The Educational Legacy of Unauthorized Migration: Comparisons Across U.S.-Immigrant Groups in How Parents' Status Affects Their Offspring[1]

Frank D. Bean
University of California, Irvine

Mark A. Leach
Pennsylvania State University, Irvine

Susan K. Brown
University of California, Irvine

James D. Bachmeier
Pennsylvania State University

John R. Hipp
University of California, Irvine

This research compares several national-origin groups in terms of how parents' entry, legalization and naturalization (*i.e.*, membership) statuses relate to their children's educational attainment. In the case of Asian groups, the members of which predominantly come to the United States as permanent legal migrants, we hypothesize (1) that

father's and mother's statuses will be relatively homogenous and few in number and (2) that these will exert minimal *net* effects on second-generation attainment. For Mexicans, many of whom initially come as temporary unauthorized migrants, we hypothesize (1) that parental status combinations will be heterogeneous and greater in number and (2) that marginal membership statuses will exert negative *net* effects on education in the second generation. To assess these ideas, we analyze unique intergenerational data from Los Angeles on the young adult members of second-generation national-origin groups and their parents. The findings show that Asian immigrant groups almost universally exhibit similar father–mother migration statuses and high educational attainment among children. By contrast, Mexicans manifest more numerous discrepant father–mother combinations, with those in which the mother remains unauthorized carrying negative implications for children's schooling. The paper discusses the theoretical and policy implications of the delays in incorporation that result from Mexican Americans needing extra time and resources compared to the members of other groups to overcome their handicap of marginal *membership* status (*i.e.*, being more likely to enter and remain unauthorized).

Over the past two decades the question of immigrant-group integration in post-industrial countries has become perhaps *the* bedrock issue in public policy debates about immigration (Fix, 2007; Caldwell, 2009; Higley and Nieuwenhuysen, 2009). Because the integration of the children of immigrants may be pivotal for immigrant-group incorporation, numerous large-scale research efforts have emerged in both Europe and the United States to assess how the members of the second generation are faring in their new countries of residence (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Bean, Brown, and Rumbaut, 2006; Crul and Heering, 2008; Kasinitz *et al.*, 2008). While much of this research is still under way, the findings so far suggest that many but not all second-generation groups are showing significant integration on key aspects of incorporation. However, the degree of integration varies not only across countries and urban locales (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; van Tubergen, Maas, and Flap, 2004; Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi, 2008; Liebig and Widmaier, 2009; Crul and Schneider, 2010; Koopmans, 2010), but also across groups within countries (Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi, 2008; Kasinitz *et al.*, 2008; Liebig and Widmaier, 2009). In the United States, the seemingly most problematic example involves Mexicans, not only because this group is so much larger than any other, but also because so many Mexicans begin their U.S. experience as unauthorized migrants

(Bean and Stevens, 2003; Passel and Cohn, 2010) and persist in showing lower levels of education than majority whites (Telles and Ortiz, 2008).

Recent incorporation research has concentrated on the second generation for two reasons. The first is that the second generation (by which we mean the native-born children of immigrants) spends its entire life in the destination country. Its experience thus clearly represents a foundational and fundamentally constitutive part of the incorporation process. The second reason is more practical. In both Europe and the United States, many immigrant groups are such recent arrivals that the third generation is too young to study. Assessments of immigrant advancement perforce must focus on the second generation, and often on the adolescent or young adult members of the group. To the extent that immigrant-group incorporation processes often take more than two generations to unfold, the overall results of incorporation can only partially be gauged without studying the third and later generations, although, of course, research can and does compare the experiences of the second with the first generation (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Crul and Heering, 2008; Kasinitz et al., 2008).

While studying groups that have largely accumulated only two generations of U.S. experience has proved enormously fruitful (and indeed necessary) for many immigrant groups, this approach is particularly limiting in the case of the Mexican American population. Not only have Mexicans been migrating for more than a century (Bean and Tienda, 1987; Telles and Ortiz, 2008), thus producing multiple generations of American descendants, several distinctive features of the Mexican experience slow down many aspects of the group's incorporation (Bean and Stevens, 2003). This has led scholars recently to formulate an alternative perspective to the two major and conventionally emphasized theoretical perspectives about incorporation, those of *classical assimilation* [*e.g.*, *see* Alba and Nee (2003) new assimilation theory] and *segmented assimilation* [*e.g.*, *see* Portes and Zhou (1993) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) formulations]. The alternative hypothesis has been called *delayed incorporation* (Bean and Stevens, 2003; Brown and Bean, 2006; Brown, 2007). It argues that when immigrant groups contain substantial numbers of persons whose entry statuses are unauthorized and who often expect their stays in the destination country to be temporary, as is the case among many Mexicans (Van Hook and Bean, 2009), incorporation processes will take considerably longer than for less marginal groups. A major reason for this is that attaining legal permanent residency (LPR) and naturalization, important milestones in achieving societal membership and reducing

marginality, are difficult and costly and may take years to complete. These kinds of delays are not to be confused with slowdowns deriving from *blocked* assimilation (Brown and Bean, 2006). The latter is often conceptualized as resulting from factors like ethnoracial discrimination that hamper advancement among most if not all of the members of the immigrant group, rather than seen as involving aspects of immigrant membership status that are potentially subject to change among first-generation entrants.

The difference in perspective between delayed and other kinds of incorporation is more than semantic because the former implies that what often appears as an overall lower level of incorporation among Mexicans of any generation may not result mainly from factors affecting the entire group. Rather it may derive from transitional membership statuses among the first-generation members of the group that curtail the pace not only of their own incorporation, but also through legacy effects the attainment of later-generation group members as well. Entry, legalization and naturalization are such factors. Numerous studies have found that unauthorized Mexican migrants themselves fare less well in the labor market than legal migrants (Massey, 1987; Massey, Durand, and Malone, 2002). However, no studies to our knowledge have adequately documented that marginal parental-entry statuses may carry negative implications for the socioeconomic attainment of their children. That is, research has not yet confirmed whether unauthorized status exerts an *independent* effect on children's attainment above and beyond the fact that parental entrants with marginal status may differ systematically from those with more regular statuses in ways that account for their children's differences in outcomes. Nor has research documented with representative data that parental *combinations* of such statuses matter, nor has it shown how Mexicans differ from other immigrant groups owing to such differences in combinations. This study seeks to shed light on these issues, focusing on Mexican immigrants viewed in comparison to certain Asian immigrant groups. We discuss further at the end of the paper the implications of the findings for theoretical perspectives on immigrant group incorporation.

THEORIES OF INCORPORATION

Classic and Segmented Assimilation Perspectives

By immigrant incorporation we mean broadly the accumulation, by dint of actions based on deliberate intent, of resources of various kinds among

newcomers and their descendants. Classic immigrant assimilation ideas (which we loosely term theory) were formulated by Warner and Srole (1945), Park (1930), Dahl (1961), Gordon (1964) and, most recently, Alba and Nee (2003). All of these tend to assume that various kinds of incorporation – like economic, political, spatial and sociocultural – occur roughly together with newcomers becoming more like average host-society natives over time.[2] The main driver of change is exposure, a factor that is assumed automatically to lead to increased incorporation over time, at least to a considerable degree (Waldinger, 2007). This is why it is often assumed that the various dimensions of incorporation can be studied one-at-a-time, although it is acknowledged that different aspects may be acquired in "fits and starts" (Gans, 1999). A major recent variant of the perspective underscores an additional role played by institutions, like the judiciary or government agencies or community immigrant support organizations, in facilitating the process (Alba and Nee, 2003; Bloemraad, 2006).

Such supplemental sources of influence were anticipated by Portes and his colleagues (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, 2006), who had earlier noted the ways that structural and cultural factors (which they characterize as contexts of reception) affect the process in general, and economic incorporation in particular. Thus, Alba and Nee (2003) specify amendments to classic assimilation theory which emphasize that its processes are institutionally embedded within various social structural and cultural contexts that may facilitate and impede its occurrence, just as Portes (1995) notes that similar factors may undermine the trust required for material gain to be realized through economic (i.e., market place) transactions. Segmented assimilation scholars have also argued that structural impediments, or cultural orientations that block or enhance incorporation, may generate alternative modes of incorporation (Portes and Zhou, 1993). For example, segmented assimilation perspectives predict that downward assimilation may occur among the especially disadvantaged children of certain immigrant groups. They also suggest that "selective acculturation" (in which immigrants selectively embrace certain American values like achievement/success, but not others like excessive

---

[2]To be sure, such theories often make allowance for the possibility that natives may also change by moving in the direction of immigrants, but it nonetheless remains difficult for the concept of assimilation to shake the connotation that it refers to a uni-directional process.

consumption) may emerge among more highly educated immigrant parents seeking to optimize their children's education and success (Zhou and Bankston, 1998; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Segmented assimilation ideas thus underscore that incorporation may take multiple forms.

