

*An Analysis of the Determinants of the Economic Integration of Immigrants: A
Multi-Dimensional Approach*

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Abstract

Much of the research on immigrant economic integration has focused on a singular labor market outcome, such as earnings. The typical economic model also tends to rely solely on individual human capital characteristics to predict outcomes. This paper suggests that a better way to conceptualize the economic integration of immigrants would be as a process, or a variety of outcomes, which are mediated by both individual and structural determinants. Three fundamental stages of this process are proposed: employment status, earnings, and poverty status. A model which includes traditional individual human capital characteristics, as well as a series of state level effects, is evaluated using a sample of foreign-born individuals from the 2000 5% Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Results are furthermore compared for Mexican foreign-born individuals (who comprise the largest undocumented population in the U.S.) and the Vietnamese foreign-born (many of whom entered as refugees during the post-Vietnam War era) in order to assess the general effects of mode of entry. I argue that mode of entry, and by extension documentation status, is important not only for individual work authorization, but also for an immigrant's access to state-sponsored and non-governmental institutions and services which may mediate their process of economic integration. The Vietnamese and Mexican foreign-born communities allow for a useful comparison due to their distinct immigration histories. These findings reveal marked earnings differentials, controlling for education and English proficiency, with Mexicans earnings significantly less. In addition, net of a series of human capital and state level effects, Mexican immigrants are more likely to live in poverty than the average immigrant, whereas the opposite is true for Vietnamese immigrants. Moreover, unlike the average foreign-born woman, or the average Mexican immigrant, female Vietnamese working age immigrants are no more likely to be in poverty or to be unemployed than are their male counterparts.

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Introduction

One of the ongoing topics of research for immigration scholars has been the assimilation of foreign-born individuals upon arrival to the U.S. Immigrant assimilation is a broad area of study that encompasses several different axes, including cultural, political, and economic integration. Social scientists have differed in how they measure this concept, though a general consensus has been that assimilation refers to the attenuation of differences between immigrants and some American mainstream, often defined as the native-born population.

Given the diversity of research on immigrant assimilation in many disciplines, the *economic* integration of immigrants has been of particular interest to both scholars and policy-makers alike. Some studies have focused on comparisons of the foreign-born and native-born communities as a whole, while others have focused on changes across generations. However, many empirical analyses tend to base their assessment on one or two indicators, such as earnings or employment status (e.g. Borjas 1993, Portes and Zhou 1996). As a result we have developed a myopic view of the process of economic integration, while ignoring additional indicators which also describe it (such as occupation, class, food security, material well-being, asset accumulation, and entrepreneurship). Although many studies have assessed these outcomes in isolation, few have looked at more than one or two simultaneously. In this paper I will argue that there is potential to expand our frame of analysis, however I remain cognizant of the challenges posed by such a multi-dimensional analysis.

In addition to our limited approach to measuring economic integration, such research has also focused on individual human capital, with less attention paid to the institutional and structural factors which may mediate these outcomes (e.g. Borjas 1999, Chiswick *et al* 1997, and Trejo 1997.) This paper will also begin to explore the effect of the context of reception (through a series of state-level indicators) on economic success.

Lastly, although many researchers have acknowledged the heterogeneity in the foreign-born population, discussions about economic integration seldom disaggregate the immigrant population. However, several studies have addressed racial and ethnic differences within the immigrant community. For example, Kossoudji (1989) simultaneously models occupational choice and earnings for foreign-born Hispanic and East Asian men, as compared to native white men. De Jong and Madamba (2001) also offer an analysis of the effects of minority group membership and immigrant status on unemployment, underemployment, and working poverty.

However, neither of these studies addresses country of origin or mode of entry as a predictor. By extension, documentation status is also seldom addressed in a nationally representative manner, largely due to lack of data. In this paper I will argue that a comparison of traditionally “economic” and “political” migrants may help us address this void.

This paper has two main directives. First, I argue that an analysis that looks beyond the human capital paradigm in assessing the factors that hinder or aid the economic integration of immigrants is needed. Secondly, an analysis of a single dependent variable perpetuates a limited view of the complex labor market that both native and foreign-born workers operate within. Three different outcomes are assessed: employment status, earnings, and poverty status, and occupation, alongside a comparison of two foreign-born communities with distinct common modes of entry, Mexican and Vietnamese.

Theories and Hypothesis

How might we begin to expand our conception of the economic integration of immigrants as a process, rather than a single outcome, and why would we want to? Finding a job alone does not ensure an individual’s economic security. How well a particular job can support an individual’s social reproduction is contingent not only on the level of remuneration it provides, but also the number of dependents and the size of the support network that worker has. For this reason, poverty status is a useful focus of analysis because it incorporates the broader family context in an individual lives. For example, two workers may be employed at the same company in the same position, but one is single and lives with his mother, while the other has a stay at home wife and two small children. The disposable resources that each of them possess is thus at least in part dependent on their family size. A measure of poverty status thus provides a useful measure of material well-being and economic security.¹

Furthermore, whereas becoming employed may represent an immigrant’s success in the labor market, remaining out of poverty is contingent not only on these market successes, but also on access to non-market resources such as government programs, community institutions, and family support. In the case of political migrants, refugee resettlement assistance may mediate economic outcomes. In addition to the resettlement resources that refugees receive, it is also

¹ According to the U.S. Census, there is a small difference in unemployment rates between the foreign and native born populations in the U.S. (6.9% versus 6.1%), respectively.) However there is a wide gulf between the poverty rates for the foreign-born and native born. The official poverty rate for all native born individuals was 11.5%, versus 16.6% for all foreign-born individuals in 2002 (Proctor and Dalaker 2003.)

plausible that future non-refugee cohorts in that community may also benefit from institutions and support networks which were fostered by such support. (See Appendix 1 for a summary of the various pieces of legislation that have been enacted in the U.S. to provide resources for refugees in the last century. This paper will begin to explore the possible differences between economic and political migrants with regards to their economic outcomes in the U.S.

Another question which this analysis seeks to address is: why should one move beyond the convention individual human capital model to assess economic outcomes? This analysis analyzes three state-level measures of an immigrant's context of reception: labor market competition (measured by the unemployment rate in the respondent's state of residence), the presence of other immigrants (measured by the percent foreign-born in the respondent's state of residence), and lastly policy context (measured by whether or not the state has legislated an "English-Only" law.)

Past Research

(THIS SECTION WILL BE HYPER-SUMMARIZED IN THE PRESENTATION)

Human Capital

One of the most researched determinants of economic success among natives and immigrants alike is *human capital*. Borjas (1999), defines human capital as "a person's endowment of ability and acquired skills." In most studies this is operationalized mainly as an individual's skills, and educational level in particular. Levels of human capital have been of particular interest to immigration scholars who wish to compare the "quality" of different immigrants either over time or across national origin group. It is commonly argued that the "quality of immigrants" has been declining since the first "Great Migration" (Chiswick 1986, Duleep and Regets 1996, Borjas 1999.) However, Chiswick (1986) adds that such measures of human capital may also reflect structural characteristics of the immigrant's country of origin (p.190.)

Similarly, Duleep and Regets (1996) also find that groups admitted primarily on the basis of kinship (family reunification) in the U.S. earn substantially less than groups admitted on the basis of occupational skills only initially, yet they find that they then have higher earnings growth over time. They speculate that this may potentially be because of increased investment in human capital by family-reunification immigrants, and conclude that this poor initial labor market performance may indeed be temporary (p.586.) Jasso and Rosenzweig (1995) similarly

suggest a narrowing of the differential in occupational outcomes over time, which they attribute to higher rates of occupational downgrading among skill-based immigrants and occupational upgrading among family-reunification immigrants.

English Proficiency

In addition to educational attainment, another key element of human capital which may impact labor market outcomes is English ability. Those immigrant groups who either hail from English-speaking countries of origin, or who arrived in the U.S. with the ability to speak English, likely will have an advantage in the U.S. labor market.

There are admittedly several methodological problems associated with assessing an individual's English-ability. For example, Espenshade and Fu (1997) note that there is a keen difference in a person's proficiency, or language ability, and their actual use of the language on a day to day basis (p.289.) Furthermore, a respondent's self-reported assessment of their own language ability may be relative to those with whom they interact on a day to day basis, and not to an objective standard, such as the proficiency of a native-speaker. Thus, it is also possible that the relative importance of English ability may differ depending on the specific context in which an immigrant resides. Although self-reported measures of English proficiency may be imperfect, I would argue that they are nonetheless crucial to attempting a correct specification of any model of the economic integration of immigrants.

U.S. Labor Market Experience

In addition to education and English skills, labor market experience is yet another aspect of human capital that has been assessed. However, in their study of unauthorized Latino men who adjusted status under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark (1996) find that in fact U.S. labor market experience has a relatively small contribution in upward occupational mobility. Similarly, in his study of Current Population Survey (CPS) data on working age immigrants (25-64) Chiswick et al (1997) found that Mexican foreign-born immigrants have the same employment ratios as European/Canadian immigrants. He concludes that schooling and total labor market experience has a smaller positive effect on the employment of immigrants than on the employment of native-born white men, and that schooling has a smaller negative effect on unemployment. These findings suggest

that pre-immigration skills are less relevant in the U.S. labor market for immigrants than are the skills acquired by the native-born.

