possible to ensure that SES is measured at the time of immigration, or at least before acculturation occurs.

Second, future work should make special efforts to measure cultural acculturation. While there is much disagreement in the literature concerning the definition of culture, I believe that theorists agree that culture involves some adoption of norms, values and practices. Therefore, if appropriate measures of the extent to which immigrant parents and children either adopt host culture norms and values, or hold on to their native norms and values, this would add valuable insight to the results pertaining to language acculturation.

Third, I make a strong case that generational acculturation should be considered in the literature. That is, the acculturative process is not necessarily individual, but familial. If this is indeed a possibility, then future work ought to consider how the relationships between all members of the family contribute to this process. Thus, it would be very interesting to consider interactions between the number of siblings and other important covariates contribute to the familial acculturative process. I found no such interaction effects in analyses reported here. However, since these data are regional, these results may have been muted. Future work could utilize other sources of data to ascertain whether such relationships exist in a wider context.

Finally, analysts interested in this work ought to use multiple measures of acculturation to determine how these factors, conceptualized and measured as a familial process, affect the well-

being of immigrant children. At the heart of segmented assimilation theory is the expectation that interactions between immigrant social context and acculturation types produce different types of assimilation outcomes. Determining whether this is indeed the case may help shed light on whether or not the decisions that immigrant families make concerning the English language and American culture affect the future destinies of children.

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Technical Appendix

Model Specifications

Because two of the three dependent variables are dichotomous, I make use of binary logistic regression to model the effects of the independent variables. Moreover, each child in the sample is nested within a particular school. Hence, I assume that children are clustered within schools. For a binary response model, I use the following model for π_{ij} and explanatory variables X_{ij} and Y_{ij}. The formal model is written as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} Y &= \pi_{ij} \\ \pi &\sim Binomial(n_{ij}, \mu) \\ \pi_{ij} &= \log istic(\alpha + \beta_1 X_{ij} + \beta_2 Y_{ij} + \beta_3 X_{ij} Y_{ij} + u_{oj}) \end{aligned} \qquad \text{Eq. (1)}$$

The equation simply states that the log odds (logit) of the dependent variable is modeled as a function of a vector of individual-level independent variables X_{ij} and Y_{ij}, and as interaction terms $X_{ij}Y_{ij}$. Moreover, the subscripts indicate that child i is nested or clustered within school j.

When I model the amount of language dissonance, I make use of an Ordinary Least Square Regression (OLS) model. For a continuous response model Y with an explanatory variable x, the formal model is written as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} Y &= Y_{ij} \\ Y_{ij} &= \alpha + \beta_1 X_{ij} + \beta_2 Y_{ij} + \beta_3 X_{ij} Y_{ij} + e_{ij} \end{aligned} \qquad \text{Eq. (2)}$$

This equation states that the amount of language dissonance Y_{ij} can be modeled as a function of a vector of individual-level independent variables X_{ij} and Y_{ij}, as well as interaction terms $X_{ij}Y_{ij}$ as well as an error term e_{ij}. Again, the subscripts indicate that child i is nested or clustered within school j.

To account for the clustering of children within schools, I use robust standard errors in all models. These standard error corrections simply adjust the estimated standard errors to account for the fact that children in any one school are more alike than children who are in another school.

Scale Construction Techniques

Several of the independent variables used in the analyses are composite scales, constructed from multiple single-item indicators. In all, I create four multiple-item scales through the use of exploratory factor analyses. I use this technique to determine which single-item indicators had high factor loadings, or were correlated along one or more conceptual dimensions. Before performing the factor analyses, I make sure that all items for each concept are coded in a conceptually similar direction. Below, I outline the candidate items that comprised each independent variable concept.

Level of Neighborhood Input

The level of neighborhood impact is a variable that is meant to measure how much influence the community in which the parent currently lives has on the children within its borders. Candidate items for this concept, asked of parents at Time 2 of the survey, include the following:

Do you think the people your neighborhood would intervene (do something) in the following situations?

1. If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was being beaten?
2. If someone were trying to sell drugs to one of your children in plain sight?
3. If your kids were getting into trouble?

Each of the candidate items is scored on a 4-point likert scale, with 1 representing *very unlikely* and 4 representing *very likely*. One dominant factor emerges, with an accompanying Chronbach's alpha of .906.

