African Immigrants: Patterns of Assimilation – Past Research and New Findings[1]

[1] All correspondence should be directed to Yetty Shobo. Pennsylvania State University (yas103@psu.edu)

Abstract

Africans, one of the post-1965 groups of immigrants from less developed countries, may differ from pre-1965 European immigrants in their assimilation pattern. This paper explores applicable assimilation models to African immigrants by reviewing the literature on black immigrants and analyzing the PUMS data. It finds that, compared to other immigrants, African immigrants' high level of human capital does not translate into equivalent level of socio-economic well-being in the U.S. Findings from the analysis suggest that race is an important individual and structural variable in the socio-economic location of African immigrants in the U.S. Segmented assimilation theory may offer the flexibility and fit needed for African immigrants. However, the data shows some support for the applicability of the classic assimilation theory to the average immigrant. Socio-economic well-being is highest for oldest cohorts and lowest for most recent cohorts.

Introduction

Classic assimilation theory has been applied to immigrant groups over the years. The increasing diversity of recent immigrants and their dissimilarity to earlier European immigrants to the US, suggests a need for re-evaluating the classic assimilation theory. Several theories and models have been suggested.

Classic assimilation theory proposes that immigrant groups become increasingly like the native-born or majority group over time as they experience educational and economic opportunities that results in socio-economic advancement. The theory, though fitting to earlier European immigrants, does not explain the diversity in patterns and outcomes of more recent immigrants. Changes in U.S. immigration laws in 1965 abolished national quota system and eased immigration prospects for non-Europeans. This has led to increased immigration from Asia, Africa, and, most notably, South and Latin America. Although Borjas (1985) projected a decline in the quality of these new waves of immigrants because of the lower preference given human resources and higher priority accorded to family reunification, recent work shows that this has not been the case (Borjas, 1994). In fact, post 1965 Black immigrants have been found to retain high quality human capital (Katende, 1994; Kalmijn, 1996).

While African immigrants constitute a small proportion of incoming waves of immigrants, the uniqueness of the combination of their position in racial hierarchy in the United States and their significantly high level of human capital engenders them to be of interest in immigration research. However, Africans continue to be a silent immigrant group in most discourse; little is known about the group. This paper seeks address this research gap by presenting some descriptive and comparative statistics on African and other immigrants from Census 1980, 1990, and 2000 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) data. It also presents a review of studies on African and other black immigrants and investigates the applicability of

classic assimilation theory to current streams of immigrants by running regression models using the same data.

Assimilation Theories

The application of assimilation concepts to understanding immigrants' well-being and adaptability has been linked to the works of Robert E. Park, W. I. Thomas, and other colleagues at the Chicago School of the early twentieth century (Alba and Nee, 1997). They defined assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them into a common cultural life" (Park & Burgess, 1969, p. 735). This and other foundational works framed traditional assimilation research.

Although several revisions and changes have been made along the way, classic assimilation theory is still embraced by many immigration researchers today. Assimilation research, initially focused on European immigrants, suggested that immigrants and their descendants advanced economically over time and became integrated into the social and political institution of the American society. Hence, the outcomes of European immigrants formed the basis for the traditional classic assimilation model (McDaniel, 1995). Central to this theory is the idea that immigrants become more like the majority group in their destination country over time. The model thus suggests a positive linear relationship between assimilation and time (Figure 1).

This linear association is not observed for some recent immigrant groups and has led researchers to identify several shortcomings of the classic assimilation theory. While Warner and Srole (1945) account for differences in assimilation rates by race, language of origin, and the religion of immigrants, they, nevertheless, still expected subsequent generations of immigrants to

discard the ways of their country of origin and embrace the culture of middle class Americans. Unlike Warner and Srole's optimistic projections, recent findings have been so contradictory that classic assimilation theory falls short in explaining them. Researchers found the advantages expected with longer duration in the United States were absent in studies of recent immigrants; on the contrary, some studies found that the disadvantages in parents' generation were magnified across generation. Kao and Tienda (1995) concluded that the longer some immigrants were in the U.S., the more maladaptive their educational, behavioral, and socio-economic outcomes became. In addition, the negative influence of residing in inner city neighborhoods have resulted in more divergent outcomes for some immigrant groups. Besides, classic assimilation theorists' assumption of an existing "non-ethnic" or "middle" American group towards which immigrants assimilate is yet to be proven (Zhou, 1997).

While several revisionists still embrace the classic assimilation theory and propose some modification for some of these shortcomings (Alba & Nee, 1997; Gans, 1992a, 1992b), other researchers believe that these accommodations do not fully address the deficiencies of the classic assimilation model. The inconsistencies and the non-generalizability of the classic model to some recent immigrant groups have led to competing assimilation hypotheses. Two notable models have emerged from this endeavor- the downward assimilation model and the segmented assimilation model.

Downward assimilation hypothesis suggests that immigrant groups become increasingly like the native-born disadvantaged and/or minority group over time if they settle in the same residential area as native minorities. That is, these immigrant groups will experience limited educational and economic opportunities and, as a result, have limited social and economic mobility like the native disadvantaged group. The concentration of earlier immigrants and native

minorities who have experienced economic disadvantages and stagnation as a result of racial discrimination and economic restructuring (Wilson, 1978) in inner cities is expected to lead to a resistance of the larger society's ideals. This adversarial stance leads to the deliberate rejection of mainstream norms and values, rather than an assimilation failure (Fordham, 1996; Wilson, 1996). Immigrants settling in such inner cities are influenced strongly by this pervasive "adversarial subculture" (Zhou, 1997). They, therefore, assimilate into such sub-culture rather than into a "middle" America culture as proposed by classic assimilation theorists.

Segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou, 1993) examines the interaction between individual level variables like education, English language ability, etc and structural factors such as racial status, place of residence, socio-economic status, etc. and the influence of this interaction on immigrants' outcomes. Three multidirectional patterns – upward mobility involving acculturation and economic integration into normative structures of middle class Americans, downward mobility involving acculturation and integration into the underclass, and economic integration into middle class America with delayed acculturation and purposeful preservation of immigrant groups' values – have been identified. The theory recognizes that immigrants are being absorbed into different segments of the American society and at different rates. Thus, becoming American depends on human, social, and financial capital of immigrants, the social context of their exit and entry, and their cultural patterns recreated in the process of adaptation (Zhou 1997).

This suggested interaction of individual and structural factors will be, in particular, salient for African immigrants. While many may have never experience racism in their homeland, they are confronted with the starkness of this reality in their host country as their ascribed physical features may create additional obstacle in their quest for upward mobility

(Portes, 1995; Waters, 1994). While hindered by these structural factors, African immigrants possess adaptive individual characteristics that can be expected to accelerate their upward mobility. African immigrants have been reported to possess good command of English and high level of education even at entry into the U.S. However, African immigrants are, for the most part, from countries that have very traditional and collective values. They are family-oriented and maintain strong economic ties to their families in their home countries. This suggests high levels of familism which, though previously labeled as "backward", have been found to have positive effects on immigrants' outcome especially for Hispanic immigrants (Baca Zinn & Well 2000). Furthermore, strong ethnic networks among African immigrants can be a source of social capital which will promote children's positive adjustment through the provision of support and control. Portes (1996) stresses that the ability of nonwhite and second-generation immigrants in U.S. to assimilate now depends heavily on family and community resources at their disposal. Hence, even though African immigrants may be economically integrated, acculturation may be deliberately delayed or limited for African immigrants.

Therefore, this paper proposes that the segmented assimilation model may offer the best fit for African immigrants in the interim. Further research on African immigrants may lead to the development of new assimilation models or further customization of existing models. The uniqueness of African immigrants, compared to other immigrant groups on whom some of these theories and models are based, may spur the development of new approaches in assimilation research. In the next section, I review findings from studies focused on African and Black immigrants to see if there is any support for the competing model - segmented assimilation model - as I have proposed. In subsequent sections, I explore the issue further using data from

1980, 1990, and 2000 PUMS to explore the generalizability of the classic assimilation to immigrants today.