Transitional Migrants and Multiple Pathways to Incorporation

In this paper, we focus on immigrant entry and subsequent legalization and naturalization as factors with incorporation implications in the second generation. Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009) term such factors ''early political incorporation'' in that they reflect immigrants' first membership experiences with the host society. We suggest that the degree to which these are reached via multiple pathways hinges on reasons for migration, which differ substantially between predominantly circular versus mainly permanent migrants, at least in the case of the United States (Portes and Bach, 1985; Cornelius, 1992; Massey, Durand, and Malone, 2002). The migration literature notes how temporary circular migrants often change their orientations over time, gradually becoming permanent migrants (Roberts 1995). Moreover, this process may occur over a period of many years (Roberts, Frank, and Lozano-Ascencio, 1999; Menjívar, 2006), as many migrants move from what Chávez (1988) conceptualizes as *sojourner* status to *settler* status, with this shift bringing a change in frame of reference away from the society of origin toward the society of destination. In the context of the United States, Mexican immigrants disproportionately enter as sojourners who are poor unskilled labor migrants (especially males), who at least initially migrate seeking temporary employment, sometimes to supplement family incomes at origin (Massey *et al.*, 1987; Bean and Stevens, 2003; Van Hook and Bean, 2009). Asian immigrants, by contrast, are mostly settler migrants and consist of much more highly educated entrants, who often migrate because greater opportunities for high-skilled employment exist at destination than are available in their home countries (Skeldon, 1992; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006).[3]

Such differences imply that immigrants may adopt different strategies with respect to early political incorporation. Because those involved in temporary unauthorized migration (like most Mexicans) are more marginal than permanent migrants, and because multiple opportunities are

[3]In other contexts (Australia, for example), sojourners and settlers may often have characteristics that imply different connotations than the ones used here.

available to them to legalize under the family re-unification provisions of
U.S. immigration laws, these opportunities foster the pursuit of a larger
number of and more complex family-based strategies for achieving legal-
ization (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Curiel, 2004; Glick, 2010). Four situa-
tions provide examples of different incentives for legalizing and making
the transition from sojourner to settler status. The first derives simply
from many Mexicans initially coming as unauthorized entrants (Massey
et al., 1987; Cerrutti and Massey, 2004). This means that in many rou-
tine respects, their lives are vulnerable and precarious (Chávez, 1998;
Coutin, 2000; Menjívar, 2006), predicaments that can be alleviated
through obtaining legal permanent residency (LPR), or a ''green card.''
Second, young males disproportionately participate in such initial unau-
thorized flows, meaning they especially possess incentives to find ways to
obtain green cards, initially to facilitate their own further circular migra-
tion but then subsequently to enable spouses to join them (Massey,
Goldring, and Durand, 1994). Third, if both members of a married cou-
ple have come to the country to work, and left their children behind with
relatives, if one of them achieves LPR status, they can bring the children
legally (Bean, Vernez, and Keely, 1989; Dreby, 2010). And fourth, if such
a married couple gives birth in the United States, the birth of the
U.S.-citizen child may lend impetus to their staying in the country, which
in turn encourages one of them to pursue legalization in order to bring
the non-U.S.-born children (Motomura, 2006; Dreby, 2010).

Among migrants who start out as legal permanent settlers and bring
their families with them, incorporation frames of reference can more
immediately shift to the new country. Rather than worrying about unau-
thorized status, they find ways to improve the family's long-run economic
well being and to enhance overall personal security (Kibria, 1993; Louie,
2004). Legal permanent residents can best achieve such goals by naturaliz-
ing. Unlike Mexicans in their need for legalization, which can often meet
their goals even if only one parent achieves LPR status, most Asians seek
naturalization, which provides greatest potential benefits when *both* par-
ents naturalize, because each becomes eligible for employment restricted
to citizens and for greater personal security and political rights. This, of
course, is true to some extent in the case of Mexicans seeking legalization
as well, but less so, both because it often only takes one legal parent to
bring in children and because it only takes one parent in particular if the
children to be brought in belong biologically only to that parent. In short,
among Mexicans the transition from temporary to more permanent

migrant status not only *can* occur through multiple family-level strategies, it often *must* occur that way, which means that a greater number of alternative pathways are likely to serve the needs of such transition families (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985).

Mexicans, who have come to the country primarily as unauthorized labor-sojourner migrants, are thus more likely to exhibit higher proportions of family units whose members are still in transition from sojourner to settler status (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Van Hook and Bean, 2009). That is, Mexicans are heterogeneous, both in initial form of entry and in not having finished the often lengthy process of moving from sojourner to legal settler (Roberts, Frank, and Lozano-Ascencio, 1999). Their pathways to legalization and naturalization are thus similarly heterogeneous. As a result, they are not only likely to exhibit substantially lower overall levels of naturalization than Asian groups, their family units will reflect a wider variety of parental combinations of entry statuses and subsequent legalization and naturalization. Moreover, they are also more likely to show greater diversity in combinations of family units in which only one spouse has become a legal permanent resident or a naturalized citizen. By contrast, many Asian-origin migrants, including the Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese and Filipinos have predominantly migrated to the United States almost entirely under legal auspices, with the intent of settling permanently. This means they as individuals naturalize quickly (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006), with both spouses showing similar timing because they tend to migrate together. Asians, thus, are likely to exhibit little diversity in parental combinations of legal status (in keeping with their more homogenous settler status), as well as substantially greater tendencies for spouses to follow similar pathways to early political incorporation.

Research Question

Our major research purpose, then, is to compare Mexican- and Asian-origin groups with respect to how combinations of entry status, legalization and naturalization trajectories relate to educational attainment among their children. We focus on educational attainment among the children of immigrants because it is a key determinant of labor market outcomes. Education substantially explains nativity differences in employment and earnings among many immigrant groups and whites (Smith and Edmonston, 1997; Duncan, Hotz, and Trejo, 2006), which is the reason scholars argue that it is the pivotal factor on which immigrant group incorporation

turns (Telles and Ortiz, 2008). In their schooling patterns, Asians should more nearly follow the classic assimilation model, which implies that access to early political incorporation among individual immigrants accumulates as time passes and that this intersects substantially with parents' socioeconomic and sociocultural characteristics. In turn, the latter would be expected to explain more fully children's educational attainment.

Standard assimilation approaches thus largely omit any rationale for expecting early entry and legalization to relate *independently* to children's education net of background or other observed incorporation factors (*i.e.*, net of selectivity or joint determination with respect to such factors). Alternative incorporation theories, however, of which segmented and delayed incorporation theory are variants, imply something different. They would envision early political incorporation (entry, legality and citizenship) as processes and outcomes that are perceived and sought in their own right because they accomplish family objectives, enable acquisition of resources (participation, membership and representation), and facilitate other kinds of incorporation. Such forms of early political incorporation are achieved through immigrants' self-conscious assessments of how families as a whole may use the provisions of immigration policy to pursue multiple migration and legalization options. Mexican transitional migrants are thus not only more likely to exhibit multiple combinations of early parental entry and legalization, these are more likely to show independent effects on second-generation schooling net of the effects of selectivity, all else equal.

DATA, MEASURES AND ANALYTIC RESEARCH STRATEGIES

Data

The data we use come from a survey called Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA). The study involved telephone interviews carried out in 2004 in the five-county Los Angeles metropolitan area with 4,780 adults. Because many immigrant groups have come to the United States primarily since immigration policy changes in 1965, and thus have few children who have reached middle age, the overall interview was limited to persons ages 20–40. The survey targeted the children of immigrants from six large immigrant groups: Mexicans, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Vietnamese, and Salvadorans/

Guatemalans. It also included a residual group of the children of all other immigrants. In addition, the research sought comparison groups among blacks and non-Hispanic whites who were at least third-generation.

Respondents who were from the Mexican, black, and white groups were obtained exclusively by random-digit dialing (RDD) within the five-county Los Angeles area. To obtain the targeted number of interviews for other groups, the survey relied on, in addition to RDD, telephone prefixes targeted to heavily immigrant areas and lists of common surnames. Comparisons of average education (years of schooling completed) and age between each of the national-origin groups in the survey and the same national-origin group from Current Population Survey data (March supplement) for the five-county LA metropolitan area for the years 2003–2005 show quite similar means on education and age for all of the groups (these are available from the authors by request). In all analyses shown below involving aggregations of national-origin groups, the data are weighted so the group sizes are proportional to their representation in the metro-area population.

Five of the national origin groups are used in this research. We use Mexicans as the best example in the IIMMLA data of a sojourner immigrant group and the Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese and Filipinos as examples of settler migration. Because of Mexicans' centrality to the immigrant experience in Los Angeles, the survey oversampled them and targeted persons in the first, third and fourth-plus generations, as well as the 1.5 and second generations. But because this paper focuses on the effects of early political incorporation among immigrant parents on the education of their children (who at interview were adults), we use only data from the interviews of the 1.5 and second generations. The "1.5" generation consists of those who were born abroad to foreign-born parents but arrived in the United States before age 15. Members of the second generation are those born in the United but have at least one immigrant parent.[4]

Measures

The IIMMLA data include a wide variety of socio-demographic information, including social and economic background characteristics of both parents and respondents, as well as measures of sociocultural and spatial incorporation and political engagement and participation. One of the

---

[4]In this paper, we refer to these two groups combined as the "second" generation.

most distinctive features of the IIMMLA data is information obtained from the second-generation respondents about the migration status of each of their parents when the parent first came to the United States, as well as information about parents' legal and citizenship status at the time the respondent was interviewed. These data enable the comparison of migration statuses at time-of-entry *and* at time-of-interview.[5] We use this information to construct nativity/migration/legalization/citizenship status trajectories for each parent of each respondent. These trajectories often vary by parent, since parents may not have arrived together in the United States. In some cases respondents either had never known one of their parents or did not know their parents' initial migration status. Other parents had never lived in the United States. Still others had come as unauthorized entrants and then had become legal permanent residents. Some of these eventually naturalized. The percentages of parents in these and other trajectories are shown in Table 1.

As can be seen, the Mexican parents are more than three times as likely as the Asian parents to have been unauthorized when they came to the country (34.2 percent of Mexican mothers and 32.8 percent of Mexican fathers, compared to around 10 percent for the Asian groups combined). Conversely, the Asian parents are nearly twice as likely as Mexican parents to show a trajectory culminating in naturalization. Moreover, the various Asian sub-groups do not differ greatly from each other in relative trajectories, but differ considerably from the Mexicans. We therefore report results in what follows for the various Asian sub-groups combined. We conducted separate analyses for each of the four Asian sub-groups, but the findings were similar in almost all respects, so we only present results for the overall Asian group.

We also use the information provided by the respondents on the migration status of their parents to construct binary measures of each parent having taken or not taken each of six steps toward naturalization. Each such step constitutes a critical migration transition, the occurrence of which increases the migrant's stock of early political entry capital [*see* Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009) schema]. When one of these steps had been taken in the case of a given parent, the person was given a score of "one" versus a score of "zero" for that step. Five of the steps consist of whether: (1) a potential migrant comes to the United States in the first place; (2) a migrant enters legally (as a student, tourist, legal border

---

[5]Appendix A describes the measurement procedures used.