Cultural Capital and Socialization Effects

Labor market experience is not the only experiential indicator that may influence labor market outcomes for immigrant workers. Unlike native workers, immigrant workers may lack the socialization and cultural capital that natives gain through the childhood experience and educational socialization they undergo in school. For example, in her study of political participation and voter turnout, Cho (1999) argues that socialization determines how socio-economic skills are manifested (p.1140).

Following the example of other researchers such as Kossoudji (1986) who distinguish between adult and child migrants, I have included a variable which identifies those immigrants who arrived in the United States when they were ten years old or younger in my model.² I argue that this variable captures the attainment of skills specific to the U.S. labor market, gained through contact with major U.S. institutions, such schools. Experience in the U.S. during formative childhood years may provide immigrants with important cultural and social capital that may positively orient them in the labor market.

A secondary effect that may be captured by this “child immigrant” variable is the attainment of *U.S.* education credentials. Particularly at the post-secondary level, foreign-credentials may not be transferable to the U.S. labor market, and thus having an education in the U.S. may aid an immigrant in the labor market. However, although it would be useful to be able to identify those individuals who received U.S. education credentials, this is not directly measurable with U.S. Census data. Although the U.S. Census records the age at which an individual migrated, and their level of education, it is not possible to identify the exact number of years of education that person has attained, or the age at which their education was completed. This is problematic particularly for higher levels of education attainment, which may not be completed in a continuous form directly after high school. Although direct conclusions cannot be drawn about the effect of U.S. education from a variable that identifies child immigrants,

² Other researchers prefer a categorical definition of the 1.5 generation, such as those immigrants who entered the country when they were 6-13 years of age. Others choose to characterize children who arrive 0-4 years as second generation, and those who arrive when they are 13-17 as first generation (Zhou 1997.) For the purposes of this paper however, I have chosen to use a dichotomous variable that identifies those immigrants who arrived when they were 10 years or younger.

inferences may be made about the impact of the socialization process that a child immigrant undergoes via institutions such as American schools, and the effect this may have in their later working life.

Context of Reception

In contrast to the predominant discussion on the effects of individual human capital characteristics of immigrants on socio-economic success and integration, Reitz (1998) emphasizes not only the human capital with which immigrants arrive, but rather the institutional context of reception. Similarly, Raijman and Tienda (1999) warn that a simple human capital model is inadequate to account for observed economic differences amongst and between natives and immigrants because of substantial wage dispersion within educational categories and among national-origin groups of comparable educational levels. Employer preferences may also play a role. For example, higher labor force participation rates amongst Mexican males versus Black males may suggest a preference on the part of employers, as well as a working condition preference on the part of workers (Raijman and Tienda 1999, Waldinger and Lichter 2003, Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991.)

Labor Market Context

One important element of the immigrant context of reception is the overall economic environment. A worker's probability of being employed may be impacted by not only his or her own human capital, but also the availability of jobs in the labor market. Although this type of analysis is difficult to conduct without time-series data that allows for comparisons across a particular economic history, cross-sectional analyses at least allow for comparisons across states. In this analysis, I focus on state level effects by including a variable that captures the unemployment level of the state in which the respondent lives. This measure is less desirable than more geographic specific data such as city-level unemployment rates, however this data was not fully accessible from the IPUMS sample.³ However, many economic outcomes are impacted

³ One way to potentially assess this phenomenon in a more detailed manner would be to assign unemployment rates at a smaller geographic level. Although such rates are available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, IPUMS data is limited in its ability to identify geographic areas. A variable which identifies metropolitan status, including central city status, is useful, though limited for this purpose. One problem is that there is a lack of variation: the vast majority of Americans, and immigrants in particular, live in metropolitan areas. Secondly, because of confidentiality concerns, almost 30% of observations in the 5% IPUMS sample are coded as "not identifiable" regarding their central city status. I thus have no consistent method therefore to attribute and control for local labor market characteristics.

by state-wide policies, such as the current state budget cuts occurring in California and state level economic recessions. Thus, I contend that a variable which measures state unemployment rates provides a general measure of the labor market context in which the respondent lives.

In this model I have also included a state-level variable which identifies the percent foreign-born in the state of the respondent's residence. It is possible that if the foreign-born represent a critical mass of constituents, policy-makers may respond to their needs in the form of institutions and services, thus affecting an immigrant's ability to integrate into that society's economy. The significant presence of other foreign-residents may also generate community-level support for immigrants (Portes and Stepick 1985, Sanders and Nee 1987.)⁴ Alternatively, the presence of other immigrants may create a more competitive environment and a tighter labor market into which immigrants can integrate. This effect however may likely vary based on the composition of the foreign-born population in a given state or locality.

Political Environment/Institutional Access

Many of the opportunities available to individuals, particularly immigrants, are also contingent on the political environment in which they live. Such policies may also make an immigrant more or less vulnerable to living in poverty. For example, a social policy regime that restricts benefits for non-citizens may impact the poverty levels of those individuals- irrespective of employment status. Furthermore, a political environment that closely monitors the hiring of undocumented workers and conducts workplace raids and imposes employer sanctions on a regular basis to dissuade the hiring of undocumented workers, may also impact job opportunities for this group of immigrants.⁵

In an attempt to capture the effects of a hostile environment towards immigrants, I have included an indicator which identifies whether or not the respondent lives in a state which had an official "English-Only" policy in 1996, according to legislative histories chronicled by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).⁶ According to the ACLU analysis, such laws impact a range of policies, including a directive to "restrict bilingual education programs, prohibit

⁴ Because I have included state-level variables (i.e. percent unemployment, percent foreign-born, and the presence of an English-only law) with individual level data, I have used robust standard errors when analyzing the regression models. In STATA, the statistical package used for this analysis, this was done by including the "cluster" option, and specifying the state-identifier (statefip) for the observations.

⁵ Policies that discourage the hiring of undocumented workers may also affect the broader immigrant workforce if employers discriminate on this basis by making assumptions about an immigrant's documentation status, or the validity of the documents they present as proof.

multilingual ballots, or forbid non-English government services in general...”. I present this analysis therefore as an initial step in testing the effect of macro-level policies on immigrant outcomes, though future analyses might further engage a more detailed state or local legislative history and specific implementation tendencies.

Mode of Entry

A further significant omission from much of the research on the economic integration of immigrants is the effect that mode of entry has on an immigrants ability to be successful in the U.S. labor market. Due in large part to data limitations, much of recent research has focused on only the effects of naturalization status (Chiswick 1978, Kwon *et al* 2004). Though access to benefits and services has become increasingly contingent on citizenship in the post-Welfare reform era, very U.S. few jobs specify citizenship status as an explicit eligibility requirement.⁷ Conversely, only immigrants who are in the country legally are eligible for work permits.

Although many unauthorized immigrants do work without proper documentation, these jobs tend to be lower-paying and less stable (Calavita 1998.) Previous research has also found that an immigrant’s undocumented status limits their labor market mobility by preventing full access to the full range of available jobs (Cobb-Clark and Kossoudji 1992, Tienda and Singer 1995.) In their analysis of Legalized Population Survey and Current Population Survey data, Tienda and Singer (1995) find positive returns to U.S. experience for both undocumented migrants and foreign-born men, yet they depend on region of origin. In particular, undocumented migrants from Mexico received the lowest wage returns while men from non-Spanish-speaking countries had the highest returns to U.S. experience.

Massey and Phillips (1999) use Mexican Migration Project data for 1987-1997 to analyze the wage effects of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), which instituted a legalization program and a system of employer sanctions that imposed a fine on employers who hired undocumented immigrant, on wages. They conclude that undocumented migrants entered a more hostile labor market after IRCA and that an underground labor market emerged which in turn put downward pressure on the wages of both Mexican immigrants and the native born Americans who compete with them.

⁶ See the ACLU website at : <http://archive.aclu.org/library/pbp6.html>

⁷ Major exceptions include eligibility to work in certain federal employee positions, as well as political offices such as congressional representatives or senators.

Despite its cross-sectional nature and limited information on documentation status, U.S. Census data arguable offers better coverage than most specialized surveys, and allows for comparisons across immigrant groups. Although documentation status is *not* directly identifiable with U.S. Census data, when analyzed alongside Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services (BCIS) data, we are able to draw inferences based on the predominant mode of entry for various immigrant groups.