Literature review

Few studies have been conducted on Black immigrants in the United States and even fewer focused on African immigrants. Because African immigrants constitute such a small fraction of immigrants, few studies focus exclusively on them. However, the confounding position occupied by African immigrants is unique and should incite research interest.

African immigrants are assigned the same race as the most disadvantaged native group upon entry into United States. This characteristic may impede their social mobility and limit their access to opportunities, suggesting that they may experience downward assimilation. However, some distinct characteristics possessed by African immigrants even at entry into the U.S. distinguish them from most native Blacks and place them closer to Whites. Their high level of human capital would lead us to expect an assimilation pattern that sets them closer to native Whites than to native Blacks. Portes and Zhou's segmented assimilation suggests an additional pathway for African immigrants - economic integration with delayed acculturation.

The following examined studies guide us in determining which of the theories may be fitting to African immigrants. Findings from a sub-model of the classic assimilation theory (the spatial assimilation perspective) and the segmented assimilation theory and its sub-models (the primacy of race and the ethnic identity perspectives) are discussed below.

Studies on African Immigrants in the United States

Bashi and McDaniel (1997) set forth a perspective that can be subsumed under the segmented assimilation model. They identify race as an important individual and structural

variable that is predictive of immigrants' well-being. They propose a mutually exclusive relationship between race and ethnicity for African immigrants in the US. They suggest the two are neither similar nor interchangeable. According to them, immigrants arrive in the United States with an ethnic identity but acquire a racial tag which determines the degree of their assimilability into the society. They distinguish this racial tag from ethnicity which they define as culture shared among people originating from the same geographical area with similar language, traditions, and other symbols of group identity.

The dichotomy of racial tag in the United States, which puts one group on top and the other on the bottom, impinges on African immigrants' ethnicity such that ethnic identifiers are lost in the process of constructing them into races (Bashi and McDaniel 1997). According to the authors, immigrants are forced to assimilate into the United States' system of racial stratification which determines the "success" and "failure" of native and immigrant members of each racial group. They suggest race, being a macro-level variable, plays a key role in determining the success of African immigrants in U.S. Their paper, therefore, suggests that race will place African immigrants on a lower level in the social hierarchy and may hinder classic assimilation.

In a descriptive analysis of immigrant professionals from different geographical regions, Fortney (1972) found that while the number of immigrants from Africa is small, it has increased significantly and is of high quality. She found that a third of immigrants from Africa are professionals. Immigrants from Asia follow with a fourth, while less than a tenth of immigrants from Europe, South America, and North America are professionals.

Hirshman (1994) examines the suitability of the classic assimilation model in explaining teenage immigrants' outcome. The theory, he suggests, proposes that the longer teenage immigrants are in the US, the more likely they are to be enrolled in high school and the lower

their non-marital fertility will be. He examines the segmented assimilation model as an alternative for immigrant teenagers who have been exposed mainly to inner-city environments.

He finds pattern of rising enrollment with longer duration in the U.S. for Central American immigrants but African immigrants and immigrants from Asia, Europe, and Canada share similar pattern of consistently high enrollment regardless of duration of stay in the U.S. With regards to marital postponement he finds strong evidence in support of the hypothesis of longer duration leading to increased marital postponement for immigrants from Africa, India, Philippine, etc. while Caribbean immigrants display characteristics in support of downward assimilation. Teenage African immigrants, therefore, show diverse assimilation trends, supporting segmented assimilation theory.

Freeman (2002) examined the spatial assimilation patterns of Black immigrants in the U.S. His spatial assimilation model is based on the premise that the spatial distance between immigrants and natives reflect the social distance between the two. The concepts of classic assimilation suggest that longer exposure to the host country and increases in socio-economic advancement should result in shorter spatial distance between immigrants and natives. In addition, Freeman (2002) incorporates the primacy of race and the ethnic identity model in analyzing the spatial assimilation of Black immigrants.

Freeman (2002) finds support for the ethnic identity model, as Black minorities were found to live in ethnic enclaves. Furthermore, while he acknowledges the role of race in blocking the socio-economic advancement of immigrants of African heritage, he concludes that African immigrants may be reluctant to forgo their ethnic identity and melt into African American culture because of their high level of education and their lack of slavery experience in the U.S. Therefore, he compares the primacy of race perspective which suggests that spatial assimilation

for African immigrants will be into African American neighborhoods and the ethnic identity perspective which proposes that African immigrants should be more likely to assimilate into white neighborhoods.

He finds that the primacy of race model provides a better fit for the spatial assimilation of black immigrants in the U.S. Moreover, he found that English fluency, longer duration, home ownership, and other measures of acculturation do not surmount the barriers of race in residential assimilation. Educational attainment was the only variable found to increase residential proximity to Whites. Thus, he finds being black may matter more than being an immigrant for Africans. His findings provide further support for segmented assimilation. While acculturation does not translate into residential assimilation towards Whites, the maintenance of ethnic enclaves and the out-migration of highly educated and economically integrated African immigrants from these enclaves into White neighborhoods support segmented assimilation.

There is no dispute about the existence of black-white gap in returns to human capital. However, the reasons for this differential continue to be a matter of debate. While some researchers (Burstein 1985; Wilson 1980, 1989) suggest a class differential and propose that this gap will shrink as blacks have more access to education and increase their human capital, others suggest the opposite outcome. Cancio, Evans, & Maume (1996) find more evidence in support of racial prejudice and suggest a widening gap in human capital returns for blacks at increasing levels of human capital. Dodoo & Takyi (2002), in investigating reasons for the black-white gap in returns to human capital, also find evidence in favor of racial prejudice. They compare white and black African immigrants and find black African immigrants' wages are 19% lower than those of whites after controlling for earnings-related characteristics.

Furthermore, Dodoo (1997), in another study, showed further support for race and continent of origin as strong predictors of African immigrants' socio-economic assimilation. While African immigrants are indeed the most educated of all Black groups in the U.S., he finds a negative return on African immigrants' educational attainment for diplomas obtained outside the United States. However, the same does not hold true for Caribbean immigrants. Although he finds that amongst blacks - native and immigrants- Africans earn the most, when earnings-related endowments such as educational attainments are included in the analysis, this expected African advantage disappears.

Butcher (1994) finds similar evidence of discrepancy between the educational attainment of African immigrants and their earnings. Poston (1994) also finds that, in general, immigrants from European countries do better economically than immigrants from other countries. He suggests that racism may be a differentiating factor in immigrants' success. This suggests that while Asia and Africa are the only two continents sending increasing proportions of professional workers since 1965, the outcomes of African immigrants may differ from those of Asians because of their experience of, and response to, being placed on the lowest level of the racial hierarchy in the U.S. Thus, with regards to wages and socioeconomic status, African immigrants, though possessing high human capital, may be hindered from achieving classic assimilation and may experience downward assimilation.

These diverse findings make it difficult to predict the assimilation pathways of African immigrants and suggest the need for further research on this issue. This paper contributes to this endeavor by using descriptive statistics from 1980, 1990, and 2000 PUMS data to examine the patterns of African immigrants' assimilation. The analysis includes 2 sections – the first section presents descriptive data on various human capital and socio-economic well-being indicators

while the second section uses logistic and multinomial regression models to investigate the data for evidence to support either the classic assimilation or the segmented assimilation theory.

ANALYSIS USING PUMS

Data and methods

This paper uses 1980, 1990, and 2000 5% PUMS data for respondents born outside the U.S and who are not of U.S. parentage. The group includes both naturalized citizens and non-naturalized immigrants. Respondents were grouped based on their place of birth and first ancestry chosen on the long form. The groups identified are European, Mexican, West Indian, Central and South American, African, Asian, Oceanian, and other North American. Other North American immigrants include those from Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Guam, etc.

Immigrant classification was for the most part based on continent of origin. However, immigrants who identified a different birthplace from their ancestry were excluded from the analysis because it is difficult to ascertain their place of birth and opportunities available to them during their developmental years may affect their outcomes and bias their group's average. The Public Data Query (PDQ) software is used to subset the data and to obtain descriptive statistics. STATA software is then used for statistical analysis - logistic and multinomial logistic regressions. This study includes 2,753,271 respondents – 612,580, 829,020, and 1,311,671 in 1980, 1990, and 2000 respectively. Analysis is weighed using person weights, resulting in 57,996,229 total respondents. Some of the analyses were age standardized.