TABLE 1
Percentages of Immigrant Mothers and Fathers with Various Nativity/Migration (N/M) and Legalization/Citizenship (L/C) Trajectories, Mexican- and Asian-Origin Immigrant Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) Groups

N/M or L/C trajectory	Mexican	Chinese	Korean	Vietnamese	Filipino	All Asians
Mothers						
Unknown	1.0	0.5	3.0	1.8	3.8	2.3
Never migrated to U.S.	8.7	7.0	5.0	2.0	5.4	4.8
Authorized to naturalized	32.1	66.9	60.8	78.5	67.3	68.4
Authorized to LPR	13.7	9.5	18.0	12.3	6.4	11.6
Unauthorized (or unknown) to naturalized[a]	14.8	11.0	9.0	4.0	11.2	8.8
Unauthorized (or unknown) to LPR[a]	15.2	1.0	2.3	0.8	1.0	1.3
Unauthorized (or unknown) to unauthorized	4.2	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.5
U.S. born	10.5	3.0	1.6	0.8	4.3	2.4
Fathers						
Unknown	6.4	0.5	2.8	3.5	5.1	3.0
Never migrated to U.S.	12.7	13.8	6.8	6.0	8.9	8.9
Authorized to naturalized	25.6	62.4	59.3	77.5	63.0	65.6
Authorized to LPR	12.6	8.5	19.8	6.3	7.1	10.4
Unauthorized (or unknown) to naturalized[a]	16.3	8.8	5.8	4.8	9.2	7.1
Unauthorized (or unknown) to LPR[a]	12.2	1.3	1.8	0.8	0.3	1.0
Unauthorized (or unknown) to unauthorized	4.3	1.5	0.8	0.1	1.0	0.8
U.S. born	9.9	3.3	3.3	1.3	5.4	3.3
N	935	399	400	400	392	1,591

Source: Immigrant Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) Study.
Notes: LPR, legal permanent resident; N/M, nativity/migration; L/C, legalization/citizenship.
[a]These trajectories include (in the cases of the Asian groups) some mothers or fathers who after entry spent some time as an unauthorized migrant but whose entry status was unknown by the respondent. They became LPRs and in most instances naturalized. Most likely, these persons entered initially as students or tourists, overstayed their visas, subsequently were able to adjust to LPR status and finally naturalized.

crosser, temporary worker, or legal permanent resident [LPR]); (3) an entrant who did initially come as a LPR subsequently becomes a legal permanent resident; (4) someone who had become a LPR naturalizes relatively early (within 10 years); and (5) someone who had become a LPR naturalizes *later* (after the first 10 years). In addition, a sixth "step" derives from some migrants having married native-born co-ethnics (*i.e.*, members of their national origin group). These native-born family members contribute early political entry resources to family members by dint of their nativity status throughout the entire incorporation process. Thus, any such native-born parent is given a score of "one" for each of the five previous junctures, as well as a "one" for being native-born. In the analyses, we include measures of each of these six steps for each parent, resulting in 12 indicators of parental steps to naturalization. Appendix (Table A1) shows the scoring scheme used.

Analytic Research Strategies

Our first broad research question concerns the extent to which Mexican
parents reveal more diverse combinations of entry and migration statuses
than Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, and Vietnamese. Rather than impose an
arbitrary scoring scale for entry and other statuses on mothers and fathers
separately, or on the couple, we instead allow actual empirical clusters
(combinations) of mother *and* father status trajectories to emerge from
the data among the parents of the respondents. This is achieved by apply-
ing latent class analyses to the accrual of increments of early political-entry
incorporation conceptualized in terms of the six key steps of the entry
process noted above. Conducting such analyses serves two purposes. The
first is that they show whether Mexicans, as expected, display a greater
number of and more variegated combinations of parental migration/legal-
ization/naturalization trajectories than the Asian immigrant groups. The
second purpose is that the emergence of such classes provides a basis for
classifying parents with respect to combinations of mixed status to assess
the relationships between such statuses and educational outcomes among
their children.

      We use a maximum-likelihood latent class model to sort the
IIMMLA respondents into classes based on similarities among their
parents' steps in making transitions from entry to citizenship. Such latent
class analyses involve using a variant of finite-mixture models, which have
often been used to identify groups with distinctive patterns of behaviors
(Clogg, 1995; Muthén, 2001b). In this case, the classes consist of groups
of immigrant parents with similar combinations of steps toward naturali-
zation. Although the actual size and pattern of such classes are not directly
observed, the latent class analyses enable the inference of such clusterings
from similarities in the data (Muthén, 2001a; Wagmiller *et al.*, 2006).
They provide a basis for estimating the proportion of cases in each class
and the probabilities of membership in a class stemming from different
patterns of transitions in migration status. Here, we expect Mexicans to
reveal a larger number and more complex pattern of latent classes than
Asians. Because a higher proportion of Mexican immigrant parents at any
point are still making the transition from temporary to permanent immi-
grant, and because U.S. immigration policy is so complicated that it
encourages multiple legal entry strategies (Council on Foreign Relations,
2009), we expect the Mexican group to show more, and relatively more

complex, parental mixed-status classes than the Asian groups (and lower concentrations of families falling into them).

We also use the results of the latent class analyses to examine how various parental mixed-status groups (*e.g.*, latent classes) relate to children's educational attainment. We do this by gauging the extent to which children's schooling varies by parents' class group, controlling for antecedent factors affecting parent's class membership. In other words, we examine educational differences among the children of immigrants as affected by their parents' mixed-status group, controlling for observed background factors that may affect class membership. This is accomplished by conducting a four-step analysis. First, we estimate the latent class models and then classify parents and their children into parental mixed-status classes based on the results. Second, we estimate the degree to which antecedent characteristics affect the sorting of parents into these mixed-status classes using multinomial regression models. Third, we estimate observed selectivity by regressing children's educational attainment on dummy variables for, parental mixed-status class, controlling for parents' antecedent characteristics, with and without inverse probability treatment weights, the use of which is discussed below. Fourth, we employ an instrumental variable approach to estimate the effects of class membership on attainment net of unobserved influences. The overall modeling framework within which we carry out such estimations is presented in Figure I.

RESULTS

Because Mexicans and the four Asian groups under consideration here migrate to the United States largely for different reasons and under different auspices, both the members of the immigrant generation (here the parents) and their children (the respondents) reveal different characteristics, sometimes to a sharp degree. For example, nearly three decades after they migrated to the United States, the Mexican parents had mostly still not finished high school (averaging only a little more than eight-and-a-half years of schooling), whereas the Asian fathers were predominantly college graduates (averaging 14.5 years of schooling), with the Asian mothers also exhibiting substantial schooling at 13.3 years (*see* Table 2). The Mexican young adult respondents, by contrast, are much better educated than their parents, having completed 13 years of schooling on average. The Asian children have also educationally advanced beyond their parents' educational level, attaining 15.4 years of schooling. More of the

Figure I.   **Latent Class Analysis (LCA) Modeling Framework.**

Father's Step-to-Citizenship Transitions   Mother's Step-to-Citizenship Transitions
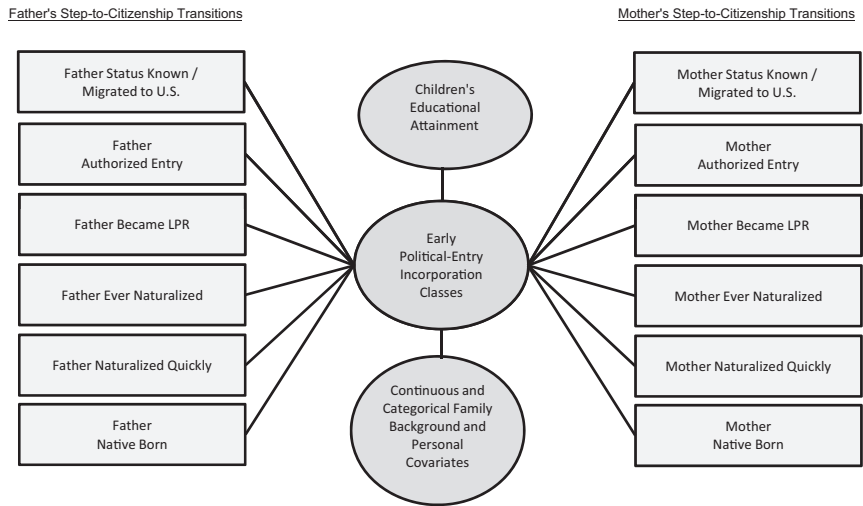
Source: Immigrant Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) Study

TABLE 2

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR RESPONDENT AND PARENT CHARACTERISTICS, MEXICAN- AND ASIAN-ORIGIN IMMIGRANT INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY IN METROPOLITAN LOS ANGELES (IIMMLA) SAMPLES

Attributes	Mexicans		Asians	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Respondents				
Age	27.8	0.194	27.6	0.149
Years of education completed	13.0	0.077	15.4	0.048
Male	0.50	0.016	0.51	0.013
Second generation	0.67	0.015	0.41	0.012
Spoke non-English at home while growing up	0.91	0.009	0.83	0.009
Enrolled in school at interview	0.30	0.015	0.41	0.012
Lived with both parents while growing up	0.72	0.015	0.86	0.009
Mothers				
Years of education	8.7	0.125	13.3	0.09
Held laborer occupation in home country	0.24	0.014	0.17	0.009
Worked in white collar occupation in home country	0.21	0.013	0.34	0.012
Migrated from West Central Region of Mexico	0.52	0.016	—	—
Returned to home country for 6+ months after migration to U.S.	0.15	0.012	0.13	0.008
Fathers				
Years of education	8.6	0.133	14.5	0.081
Held laborer occupation in home country	0.50	0.016	0.30	0.012
Worked in white collar occupation in home country	0.17	0.012	0.35	0.012
Migrated from West Central Region of Mexico	0.51	0.016	—	—
Returned to home country for 6+ months after migration to U.S.	0.15	0.012	0.13	0.008
N	935		1,591	

Mexicans than the Asians spoke a non-English language at home while growing up, and fewer lived with both parents. Also, a slightly higher proportion of Mexican parents had returned to their home country after migrating for a period of at least 6 months. These differences are consistent with the idea that, at least predominantly, more Mexicans initially have come as sojourners to work and more Asians have come intending to settle (Massey, 1987; Chávez, 1988; Cornelius, 1992; Skeldon, 1992).