General Social Cohesion

The level of social cohesion in the neighborhood of current parental residence is a concept that measures the extent to which parents and neighbors can monitor and control what their children do. Candidate items for this concept include the following:

The following statements are about the people who live in your neighborhood. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. There are a lot of adults around that my children can look up to.
2. My neighbors have similar views about how to raise children.
3. I can count on people in the neighborhood to let me know about opportunities for my kids.

Each of these candidate items is scored on a 5-point likert scale, with 1 representing *strongly disagree*, and 5 representing *strongly agree*. As in the previous case, a single dominant factor emerges, with a corresponding alpha of .793.

Parental TV/Educational Control

Finally, the level of parental control of television viewing and education is a more specific type of social cohesion that takes place within families, not neighborhoods. Again, these two variables measure the amount of parental control over the television viewing habits and education of their children. Candidate items are as follows:

Are there family rules about any of the following activities?

1. What program he/she may watch?
2. How early or late he/she may watch television?
3. How many hours he/she may watch television overall?

Are there family rules for your child about any of the following activities?

1. Maintaining a certain grade point average?
2. Doing homework?
3. Doing household chores?

Each of the candidate items is dichotomous, with 0 representing *no*, and 1 representing *yes*. After several rounds of analyses, two dominant factors emerge. Because of this, I decide form two separate scales. The firs, I conceptualize as the level of parental control over TV viewing, and the second, the level of parental control over education. The corresponding alpha coefficients are .863 and .60 respectively. Finally, on all of the scales included in the analyses, higher values represent more neighborhood input, social cohesion, and parental control.

Potential Analytical Problems

Even though I believe that the analyses put forth in this paper are interesting and innovative, they are not immune to conceptual problems endemic in the kinds of relationships within my models. For example, while parental SES, especially income, may affect acculturation patterns of parents and children, it is certainly possible that familial acculturation can affect the potential earning power of parents. That is, the amount of family disagreement over culture and language can affect the kinds of decisions parents make about their work hours. This can lead to differences in income. In the same way, while social cohesion can affect acculturation, the types of family dynamics that occur in the home can also affect how parents interact with their neighbors. Hence, parental SES and community resources may be endogenous with respect to acculturation. I believe that endogeneity naturally results from the kinds of variables that I am using in my conceptual model. In addition, the endogeneity problems just mentioned are magnified by the lack of clear temporal ordering between parental SES and acculturation and between social cohesion and acculturation. Nevertheless, I believe that the use of these variables and their method of construction may still provide preliminary, informative, and suggesting findings that were not previously known in the literature.

While biases in the parameter estimates may result from endogeneity, it is also possible that unmeasured factors may contribute to acculturation processes within families. On of the most widely used methods of accounting for the effects of unmeasured variation are fixed effects models. Allison (2005) suggests that when data contain two or more time points on the dependent variables and two or more time points on critical independent variables, then fixed effects models can be used to "sweep out" the unmeasured factors that contribute to acculturation, or any dependent variable. While I have measures for familial acculturation at two time points, many of the most important independent variables such as parental resources are only measured at Time 2. Thus, I cannot make use of these methods. However, as in the above case, I argue that while the effects of unmeasured factors may be non-trivial, the potential results can still be considered suggestive of larger associations in the immigrant population at large.

Table 1. Means and Proportions. Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, Waves I & II (N = 2,283)

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean or Proportion	Standard Deviation
Dependent Variables[**]				
Consonant Acceptance of English	0	1	.249	---
Consonant Rejection of English	0	1	.185	---
Amount of English Language Dissonance	0	12	3.87	3.31
Background Factors & Family Structure[*]				
Laos/Hmong	0	1	.075	---
Cubans	0	1	.147	---
Vietnamese	0	1	.104	---
Mexicans	0	1	.146	---
Nicaraguans	0	1	.079	---
Other Latinos/as	0	1	.105	---
Black West Indians/Africans	0	1	.107	---
Asians[1]	0	1	.036	---
Filipinos	0	1	.159	---
Other Southeast Asians[2]	0	1	.036	---
Non-Whites	0	1	.887	---
Males	0	1	.501	---
Intact Family	0	1	.716	---
Number of Siblings	0	8	1.94	1.53
Parental Skills & Resources				
Education[**]	0	20	12.53	3.37
Income (logged) [**]	4.60	12.61	10.17	.866
Income (dollars)	100	300000	35,746.98	31,013.98
Occupational Prestige Rating[**]	13	78	41.06	12.64
Years of U.S. Experience[**]	1	51	18.41	8.15
Child Migrant[**]	0	1	.059	---
At Least 1 Parent Native Born[*]	0	1	.093	---
Modes of Incorporation[**]				
Economic Assistance at Arrival in U.S.	0	1	.283	---
Native Supervisor or Coworker at Arrival in U.S.	0	1	.240	---
Number of Family & Friends at Immigration	0	170	41.86	48.44
Parental Control & Social Cohesion[**]				
Neighborhood Input	3	12	8.76	2.62
Social Cohesion	3	15	10.25	2.49
Know Kid's Parents	0	1	.764	---
Level of TV Viewing Control	0	3	1.88	1.27
Level of Educational Control	0	3	2.66	.692