Analysis

Central to the issue of immigrants' well bring is the concept of assimilation. While the preceding review includes a wide array of assimilation outcomes, the analyses in this section focus on few human capital and socio-economic well-being (SEW) indicators for African and others immigrants groups in the U.S. Under the human capital category this paper examines linguistic isolation, English ability, and educational attainment and the socio-economic well-being category includes residential mobility, homeownership, occupational status, poverty level, and family income indicators are examined. If classic assimilation holds for all groups, there will be a correlation between human capital and socio-economic well-being such that immigrant groups who rank high in human capital should also rank high in socio-economic well-being. However, the absence of such relationship stipulates that segmented assimilation theory should be explored as an alternative for the group.

Descriptive and Comparative Data by Immigrant Groups

Human Capital Indicators

English ability

Most immigrants speak a language other than English. Some are bilingual while others speak only their native non-English language. Persons 5 years old and over who reported that they spoke a language other than English were asked if they felt they spoke English "very well", "well", "not well", or "not at all". A person is classified as not proficient in English if they chose "not well" or "not at all", and as proficient otherwise. A dummy variable, with proficiency assigned a value of one, is used.

English proficiency affects immigrants' assimilation in the U.S. (Gordon 1964) but could also be an outcome of assimilation (Rambaut 1997). Immigrants with good command of English have better access to jobs, have a wider variety of jobs, and can access medical and social services needed for integration (Rumbaut 1997). Also, economists identify English proficiency as a form of human capital that could hinder immigrants' employment and affect earnings (McManus, Gould, and Welch 1983; McManus 1985). Non-proficiency in English have also been found to affect adolescent immigrants' schooling (Tienda and Neidert 1984) and undermined the effectiveness of public healthcare delivery to immigrants (Quesada 1976). While the importance of English proficiency in obtaining employment may be reducing with increasing number of immigrant-owned businesses in ethnic enclaves, low English proficiency limits job choices and interaction with others outside the immigrant's ethnicity.

Amongst immigrants, Africans have the second lowest percent of respondents who are not proficient in English in the 2000 Census. However, the percent that are not proficient in English increased slightly for the group between 1990 and 2000 (see Table 3). Table 3 shows that English speaking ability varies significantly amongst immigrant groups in the three census years. In 2000, the percent that was not proficient in English varied from 5.90% for North Americans to 52.90% for Mexicans. However, little variation in percent proficient in English was recorded within each immigrant group across the three censuses.

Linguistic Isolation

The US census classifies a person as linguistically isolated if they reside in a household in which no person age 14 years or over speaks only English and no person age 14 years or over, who speaks a language other than English, speaks English "very well". Linguistic isolation is

important in determining immigrants' assimilation in the U.S. Linguistically isolated individuals reside in ethnic enclaves and are least likely to interact with the mainstream society.

Various researches have linked linguistic isolation to maladaptive assimilation patterns for immigrants. Linguistic isolation limits immigrants from acquiring the language of their host country and hinders their ability to interact and socialize with natives. Because education is, for the most part, available mainly in English in the U.S, the effect of this marginalization is deleterious not only to parents but also to children who may take longer to master English and may have problems learning and interacting in school. While some headway have been made with regards to offering bilingual education in states with high Hispanic population and enclaves, few schools in the U.S. have the resources to provide bilingual education.

Table 4 shows a third of immigrants surveyed in 1990 and 2000 are linguistically isolated; no data is available for 1980. Significant diversity exists among immigrant groups in the percent linguistically isolated. Mexicans have the highest level of isolation – more than 40% - even though they experienced some decline between 1990 and 2000. On the other hand, African immigrants were the third least isolated immigrant group in both years, having lower isolation levels than European, Asian, Central and South American, and Mexican immigrants. However, it is important to point out that although Africans have the second highest percent of persons that speak English well amongst all immigrant groups, Africans are not integrated and exist in enclaves to a higher degree than immigrants from Oceania who report slightly less proficiency. In addition, the percent of African immigrants living in linguistic isolation increased between 1990 and 2000. Although this increase is slight, future increase may jeopardize African immigrants' economic integration in the U.S.

Educational attainment

Educational attainment is another strong predictor of future economic well-being (Sewell and Hauser 1975; Schmid 2001). Immigrants' educational attainment when entering the U.S. and their ability to improve their educational attainment while in the US will affect their ability to assimilate. Immigrants with higher educational attainment will access better jobs and have faster rates of economic integration than those with lower educational attainment. Educational attainment is dichotomized in this paper. As a dependent variable, it is defined as possessing at least a bachelor's degree. Bachelor's degree, rather than high school certificate, was chosen because this level of education is more relevant for today's job market. Analysis of educational attainment in this paper is restricted to immigrants aged 25 and older.

In all the three years, African immigrants have the highest percentage of respondents with more than a bachelor's degree. Asian immigrants are next. Table 5 shows that both groups were significantly different from other immigrant groups. Table 5 shows the percent of Africans with both level of education have been falling at an alarming rate. Further research is needed on this.

Mexicans have the lowest percent of respondents at with a Bachelor's degree for the three years. Researchers have suggested that because the cost of coming to the U.S. is much cheaper for most Mexicans, such that immigrants with lower educational attainment still benefit from coming to the U.S., selection into the U.S. based on educational attainment may be less stringent. On the contrary, immigration cost may be an important selection factor that limits the immigrant stream from other regions to highly educated individuals. Also, programs such as the Bracero program that admits agricultural workers from Mexico may lead to a high proportion of Hispanic immigrants with little or no formal education.

Socio-economic Well-being Indicators

Based on the patterns observed from the preceding analysis on human capital, this paper examines which of the assimilation patterns the socio-economic well-being indicators follow. Since African immigrants have high level of English proficiency, high level of educational attainment, and low level of linguistic isolation, this paper expects they will have high levels of socio-economic well-being if classic assimilation theory is fitting. Any diversion from this will support segmented assimilation theory.

Occupational status

This variable is examined only for respondents between ages 25 to 64 years. An immigrant is classified as being in a "specialty" or professional occupation if they report a professional, management, technical, and executive occupational status in PUMS. Although there were slight differences between the occupational classification systems for the three PUMS, this paper synchronizes the three systems. This analysis includes only professionals. Later regression analysis includes 3 categories – professionals, non-professionals, and unemployed; non-professionals are the base category in the multinomial logistic regressions.

As discussed earlier, immigrants' human capital affects access to jobs. Immigrants with high level of human capital in form of English proficiency and educational attainment will be more likely to be in professional or specialty occupation which provides higher wages and benefits. Occupational status, in turn, determines income and ability to attain the middle class American status.

Although African immigrants had the highest proportion of persons in professional and management occupations in 1980, they ranked second behind immigrants from other North American countries in both 1990 and 2000 (Table 6). Africans were the only group that showed

a dip in 1990, all other groups report consistent increases in the percent in professional occupation. We see that African and Asian immigrants' significantly higher educational advantage does not necessarily translate into occupational advantage in 1990 and 2000. Although both groups have high proportion of respondents in professional occupation, immigrants from other North American countries report significantly higher proportion in professional occupation than both groups in 1990 and 2000. This could indicate some support for the primacy of race hypothesis or could signify more complex immigration requirement needed for Asian and African immigrants to work in the U.S. Although in-depth research is needed to explore this issue, the above analysis still provides some support for the classic assimilation theory.

Family Income

In compiling statistics on family income, the incomes of all members, 15 years old and over, residing with a family at the time of enumeration are summed and treated as a single amount and labeled as total family income. All immigrant groups report significant increases in total family income between 1980 and 2000. However, there are significant differences in the magnitude of the increase between groups (see Table 7).

Immigrants from other North American countries report the highest family income and the highest increase between 1980 and 2000. Africans report the fourth highest increase and the fourth lowest family income despite the high level of educational attainment and professional status within the group. This rank was consistent for the three census years. This suggests that, like occupational status, African immigrants higher level of educational attainment does not translate into higher socio-economic status. This provides further support for the primacy of race hypothesis. Next, this paper analyses the number of hours worked to see if this will shed any light on the observed discord between human capital level and socio-economic well-being.