In keeping with Mexicans' more frequent status as temporary migrants and their initial unauthorized entry, we expect the latent class analyses to indicate that they are characterized by a larger number of parental mixed-status latent classes than Asians. After applying standard statistical criteria for determining the number of latent classes (*e.g. see* Muthén, 2002; Wagmiller *et al.*, 2006), a larger number of clusters does emerge for Mexicans (seven) than for Asians (only four).[6] Moreover, fully 84.7 percent of the Asians fall into only two classes, whereas the two largest classes for Mexicans include only 37.9 percent of the families. Also, the two largest Asian clusters contain an overwhelming number of cases in which the parents are quite similar. This can be seen in the estimated

[6]To determine number of classes, we applied the usual statistical criteria (AIC, BIC, Adjusted BIC, and entropy), using relative rather than absolute thresholds for assessing improvements in fit combined with criteria of substantive coherence. Thus, we sought an entropy value (measure of distinctiveness of classes) of at least 0.95 and a relative improvement in fit of either at least 1.0 percent (in the Mexican case) or at least 3.0 percent (in the Asian case) (Raftery, 1995). On the basis of these and the substantive criteria below, we chose a seven-class model for Mexicans and a five-class model for Asians.

Substantively, we preferred the seven-class Mexican model over the six-class model because, for respondents with both a mother and father who were legal at interview, the seven class model distinguishes parents who had entered the country without authorization from parents who entered authorized. We stopped at seven classes because the eight-class model separates respondents with a native-born or early naturalizing mother from those with early naturalizing fathers and those with late-naturalizing or legal-but-not-naturalizing fathers, distinctions that made little substantive sense. For the Asian respondents, we preferred the five-class model over the four-class model because the five-class model isolates respondents for whom both parents were either unknown or never lived in the United States. We stopped at five classes because the six-class model included a small group of respondents that had both a father and a mother who either entered the United States without authorization, probably students who overstayed their visas, all of whom were legal at interview, and all who naturalized either early or eventually. Some of these respondents are in Class 1 and some in Class 2 of the five-class model. Considering their legal status at interview, and probable visa over-stay status, we did not think it useful to distinguish such respondents from those in Classes 1 and 2 (*see* Appendix [Table A2]).

TABLE 3
LATENT CLASS ANALYSIS (LCA) PROBABILITIES THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE EARLY POLITICAL-ENTRY
INCORPORATION CLASSES HAVE EXPERIENCED THE STEP-TO-CITIZENSHIP TRANSITIONS, ASIAN-ORIGIN
RESPONDENTS

Step-to-citizenship transitions	QN	SN	FO	MO	NIP
Mothers					
Migrated to U.S.	1.00	1.00	0.12	1.00	0.05
Entered legally	0.92	0.86	0.00	0.89	0.00
Attained LPR status	1.00	1.00	0.02	1.00	0.00
Naturalized eventually	1.00	0.72	0.00	0.83	0.00
Naturalized quickly	0.89	0.05	0.00	0.44	0.00
U.S. born	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00
Fathers					
Migrated to U.S.	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.07	0.05
Entered legally	0.94	0.87	0.91	0.00	0.00
Attained LPR status	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
Naturalized eventually	1.00	0.74	0.81	0.00	0.00
Naturalized quickly	0.94	0.07	0.53	0.00	0.00
U.S. born	0.06	0.00	0.23	0.00	0.00

Notes: LPR, legal permanent resident; QN, quick naturalizer; SN, slow naturalizer; FO, father only; MO, mother
only; NIP, non-immigrant parents.
   Quick naturalizers: Nearly all of both mothers and fathers with quick naturalization (QN).
   Slow naturalizers: About three-fourths of mothers and fathers naturalized, but not quickly (SN).
   Father only families: Mother never lived in the U.S. or status unknown (FO).
   Mother only families: Father never lived in the U.S. or status unknown (MO).
   Non-immigrant parents: No reported migration experience for either parent (NIP).

probabilities for those mothers or fathers having achieved the various
entry/legalization/naturalization statuses (the probabilities are shown in
Table 3). The two Asian classes differ from each other *only* in how rapidly
the parents in the two groups naturalized, with little variation between
them in regard to whether mothers or fathers show different tendencies.
These classes are *Quick Naturalizers* (QNs) and the *Slow Naturalizers*
(SNs) respectively. Thus, the Asians in general show homogenous (rather
than mixed) status patterns, with mothers and fathers exhibiting combina-
tions of similar statuses.[7]

   The Mexicans show greater diversity in mother/father mixed-status
patterns. This is evident in the results of the latent class analyses, which
show variegated patterns of probabilities of belonging to a given class for
Mexican mothers and fathers (Table 4). In particular, parental differentia-
tion is much more characteristic of their experiences. For example, two

_____

[7]The high degree of similarity among the separate Asian groups, already noted in discuss-
ing the results in Table 1, is also evident in the estimated numbers of families falling into
the first two classes for each of the Asian groups, the "quick" and the "slow" naturalizing
groups. These are respectively; Chinese: 46 and 37 percent; Filipino: 44 and 37 percent;
Korean: 40 and 46 percent; and Vietnamese: 33 and 52 percent.

TABLE 4
Latent Class Analysis (LCA) Probabilities that the Members of the Early Political-Entry Incorporation Classes Have Experienced the Various Step-to-Citizenship Transitions, Mexican-Origin Respondents

Step-to-citizenship transition	Early political-entry incorporation class						
	FPQN	MPQN	AESN	UESN	FUML	MUFL	MUFU
Mothers							
Migrated to U.S.	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.36	0.28
Entered legally	0.77	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.48	0.00	0.00
Attained LPR status	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
Naturalized eventually	0.84	1.00	0.50	0.39	0.56	0.00	0.00
Naturalized quickly	0.62	1.00	0.00	0.07	0.28	0.00	0.00
U.S. born	0.00	0.66	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.00
Fathers							
Migrated to U.S.	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.19	1.00	0.17
Entered legally	0.88	0.60	0.80	0.16	0.00	0.52	0.00
Attained LPR status	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Naturalized eventually	1.00	0.74	0.42	0.46	0.00	0.55	0.00
Naturalized quickly	1.00	0.48	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.26	0.00
U.S. born	0.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00

Notes: LPR, legal permanent resident; AESN, authorized entrants slow naturalizer; FPQN, father-predominant quick naturalizer; MPQN, mother-predominant quick naturalizer; MUFL, mothers unauthorized fathers legalized; MUFU, mother and father unauthorized; UESN, unauthorized entrants slow naturalizer.

Father-predominant quick naturalizers: Some fathers U.S. born and all migrant fathers with authorized entry and relatively quick naturalization (FPQN).

Mother-predominant naturalizers: Many mothers U.S. born and all migrant mothers with authorized entry and relatively quick naturalization (MPQN).

Authorized entrants, some slow naturalizers: All mothers and most fathers with authorized entry and some with slow naturalization but none with quick naturalization (AESN).

Unauthorized entrants, some slow naturalizers: All mothers and most fathers with unauthorized entry but all legalized and some (but very few) with quick naturalization (UESN).

Fathers unauthorized, mothers legalized: All fathers unauthorized, mothers all legalized with some naturalization (FUML).

Mothers unauthorized, fathers legalized: All mothers unauthorized, fathers all legalized with some naturalization (MUFL).

Parents unauthorized or status unknown: All fathers and mothers with unauthorized entry and no-legalization and others with status unknown (MUFU).

classes emerge involving one but not the other parent achieving relatively quick naturalization, with fathers being the parent naturalizing in one case and mothers in the other. We label these *Father-Predominant Quick Naturalizers* (FPQNs) and *Mother-Predominant Quick Naturalizers* (MPQNs), respectively. Twenty-four and 13.9 percent of the Mexican parental combinations fall into these classes. Also, two additional classes emerge in which both parents had become legal permanent residents and many (slightly less than half) had naturalized, although not quickly. In one of these classes, almost all of the parents had entered legally, and in the other, almost none of them had. We term these the *Authorized Entrants Slow Naturalizers* (AESNs) and the *Unauthorized Entrants Slow Naturalizers* (UESNs). Seventeen and 17.1 percent of the respondents'

parents belong to these groups respectively. Two somewhat idiosyncratic classes also emerge, again with parental differentiation, each showing substantial unauthorized entry and subsequent universal attainment of legal permanent resident status with some naturalization. But in each of these classes, only one parent had achieved legal status. In one, it was the father who had, and in the other, it was the mother. The classes are respectively *Fathers Unauthorized Mothers Legalized* (FUMLs) and *Mothers Unauthorized Fathers Legalized* (MUFLs). Four-and-a-half and 14.1 percent of the parental mixtures fall into these classes respectively. The remaining class (9.3 percent of the sample) consists of parents who either had entered and remained unauthorized, or parents whose status was unknown (*Parents Unauthorized or Status Unknown* [MUFUs]).[8]

Our major research objective is to ascertain if the mixed-status groups among immigrant parents independently relate to the education level attained by their children. To do this, we first classify the respondents according to their parents' mixed-status class (assigning them to the class to which the results of the latent class analyses indicate they have the highest probability of belonging [Muthén and Muthén, 2000; McCutcheon, 1996]), and then we estimate a multinomial logistic regression model that regresses class membership on mother and father antecedent variables. These include each parent's education and occupation in the origin country, the region of origin in Mexico in the case of Mexican migrants, whether the parent underwent return migration to origin country, and whether the parents had lived together for most of the respondent's childhood. The overall modeling framework that serves as a guide for the estimations is shown in Figure I. We were unable, however, to estimate all of the pieces of this model simultaneously because linear dependency between membership in the mixed-status classes and parental antecedent variables forestalls statistical estimation. As a result, we estimated relationships among variables in different parts of the framework separately.[9]

---

[8]A comparison of both the parents' and children's characteristics for these two kinds of parents indicated that the "status unknowns" showed virtually identical values on these variables as those in the "unauthorized entry, unauthorized at interview" group.