The top four countries of origin at the midpoint of the last decade were Mexico, the Philippines, India, and Vietnam. Although these four countries share the commonality of sending large numbers of individuals to the United States, a closer look at BCIS statistics reveals that the predominant mode of entry for individuals from each of these countries of origin differs.⁸ Figure 2 reveals that Mexican comprise the largest group of undocumented individuals, or economic migrants. Conversely, Vietnamese immigrants form one of the largest refugee, or political migrant, communities in the U.S. The tradition of refugee migration for the Vietnamese community may have implications for the institutions which this community has had access to and been able to erect during its migrant history. This access may be significant to the assimilation process for Vietnamese immigrants, and perhaps economic integration more specifically.⁹ (See Appendix 1 for a summary of the various pieces of legislation that have been enacted in the U.S. to provide resources for refugees in the last century.)

<<Insert “Figure 1: Factors that Influence the Economic Integration of Immigrants” >>

<<Insert “Figure 2: BCIS Mode of Entry Statistics” about here>>

Methodology

The analysis presented in this paper is based on U.S. Census data from the 2000 5% Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS).¹⁰ The universe of analysis for each of these

⁸ BCIS data is presented for the previous decade, although immigrants sampled in the 2000 Census did not all arrive in the last ten years.

⁹ Bloemraad (2002) argues that refugee institutions positively impact naturalization rates.

¹⁰ Hu (2004) provides an insightful critique of using Census data for estimating immigrant earnings assimilation over time. The author’s claim is based on findings that 1) Census data is selective with respect to return migration, and 2) Census-based estimates of earnings growth “are likely to be overstated”. However, since this paper seeks to estimate the effects on a cross-sectional population, while comparing the magnitude of effects across outcomes, I contend that the Census data is still useful and unbiased for these purposes. An admittedly better data source would provide longitudinal data on immigrants over their lifespan, but few data sources would include import immigrant variables such as English proficiency¹⁰, and equal coverage of most immigrant groups may be difficult to attain.

outcomes is the non-institutionalized foreign-born population age 25-64.¹¹ I will now discuss each outcome briefly in turn. This paper addresses three different elements of the process of economic integration: employment status, earnings, and poverty status.

In this analysis, an unemployed person is defined as someone who does not currently have a job, is looking for a job, and has not yet found one. All working age individuals who are in the labor force, and either have a job or are in the armed forces are coded as being employed.

The second outcome addressed in this paper is earnings. Many analyses of earnings, or returns to human capital, tend to analyze hourly wage data. Although such data is available from conventional sources such as the Current Population Survey, the most reliable measure of income from the U.S. Census is yearly earnings. On the census form, individuals are asked how many hours of week they usually work, as well as their total yearly income. Due to possible error in a respondent's recollection of their average work week, as well as the potential difficulties in estimating the aggregate yearly hours worked, this paper focuses on yearly earnings, not hourly wage. Furthermore, for the purposes of this analysis, yearly earnings represent an individual's aggregate wage income from employment in the previous year, as well as any earnings from farm or business income.¹²

The majority of analyses of earnings rely on a method of data using ordinary least squares regression (OLS) with a logged dependent variable, which is also referred to as a "semi-logarithmic specification." However Petersen (2002) has argued that the interpretations of results from this type of analysis are slightly flawed because OLS of logged earnings predicts the geometric mean rather than the arithmetic mean. Thus, I use the method that he advocates as an alternative, a general linear model (GLM) with a logarithmic link function and gamma distributed error term. The coefficients of a GLM regression model can be correctly interpreted as the natural logarithm of the factor by which the predicted mean earnings differs from each unit change in the dependent variable.

Four percent of employed individuals in the full immigrant sample reported no earnings (from employment or farm or business income.) Regression analyses of these individuals

¹¹ Foreign born individuals who are born either abroad or at sea to American citizen parents, as well as individuals born in U.S. territories, are excluded from this analysis.

¹² Although it may be argued that entrepreneurial income from a farm or business may overstate the earnings of a typical immigrant worker, to exclude this income understated the earnings of those with farm and business income. The average employment earnings alone for respondents who reported farm or business income alone was only \$13,997.

revealed no single characteristic that made this group of earners particularly unique.¹³ On average, the typical employed working age immigrant with no earnings was most likely to be a young, married, non-citizen female who arrived when she was 10 years old or younger with fewer than average years in the U.S., and lower levels of education and English ability. The overall trend is that the coefficient values for the non-zero sample are slightly lower than for the full sample, though none of the significance tests change drastically enough to nullify the validity of any of the results. Thus, this analysis of earnings is limited to those employed individuals who earn at least \$1, and all relevant discussions of earnings rely on the estimates from this non-zero earner sample.

Lastly, this paper assesses the determinants of living in poverty. Although this analysis of poverty is limited to the federal definition provided in the U.S. Census, I would concede that geographic-specific differences may be overshadowed in areas where the cost of living is very high. Nonetheless, I contend that this variable still offers important information about an immigrant's well-being, and their success in the process of economic integration.

A measure of poverty status is also a useful measure because it moves beyond and assessment of the individual, and incorporates information about the immigrant's living situation. The Census Bureau assigns respondents the poverty status of the *family*, not household, in which they reside. The IPUMS variable for poverty reflects the family's total income for the previous year as a percentage of the poverty threshold in the year 2000. Whether a person is living below the poverty line is based on criteria such as their total family income, the size of their family unit, the number of children in that family, and whether or not the householder is under or over 65. All income levels over five times the respective poverty threshold are top-coded. In these analyses I have created a dichotomous variable that identifies all respondents who have family income levels below 100% of the poverty threshold as living in poverty. Poverty is measured by a dummy variable that is coded "1" if the individual is living in poverty. A logistic regression model is used to predict the probability of being in poverty.

<<Insert "Figure 3: Sample Selection for Dependent Variables">>

¹³ Results of this analysis are not presented here, but are available upon request from the author.

Model Estimation

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper has three goals: 1) To assess the impact of the context of reception on an immigrant's economic outcomes 2) To expand our analysis of the economic integration of immigrants to include not only analysis of employment and earnings, but also poverty status, and 3) To explore the heterogeneity in the economic integration of immigrants and the role of mode of entry to the U.S. through a comparison two immigrant communities, one which has been historically defined as "economic migrants" (Mexican) and the other as "political migrants" (Vietnamese.) I use three distinct series of model estimations to achieve this goal.

For the first, I compare the patterns of coefficients between three independent estimations of each of the three outcomes. I present results first using only individual attributes, and next using state level effects.

$$(1) \quad P(\text{Being Unemployed}) = 1/(1 + \exp[-(a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots)]) + \varepsilon$$

$$(2) \quad \ln(\text{Earnings}) = a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \varepsilon$$

where the exponentiated error term is assumed to be Gamma distributed, with mean 1 (Petersen 2002).

$$(3) \quad P(\text{Living in Poverty}) = 1/(1 + \exp[-(a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots)]) + \varepsilon$$

Secondly, I focus on a comparison of unemployment status and poverty status in order to test the utility of moving beyond job outcomes as an indicator of economic integration. I utilize a bivariate probit model to simultaneously estimate the probability that an individual is living in poverty, and the probability that an individual is unemployed. Lucas *et al* (2001) use a bivariate probit for similar purposes to compare the probability of graduating from high school, versus attending a four-year college. In tandem with a series of significance tests of difference, I identify which factors are more or less important for remaining above the poverty line, versus gaining employment

Lastly, I present predicted probabilities based on an interacted model for each outcome variable: employment status, earnings, and poverty status, which uses a series of interaction effects to derive distinct estimates for Mexican and Vietnamese respondents. Oftentimes comparisons of distinct sub-samples are based on independent estimations for each group. Although this is a useful tool for initially detecting broad differences or similarities, and although

interaction effects can be cumbersome to interpret, I argue that the approach presented in this paper allows us to more confidently discuss differences between the two samples.

<<Insert “Figure 4: Model Variables”>>

Profile of the U.S. Foreign-Born Population in 2000

Before discussing the results specific to the foreign-born population, I will first present a brief overview of the differences between the native-born and foreign-born populations. The working-age foreign-born population differs from its native-born counterpart in several significant ways, and on average has poorer outcomes.

A larger proportion of immigrants are married (70% v. 64%), and the average foreign-born individual in this age range is younger (41 v. 43 years old.) Though comparable proportions of working age of foreign and native-born individuals have at least a Bachelor’s degree (26% v. 27%), these two populations do differ at the lower end of the spectrum: 36% of foreign-born individuals, versus 12% of native-born individuals, have less than a high school degree.

Foreign-born individuals also seem to be concentrated in more competitive labor market contexts. (The state unemployment rate for the average immigrant is 4.2%, v. 3.8% for native born.) Amongst those age 25-64, a higher percentage of foreign-born individuals, are *not* in the labor force (31% v. 22%.) (The proportion of those individuals who are not in the labor force who are female is the same for both immigrants and the native-born: approximately two-thirds.)

Almost twice as many foreign-born working-age individuals are living in poverty (15.2% v. 8.5%). Immigrants also experience slightly lower employment rates (94.1% v. 96.0%), and lower yearly earnings (\$35,400 v. \$40,000.)