Number of Hours Worked

This is the mean of the usual number of hours worked by respondents ages 24 to 65 in the year prior to the census. Table 8 shows that all immigrant groups reported increasing number of hours worked. African immigrants went from reporting the lowest number of hours worked in 1980 to reporting the fourth lowest number of hours in 2000. Caribbean immigrants report the lowest number of hours – 40.04 - in 2000 while immigrants from Oceania report the highest hours – 42.78. Differences in number of hours worked between groups are very small.

The discord between the human capital level of African immigrants and their family income may, thus, be explained in part by the number of hours worked. Although Africans and Asians report high educational attainment, both groups have lower average number of hours worked compared to immigrants from Europe and other North American countries. A possible explanation for this could be that both groups tend to pursue higher education hence are more likely to be students than workers.

Residential Mobility

Residential mobility is defined as a change in residence in the 5-year period prior to the survey; those who have changed residences are labeled as movers. Immigrant researches suggest that as immigrants improve their socio-economic position, they may move to better residences. Freeman (2002), using the primacy of race perspective, suggests that spatial assimilation of African immigrants will be into African American neighborhoods while, using the ethnic identity model, he suggests that African immigrants should be more likely to assimilate into White rather than into African-American neighborhoods. While this paper does not have sufficient data to examine spatial assimilation, differences in the percent of movers between groups are informative by themselves.

In both years, African immigrants report the highest percent of movers (Table 9). Like the overall percent for all immigrants, the percent of African immigrants movers declined slightly between 1990 and 2000. Europeans are the least likely to move although increasing proportions were movers in 2000. Further information is needed to investigate why Africans move at such high rates. If these residential moves were prompted by immigrants' desire for better neighborhoods or moving into own homes, then, of all immigrant groups, we can presume from the data that African immigrants show the highest desire to improve their neighborhood. However, if residential moves were a result of economic limitations, then African immigrants may be in the worst position. Analyzing homeownership rates may help resolve some of this puzzle.

Home Ownership

A person is classified as a homeowner if the person has paid for, or is currently mortgaging a home. This may be a measure of financial resources or, on the other hand, it may be a measure of connectedness to the host country. Immigrants from other North American countries report the highest rate of homeownership followed by Europeans (Table 10). The two groups report significantly different rates of homeownership compared to other immigrant groups. However, this is not surprising since both groups report significantly high family income as well.

Africans have the lowest rates of homeownership. Less than 40% of African immigrants own a home in the US. This adds to the previously identified confounding relationship between African immigrants' human capital and their socio-economic outcome variables. Although, African immigrants' rates of homeownership increased in 2000, they remain significantly below those of all other immigrant groups.

Poverty level

A person's poverty level is determined from the poverty status of their family. The federal poverty threshold prescribed by the Office of Management and Budget is used to determine poverty levels for families; poverty levels vary by family size. The total income of each family in the sample was tested against the appropriate poverty threshold to determine the poverty status for the family or unrelated individual. If the total income was less than the corresponding cutoff, the family or unrelated individual was classified as "below the poverty level." This paper uses a dichotomous poverty variable. Poverty status is of particular importance because of its intergenerational transferable nature.

Although the percent of persons in poverty increased between 1980 and 1990, the percent of persons in poverty declined for most immigrant groups (see Table 11) between 1990 and 2000. Only Europeans report higher percent in poverty in 2000. Africans went from having the highest percentage of respondents in poverty in 1980 to having the third highest percent in 2000. Less than a fifth of African immigrants live below the poverty level. Also, an increasing proportion of African immigrants live above 500% of the federal poverty level in 2000. More than a fifth of African immigrants live above this level in 2000. In 1990, Africans reported the fourth highest proportion of persons living above 500% of the federal poverty level, while in 2000 they had the fifth highest proportion. Mexicans have the lowest proportion of persons living above 500% of the federal poverty level and the highest proportion of persons in poverty in 1990 and 2000. Immigrants from other North American countries report the highest proportion of respondents at 500% of the federal poverty level and lowest proportion of respondents in poverty in 1980 and 2000.

Regression Models of Classic Assimilation Theory

From the preceding analyses, we can conclude that the relationship between African immigrants' human capital and socio-economic well-being does not follow the pattern predicted by classic assimilation theory for the most part. However, an important variable in classic assimilation model is cohort of entry. The above analyses does not control for cohort of entry. Since African immigrants tend to be much more recent immigrants, their lower than expected high socio-economic well-being may be because they are in the process of settling down in their host country. Analysis controlling for cohort of entry will help elucidate this hypothesis.

This second part of the analysis, using the 1980, 1990, and 2000 census data, examines the data for evidence in favor of either the classic assimilation or the segmented assimilation theory. If classic assimilation holds for all groups, I expect a positive relationship between cohort of entry and immigrants' socio-economic well-being (SEW) over time such that more recent cohort have lower SEW and vice versa. Furthermore, this paper expects a positive relationship between human capital and immigrants' SEW over time regardless of region of origin. However, the absence of such relationships suggests that alternative paths in the segmented assimilation model may provide a better fit for more recent immigrant groups. The analysis also examines if region of origin has any main effect on socio-economic well-being.

Two socio-economic well-being indicators are chosen randomly to explore this hypothesis. Choice of socio-economic indicator is random since all SEW indicators, apart from occupational status, displayed low correlation with human capital indicators for African immigrants. Logistic and multinomial logistic regressions are used to examine the likelihood of being in poverty and in professional or unemployed occupational status respectively. Logistic regression is used to examine the effect of cohort of entry on poverty controlling for human

capital and other individual background variables. A subsequent model performs a similar analysis but also introduces regions of origin as control variables. The odds ratio for the effect of cohorts of entry in the two models is shown in Figures 3 and 4. Because this paper employs three categories of work status, multinomial logistic regression is applied to determine the likelihood of respondents to be in each category. With respondents in non-professional categories as the base category, the analysis is performed to examine the relationship between cohort of entry and socio-economic well-being, controlling for individual background variables. A follow up analysis includes regions of origin into the model.

The individual background variables included in the analyses are race and sex variables. Table 2 shows the prevalence of each dichotomous dummy variable representing race or sex. The sample includes a nearly even representation of males and females. Blacks are less represented while Hispanic is the majority race. Table 2 also includes data on immigrant distribution by cohort of entry into the United States. Not surprisingly, pre-1950 immigrants were least represented. Over three quarters of the respondents entered the U.S. after 1965.

RESULTS

Occupational Status

Models 1 and 2 examine the likelihood of being in a professional occupation or unemployed compared to being in a non-professional occupation using multinomial logistic regression. The odds being in professional rather than non-professional occupations are highest for the pre-1950 cohorts and declines with duration in the U.S (Figure 3). The most recent cohort has nearly half the odds of being in professional rather than non-professional occupations as the

pre-1950 cohort. Because African immigrants are more recent immigrants, cohort effects may help explain the low association between their human capital and socio-economic well-being.

Introducing regions of origin attenuates cohorts' effects very slightly (Figure 3 and Table 12). Figure 3 compares cohorts of entry's odd ratios in this and in the preceding model. Although all the region effects are significant, the sizes of these effects are more informative than the p-values because of the large sample size. All regions of origin in Table 12 have lower odds of being in professional occupations compared to the excluded, other North American, group. Figure 2 shows that these region effects may also help explain the African immigrants' conundrum. The group has the third lowest odds ratio when compared with other North American immigrants. This, combined with their recent entry into the U.S., may help explain the low association between human capital and socio-economic well-being for the group.

Higher educational attainment and being proficient in English result in significantly higher likelihood of being in professional rather than non-professional occupations. Possessing a bachelor's or higher degree is associated with significantly higher odds of being in a professional occupation than having less than high school education. In both models, females and Black immigrants report higher odds of being in professional occupations while Hispanics have lower odds of being in professional occupations.