[9]Although estimating the complete model simultaneously would increase the efficiency of the estimates, this was not possible given the size and complexity of the model. In particular, the larger model encountered difficulties in which empty cells for some of the measures in smaller classes introduced complete linear dependence, precluding estimation. Our approach of estimating the pieces of the model separately introduces no bias, and the diminished efficiency is of minimal concern given the large size of our sample.

The results reveal patterns consistent with the mixed-status nature of the classes. For example, when parents (especially fathers) are better educated, never worked in Mexico as laborers, both lived with the child while growing up, and had not returned to Mexico, parents are more likely to be in one or the other of the fast-naturalizing classes, either the FPQN (father-predominant, quickly naturalizing) or the MPQN (mother-predominant, quickly naturalizing group), class compared to the mother and father unauthorized category (MUFUs) (Table 5). Among the Asians, by

TABLE 5
ESTIMATED COEFFICIENTS FROM MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS PREDICTING EARLY
POLITICAL-ENTRY INCORPORATION CLASS MEMBERSHIP, MEXICAN- AND ASIAN-ORIGIN RESPONDENTS

Immigrant group models	Class					
	FPQN	MPQN	AESN	UESN	FUML	MUFL
Mexicans[a]						
Intercept	−1.91***	−2.51***	−0.94	−0.05	1.74***	−0.72
Father's years of education	0.21***	0.06	0.03	0.03	−0.04	0.15***
Mother's years of education	0.17***	0.34***	0.12***	−0.01	0.05	0.00
Father held laborer occupation in Mexico	−1.01***	−0.60*	−0.29	−0.40	−0.15	−1.55***
Mother held laborer occupation in Mexico	−0.80***	−2.57***	−1.36***	−1.11***	−1.32***	−0.26
Father from Western state in Mexico	0.30	0.10	0.54*	0.44	−0.21	−0.22
Father returned to Mexico for 6+ months	−1.40***	0.41	−0.15	−0.55	0.18	−0.21
Mother returned to Mexico for 6+ months	−0.22	−2.12***	−0.06	−0.94**	−0.53	−0.29
Respondent lived with both parents in childhood	0.74**	0.62*	1.01***	1.52***	−1.39***	−0.19

Model fit	AIC	−2Log				
Intercept only model	3,484	3,473				
Model with covariates	3,013	2,905				

	QN	SN	MO
Asians[b]			
Intercept	1.08	1.96**	−0.41
Father's years of education	0.07	0.02	0.14**
Mother's years of education	−0.04	−0.06	−0.06
Father held laborer occupation in home country	0.05	0.20	2.14***
Mother held laborer occupation in home country	−1.23***	−1.34***	−1.98***
Father returned to home country for 6+ months	0.37	0.65	1.19*
Mother returned to home country for 6+ months	−0.91*	−0.82	−0.49
Respondent lived with both parents in childhood	2.15***	2.21***	−0.78**

Model fit	AIC	−2Log	
Intercept only model	3,105	3,099	
Model with covariates	2,810	2,762	

Notes: AESN, authorized entrants slow naturalizer; FPQN, father-predominant quick naturalizer; MPQN, mother-predominant quick naturalizer; MUFL, mothers unauthorized fathers legalized; UESN, unauthorized entrants slow naturalizer.
***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.10$.
[a]Reference category is Class MUFU.
[b]Reference category is Class FO.

contrast, few variables predict class membership. Basically, the largely legal-entry, highly educated Asians constitute a relatively homogenous group, the vast majority of whom naturalize, many of them quickly (within 10 years of entry), while most of the others do so not long thereafter.

We next examine how the parental mixed-status groups among the Mexicans and the non-mixed-status groups among the Asians relate to education among the adult children of the immigrants. To do this we regress the second-generation respondent's education (measured as years of schooling) on dummy variables for parental membership in each mixed-status class (omitting the class of two still unauthorized parents, or the MUFU).[10] In short, among the Mexicans, those with persistent unauthorized (or parents' status unknown) constitute the reference category for comparison. The coefficients thus reflect the education premium to the second generation associated with their parents having achieved certain kinds of mixed-status combinations of entry, LPR and naturalization statuses relative to those whose parents remained unauthorized since entry. By making comparisons in a series of nested regression models that successively add controls, we adjust for the selection of parents with certain antecedent characteristics and combinations of such characteristics into certain mixed-status classes, as well as for the possible influence on education of other observed covariates (Table 6). Because traditional assimilation perspectives tend to envision various kinds of incorporation occurring all together, they would predict that any differences in children's education would largely be explainable by parents' selection into various early political-entry incorporation classes. Other perspectives, however, would predict that mixed-status combinations might exert their own influence, even adjusting for other kinds of background factors affecting second generation attainments.

We first estimate a model without any covariates. In this unadjusted case, the members of the various mixed-status classes reveal a significant educational advantage relative to the class whose parents remained unauthorized or whose status was unknown, with the premium reaching over two-and-a-half years of schooling for the father-predominant, quick naturalizing (FPQNs) group (first column, Table 6). The fact that the order

---

[10]In the Asian analyses, we dropped one of the latent classes, which consisted of a small fraction (4.9 percent) of second generation persons neither of whose parents had ever come to the United States. We thus use the FO group as a reference category.

TABLE 6
Nested OLS Regression Models Showing Relationships between Parents Early Political-Entry Incorporation Class and Respondent's Years of Education

	Model 1[a]	Model 2[b]	Model 3[c]	Model 4[d]	Model 5[e]
Mexicans					
Class FPQN	2.60***	1.71***	2.04***	1.27***	1.15***
Class MPQN	2.47***	2.73***	2.41***	1.24***	1.53***
Class AESN	2.19***	1.57***	1.76***	1.39***	1.10***
Class UESN	2.31***	1.84***	2.09***	1.69***	1.36***
Class FUML	2.03***	1.47***	1.90***	1.27***	1.16***
Class MUFL	0.87**	−0.02	−0.07	0.17	−0.36*
F-value	17.78***	10.58***	19.06**	10.52***	18.03***
R^2	0.10	0.14	0.22	0.19	0.28
Asians					
Class QN	0.80*	0.64**	0.20	0.59**	0.59**
Class SN	0.24	0.11	−0.32**	0.40	0.40
Class MO	0.42	0.32	−0.32**	0.36	0.36
F-value	10.57**	10.24**	18.39***	20.22***	25.87***
R^2	0.02	0.06	0.11	0.18	0.22

Notes: AESN, authorized entrants slow naturalizer; FPQN, father-predominant quick naturalizer; MPQN, mother-predominant quick naturalizer; MUFL, mothers unauthorized fathers legalized; MO, mother only.

*$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 4.01$.

[a]No control variables.

[b]Controlling for parental antecedent variables used in multinomial model predicting class membership.

[c]Same controls as Model 2; respondents given weight equal to the inverse probability of membership in the class to which they were assigned.

[d]Controlling for antecedent variables in Model 2 plus respondent attributes gender, age, generation, non-English language spoken at home in childhood, enrolled in school, and maximum of father's or mother's time in the United States.

[e]Same controls as Model 4; respondents given weight equal to the inverse probability of membership in the class to which they were assigned.

of the classes as shown in the table runs roughly from greater early political-entry incorporation at the top to less at the bottom, as does the unadjusted years-of-schooling advantage, raises the possibility that the premium derives from favorable selectivity into the higher incorporation classes according to parental antecedent factors. To assess this possibility, we add antecedent controls in Model 2. Although the magnitude of the schooling advantage is reduced somewhat (with the exception of those in the MPQN category, whose advantage becomes greater), the education premium persists. Note also that for one of the categories (the father unauthorized, mother legal group [FUMLs]), the premium disappears altogether. But for the most part, a differential of at least one-and-a-half years of schooling remains.

In Model 3 we take this adjustment one step further, following procedures developed by Hong and Raudenbush (2008), and as applied by Sampson, Sharkey, and Raudenbush (2008), to adjust for additional selectivity. Basically, we weight the respondents according to the inverse of the

relative predicted probability of parental mixed-status class membership
based on the multinomial regression of the membership categories on the
antecedent variables. The intuitive explanation of this approach is that it
gives those whose parents have low probabilities of selection into the class
the most influence in estimates of the class's effect on schooling. Called
the method of Inverse Probability of Treatment Weighting (IPTW), the
technique is similar to propensity score matching, which means it pro-
vides a way to estimate putative direct effects in the presence of observed
confounding from antecedent and mediating factors, at least within an
approach that relies on the conceptualization of counterfactual compari-
sons as bases for inferring causal possibilities (Morgan and Winship,
2007). Statistically, the adjustment is equivalent to allowing for all possi-
ble combinations of antecedent variables to interact in their effects on
class membership (Wooldridge, 2002). Applying the procedure here
results in a slightly higher education premium for most of the classes, one
that hovers around 2 years of schooling, except again for the MPQN
class, for which the premium is even larger (2.4 years) and for the MUFL
class, for which the difference goes to zero. This implies that all possible
interactions among antecedent variables work on a net basis to slightly
depress the education differentials. When the effects of these are
controlled, the differences among the mixed-status categories increase
somewhat.

　　We also examine results for two additional models. Model 4 adds
covariates for respondents' characteristics that might be thought to be
associates with both the education differentials and parents' political
incorporation class membership, as well as a covariate for parents' num-
ber of years in the country. These could in all likelihood also be associ-
ated with the parental antecedent factors just examined. As a result,
controlling for them also adds another level of control for additional
antecedent factors. Model 5 repeats the structure of Model 4 but uses
the same IPTW procedure applied in Model 3, thus yielding what is
undoubtedly the best estimate of the influence of *observed* selectivity on
the schooling differentials, given the large number and varying kinds of
controls utilized.