The average working age immigrant has been in the U.S. for about 16.7 years, and almost 10% of this population entered the U.S. when they were 10 years old or younger. Also, the vast majority of immigrants in the U.S. *do* speak English. Over 90% of working age immigrants report that they speak at least some English, and over 47% report that they either *only* speak English, or speak English very well

A Comparison of the Mexican versus Vietnamese Foreign-Born

As is the case with the native-born U.S. population, there is significant heterogeneity within the immigrant population. These differences may be attributed to a variety of factors,

including whether a foreign-born individual is either an “economic” or “political” migrant.¹⁴ In this section I will briefly describe the profile for two such foreign-born communities: the Mexican and the Vietnamese.

The first distinct difference between these two immigrant communities is English ability. Whereas 9% of working age immigrants report that they do not speak English, 21% of Mexican immigrants, versus only 5% of Vietnamese, report the same. At the other end of the spectrum however, the two groups look more alike, with 26% of Mexican, and 29% of Vietnamese, immigrants reporting that they speak English very well.

Similarly, Mexicans and Vietnamese in terms of educational attainment. Whereas over *two-thirds* of working age Mexican immigrants have completed less than a high school diploma¹⁵, the same is true for only about one-third of Vietnamese. Furthermore, whereas less than 5% of Mexican immigrants have a Bachelor’s degree or more, over 20% of Vietnamese immigrants have graduated from college with a BA.

The labor force participation rates of Mexican working age immigrants are significantly lower than that of their Vietnamese counterparts (63% versus 71%.) Furthermore, of those Vietnamese who are in the labor force, 95.2% are employed, versus only 91.3% of Mexicans.

Mexican working age immigrants are also far more likely than the average working age immigrant to be living in poverty, and nearly *twice* as likely as their Vietnamese counterpart. Upon closer analysis, it seems probable that low levels of human capital are not the only factor determining poverty rates. 12.6% of Mexicans with at least *some* college are poor, compared to only 7% of Vietnamese with the same levels of education. Furthermore, 19% of working age Mexican immigrants who speak English very well is poor, compared to 8% of Vietnamese with the same self-reported levels of English ability.

A similar pattern is observed for employment rates: 5.0% of Mexicans versus 3.8% of Vietnamese who are in the labor force and college-educated are employed, while 6.8% of

¹⁴ The International Organization for Migration offers the following distinction between an “economic migrant” and a “political migrant”: An economic migrants is: “A person leaving his/her habitual place of residence to settle outside his/her country of origin in order to improve his/her quality of life. This term may be used to distinguish from refugees fleeing persecution, and is also used to refer to persons attempting to enter a country without legal permission and/or by using asylum procedures without *bona fide* cause. It also applies to persons settling outside their country of origin for the duration of an agricultural season, appropriately called seasonal workers.” (IOM, <http://www.un-ngls.org/IOM-migration-Glossary.pdf>)

Mexican versus 3.7% of Vietnamese who are in the labor force and English-proficient, are employed

Lastly, there is a clear earnings differential between these groups as well. The average employed working age Mexican earns less than two-thirds of what the working age immigrant makes in a year (\$20,600 v \$39,200), and only 70% of what their Vietnamese counterpart earns (\$30,300). Similar differentials are observed for college educated, and for English proficient earners. (\$30,288 versus \$39,908 for those who are in the labor force and college-educated, and \$26,505 versus \$40,976 for those who are in the labor force and English-proficient, Mexicans versus Vietnamese respectively.)

<<Insert “Figure 5: Descriptive Statistics” >>

Multivariate Results

What Matters for Economic Outcomes?

Demographic and Immigrant Specific Characteristics

One of the first striking results amongst the foreign-born population is the sex differential, which is clear across all economic outcomes analyzed here. Foreign-born men are less likely to be unemployed, earn more, and are less likely than are women to be living in poverty. A similar pattern is evident for married immigrants, and being married is particularly significant for evading poverty.

Though labor market experience was confirmed by Kossoudji (1987) to be less important than previously thought, she also concludes that “Immigrants who arrive before schooling is completed are likely to gain more with experience in the U.S. and to emulate native job mobility” (p.520.) However the findings presented here suggest that when you control for individual and contextual characteristics, in the aggregate foreign-born sample, those immigrants who came to the U.S. when they were young children (10 years old or less) actually fare *worse* on all three outcomes.

The evidence presented here also supports the ongoing importance of naturalization for economic outcomes. Citizens are less likely to be unemployed or live in poverty, and also earn more. However, it is important to note the vast difference in naturalization rates for different

¹⁵ A further inquiry reveals that over 94% of these Mexicans with less than a high school education immigrated when they were 10 years old or older. The average working age Mexican immigrant with this level of education arrived in the U.S. when s/he was 25.

immigrant groups, which has been documented by past researchers (e.g. Bloemraad 2002, Fix *et al* 2003.)

When the models presented here were estimated controlling for the years of residence that an immigrant has had in the U.S., the results proved to be small and not substantially significant, which is concurrent with previous research on the matter (Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark 1996.) Controlling instead for period of entry reveals interesting patterns. The effect of entry cohort has a constant linear pattern for earnings: recent cohorts earn less than those who came before them and have been in the country longer. Conversely, on average more recent cohorts are more likely to be unemployed. The results however are more complex for poverty outcomes: those cohorts who arrived between 1950 and 1979 are less likely than the pre-1950 cohort to live in poverty, yet those who arrived between 1980 and 2000 are actually more likely than the pre-1950 cohort to be in poverty.

<<Insert “Figure 6: Effects of Entry Cohort on Economic Outcomes”>>

English proficiency is also clearly a positive asset for immigrants. In the 2000 Census, respondents were asked if they spoke a language other than English at home. If so, they were asked to indicate how well they spoke English. Those individuals who indicate that they *only* speak English at home are more likely to have higher earnings than the rest. However those immigrants who speak English very well, while also speaking another language at home, are the one who are the least likely to be unemployed or live in poverty.

<<Insert “Figure 7: Effects of English Proficiency on Economic Outcomes”>>

Educational attainment is also quite important for economic outcomes. As is expected, a college education leads to better outcomes. The difference between a four-year degree and an advanced degree is most evident for earnings prospects, though the gain of having an advanced degree over a bachelor’s degree is insignificant for poverty outcomes.

<<Insert “Figure 8: Effects of Educational Attainment on Economic Outcomes”>>

Beyond Human Capital: State-Level Context

Though the findings presented thus far have reiterated the undeniable importance of human capital for economic outcomes, there is evidence also that net of these effects, the context

of reception is also important. The addition of these three state-level variables did not detract from the model fit, as evidenced by the “BIC” statistic.

Net of demographic and human capital characteristics, the local labor market context, as summarized by the state unemployment rate, is significant for both employment and poverty status outcomes: immigrants who live in states with higher unemployment rates are more likely to be unemployed and to live in poverty. This factor however has no significant bearing on earnings outcomes.

The percent of foreign-born in the immigrant’s state of residence, while significant for employment and earnings outcomes, is *not* significant for poverty outcomes. Strikingly, those immigrants who live in states with a higher proportion of foreign-born are more likely to be unemployed, however once employed, have higher earnings.

Lastly, these results suggest that, in the aggregate foreign-born population, those immigrants who live in a state that had an English-Only law in 1996 are slightly less likely to be unemployed, though not significantly different in terms of earnings or poverty status.

<<Insert “Figure 9: Logit Model Results: Probability of Being Unemployed”>>

<<Insert “Figure 10: GLM Model Results: Predicted Log Earnings”>>

<<Insert “Figure 11: Logit Model Results: Probability of Living in Poverty”>>

Getting a Job, versus Evading Poverty

Heretofore I have discussed the general pattern of effects for three outcomes: employment status, earnings, and poverty status. However independent estimations allow us to do little more than compare the direction of the coefficient value across the three outcomes. Only a simultaneous estimation allows one to test the null hypothesis that a given coefficient for one outcome is not significantly different from that of another outcome.¹⁶ I utilize a bivariate probit estimation, a method proposed by Lucas *et al* 2001, to focus specifically on two outcomes: employment and poverty status.¹⁷ This analysis is limited to those individuals who *are* in the labor force.

The general trends which were discussed for each individual estimation are not substantially different when a bivariate probit estimation is used, though some significant

¹⁶ This analysis however stops short of using a method to standardize coefficients. One of the major reasons for this is that comparing standard deviations of some factors may not be a sensible contrast. For example, one standard deviation of education level may not necessarily coincide with one standard deviation of age.

variations do arise. In particular, it is evident that whereas males have a distinct advantage compared to females when it comes to finding a job, male and female immigrants in the labor force are equally susceptible to living in poverty. Furthermore, immigrants in the labor force who arrived as children are *more likely* to be unemployed, though no less likely to live in poverty

Regarding contextual factors, state-level employment rates are important for both employment and poverty outcomes, however the proportion of foreign-born in the state of residence is only slightly important for employment outcomes, and insignificant for poverty outcomes. The same trend is true for the effect of living in an “English-only” state.