Most of the cohort effects on the odds of being unemployed are not significant; only the 1990-2000 cohorts have a significant effect on the odds of being unemployed. Also, only this most recent cohorts report nearly twice the odds of being unemployed as opposed to being in non-professional occupations compared to the pre-1950 cohorts (Figure 3). Further, only these cohorts of immigrants report a higher likelihood of being unemployed compared to the pre-1950

cohorts. Introducing regions of origin weakens the effects slightly; the 1990-2000 cohort of immigrant is still the only cohort with a significant effect on the odds of being unemployed.

Poverty

Models 3 and 4 examine the odds of living below the poverty line. Apart from a slight decline for the 1950-1965 cohort, there is a gradual increase in the likelihood of being in poverty for all subsequent cohorts of immigrants. The most recent cohorts of immigrants have the highest odds of being in poverty (Figure 4). They report more than twice the odds of being in poverty as the pre-1950 cohorts. Thus, the odd of being poor is negatively correlated with duration of stay in the U.S. for all cohorts apart from the 1950-65 cohorts. Hence, we observe the positive linear relationship implied by classic assimilation theory (Figure 4). When regions of origin are introduced, this relationship is still maintained (Table 12). There is little evidence of a main effect of regions of origin on cohorts' effect on poverty (Figure 4). Figure 4 compares the two models, one with and the other without the regions of interest. However, all the main effects are significant but are of low magnitude. Apart from Europeans, all immigrant groups have higher odds of being in poverty compared to other North American immigrants. Africans have the third highest odd of being in poverty compared to the base group.

Also, there is evidence of a negative relationship between the odds of being poor and educational attainment; persons with more than Bachelor's degree have the lowest odds of being in poverty. Also, persons who are proficient in English have lower odds of being in poverty.

In conclusion, the longer immigrants have being in the U.S., the higher their odds of being in a professional occupation, and not being in poverty. The pattern of unemployement is less distinct. Also, the above analyses reveal that human capital indicators are positively

correlated with SEW. Higher educational attainment and English language proficiency results in lower odds of being unemployed or poor and higher odds of being in professional occupations in the regression models without regions of origin. Thus, findings from the poverty and employment status models show support for the classic assimilation model. Overall, cohort of entry is negatively correlated with socio-economic well-being; regions of origin show a slight weakening impact on cohort effects. However, Africans are more likely to fare worse than immigrant groups that have lower human capital possibly because of their more recent entry into the U.S.

CONCLUSION

The analysis above presents varying portrait of African immigrants in the U.S. While African immigrants possess higher human capital than most immigrant groups, this advantage is not translated directly to socio-economic well-being in the United States. African immigrants outperform Asian immigrants in educational attainment and linguistic ability but Asians and European immigrants surpass African immigrants in socio-economic outcomes. Both Asians and Europeans report higher rates of home ownership, higher income, and a lower proportion of persons in poverty compared to African immigrants. The homeownership rates of African immigrants are abysmally low. Whether this a measure of lack of access to financial institutions providing loans or whether this is due to an expectation of temporarilyness of stay in the U.S. can only be answered by further research using both quantitative and qualitative data.

Furthermore, for most of the human capital variables examined, African immigrants appear to be losing their edge over other immigrant groups. A possible explanation of this is the diversity lottery visa, a program designed by the U.S. Department of States to make up for

nationalities that have low representation in the U.S. The program awards permanent residency in the United States to randomly chosen immigrants from qualified countries. Only recently did the program include educational attainment of high school and above as part of the requirement for winners to access their awards. Because Africans are least represented in the U.S., this program may have resulted in an erosion of the quality of Africans in the U.S.

However, race may also plays an important role in African immigrants' socio-economic outcome in the United States. While the socio-economic well-being of African immigrants have been reported to be above that of native blacks with regards to most indicators (Dodoo 1997), their socio-economic well being is significantly below that of Asians with whom they share similar levels of human capital. The racial stratification in the United States that places blacks at the lowest level of the racial hierarchy may translate into greater obstacles in accessing jobs, mortgage loans, and other social support for African immigrants. Also, Cancio, Evans, & Maume (1996) suggest that racial inequality may actually be wider at the upper end of the educational and socio-economic spectrum. Thus, these factors may collude to result in inferior and worsening socio-economic well-being for African immigrants over time.

Findings presented in the logistic and multinomial regression above are in support of classic assimilation for the average immigrant. Immigrants who have been in the U.S for longer period of time on average are more likely to be employed, in professional occupation, and not in poverty. Thus, these immigrants are achieving the great American dream over time. Consequently, I expect the socio-economic well-being of more recent immigrants to improve with time as they access the opportunities presented by living in the U.S.

However, there is nothing like the average immigrant. Past research has shown that immigrants' culture, country of origin, residence in the U.S., race, etc. all affect their success in

the U.S. The magnitude and significance of the main effects of regions of origin in the analysis show some support for this view as an alternative to the classic assimilation theory for some groups. Further, there is significant diversity within each created region of origin. More differentiation may be needed within each group.

An important variable that was not included in this analysis but is a significant predictor of success over time is reception in the host country. Several studies suggest that assimilation and economic integration depend on the social context of immigrants' exit and their reception in their country of destination (Zhou, 1999). Differential reception of more recent immigrants in the United States may result in more divergent socio-economic well being compared to earlier immigrants. Also, this analysis does not address the issue of legality; no information on the legal status of the immigrants is provided. Thus, to the extent that some regions of origin have more illegal immigrants with restricted access to economic and social support, such groups' average may be biased downwards. However, the aim of this study is to examine the total immigrant population and less interest exist in the legal status of immigrant respondents.

There are some other limitations in the above analysis. The absence of a question on the citizenship of respondent's father makes it difficult to determine the generational order of persons born in the U.S. A comparison of African immigrants and descents of African immigrants of different generational status would contribute significantly the identification of African immigrants' assimilation patterns in the U.S. This would help in verifying whether the outcomes of African immigrants improve or worsen with time and generation.

Furthermore, the limiting of each group by place of birth and first ancestry, and the exclusion of immigrants born outside their ancestral continent and the U.S. may have resulted in some bias. However, all these biases should only result in more conservative estimates for all

groups. As long as the effects are systematic, all the groups should be affected in similar manner. For clarity of result, this paper chose to ignore multiple ancestries. This may have resulted in children with parents of mixed ancestry being assigned to the first group they indicated. If their order of identification is how they view themselves and how the society perceives them, then using first ancestry only may not be problematic. Therefore, this paper expects that regardless of the above-discussed concerns, the results from the analysis are informative and generalizable to the bulk of immigrants in the U. S.

African immigrants occupy a unique position in the United States population. They are black and they possess significantly higher levels of human capital than native blacks. Their ability to maintain this high level of human capital in later generations will depend to a large extent on their experience in the U.S. Findings from this paper provide some support for the primacy of race, a sub-model of the segmented assimilation theory, and also for the classic assimilation theory for African immigrants. Depending on the indicators examined, different patterns were observed. Thus, segmented assimilation theory, which encompasses both, offers the best flexibility and fit for African immigrants. Further research on African immigrants is important in clearly identifying processes involved in the observed disjoint between human capital and socio-economic outcomes of African immigrants. African immigrants, though few in number, possess significant amount of human capital that can be harnessed to the benefit of the U.S. economy. Whether this actually takes place and the manner in which it takes place depends to a large extent on the host country.