Note: All variables measured at Time 1 from child questionnaire, except where noted.
*Measured at Time 1, child questionnaire
** Measured at Time 2, parental questionnaire.

[1] Includes children from mainland China, Taiwan, and Japan.
[2] Includes children from Burma, Cambodia, and Malaysia.

Table 3. Effect Parameters for Logistic and OLS Models Predicting Familial Language Acculturation. Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, Waves I & II (N = 2,283)

Variables	Consonant Acceptance		Consonant Rejection		Language Dissonance	
	Coeff.	R.S.E	Coeff.	R.S.E	Coeff.	R.S.E
Background Factors & Family Structure						
Laos/Hmong[1]	-.659	.488	.760	.395	-.381	.390
Asia[2]	-.868*	.378	.346	.474	.264	.289
Vietnam	-1.63**	.490	-.005	.394	-1.03**	.364
Mexico	-.771**	.261	.327	.399	-.123	.243
Nicaragua	-.637**	.234	.199	.292	.640	.329
Other Latino/a	-.294	.230	.033	.391	.034	.176
W.I./African	1.44**	.300	-1.04*	.499	-1.63**	.318
Filipino	.683**	.199	-2.77**	.725	-1.63**	.208
Other Southeast Asian[3]	-1.01	.806	.137	.457	.316	.507
Race[4]	.337*	.157	-.073	.332	.110	.213
Sex[5]	-.323**	.107	.405**	.134	-.042	.087
Intact Family	-.273	.161	-.125	.144	.346*	.145
Number of Sibs	-.089**	.038	.134**	.045	.044	.030
Modes of Incorporation						
Economic Assist.	-.273	.166	.172	.217	.443*	.198
Supervisor/Coworker	-.061	.179	.238	.194	.165	.149
Family/Friends	.0007	.001	.001	.002	-.004	.001
Parental Skills & Resources						
Education	.266**	.038	-.247**	.035	-.336**	.023
Logged Income	.365**	.113	-.296**	.082	1.32**	.456
Logged Income Sq	---		---		-.095**	.026
Occ. Prestige	.009	.008	-.011	.006	-.020**	.007
Experience	.064**	.008	-.145**	.023	-.040**	.010
Child Migrant	.827**	.223	-1.61**	.496	-1.33**	.239
1 N.B. Parent	.567	.293	-1.13**	.307	-.495*	.209
Community Involvement & Parental Control/Cohesion						
Neigh. Input	-.038	.033	-.010	.019	.053	.030
Social Cohesion	.047	.037	.015	.040	.042	.032
Know Children's Friends	.419**	.178	-.347*	.156	-.021	.155
TV Control	.082	.045	.036	.059	-.076	.034
Ed. Control	-.125*	.060	.118	.101	.009	.044
Intercept	-10.45**	1.17	6.83**	.883	5.63**	2.11
Mexicans as Reference						
Laos/Hmong	.111	.518	.432	.338	-.257	.376
Asia	-.096	.380	.019	.449	.388	.349
Vietnam	-.866	.569	-.332	.266	-.915**	.325
Nicaragua	.134	.305	.127	.384	.764**	.275
Other Latino/a	.476	.291	-.293	.391	.158	.275
W.I./African	2.21**	.377	-1.36**	.401	-1.50**	.367
Filipino	1.45**	.229	-3.10**	.668	-1.51**	.234
Other Southeast Asian	-.243	.817	.189	.332	.440	.448
R-Square	---		---		.401	
Sample Size	2,283		2,283		2,283	

* p < .05
** p < .01

[1] Reference is Cubans
[2] Includes children from mainland China, Taiwan, and Japan.
[3] Includes children from Burma, Cambodia, and Malaysia.
[4] Nonwhites = 1; reference is whites
[5] Males = 1