　　As the results show (column 5, Table 6), five of the six classes for
the Mexicans still exhibit at least a full year's schooling advantage or
more relative to the attainment level of those with parents who
remained unauthorized. Most important, however, the differences are
not fully explainable by the antecedents or covariates, as might be

expected under the assumptions of a classic assimilation theoretical per-
spective, the uni-dimensional emphases of which imply that the various
aspects of assimilation are associated with each other, both within and
across generations. But although a considerable portion of the schooling
premium (averaging roughly 50 percent across the classes) can be
accounted for by other kinds of variables (as would be consistent with a
uni-dimensional assimilation perspective), about half of the premium
remains. Traditional assimilation ideas thus have some relevance for the
parental mixed-status group education differentials among the children
of the immigrants. But about half of the average education difference
remains in the case of the Mexicans. By contrast, among the Asians, for
whom an independent and significant educational difference also
emerges for the QNs (the class whose parents both naturalize relatively
quickly), and for whom this class shows an advantage of 0.6 years of
schooling relative to the omitted category, the advantage for this group
relative to the group whose parents were less quick to naturalize (the
SNs) loses its statistical significance going from the unadjusted case in
Model 1 to the most extensively adjusted case in Model 5. This suggests
that background differences among the Asians, unlike among Mexicans,
fully explain the education differences between the quick and the slow
naturalizing groups.

    As expected, however, background factors do not appear to explain
all of the educational differences among the Mexican classes. At this
point it is useful to note that the pattern of schooling differences among
the Mexican mixed-status classes could have taken any of three forms.
The first would occur if those Mexican families who had moved the far-
thest in making transitions to permanent settler status, who had navi-
gated the most transitions from entry to legal status to naturalization,
were the most likely to encourage and support their children's higher
educational attainment. Such dynamics imply a relatively linear pattern
of educational premium differences, all else equal. A second pattern
would result if "becoming legal is what counts," suggesting that the cru-
cial and consequential actions for temporary transitional migrants like
unauthorized Mexican labor migrants predominantly inhere in becoming
legal, not in navigating other transitions. This implies a pattern involving
a sharp break in children's educational attainment between those second-
generation persons whose parents had obtained legal status and those
whose parents had not, all else equal. A third possibility would result if
becoming naturalized is what is most consequential, which implies a

pattern wherein persons whose parents had achieved naturalization reveal more sharply higher educational attainment compared to other families, all else equal.

Which of these is most evident in the results? We first note that one class stands out for the schooling advantage it conveys to offspring, the class of "mother predominant quick naturalizers" (MPQNs). Upon close inspection, however, we note that this group is quite distinctive. The latent class analyses reveal that two-thirds of the mothers in this group are native-born. The other third entered the country as LPRs (none illegally) and all quickly naturalized. And many of the mothers (40 percent) married unauthorized males, a figure that testifies both to the ubiquity of unauthorized Mexican male labor migration and to the fact that when such migrants marry natives they gain eligibility for "green card" status. It is not surprising that the adult children of parents in this class show the highest levels of education. But the class is so relatively advanced in early political-entry incorporation (consisting of so many native-born mothers) that it mostly provides an upper-bound benchmark of the consequences of the process. As a result, we limit our further attention from this point on to the members of the other classes.

We next note that a naturalization demarcation does not emerge in the coefficients indicating education differences. The "unauthorized entrants slow naturalizers" (UESNs) show a slight education premium but the other two naturalizing groups do not exhibit any premium at all. Rather, the predominant break in education differences occurs between those classes in which the mother either enters as or becomes a legal permanent resident versus those in which the mother does *not* (*i.e.*, those who entered unauthorized and remained unauthorized). All of the respondents whose parents are in classes with legal mothers show higher schooling than those whose parents are in the two classes with unauthorized mothers (MUMLs and MUFUs). The gross schooling difference between these two sets of mothers (those with mothers who entered legally or legalized versus those with mothers who entered and remained unauthorized) is 2.04 years. When antecedent variables, other covariates, and inverse probability of treatment weights are included, the difference shrinks to 1.51 years, which is still highly statistically significant. The education difference thus does not appear to owe to observed parental selectivity differences (*i.e.*, to the fact that other differences between the two groups account for *all* of the effect of mother's legal status on children's educational attainment). However, there nonetheless remains the

possibility that *both* mother's legalization and respondents' education could be jointly determined by factors not observed in the data. Controlling for such unobserved selectivity or joint determination is difficult, but one approach that sometimes helps involves using *instrumental variables*, or exogenous factors that affect only legal status and satisfy a so-called exclusion restriction (meaning that the factor is entirely exogenous and unrelated to respondent's education) (Morgan and Winship, 2007; Imbens and Wooldridge, 2009).

Legalization through the 1986 Immigration and Reform Act (IRCA) legalization program offers such a possibility. All illegal persons residing in the country since at least January 1, 1982, were eligible for this particular kind of legalization, which was the regular legalization program of IRCA (Bean, Vernez, and Keely, 1989; Baker, 1990). Moreover, in urban areas like Los Angeles, where almost all of the IIMMLA parents lived, virtually all persons who were eligible on the basis of this criterion actually legalized, and almost all of those who legalized did so under the auspices of this particular provision of IRCA (Pan, 2009). Furthermore, we examine education differences between those coming before 1982 and after 1982 and find no difference between the earlier and later arriving groups in their children's education other than that owing to secular increases in overall schooling, a change for which we adjust in the various models estimated here by including duration of time in the country.

In the IIMMLA data, nearly three-fourths of the respondents' parents were living in the United States before 1982. This means that, of the nearly half who entered the country illegally (Bean *et al.*, 2007), most would have legalized under IRCA. We thus construct an instrument for mother's attainment of legal permanent residency status following similar procedures to those adopted by Angrist and Evans (1998) when they estimated the effects of fertility beyond the first child on labor supply. They used as instruments couples who already had two children of the same sex or couples with one child who had twins. Here, we estimate a first-stage logistic regression for having attained legal permanent residence status, using as predictors having come to the country to stay before 1982, together with the parental antecedent variables used in Models 2, 3 and 5 in Table 6. We do not exclude from this first-stage regression the mothers who said they entered the country to stay as LPRs because many persons who come to the country in this way had been here previously and in fact were adjusting their status rather than arriving for the first time (Jasso *et al.*, 2008).

We then estimate a second-stage regression on respondent's education, again including the covariates and weighting (using the IPTW procedure). In these regressions, we collapse into one category the four mixed-status classes containing mothers who had attained legal permanent residency. We also collapse the two classes containing mothers who remained unauthorized. Recall that respondents whose parents are in the group in which mothers attained legal-permanent residence status show an unadjusted years-of-schooling advantage of 2.04 years compared to those whose mothers were unauthorized. The ordinary least squares estimate of this difference, after adjusting for observed selectivity and other covariates, is 1.51 years of schooling. However, the 2SLS estimate is 1.24 years. In other words, controlling only for observed selectivity of parents into mixed-status classes involving mothers who have legal permanent residence status reduces the education premium of mother's legal status by about one-third (from 2.04 to 1.51 years). Taking IRCA legalization into account and adjusting further for unobserved selectivity reduces the premium by about another one-sixth (from 1.51 years to 1.24 years). But a difference of approximately one-and-one-quarter years of schooling still emerges, one that is about three-fifths of the gross average difference.[11] Thus, using IRCA as an exogenous instrument to help adjust for unobserved selectivity reduces but does not appear to eliminate the education advantage associated with mother's achieving legal status.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this research on immigrant early political-entry incorporation carry significant implications for theories of immigrant incorporation. The classic assimilation approach envisions, as we have noted, an incorporation process that is uni-directional and uni-dimensional, although one that may involve multiple facets. This perspective tends to postulate that a large amount of assimilation occurs incidentally and through processes of osmosis the longer immigrants and their families live in destination societies. The major criticism of such notions, as articulated by sociologists, is that social structural and cultural factors

---

[11]We also checked to see if the small number of 1.5 generation respondents in the data who *themselves* remained unauthorized could be accounting for the results and found that controlling for this did not appreciably change the education differential.

impinge appreciably on the process, facilitating it in some instances [*e.g.*, *see* Alba and Nee's (2003) institutionalism], blocking it in others [*e.g.*, *see* Portes and Zhou (1993) and Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) downward assimilation, or no mobility, due to adverse structural contexts of reception], or even re-directing it in still others [*e.g.*, *see* Portes and Zhou's (1993) selective acculturation and Gibson's (1988) notion of accommodation without assimilation]. The latter approaches either implicitly acknowledge or, at a maximum, explicitly emphasize multi-dimensionality and multiple pathways of advancement as important features of incorporation dynamics.

   This paper reports findings that are in some ways consistent with both classic and segmented assimilation theoretical perspectives. In showing a more universal pathway for more highly educated, legally entering Asian settler migrants, and one that exerts little in the way of independent effects on second generation outcomes beyond those that can be explained by first-generation aspects of incorporation, the results are consistent with traditional assimilation ideas. But in showing more multiple and complex pathways of parental mixed-status for Mexican immigrants than Asians, and in demonstrating that these independently matter for incorporation outcomes in the second generation, the results are in keeping, in broad outline, with the tenets of the segmented assimilation perspective. So the empirical results indicate that both approaches show relevance for interpreting early political incorporation dynamics. But the findings are also consistent with the *delayed incorporation* perspective. Particularly notable is that legalization *per se* appears to add almost a year-and-a-quarter to the schooling premium associated with the various mixed-status groups containing mothers who are legal permanent residents. The findings thus make clear that under circumstances where unauthorized entry and temporary migration often occur, and then migrants end up staying more permanently and search for pathways to legalization, the nature and form of such dynamics hold implications for incorporation. That mothers' unauthorized status in particular hampers second-generation attainment (*i.e.*, education) reinforces the idea that unauthorized entry and the process of navigating pathways to legalization retards the pace of incorporation in the Mexican immigrant group in the United States.