Lastly, this analysis reaffirms the heterogeneity in the immigrant work force. In particular, Mexicans are more likely to live in poverty, but look no different than the average immigrant on employment outcomes. Conversely, Vietnamese immigrants, who *no* more likely to live in poverty than the average immigrant, are nonetheless less likely to be unemployed.

<<Insert “Figure 12: Bivariate Probit Model Results: Probability of Being Unemployed, and Probability of Living in Poverty”>>

Heterogeneity Within The Immigrant Workforce: A Comparison of the Mexican and Vietnamese

The third goal which I have proposed in this analysis is to uncover the sources of some of the heterogeneity in the immigrant work-force. I focus on a comparison between a historically economic migrant group (Mexicans) and a historically political migrant group (Vietnamese). Before proceeding however, it is important to note that a comparison between two national origin groups can only be considered a rough proxy for mode entry, in the absence of such an indicator. Furthermore, despite some striking similarities which were discussed earlier, these two groups of immigrants differ in several other respects, including race and culture, which may also impact differences in their experiences. Nonetheless, I present these results as an initial step to disaggregate our discussion of immigrant outcomes. Due to the large number of comparisons that result from two group comparisons of three outcomes, and a number of covariates, I will only highlight the most striking results.

¹⁷ Also see Hardin (1996) and Poirier (1981) for additional information on the specification of the bivariate probit model.

Earnings

With regards to earnings, the overall trend is that on average Vietnamese immigrants fare better than do their Mexican counterparts. However, two main comparisons stand out. First, net of all other factors, Mexican immigrants who have a Bachelor's Degree earn less than Vietnamese immigrants with a Bachelor's Degree. This differential is however absent at the lower end of the educational distribution; Mexican and Vietnamese with less than a high school degree fare equally poorly. The same is true for those who do not speak any English.

Secondly, net of all other factors, Vietnamese immigrants who speak English do better than Mexican immigrants who note the same level of English proficiency. This differential is particularly salient for earlier cohorts. However, as noted earlier, for both groups, those individuals who are bilingual fare slightly better than those who responded that they *only* speak English.

<<Insert "Figures 13A-H: Factors Influencing Earnings- Mexican v. Vietnamese">>

Employment Status

If we take a step back from a focus on earnings, and instead scrutinize the differentials present in gaining employment, several differences emerge between these two groups. First, there is no difference in employment outcomes for those Vietnamese who arrived as children to the U.S., and those who did not. Conversely however, Mexicans who arrived as child immigrants are *less* likely to be unemployed than those who arrived at older ages.

In the aggregate analysis, the results suggest that living in an English-Only state has little significance for immigrant outcomes. However, these comparisons reveal that although this is true for Vietnamese immigrants, those Mexican immigrants who reside in an "English-Only" state are actually more likely than those who do not, to be unemployed. This finding suggests that these laws may foster a more hostile labor market environment for this group.

Another area where Vietnamese immigrants do *not* significantly differ and Mexican immigrants do, is sex: Although female Vietnamese immigrants are only very slightly more

likely to be unemployed than male Vietnamese immigrants, the sex gap is far wider for Mexican immigrants. This gap is even larger for recent cohorts.

It is also clear that not only are Vietnamese immigrants who report that they speak English less likely than those Mexican immigrants to be unemployed, but those Vietnamese who speak *only* English fare just as well in employment outcomes as those who are bilingual. However, this is not the case for Mexicans. In fact, Mexican immigrants who speak only English are far more likely than their bilingual counterparts to be unemployed.

<<Insert “Figures 14A-H: Factors Influencing Employment Status- Mexican v. Vietnamese”>>

Poverty Status

Finally, assessing the poverty status of these two groups, versus only their job and earnings outcomes, reveals yet another story. As was the case with employment status, net of all other factors, a clear sex differential exists for Mexican immigrants, which is not present for the Vietnamese. Also of interest, it seems like naturalized Mexican immigrants have similar outcomes to non-citizen Vietnamese immigrants, implying a smaller gain to citizenship for the former.

Furthermore, although living in an English-Only state had no effect for either group on earnings, and a negative effect for Mexicans on employment outcomes, the trend seems to be that Mexicans living in an English-Only state are actually slightly *less likely* to live in poverty (though this finding is not statistically significant). This suggests that perhaps while these laws may create a hostile labor market environment for immigrants seeking work, these laws may also exist alongside other resources for immigrants that help evade poor living conditions.

<<Insert “Figures 15A-H: Factors Influencing Poverty Status- Mexican v. Vietnamese”>>

In sum, this comparison has illustrated the heterogeneity that exists in the immigrant work force for these three economic outcomes: earnings, employment, and poverty. Vietnamese immigrants consistently fare better than do Mexican immigrants of the same characteristics. The purpose of this comparison is *not* to imply that Vietnamese immigrants and other refugee communities do not face distinct difficulties in their economic integration process. Rather, it is to explore the importance of an immigrant's mode of entry (i.e. as an economic or political migrant) on their economic outcomes.

A Note Regarding the Effect of Occupational Status

This analysis has not discussed the effect of occupational status as an endogenous variable. Though results are presented which include the effect of occupational status on poverty and earnings, this has not been the explicit focus of this paper. However, it is important to note that there are indeed significant differences between the occupational sorting of Mexican and Vietnamese foreign-born workers, which is reflective of their different educational distributions. Most striking is the relative absence of agricultural workers in the Vietnamese foreign-born community, compared to Mexicans (.2% versus 6.4%.) Furthermore, 20% of Vietnamese workers are professionals, whereas only 4% of Mexicans are.

A multinomial logit analysis on all non-institutionalized foreign-born employed individuals age 25-64 revealed that none of the state-level factors explain the occupational sorting. In general, entry cohort also has insignificant effects. The most robust results seem to be an immigrant's English proficiency and educational attainment. These vast differences suggest that further research which conducts occupation-specific assessments of earnings and poverty outcomes would be merited.

<<Insert "Figure 16: Occupational Distribution of Employed Foreign-Born">>

<<Insert "Figure 17: Multinomial Logit Results: Occupational Status">>

Towards a Broader Theory of Immigrant Economic Integration

The findings presented in this paper have supported the argument that human capital indicators alone, though integral to economic outcomes, do not solely determine the labor market outcomes that immigrants face. Institutional and socialization factors in some cases have

significant effects for an immigrant's labor market outcomes. Through a discussion of three different outcomes: employment status, earnings, and poverty status, this paper has demonstrated that not all factors equally explain all economic outcomes.

This paper also diverges from previous studies which focus only on comparing the immigrant population as a whole, with the labor market performance of the native born population. A comparative analysis is provided for a group of economic migrants (Mexicans) and for a group of traditionally political migrants (Vietnamese). I have provided evidence that not only is economic integration a process that requires multiple sites of inquiry for analysis, but also that there is significant heterogeneity within the immigrant population, which is mediated in part by structural factors and likely also the predominant mode of entry for a particular group.

Shaping a New Research Agenda for the Study of Economic Integration

This analysis has provided an initial look into a way to broaden our current understanding of the economic integration of immigrants. Although this paper expands upon previous analyses by studying three labor market outcomes: poverty status, employment status, and (non-zero) earnings, there are likely intermediary stages that have been omitted and which also require scrutiny. For example, this paper did not undertake an in-depth assessment of occupational status, which may be an important intermediate stage between attaining employment and receiving higher earnings. At the higher end of the labor market spectrum, an analysis of immigrant professionals and their within firm position may also illuminate whether or not a glass ceiling exists for immigrant career mobility.

Secondly, this analysis has focused on two of the four largest immigrant groups in the United States today: Mexican and Vietnamese foreign-born. I have argued that the former represents a profile of economic migrants to the U.S., whereas the latter represents a set of political migrants. Yet, there are a handful of characteristics which make each group unique. For example, Mexican immigrants have one of the highest rates of return migration (Massey 2003.) Thus, when studying economic outcomes, it is possible that those individuals who were *least* successful in the U.S. labor market have since returned to Mexico and were not enumerated in Census data. Similarly, selection may also be present in the Vietnamese community. Whereas Mexican immigrants with the highest endowments of human capital are likely to remain in Mexico, those Vietnamese who are professionals and who have higher education may be among

the most likely to leave as refugees. Future comparative studies on this issue should also look at other immigrant groups.

Third, this paper has discussed the role of the immigrant context of reception by using state-level indicators. However, some may argue that although the state-level environment and policies are significant, a smaller geography of analysis would better capture contextual effects. Future analysis may improve upon the current one by capturing county or city-level policies, and living conditions. Indicators such as the percent of individuals living in poverty, and measures of residential segregation may further enrich the explanatory power of such analyses.

Lastly, though cross-sectional census data is very informative about different cohorts of immigrants, it is nonetheless limited in what it can tell us about changes in these immigrant experiences over time. Longitudinal data which tracks an immigrant from their time of arrival in the country would be most beneficial for analyzing the trajectory of an immigrant's working life, and whether or not there are waning effects of certain individual or structural factors over his or her career. Such data would be most ideal if it were to include measures of the documentation status, and tracked any policy changes that may occur (i.e. in the event of a legalization program, or if the immigrant gains citizenship.)