Table 4. Counterfactual Simulation Ratios for Nationality Status Groups. Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, Waves I & II (N =2, 283)

Groups	Simulation I		Simulation III		Simulation IV	
	Probability or Mean	Ratio I[1]	Probability or Mean	Ratio III[2]	Probability or Mean	Ratio IV[3]
Laos/Hmong	.016	.055	.179	.604	.050	.170
Asia*	.101	.342	.150	.507	.041	.140
Vietnam**	.009	.030	.076	.257	.020	.067
Mexico**	.045	.153	.163	.550	---	---
Nicaragua**	.091	.308	.182	.615	.052	.174
Other Latino/a	.211	.711	.239	.806	.071	.240
W.I./Africa**	.486	1.640	.640	2.159	.303	1.021
Filipino**	.469	1.582	.455	1.534	.169	.570
Other Southeast Asia	.008	.025	.074	.248	.019	.064
Cuban Probability	**.296**		**.296**		**.296**	
Laos/Hmong	.780	17.461	.091	2.035	.356	7.963
Asia	.160	3.577	.062	1.388	.267	5.985
Vietnam	.529	11.850	.044	.995	.204	4.575
Mexico	.263	5.902	.061	1.363	---	---
Nicaragua	.292	6.535	.054	1.208	.239	5.365
Other Latino/a	.081	1.804	.045	1.003	.206	4.604
W.I./Africa**	.058	1.303	.016	.364	.084	1.872
Filipino**	.005	.122	.003	.065	.016	.356
Other Southeast Asia	.798	17.871	.051	1.139	.228	5.114
Cuban Probability	**.045**		**.045**		**.045**	
Laos/Hmong	5.931	1.695	3.118	.891	4.776	1.365
Asia**	4.114	1.176	3.763	1.075	5.421	1.550
Vietnam**	4.617	1.320	2.469	.706	4.127	1.180
Mexico	5.034	1.439	3.376	.965	5.034	1.439
Nicaragua	4.778	1.366	4.139	1.183	5.797	1.657
Other Latino/a	3.695	1.056	3.533	1.010	5.191	1.484
W.I./Africa**	2.625	.750	1.869	.534	3.527	1.008
Filipino**	1.586	.453	1.869	.534	3.527	1.008
Other Southeast Asia	7.273	2.079	3.815	1.090	5.473	1.564
Cuban Mean	**3.498**		**3.498**		**3.498**	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

[1] Ratio compares nationality status group member with group characteristics to a Cuban respondent with Cuban characteristics.
[2] Ratio compares nationality status group member with Cuban characteristics to a Cuban respondent with Cuban characteristics.
[3] Ratio compares nationality status group member with Mexican characteristics to a Cuban respondent with Cuban characteristics.

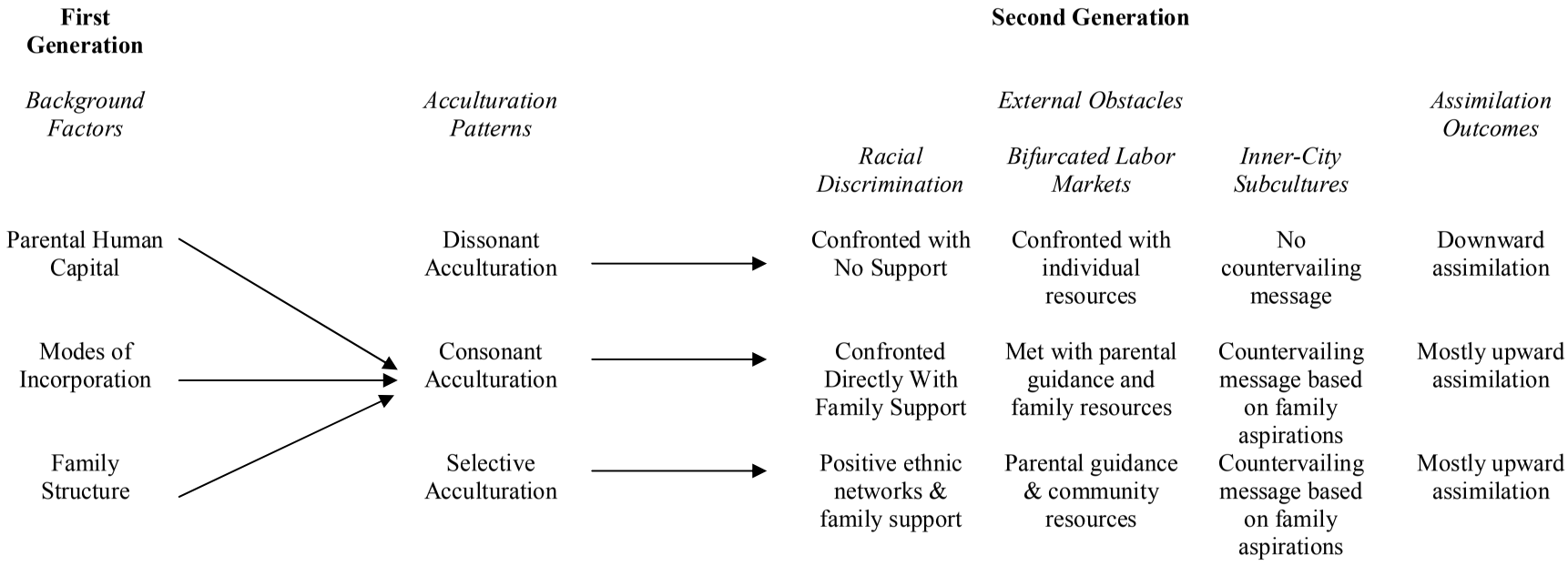
Table 2. Means and Proportions by Nationality Status. Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey, Waves I & II (N = 2,283)