References

Alba, R. and Nee, V. 1997. Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. *International Migration Review* 31: 826-74

Baca Zinn, M. and Wells, B. 2000. Diversity Within Latino Families: New Lessons for Family Social Science. In *Handbook of family diversity*, ed. DH Demo, KR Allen, MA Fine, pp. 252-73. New York: Oxford University Press

Bashi, V. and McDaniel, A. 1997. A Theory of Immigration and Racial Stratification. *Journal of Black Studies* 27: 668-82

Borjas, G.J. 1985. Assimilation, Changes in Cohort Quality, and the Earnings of Immigrants. *Journal of Labor Economics* 3: 463-89

Borjas, G.J. 1995. Assimilation and Changes in Cohort Quality Revisited: What Happened to Immigrant Earnings in the 1980s? *Journal of Labor Economics* 13: 201-45

Burstein, P. 1985. *Discrimination, Jobs, and Politics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Butcher, K.F. 1994. Black Immigrants in the United States: A Comparison with Native Blacks and Other Immigrants. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 47: 265-84

Cancio, A.S., Evans, T.D., and Maume, D.J. Jr. 1996. Reconsidering the Declining Significance of Race: Racial Differences in Early Career Wages. *American Sociological Review* 61: 541-56

Dodoo, F. N-A. 1997. Assimilation Differences among Africans in America. *Social Forces* 76: 527-46

Dodoo, F. N-A. and Takyi BK. 2002. Africans in the Diaspora: Black-White Earnings Differences among America's Africans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25: 913-41

Fortney, J. 1972. Immigrant Professional a Brief Historical Survey. *International Migration Review* 6: 50-62

Freeman, L. 2002. Does Spatial Assimilation Work for Black Immigrants in the US? *Urban Studies* 39: 1983-2003

Gans, H. 1992. Second Generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of post-1965 American Immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2: 1-20

Gordon, M. M. 1964. *Assimilation in American Life*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Hirschman, C. 1994. Problems and Prospects of Studying Immigrant Adaptation from the 1990 Population Census: From Generational Comparisons to the Process of "Becoming American". *International Migration Review* 28: 690-713

Kalmijn, M. 1996. The Socioeconomic Assimilation of Caribbean American Blacks. *Social Forces* 74: 911-30

Landale, N. S. and Hauan, S. M. 1996. Migration and Premarital Childbearing Among Puerto Rican Women. *Demography* 33: 429-42

McManus W., Gould W., and Welch F. 1983. Earnings of Hispanic Men: The Role of English Language Proficiency. *Journal of Labor Economics* 1: 101-30

McManus W. S. 1985. Labor Market Assimilation of Immigrants: The importance of Language Skills. *Contemporary Policy Issues* 3: 77-89

McDaniel A. 1995. The dynamic racial composition of the United States. *Daedalus* 124: 179-98

Park, R.E. and Burgess, E. 1969. *Introduction to the science of sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago

Portes, A. and Zhou, M. 1993. The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants Among Post-1965 Youths. *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 530: 74-96

Portes, A. and Zhou, M. 1996. Self-Employment and the Earnings of Immigrants. *American Sociological Review* 61: 219-30

Portes, A. 1995. *The economic sociology of immigration: essays on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation: New York, New York

_____. Introduction. In *The New Second Generation*, ed. A. Portes. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Poston, D.L. Jr. 1994. Patterns of Economic Attainment of Foreign-Born Male Workers in the United States. *International Migration Review* 28: 478-500

Quesada, G. M. 1976. Language and Communication Barriers for Health Delivery to a Minority Group. *Social Science and Medicine* 10: 323-7

Rumbaut, R. G. 1997. Assimilation and Its Discontents: Between Rhetoric and Reality. *International Migration Review* 31: 923-60

Schmid, C. L. 2001. Educational Achievement, Language-Minority Students, and the New Second Generation. *Sociology of Education* 74: 71-87

Sewell, W., and Hauser, R. 1975. *Education, Occupation, and Earnings: Achievement in the Early Career*. New York: Academic Press

Tienda, M., and Neidert, L. 1984. Language, education, and the socioeconomic achievement of Hispanic origin men. *Social Science Quarterly* 65: 519-36

Warner, W.L. and Srole L. 1945. *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Group*. Connecticut: Yale University Press

Waters, M.C. 1994. Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City. *International Migration Review* 28: 795-820

Wilson, J. 1978. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Wilson, W.J. 1980. *The declining significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American institutions.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Wilson, W.J. 1989. The declining significance of race: revisited but not revised. In *Caste and Class Controversy on Race and Poverty*, ed. C Willie, pp. 22-36. Dix Hills, NY: General Hills, Inc.

Zhou, M. 1997. Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation. *International Migration Review* 31: 975-1008

Zhou, M. (1999). Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation. In C. Hirschman, J. DeWind, & P. Kasinitz (Eds.), *The handbook of international migration* (pp. 196-211). New York: Russell Sage

TABLES[i]

Table 1: Sample Size of Immigrants by Place of Birth

Place of Birth	2000	1990	1980
Europe	198,870	189,167	236,740
Mexico	395,278	197,940	104,528
Caribbean	93,473	47,565	63,204
Central and South America	220,107	133,436	46,040
Africa	24,644	9,967	5,134
Asia	335,283	211,611	112,626
Oceania	3,888	2,283	1,648
Other North America	40,128	37,051	42,660
Total	1,311,671	829,020	612,580
Weighed Total	28,169,430	17,575,199	12,251,600

Table 2: Summary Statistics

	Number	Percent
White	836,135	30.37
Black	143,744	5.22
Hispanic	1,143,457	41.53
Others	629,935	22.87
Female	1,418,921	51.54
Pre-1950	267,712	9.72
1950-1964	373,019	13.55
1965-1980	913,506	33.18
1981-1990	717,406	26.06
1991-2000	481,628	17.49

Table 3: English Speaking Inability of Immigrant Groups (%)

Place of Birth	1980	1990	2000
Europe	18.10	16.40	18.30
Mexico	53.00	50.60	52.90
Caribbean	40.50	35.70	33.90
Central and South America	31.20	37.80	38.80
Africa	8.50	8.30	10.10
Asia	24.70	24.00	22.90
Oceania	16.70	15.70	11.30
Other North America	7.30	6.10	5.90
Total	30.60	32.70	35.30

Table 4: Linguistic Isolation of Immigrant Groups

Place of Birth	1990	2000
Europe	14.7	18.7
Mexico	44.2	43.7
Caribbean	19.9	17.6
Central and South America	35.4	33.6
Africa	13.6	15.3
Asia	31.3	26.5
Oceania	11.2	6.3
Other North America	2.4	2.5
Total	29	29.9

Table 5: Educational Attainment of Immigrant and Native Groups (%)

	More than Bachelor's		
Place of Birth	1980	1990	2000
Europe	6.96	9.14	14.58
Mexico	1.74	1.33	1.60
Caribbean	7.58	4.31	5.00
Central and South America	9.75	6.08	7.08
Africa	36.09	23.17	18.64
Asia	22.23	15.54	18.29
Oceania	10.94	7.14	11.54
Other North America	7.82	9.25	14.37
Total	9.24	8.61	10.27

Table 6: Professional Occupational Status (%)

Place of Birth	1980	1990	2000
Europe	23.29	29.78	36.53
Mexico	5.87	6.80	8.09
Caribbean	18.52	19.88	29.18
Central and South America	18.61	19.03	20.75
Africa	38.00	36.79	41.78
Asia	32.36	33.16	39.35
Oceania	24.09	25.7	38.65
Other North America	28.80	38.46	48.62
Total	21.81	23.56	26.41

Table 7: Family Income of Immigrant ($000)

Place of Birth	1980	1990	2000
Europe	24.06	45.3	76.41
Mexico	16.39	27.91	42.51
Caribbean	20.57	35.33	52.87
Central and South America	20.77	36.35	55.74
Africa	21.99	39.75	62.69
Asia	24.97	47.33	77.78
Oceania	22.75	42.99	81.73
Other North America	25.96	46.54	90.11
Total	22.28	39.65	61.10

Table 8: Usual Hours Worked Per Week

MEAN HOURS	1980	1990	2000
Europe	39.73	40.77	41.74
Mexico	40.03	40.92	41.06
Caribbean	39.43	39.86	40.04
Central and South America	39.19	40.50	40.70
Africa	37.52	40.79	41.30
Asia	40.46	41.51	41.68
Oceania	38.61	40.29	42.78
Other North America	39.14	40.37	42.00
Total	39.78	40.87	41.22

Table 9: Residential Mobility of Immigrant (%movers)

Place of Birth	1980	1990	2000
Europe	39.70	39.70	46.30
Mexico	64.60	64.60	63.20
Caribbean	59.30	59.30	52.40
Central and South America	63.30	63.30	59.00
Africa	75.30	75.30	70.70
Asia	68.10	68.10	57.70
Oceania	69.40	69.40	63.60
Other North America	45.50	45.50	50.10
Total	58.70	58.70	57.50