<<Insert "Figure 18: Appendix 1- Brief Summary of Legislation Impacting Refugees to the U.S.">>

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Figure 1: Factors that Influence the Economic Integration of Immigrants

<i>MODEL 1</i>			<i>MODEL 2</i>		<i>MODEL 3</i>
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS			CONTEXTUAL/ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS		MODE OF ENTRY
Demographic Controls	Human Capital	Cultural Capital/Socialization	Labor Market Environment	Policy Environment	Access to Resources
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marital Status • Sex • Age • Age Squared • Citizenship Status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-reported English Proficiency • Educational Attainment • Period of Entry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant entered when s/he was 10 years old or younger 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployment rate in state of residence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent Foreign-born in state of residence • Presence of an English-Only Law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic Migrant (Mexican) • Political Migrant (Vietnamese)

Figure 2: BCIS Mode of Entry Statistics

Place of Birth	1996 Total Immigration	1996 "Illegal Alien" Population Estimates ¹	1996 "Illegal " Immigration Estimates	1996 "Aliens" Apprehended ³
All Countries	915,900	5,000,000	275,000	1,649,986
Mexico	163,572	2,700,000	154,000	1,598,016
Philippines	55,876	95,000	NTT	NTT
India	44,859	NTT	NTT	NTT
Vietnam	42,067	NTT	NTT	NTT

Place of Birth	Refugees 1981-1996	H1B (Continuing) FY 2000 ¹	H1B (Initial) FY 2000 ¹	Nonimmigrant Visas (All classes) ²
All Countries	1,412,573	120,853	136,787	33,690,082
Mexico	NTT	1,246	1,465	4,135,319
Philippines	NTT	3,394	4,002	236,617
India	NTT	63,940	60,757	409,609
Vietnam	420,178	86	160	<90,996 (Other Asia)

Source: *Immigration Fact Sheet 1996, Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services* : <http://uscis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/110.htm>

1: Based on Country of Birth

2: Based on Country of Last Residence

3: Based on Country of Nationality

NTT: Not one of Top Ten Countries Reported

Figure 3: Sample Selection for Dependent Variables

POVERTY STATUS	EMPLOYMENT STATUS	EARNINGS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Foreign-born population (Those respondents who were born in outlying U.S. territories, or were born abroad of American parents are omitted from this analysis.) ▪ Working age (25-64) ▪ Non-institutionalized population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Foreign-born population (Those respondents who were born in outlying U.S. territories, or were born abroad of American parents are omitted from this analysis.) ▪ Working age (25-64) ▪ Non-institutionalized population ▪ <i>In the labor force</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Foreign-born population (Those respondents who were born in outlying U.S. territories, or were born abroad of American parents are omitted from this analysis.) ▪ Working age (25-64) ▪ Non-institutionalized population ▪ <i>In the labor force</i> ▪ <i>Employed</i> ▪ <i>Earn \$1 or more yearly</i>

Figure 4: Model Variables

Independent Variable	Definition
<i>Demographic Controls</i>	
Male	Coded 1 if the respondent is a male
Marital Status	Coded 1 if the respondent is married, with either their spouse present or absent
<i>Individual (Human) Capital</i>	
Citizenship Status	Coded 1 if the respondent is a naturalized citizen.
Age	Self-reported age; proxy for labor market experience
Age squared	Self-reported age, squared term
Entry Cohort	Coded based on the difference between the census year (2000) and the self-reported year of entry to the U.S.
English proficiency	Self-reported ability to speak English. 5 Categories: 1) Does not speak English, 2) Yes, speaks English, but not well, 3) Yes, speaks English well, 4) Yes, speaks English very well, 5) Yes speaks only English
Educational attainment	Self-reported educational attainment. 5 Categories used in analysis: 1) Less than High School Diploma, 2) High School Degree, or GED, 3) Some College or Associate's Degree, 4) Bachelor's Degree, 5) Graduate or Professional Degree
<i>U.S. Socialization Effects</i>	
Child immigrant	Coded 1 if the respondent entered the United States when they were 10 years old, or younger
<i>Policy Environment / Contextual Effects</i>	
State percent unemployment	Coded as the unemployment rate for the state where the respondent was enumerated, based on to January 2000 Bureau of Labor Statistics figures
State percent foreign-born	Coded as the percent of foreign-born individuals for the state where the respondent was enumerated, based on "The Foreign-Born Population", Census 2000 Brief, December 2003
English-only state	Coded 1 if the there is an "English-Only" law present in the state where the respondent was enumerated, based on a legislative analysis by the American Civil Liberties Union. 16 states had such a law in 1996 Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.
Dependent Variable	Definition
Poverty	Coded 1 if the respondent is living at or under 100% of the poverty threshold
Employed	Coded 1 if the respondent is 1) at work, 2) has a job and is not working or 3) in the armed forces
Yearly Earnings	Based on the combination of 1) income earned as an employee and 2) farm or business income.

Figure 5a : Descriptive Statistics - Foreign-Born v. Native-Born

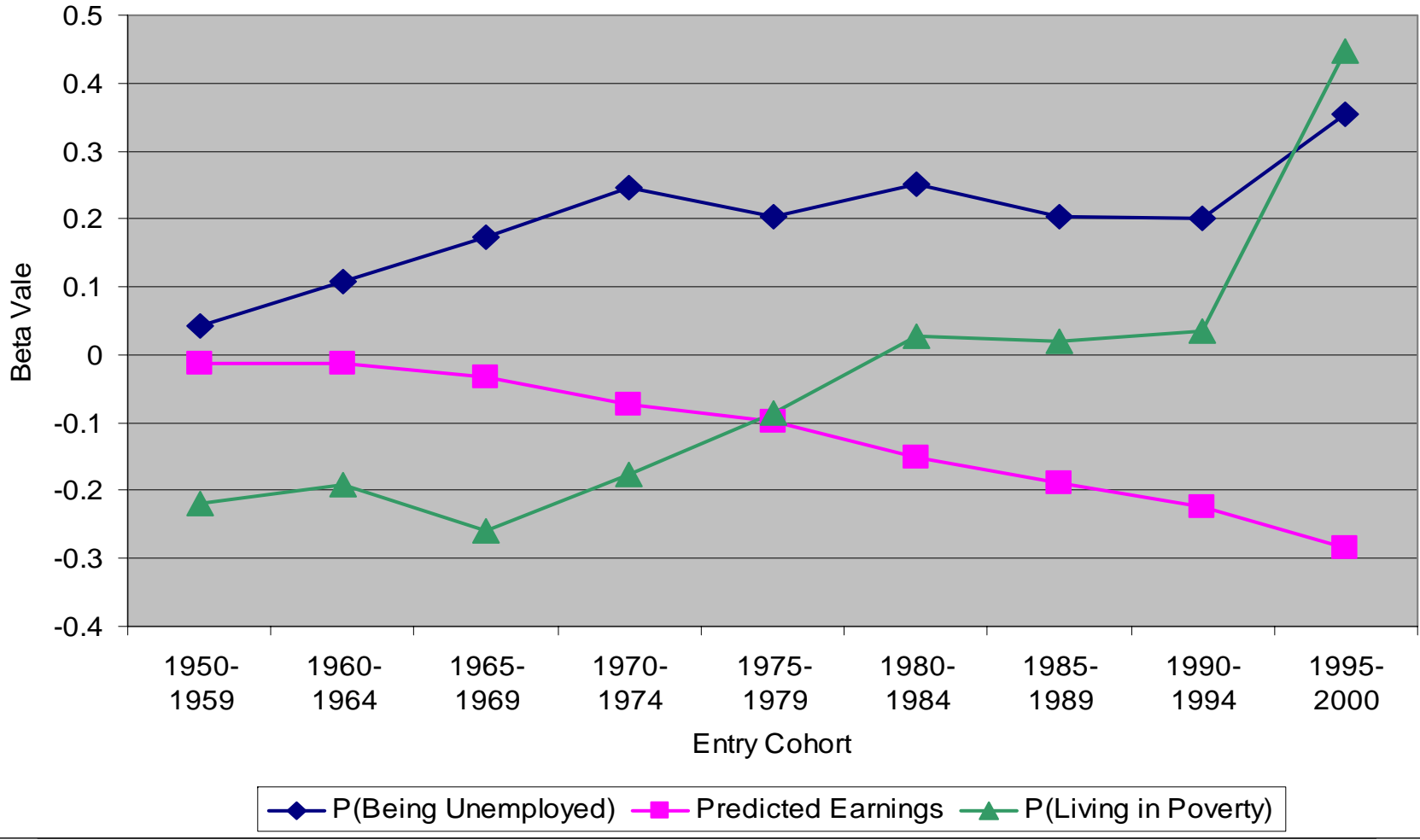
	Foreign-Born					Native-Born				
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
All Non-Institutionalized (NI) Immigrants 25-64										
Male	20,967,500	0.5004	0.5000	0	1	123,425,011	0.4872	0.4998	0	1
Married	20,967,500	0.7042	0.4564	0	1	123,425,011	0.6436	0.4789	0	1
Age	20,967,500	40.8684	10.5218	25	64	123,425,011	42.9234	10.6092	25	64
Child immigrant	20,967,500	0.1068	0.3088	0	1	--	--	--	--	--
Citizen	20,967,500	0.4240	0.4942	0	1	--	--	--	--	--
Years of residence in the US	20,967,500	16.6982	11.4483	0	64	--	--	--	--	--
ENGLISH PROFICIENCY										
No, Does Not Speak English	1,967,940	9.39								
Yes, but not well	4,198,771	20.03								
Yes, speaks well	4,787,711	22.83								
Yes, speaks very well	6,594,867	31.45								
Yes, speaks only English	3,418,211	16.3								
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT										
Less than HS Diploma	7,591,511	36.21				15,205,626	12.32			
HS Degree	3,972,702	18.95				36,209,080	29.34			
Some College or Associates Degree	4,052,458	19.33				38,763,984	31.41			
Bachelor's Degree	3,089,132	14.73				21,773,656	17.64			
Advanced Degree	2,261,697	10.79				11,472,665	9.30			
Percent unemployment in state of residence	20,967,500	4.17	0.72	2.20	6.00	123,425,011	3.81	0.82	2.20	6.00
Percent foreign-born in state of residence	20,967,500	16.83	7.62	1.10	26.20	123,425,011	10.11	7.46	1.10	26.20
Percent who live in an English-only state	20,967,500	0.5271	0.4993	0	1	123,425,011	0.4073	0.4913	0	1
Not in the labor force	20,967,500	0.3093	0.4622	0	1	123,425,011	0.2177	0.4127	0	1
All NI Immigrants 25-64										
Poverty	20,967,500	0.1520	0.3590	0	1	123,425,011	0.0850	0.2788	0	1
All NI Immigrants 25-64, in the labor force										
Employed	14,482,173	0.9405	0.2366	0	1	96,550,581	0.9601	0.1956	0	1
All NI Immigrants 25-64, in the labor force, and employed										
Earnings (real)	13,620,264	33,977	42,847	0	680,000	92,702,741	39,161	42,990	0	680,000
All NI Immigrants 25-64, in the labor force, and employed, and earn \$1 or more yearly										
Earnings (real)	13,074,340	35,396	43,154	4	680,000	90,876,278	39,948	43,056	4	680,000