Variables	Laos	Philippines	Vietnam	Mexico	Cuba	Nicaragua	Other Latino	Black W.I./Africa	Asian[24]	Other SE Asian[25]
Dependent Variables										
Consonant Acceptance	.034	.490	.020	.095	.353	.131	.265	.498	.214	.012
Consonant Rejection	.554	.005	.380	.254	.065	.164	.070	.053	.202	.614
Language Dissonance	5.91	1.52	4.58	5.00	3.48	4.72	3.68	2.61	4.07	7.24
Background Factors & Family Structure										
Non-whites	1.00	.991	1.00	.985	.578	.802	.763	.955	.988	.987
Males	.485	.506	.539	.494	.617	.461	.485	.383	.523	.409
Intact Family	.774	.843	.748	.706	.718	.659	.692	.518	.750	.710
Number of Siblings	3.00	1.72	2.85	2.22	1.18	1.74	1.30	1.90	1.57	2.75
Parental Skills/Resources										
Education	9.27	14.74	10.89	10.49	13.71	14.30	13.95	13.14	12.89	7.67
Income (logged)	10.07	10.68	9.96	9.77	10.46	10.13	10.28	9.93	10.55	9.43
Income (dollars)	29139.71	49115.48	26321.28	22695.81	48420.36	33442.13	37332.02	31798.51	52061.62	14528.85
Prestige	41.17	44.32	35.58	32.64	45.31	42.37	45.04	41.98	46.27	36.58
Years of U.S. Experience	13.06	19.20	13.45	20.66	24.64	12.60	20.23	18.63	18.66	12.65
Child Migrant	0.00	.016	0.00	.116	.189	.005	.053	.032	.047	0.00
I N.B. Parent	0.00	.145	.016	.143	.068	.010	.145	.118	.238	0.00
Modes of Incorporation										
Economic Assistance	.942	.052	.828	.053	.341	.027	.024	.081	.261	.963
Ethnic Supervisor/Coworker	.057	.282	.133	.413	.448	.181	.112	.134	.178	.072
Family/Friends	42.08	82.71	62.38	68.38	13.19	16.51	6.00	12.33	36.21	64.97
Parental Control/Cohesion										
Neighborhood Input	8.62	9.75	8.41	8.46	9.33	8.53	9.00	9.27	7.61	4.18
Social Cohesion	10.19	10.94	8.44	9.68	10.92	10.18	10.40	10.11	10.17	12.28
Know Kids' Playmates	.479	.816	.418	.760	.931	.868	.887	.836	.690	.253
TV Viewing Control	1.64	1.46	2.26	1.41	1.82	1.73	2.33	2.45	1.69	2.86
Educational Control	2.31	2.55	2.41	2.66	2.72	2.81	2.89	2.93	2.45	2.72
Sample Sizes	173	365	239	334	337	182	241	245	84	83

[24] Includes children from mainland China, Taiwan, and Japan.

[25] Includes children from Burma, Cambodia, and Malaysia.

Figure 1. The Process of Segmented Assimilation: A Model



Adapted from Portes & Rumbaut (2001)

Figure 2
Level of Language Dissonance
By Logged Income