   At a theoretical level, the *delayed incorporation* perspective thus helps to account for the consequences of Mexican immigrant unauthorized status. For one thing, it suggests that lack of full *membership*

(a factor that is not ascribed and that does not necessarily remain fixed over time) may constitute just as important a determinant of slow incorporation processes as discrimination (a factor that changes so slowly that it seems almost immutable). Thus, gauging the extent of Mexican incorporation requires taking into consideration that different segments of the group are located at very different membership points in the process of making the transition from sojourner to settler migrant status. Some migrants achieve settler status quickly, as is evident for those male migrants here who marry native-born co-ethnics and whose children show very high educational attainment. At the other end of the spectrum are those who, even after more than three decades of migration experience, have not yet attained legal permanent residency status. Their offspring suffer when it comes to educational success, especially when their mothers remain unauthorized.

The results also indicate the crucial importance of public policies that provide opportunities for legalization. The disadvantages associated with remaining unauthorized are evident in the above results. The fact especially that the force of legal status appears to exert its own *positive* effect on second generation education implies that the failure to provide pathways to legalization risks the development of an expanding underclass of unauthorized entrants. Such a development could derive from Congress not providing the possibility of entry into full societal membership, rather than deriving from the ethnoracial status of Mexican immigrants being the primary factor that blocks their advancement. Unauthorized entrants who have not been able (or have not had the opportunity) to legalize remain mired in disadvantage, as do their children. Because parents' socioeconomic status has enormous effects on children's education (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Featherman and Hauser, 1978; Fischer and Hout, 2006), the negative influence of unauthorized status may well persist into later generations. To the degree to which that influence remains permanent, as the idea of "downward assimilation" would suggest, or may relatively quickly be overcome, as delayed incorporation would imply, is a question for future research.

APPENDIX A: PROCEDURES FOR ASCERTAINING MIGRATION STATUS

Respondents were asked a series of questions about each of their parents' nativity and about each of their parents' migration status, both for when

their parents entered the United States and at the time of the interview. If the parent was born in the United States, foreign born but had never lived in the United States, or the parents' status was unknown to the respondent (or the respondent refused to answer questions) further questions about the parents' status ended. Such parents were classified into one of three groups: Native Born, Never Lived in the United States, or Status Unknown. For each parent that did not fall into one of these groups, we ascertained their entry and interview statuses using a four-step sequence.

First, we inferred a parents' legal status at the time of the interview indirectly by a process of elimination. If the parent was foreign born and had lived in the United States for more than 5 years, we asked if the parent had become a U.S. citizen (Citizen) or, if not, had acquired legal permanent residence (LPR status). All those remaining were tentatively classified as Unauthorized.

Second, following a similar process of elimination, we determined an initial entry status for each parent and classified them into one of six possible categories: LPR, Refugee, Work/Student/Travel Visa, Border Crossing Card, Unauthorized (when volunteered by the respondent), or Other. The Other category consists of parents for whom the respondent refused to provide information about or did not know their status upon entering the country.

Third, we classified each parent into one of three final entry statuses using a combination of the initial six-category entry status, their status at interview, and other background information. Four of the initial entry-status groups were straight forward. We labeled parents who entered as Legal Permanent Residents or as Refugees as Authorized. We grouped parents in the Unauthorized or Other categories together as Unauthorized/Unknown. The statuses of parents who entered with a temporary visa or a Border Crossing Card were more complicated. If a parent did *not* change their status and become a legal permanent resident (in other words, their interview status from the first step is Unauthorized), then we assume the parent acquired a visa or border card as a means to enter the country and stay but with no way to regularize their legal status in the long term. We grouped such parents into the Unauthorized category. If a parent said they entered with a temporary visa or border card and subsequently became a legal permanent resident or citizen, we then considered their highest education attained and the amount of time that they had been in the United States to infer their entry status. We categorized parents who had *not* completed high

school and had been in the country for more than 5 years at the time of the interview as Unauthorized entrants (*i.e.*, likely low-skill labor migrants who entered unauthorized or with a short-term visa but became legal permanent residents under the 1986 amnesty). Those with higher educational attainment or more time in the country likely entered the country with the means to become legal permanent residents, given enough time, so we categorized their entry status as Authorized.

Fourth, we then reassessed the interview statuses of certain parents to rectify a mistake that had occurred in the interview process and to determine whether a parent remained in the country without authorization and/or overstayed their visa. A mistake in the interview process occurred when respondents were not asked about a parents' status at interview if the parent had not been in the country for at least 5 years. In such cases, we inferred the interview status to be LPR if a parent had entered the country as a LPR. We grouped all other such cases as Unauthorized/Unknown. We also found inconsistencies in some respondents answers. Several respondents stated that their parents had entered the country as LPRs but did not indicate that they were LPRs at the time of the interview. Giving the benefit of the doubt, we labeled such parents current status as LPR. And if a respondent stated that their parent had entered as a Refugee but was not a LPR at interview (this mostly occurred among Mexicans, who cannot enter the country as Refugees), we inferred their interview status to be Unauthorized. We relabeled the interview status of all other parents with an initial interview status of Unauthorized to Unauthorized.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF FOUR-STEP PROCESS TO DETERMINE FINAL STATUS AT ENTRY AND FINAL STATUS AT INTERVIEW

Entry and interview statuses not applicable			
Native born			
Parent's information unknown (or refused)			
Parent never lived in US			
Entry and interview statuses applicable			
Step 1: Initial current status	Step 2: Initial entry status	Step 3: Final entry status	Step 4: Final current status
Naturalized	LPR	Authorized	Naturalized
Legal permanent resident	Refugee	Unauthorized/unknown	LPR
Other	Student or travel visa		Unauthorized
	Border crossing card		
	Unauthorized		
	Other		

TABLE A1

SCORING OF INDICATORS OF EARLY POLITICAL-ENTRY INCORPORATION TRANSITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH MIGRATING AND UNDERGOING STEP-TO-CITIZENSHIP TRANSITIONS (YES = 1, NO = 0), PARENTS WITH VARIOUS NATIVITY/MIGRATION (N/M) OR LEGALIZATION/CITIZENSHIP (L/C) TRAJECTORIES

	Step-to-citizenship transitions					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
N/M or L/C trajectory	Migrated to U.S. versus not[a]	Entered legally versus not	Became a LPR or not	Naturalized eventually versus not	Naturalized quickly versus not	U.S. Born
Status unknown or never migrated to U.S.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unauthorized (or unknown) to unauthorized	1	0	0	0	0	0
Unauthorized (or Unk) to legal permanent resident	1	0	1	0	0	0
Authorized to legal permanent resident	1	1	1	0	0	0
Unauthorized (or unknown) to naturalized	1	0	1	1	1	0
Authorized to naturalized	1	1	1	1	1	0
U.S. born	1	1	1	1	1	1

Notes: LPR, legal permanent resident; N/M, nativity/migration; L/C, legalization/citizenship.
[a]Also status unknown.

TABLE A2

PERCENT CHANGE IN FIT STATISTICS ACROSS SPECIFIC NUMBER OF CLASSES FOR LATENT CLASS ANALYSES

	AIC		BIC		Adjusted BIC		Entropy	
Immigrant group	Value	Percent change	Value	Percent change	Value	Percent change	Value	Percent change
Mexican								
2 classes	9,758		9,879		9,800		0.88	
3 classes	8,942	−8.4	9,126	−7.6	9,005	−8.1	0.91	3.2
4 classes	8,556	−4.3	8,803	−3.5	8,641	−4.0	0.95	3.8
5 classes	8,242	−3.7	8,552	−2.9	8,349	−3.4	0.95	−0.1
6 classes	8,043	−2.4	8,416	−1.6	8,171	−2.1	0.96	1.4
7 classes	**7,919**	**−1.5**	**8,354**	**−0.7**	**8,069**	**−1.2**	**0.96**	0.1
8 classes	7,831	−1.1	8,330	−0.3	8,003	−0.8	0.99	3.5
Asian								
2 classes	12,307		12,441		12,361		0.99	
3 classes	10,959	−11.0	11,163	−10.3	11,042	−10.7	0.93	−6.6
4 classes	10,127	−7.6	10,401	−6.8	10,239	−7.3	0.95	2.0
5 classes	**9,716**	**−4.1**	**10,060**	**−3.3**	**9,856**	**−3.7**	**0.96**	**0.8**
6 classes	9,471	−2.5	9,885	−1.7	9,640	−2.2	0.96	0.1

Bolded is model used to predict respondent's education.

REFERENCES

Alba, R., and V. Nee
2003 *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration.* Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard University Press.

Angrist, J., and W. N. Evans
1998 "Children and Their Parents' Labor Supply: Evidence from Exogenous Variation in Family Size." *American Economic Review* 88(June):450–477.

Bean, F. D., S. K. Brown, and R. G. Rumbaut
2006 "Mexican Immigrant Political and Economic Incorporation." *Perspectives on Politics* 4:309–313.

———, and G. Stevens
2003 *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

———, and M. Tienda
1987 *The Hispanic Population of the United States.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

———, G. Vernez, and C. B. Keely
1989 *Opening and Closing the Doors: Evaluating Immigration Reform and Control.* Santa Monica, CA, Washington, and Lanham, MD: RAND Corporation and Urban Institute Press.

———, S. K. Brown, M. A. Leach, and J. Bachmeier
2007 "Becoming U.S. Stakeholders: Legalization and Integration Among Mexican Immigrants and Their Descendants." Unpublished Working paper. Irvine: Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy, University of California.

Blau, P. M., and O. D. Duncan
1967 *The American Occupational Structure.* New York: Wiley.

Bloemraad, I.
2006 *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Brown, S. K.
2007 "Delayed Spatial Assimilation: Multi-Generational Incorporation of the Mexican-Origin Population in Los Angeles." *City & Community* 6(3):193–209.

———, and F. D. Bean
2006 "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process." *Migration Information Source* (special issue on the second generation). Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display. cfm?id=442>. Accessed on April 12, 2011.

Caldwell, C.
2009 *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West.* New York: Doubleday.