Figure 5b : Descriptive Statistics - Mexican v. Vietnamese Foreign-Born

	MEXICAN					VIETNAMESE				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Average Household Size	3,296,023	3.6654	2.0028	1	27	212,474	3.4789	1.7223	1	13
Average Family Size	3,493,878	3.3707	1.9530	1	23	224,020	3.2620	1.7447	1	13
All Non-Institutionalized (NI) Immigrants 25-64										
Male	5,959,839	0.5518	0.4973	0	1	745,165	0.4940	0.5000	0	1
Married	5,959,839	0.7196	0.4492	0	1	745,165	0.6730	0.4691	0	1
Age	5,959,839	37.9268	9.7161	25	64	745,165	40.1882	10.4720	25	64
Child immigrant	5,959,839	0.0966	0.2953	0	1	745,165	0.1044	0.3058	0	1
Citizen	5,959,839	0.2666	0.4422	0	1	745,165	0.6489	0.4773	0	1
Years of residence in the US	5,959,839	15.8651	10.3408	0	64	745,165	14.7682	7.6381	0	61
ENGLISH PROFICIENCY										
No, Does Not Speak English	1,254,074	21.04				40,118	5.38			
Yes, but not well	1,862,972	31.26				237,488	31.87			
Yes, speaks well	1,324,080	22.22				256,430	34.41			
Yes, speaks very well	1,175,029	19.72				173,606	23.3			
Yes, speaks only English	343,684	5.77				37,523	5.04			
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT										
Less than HS Diploma	4,138,383	69.44				267,107	35.85			
HS Degree	961,413	16.13				141,494	18.99			
Some College or Associates Degree	601,326	10.09				186,442	25.02			
Bachelor's Degree	160,226	2.69				113,848	15.28			
Advanced Degree	98,491	1.65				36,274	4.87			
Percent unemployment in state of residence	5,959,839	4.3178	0.5741	2.2	6	745,165	4.1686	0.7596	2.2	6
Percent foreign-born in state of residence	5,959,839	18.1633	7.8567	1.1	26.2	745,165	16.9214	8.8447	1.1	26.2
Percent who live in an English-only state	5,959,839	0.6550	0.4754	0	1	745,165	0.5894	0.4919	0	1
Not in the labor force	5,959,839	0.3689	0.4825	0	1	745,165	0.2923	0.4548	0	1
All NI Immigrants 25-64										
Poverty	5,959,839	0.2344	0.4236	0	1	745,165	0.1214	0.3266	0	1
All NI Immigrants 25-64, in the labor force										
Employed	3,761,283	0.9134	0.2812	0	1	527,389	0.9525	0.2128	0	1
All NI Immigrants 25-64, in the labor force, and employed										
Earnings (real)	3,435,603	20,589	23,335	0	588,000	502,315	30,341	31,647	0	576,000
All NI Immigrants 25-64, in the labor force, and employed, and earn \$1 or more yearly										
Earnings (real)	3,235,791	21,861	23,460	4	588,000	486,931	31,299	31,672	10	576,000

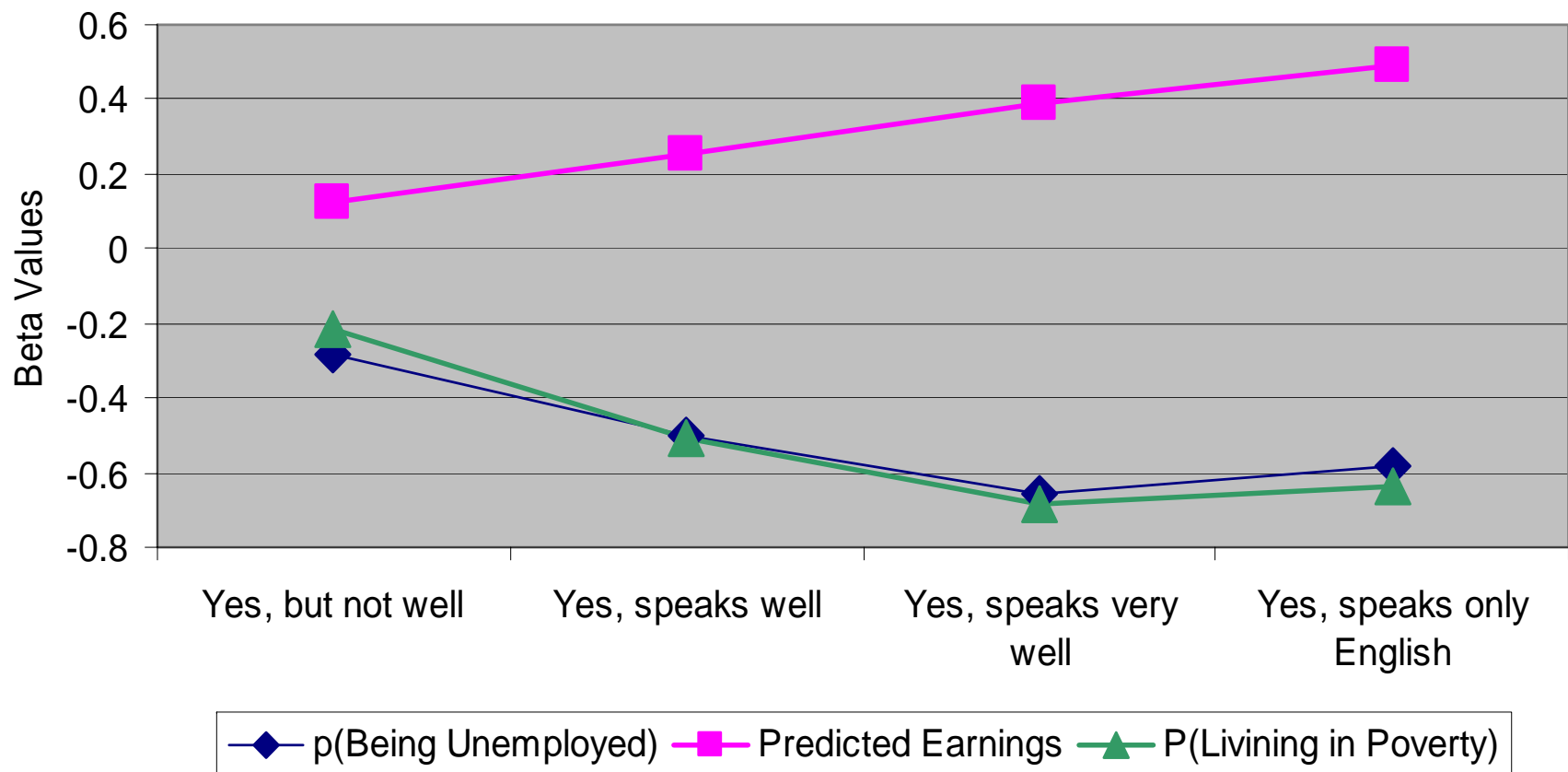
Figure 6

**Effect of Entry Cohort on Economic Outcomes
(Reference Category: Pre-1950 Period)**



Effect of English Proficiency on Economic Outcomes

Figure 7 (Reference Category: Does Not Speak English)