Table 10: Homeownership Status

Place of Birth	1980	1990	2000
Europe	70.80	73.90	70.20
Mexico	47.50	44.00	48.20
Caribbean	44.70	38.70	44.80
Central and South America	40.90	43.20	48.20
Africa	31.20	34.60	39.50
Asia	55.40	57.90	59.70
Oceania	50.80	48.80	53.00
Other North America	74.10	74.60	75.20
Total	60.50	56.20	55.40

Table 11: Poverty Status of Immigrant Groups

	Below Poverty			At >500% poverty		
Place of Birth	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Europe	7.94	10.56	10.97		31.64	34.49
Mexico	18.20	30.10	26.12		3.47	4.87
Caribbean	12.30	21.25	20.35		13.28	14.66
Central and South America	13.89	19.34	18.12		13.74	14.91
Africa	24.11	19.62	19.19		18.79	20.29
Asia	15.34	17.56	14.00		23.51	30.83
Oceania	17.90	21.21	11.59		19.73	29.50
Other North America	7.70	10.58	9.53		34.43	40.18
Total	12.09	19.15	18.21		18.84	19.97

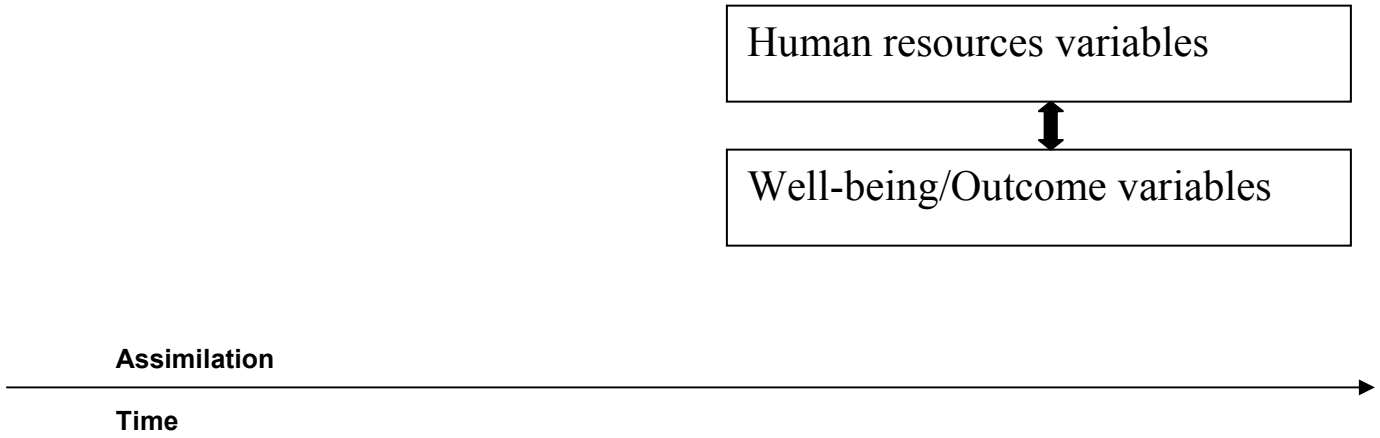
Table 12: Analysis of Immigrants' Socio-economic well-being

		Multinomial Logistic Regression of Work status*		Logistic Regression of Poverty	
		Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
Cohort 1950-65		0.891(0.016) ***	0.873(0.016) ***	0.695(0.008) ***	0.681(0.007) ***
Cohort 1965-80		0.708 (0.013) ***	0.696(0.013) ***	1.182(0.011) ***	1.12(0.01) ***
Cohort 1980-90		0.566(0.011) ***	0.553(0.01) ***	1.89(0.018) ***	1.796 (0.018) ***
Cohort 1990-00		0.569(0.011) ***	0.558(0.011) ***	2.691(0.028) ***	2.555(0.027) ***
1990 PUMS		1.24(0.01) ***	1.261(0.011) ***	0.912(0.005) ***	0.919(0.005) ***
2000 PUMS		1.59(0.013) ***	1.635(0.014) ***	0.623(0.004) ***	0.621(0.004) ***
Female		1.112(0.006) ***	1.099(0.006) ***	1.144(0.004) ***	1.16(0.004) ***
White		0.962(0.007) ***	1.005(0.012)	0.868(0.005) ***	1.146(0.012) ***
Black		1.065(0.015) ***	1.079(0.024) **	1.414(0.016) ***	1.116(0.019) ***
Hispanic		0.686(0.004) ***	0.803(0.014) ***	1.311(0.006) ***	1.055(0.015) ***
High school		1.856(0.017) ***	1.778(0.016) ***	0.646(0.003) ***	0.666(0.003) ***
Some college		4.469(0.037) ***	4.238(0.036) ***	0.631(0.004) ***	0.652(0.004) ***
Bachelor		13.619(0.12) ***	12.853(0.115) ***	0.445(0.004) ***	0.455(0.004) ***
More than bachelor	**Professional**	39.915(0.394) ***	37.704(0.378) ***	0.416(0.004) ***	0.429(0.004) ***
English Proficiency		2.112(0.016) ***	0.477(0.004) ***	0.7(0.003) ***	0.707(0.003) ***
Europe			0.757(0.018) ***		0.806(0.016) ***
Mexico			0.574(0.017) ***		1.65(0.039) ***
Caribbean			0.873(0.026) ***		1.514(0.037) ***
Latin and south America			0.769(0.022) ***		1.202(0.029) ***
Africa			0.707(0.022) ***		1.577(0.042) ***
Asia			0.811(0.021) ***		1.188 (0.026) ***
Oceania			0.625(0.038) ***		1.708(0.075) ***
Cohort 1950-65		0.944(0.109)	0.838(0.101)		
Cohort 1965-80		0.892 (0.107)	0.868(0.101)		
Cohort 1980-90		0.999(0.118)	0.909(0.108)		
Cohort 1990-00		1.944(0.233) ***	1.781(0.214) ***		
1990 PUMS		1.059(0.051)	1.111(0.054) *		
2000 PUMS		1.495(0.07) ***	1.573(0.074) ***		
Female		2.689(0.069) ***	2.661(0.069) ***		
White		0.873(0.039) **	1.186(0.09) *		
Black		1.895(0.118) ***	1.328(0.139) **		
Hispanic		1.1(0.036) **	1.04(0.094)		
High school		0.872(0.029) ***	0.855(0.029)***		
Some college		0.777(0.031) ***	0.758(0.031) ***		
Bachelor		1.053(0.053)	1.026(0.052)		
More than bachelor		2.107(0.121) ***	2.063(0.12) ***		
English Proficiency		0.691(0.02) ***	1.442(0.041) ***		
Europe			1.431(0.311)		
Mexico			2.083(0.481) **		
Caribbean			3.396(0.786) ***		
Latin and south America			2.266(0.521) ***		
Africa			2.487(0.603) ***		
Asia			2.11(0.476) **		
Oceania	**Unemployed**		3.058(1.031) **		
LRchi (d.f.)/Prob>CHI2		414971(30)/0.000	416678(44)/0.000	126286(15)/0.000	132028(22)/0.000
N		1,218,141	1,218,141	2,175,082	2,175,082