Cerrutti, M., and D. S. Massey
2004 "Trends in Mexican Migration to the United States, 1965–1995." In *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project.* Ed. J. Durand, and D. S. Massey. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Pp. 17–44.

Chávez, L.
1988 "Settlers and Sojourners: The Case of Mexicans in the United States." *Human Organization* 47:95–108.

————
1998 (1992). *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society.* San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich.

Clogg, C. C.
1995 "Latent Class Models." In *Handbook of Statistical Modeling for the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Ed. G. Arminger, C. C. Clogg, and M. E. Sobel. New York: Planum Press. Pp. 311–340.

Cornelius, W. A.
1992 "From Sojourners to Settlers: The Changing Profile of Mexican Immigration to the United States." In *U.S.–Mexico Relations: Labor Market Interdependence*. Ed. J. A. Bustamante, C. W. Reynolds, and R. A. H. Ojeda Palo. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. Pp. 155–195.

Council on Foreign Relations.
2009 *U.S. Immigration Policy*. New York: The Council on Foreign Relations.

Coutin, S. B.
2000 *Legalizing Moves: Salvadoran Immigrants' Struggle for U.S. Residency*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Crul, M., and L. Heering
2008 *The Position of the Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The TIES Study in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

———, and J. Schneider
2010 "Comparative Integration Context Theory: Participation and Belonging in New Diverse European Cities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(7):1249–1268.

———, and H. Vermeulen
2003 "The Second Generation in Europe." *International Migration Review* 37:965–986.

Curiel, E. M.
2004 "The Green Card as a Matrimonial Strategy: Self-Interest in the Choice of Marital Partners." In *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project*. Ed. J. Durand, and D. S. Massey. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Pp. 86–108.

Dahl, R. A.
1961 *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dreby, J.
2010 *Divided By Borders: Mexican Migrants and Their Children*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Duncan, B. V., J. Hotz, and S. J. Trejo
2006 "Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Market." In *Hispanics and the Future of America*. Ed. M. Tienda, and F. Mitchell. Washington: The National Academies Press. Pp. 228–290.

Featherman, D. L., and R. M. Hauser
1978 *Opportunity and Change*. New York: Academic Press.

Fischer, C. S., and M. Hout
2006 *Century of Difference: How America Changed in the Last One Hundred Years*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Fix, M., ed.
2007 *Securing the Future: US Immigrant Integration Policy*. Washington: Migration Policy Institute.

Gans, H. J.
1999 "Toward a Reconciliation of Assimilation and Pluralism: The Interplay of Accultur-
ation and Ethnic Retention." In *The Handbook of International Migration.* Ed. J. D.
Charles Hirschman, and P. Kasinitz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Pp. 161–
171.

Gibson, M. A.
1988 *Accommodation Without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School.*
Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Glick, J. E.
2010 "Connecting Complex Processes: A Decade of Research on Immigrant Families."
Journal of Marriage and the Family 72:498–515.

Baker, S. G.
1990 *The Cautious Welcome: The Legalization Programs of the Immigration Reform and
Control Act.* Santa Monica and Washington: the RAND Corporation and the
Urban Institute.

Gordon, M. M.
1964 *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins.* New
York: Oxford University Press.

Heath, A. F., C. Rothon, and E. Kilpi
2008 "The Second Generation in Western Europe: Education, Unemployment, and
Occupational Attainment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 34:211–235.

Higley, J., and J. Nieuwenhuysen, ed.
2009 *Nations of Immigrants: Australia and the USA Compared.* Cheltenham, UK and
Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.

Hochschild, J. L., and J. Mollenkopf
2009 "Modeling Immigrant Political Incorporation." In *Bringing Outsiders In: Transat-
lantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation.* Ed. J. L. Hochschild, and
J. Mollenkopf. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Pp. 15–30.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P.
1994 *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration.* Berkeley: University of
California.

Hong, G., and S. W. Raudenbush
2008 "Causal Inference for Time-Varying Instructional Treatments." *Journal of Educa-
tional and Behavioral Statistics* 33(3):333–362.

Imbens, G. W., and J. M. Wooldridge
2009 "Recent Developments in the Econometrics of Program Evaluation." *Journal of
Economic Literature* XLVII(1):5–86.

Jasso, G., D. S. Massey, M. R. Rosenzweig, and J. P. Smith
2008 "From Illegal to Legal: Estimating Previous Illegal Experience among New Legal
Immigrants to the United States." *International Migration Review* 42(4):803–843.

Kasinitz, P., J. H. Mollenkopf, M. C. Waters, and J. Holdaway
2008 *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age.* New York and
Cambridge, Mass: Russell Sage Foundation and Harvard University Press.

Kibria, N.
1993 *Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans.* Princeton: Princeton
University Press.

Koopmans, R.
2010 "Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multicultur-alism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(1):1–26.

Liebig, T, and S. Widmaier
2009 "Children of Immigrants in the Labour Markets of EU and OECD Countries: An Overview." OECD working papers DELSA/ELSA/WD/SEM(2009)25. P. 353.

Louie, V. S.
2004 *Compelled to Excel: Immigration, Education and Opportunity among Chinese Ameri-cans.* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Massey, D. S.
1987 "Do Undocumented Migrants Earn Lower Wages than Legal Immigrants? New Evidence from Mexico." *International Migration Review* 2:236–274.

——, J. Durand, and N. J. Malone
2002 *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

——, L. Goldring, and J. Durand
1994 "Continuities in Transnational Migration: An Analysis of Nineteen Mexican Communities." *American Journal of Sociology* 99(6):1492–1533.

——, R. Alarcón, J. Durand, and H. Gonzáles
1987 *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

McCutcheon, A. L.
1996 "Multiple Group Association Models with Latent Variables: An Analysis of Secular Trends in Abortion Attitudes, 1972–1988." *Sociological Methodology* 26:79–111.

Menjívar, C.
2006 "Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrants' Lives in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 111:999–1037.

Morgan, S. L., and C. Winship
2007 *Counterfactuals and Causal Inference: Methods and Principles for Social Research.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Motomura, H.
2006 *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Muthén, B. O.
2001a "Latent Variable Mixture Modeling." In *New Developments and Techniques in Structural Equation Modeling.* Ed. G. A. Marcoulides, and R. E. Schumacker. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. Pp. 1–33.

——
2001b "Second-Generation Structural Equation Modeling with a Combination of Categorical and Continuous Latent Variables: New Opportunities for Latent Class/Latent Growth Modeling." In *New Methods for the Analysis of Change.* Ed. A. Sayer, and L. M. Collins. Washington: American Psychological Association. Pp. 291–322.

——
2002 "Beyond SEM: General Latent-Variable Modeling." *Behaviormetrika* 29:81–117.

———, and L. K. Muthén

2000   "Integrating Person-Centered and Variable-Centered Analyses: Growth Mixture
       Modeling with Latent Trajectory Classes." *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental
       Research* 24:882–891.

Pan, Y.

2009   *Gains from Green Cards: Immigrant Parents' Legal Status and Children's Scholastic
       Achievement*. Working paper. Baton Rouge, LA: Department of Economics, Louisi-
       ana State University. <http://econpapers.repec.org/paper/lsulsuwpp/2009-01.htm>.
       Accessed on April 12, 2011.

Park, R. E.

1930   "Assimilation, Social." In *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Ed. E. Seligman, and
       A. Johnson. New York: Macmillan. P. 281.

Passel, J. S., and D'Vera Cohn

2010   *U.S. Unauthorized Migration Flows Are Down Sharply Since Mid-Decade*. Washing-
       ton: Pew Hispanic Center.

Pedraza-Bailey, S.

1985   "Cuba's Exiles: Portrait of a Refugee Migration." *International Migration Review*
       19(Spring):4–34.

Portes, A., ed.

1995   *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepre-
       neurship*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

———, and R. L. Bach

1985   *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley:
       University of California Press.

———, and ———

2001   *Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley and New York:
       University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation.

———, and ———

2006   *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, 3rd ed. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: Univer-
       sity of California Press.

———, and ———

1993   "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *The
       Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530:74–96.

Raftery, A. E.

1995   "Bayesian Model Selection in Social Research." *Sociological Methodology* 25:111–
       163.

Roberts, B.

1995   "Socially Expected Durations and the Economic Adjustment of Immigrants." In
       The Economic Sociology of Immigration. Ed. A. Portes. New York: Russell Sage
       Foundation. Pp. 42–86.

Roberts, B. R., R. Frank, and F. Lozano-Ascencio

1999   "Transnational Migrant Communities and Mexican Migration to the U.S." *Ethnic
       and Racial Studies* 22:238–266.

Sampson, R. J., P. Sharkey, and S. W. Raudenbush
2008 "Durable Effects of Concentrated Disadvantage on Verbal Ability among African-American Children." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 105(3):845–852.

Skeldon, R.
1992 "International Migration Within and From the East and Southeast Asian Region: A Review Essay." *Asian Pacific Migration* 1(1):19–63.

Smith, J. P., and B. Edmonston
1997 *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Telles, E. E., and V. Ortiz
2008 *Generations of Exclusions: Racial Assimilation and Mexican Americans.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

van Tubergen, F., I. Maas, and H. Flap
2004 "The Economic Incorporation of Immigrants in 18 Western Societies: Origin, Destination, and Community Effects." *American Sociological Review* 67:704–727.

Van Hook, J., and F. D. Bean
2009 "Explaining Mexican-Immigrant Welfare Behaviors: The Importance of Employment-Related Cultural Repertoires." *American Sociological Review* 74(3):423–444.

Wagmiller, R. L. Jr *et al.*
2006 "The Dynamics of Economic Disadvantage and Children's Life Chances." *American Sociological Review* 71(5):847–866.

Waldinger, R.
2007 "Did Manufacturing Matter? The Experience of Yesterday's Second Generation: A Reassessment." *International Migration Review* 41(1):3–39.

Warner, W. L., and L. Srole
1945 *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Wooldridge, J. M.
2002 *Econometric Analysis of Cross Section and Panel Data.* Cambridge and London: MIT Press.

Zhou, M., and C. L. Bankston
1998 *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.