***Non-professional is the base category**

CHARTS

CLASSIC ASSIMILATION



SEGMENTED ASSIMILATION MODEL:
PRIMACY OF RACE/ ETHNICITY IDENTITY MODEL

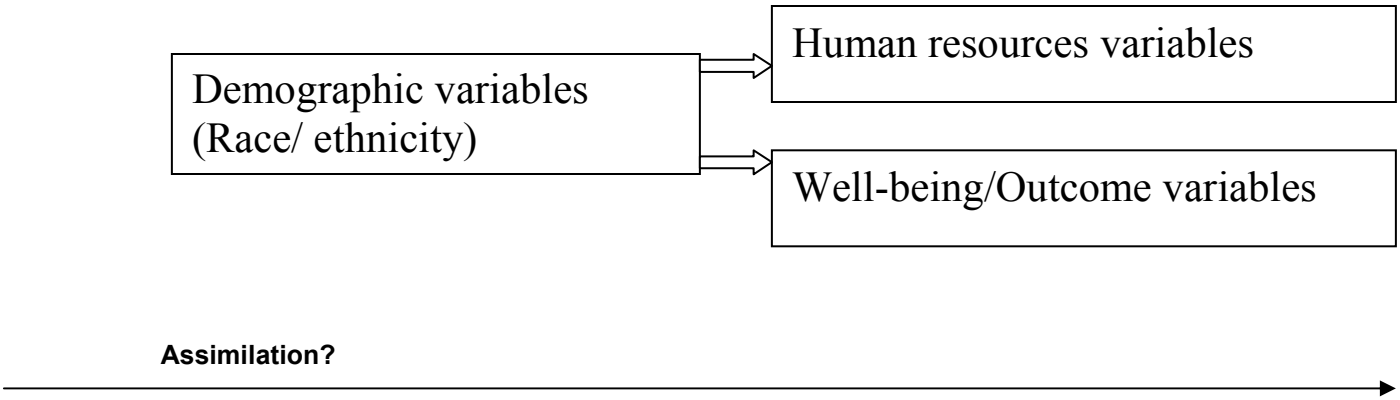


Figure 1

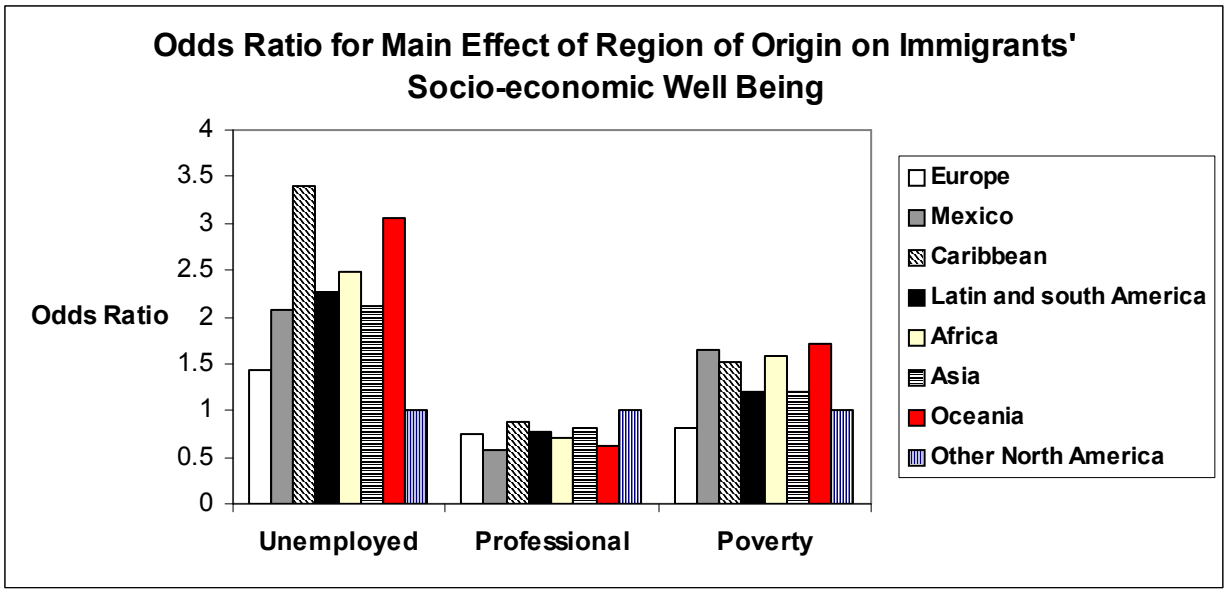


Figure 2

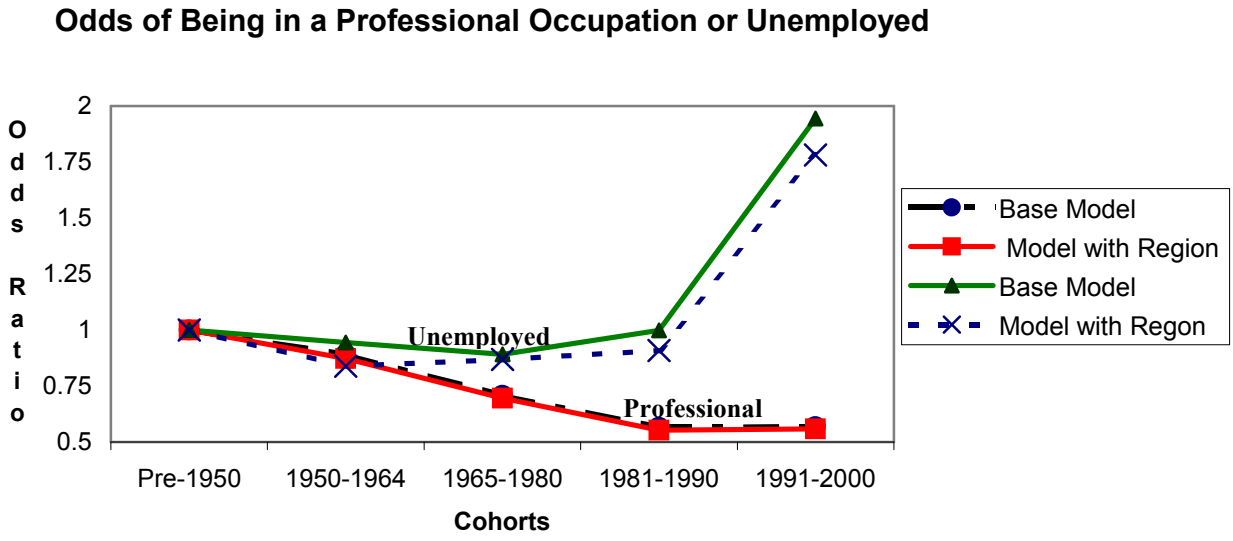


Figure 3

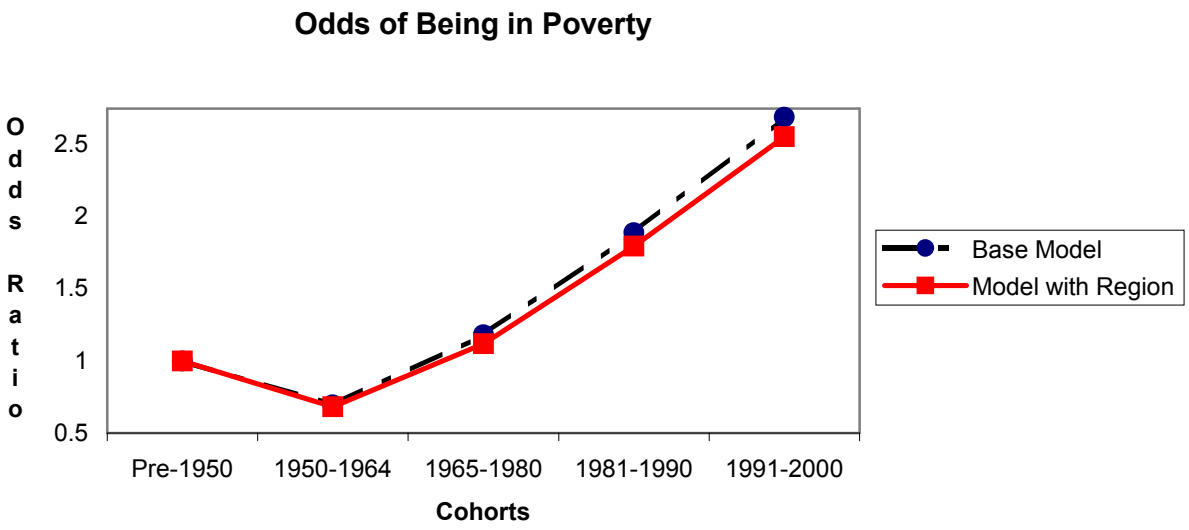


Figure 4

[i] All data are obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau's Public Use Microdata Sample in 1980, 1990, and 2000.