Effect of Educational Attainment on Economic Outcomes (Reference Category: Less than HS)

Figure 8

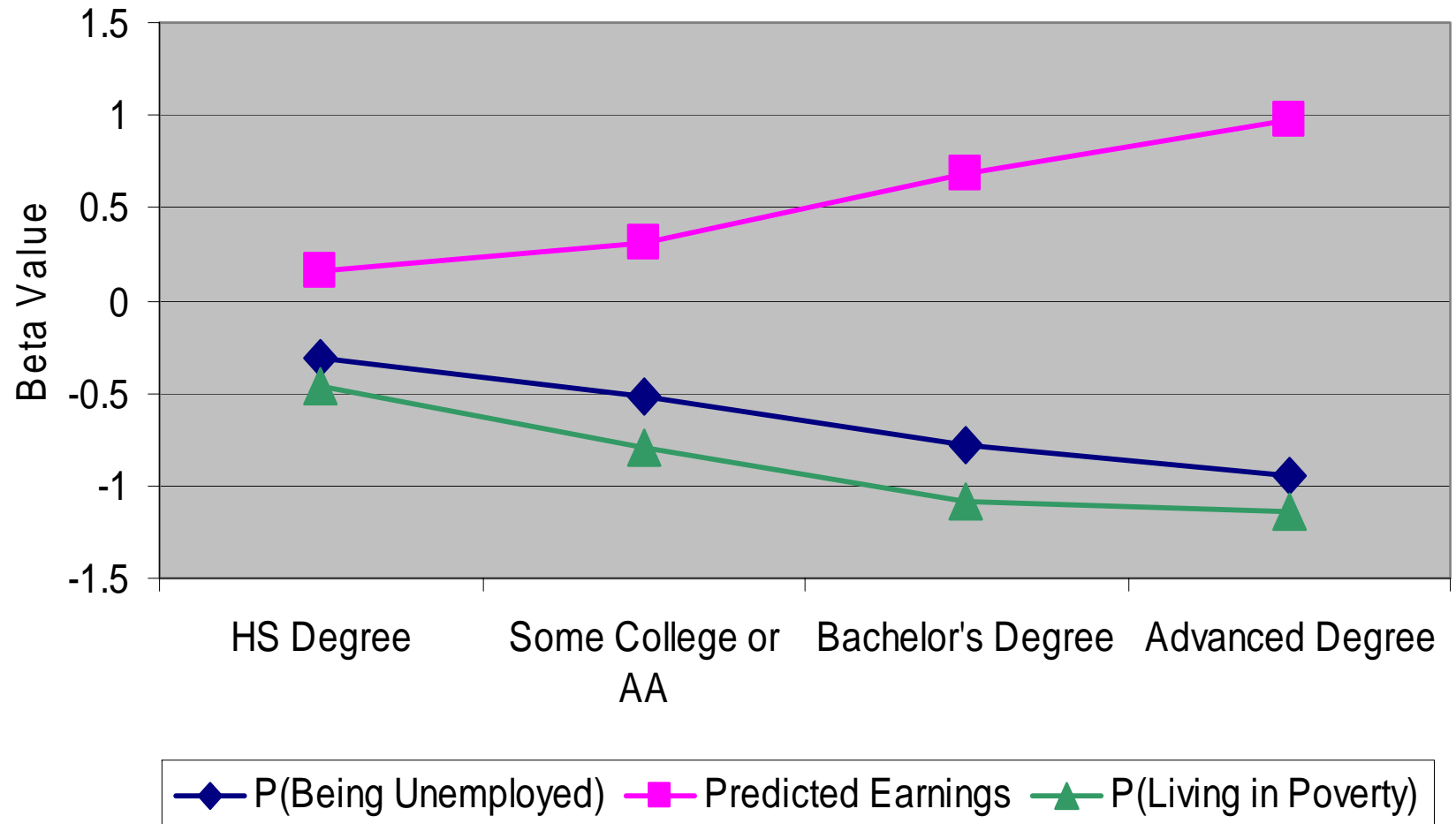


Figure 9: Logit Coefficients for the Probability of Being Unemployed

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Base Model	+ State Effects	+ Mex/Viet
Male	-0.4450** [0.0023]	-0.4409** [0.0312]	-0.4497** [0.0325]
Married	-0.2292** [0.0024]	-0.2185** [0.0254]	-0.2228** [0.0234]
Age	-0.0185** [0.0009]	-0.0199** [0.0039]	-0.0183** [0.0036]
Age Squared	0.0002** [0.0000]	0.0002** [0.0000]	0.0002** [0.0000]
Child Immigrant	0.0607** [0.0050]	0.0635** [0.0183]	0.0761** [0.0176]
Citizen	-0.2497** [0.0028]	-0.2497** [0.0250]	-0.2289** [0.0210]
1950-1959	0.0399 [0.0228]	0.0419 [0.0993]	0.0544 [0.1019]
1960-1964	0.1267** [0.0226]	0.108 [0.1139]	0.1274 [0.1156]
1965-1969	0.2011** [0.0222]	0.1735 [0.1054]	0.1985 [0.1069]
1970-1974	0.2862** [0.0221]	0.2461* [0.1000]	0.2709** [0.1026]
1975-1979	0.2455** [0.0222]	0.2042 [0.1139]	0.2464* [0.1192]
1980-1984	0.2887** [0.0223]	0.2521* [0.1052]	0.3057** [0.1109]
1985-1989	0.2369** [0.0224]	0.2024* [0.1002]	0.2553* [0.1052]
1990-1994	0.2154** [0.0225]	0.2009 [0.1056]	0.2698* [0.1132]
1995-2000	0.3305** [0.0225]	0.3554** [0.1101]	0.4218** [0.1137]
Yes, but not well	-0.2964** [0.0038]	-0.2839** [0.0317]	-0.2628** [0.0265]
Yes, speaks well	-0.5130** [0.0041]	-0.4976** [0.0496]	-0.4699** [0.0409]
Yes, speaks very well	-0.6850** [0.0043]	-0.6583** [0.0424]	-0.6328** [0.0385]
Yes, speaks only English	-0.6150** [0.0047]	-0.5811** [0.0421]	-0.5469** [0.0568]
HS Degree	-0.3172** [0.0032]	-0.3069** [0.0387]	-0.2838** [0.0260]
Some College or AA	-0.5203** [0.0035]	-0.5178** [0.0505]	-0.4850** [0.0291]
Bachelor's Degree	-0.7876** [0.0042]	-0.7870** [0.0522]	-0.7474** [0.0264]
Advanced Degree	-0.9741** [0.0051]	-0.9533** [0.0803]	-0.9172** [0.0582]
Percent unemployment in state of residence		0.0873** [0.0328]	0.0772* [0.0323]
Percent foreign-born in state of residence		0.0156** [0.0029]	0.0162** [0.0028]
Percent who live in an English-only state		-0.0809* [0.0361]	-0.0962* [0.0485]
Mexican			0.1046 [0.0696]
Vietnamese			-0.2136** [0.0682]
Constant	-1.2962** [0.0295]	-1.8744** [0.1864]	-2.0161** [0.1887]
<i>Observations</i>	1.45E+07	1.45E+07	1.45E+07

Standard errors in brackets
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Figure 10: GLM Coefficients for Predicted Log Earnings

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Base Model	+ State Effects	+ Mex/Viet	+ Occupation
Male	0.4045** [0.0006]	0.4061** [0.0116]	0.4152** [0.0125]	0.4343** [0.0100]
Married	0.0885** [0.0006]	0.0902** [0.0060]	0.0937** [0.0061]	0.0846** [0.0058]
Age	0.0463** [0.0002]	0.0459** [0.0034]	0.0434** [0.0033]	0.0438** [0.0032]
Age Squared	-0.0005** [0.0000]	-0.0005** [0.0000]	-0.0005** [0.0000]	-0.0005** [0.0000]
Child Immigrant	-0.0672** [0.0011]	-0.0671** [0.0088]	-0.0725** [0.0074]	-0.0791** [0.0089]
Citizen	0.0810** [0.0007]	0.0804** [0.0092]	0.0683** [0.0073]	0.0592** [0.0068]
1950-1959	-0.0123** [0.0041]	-0.0117 [0.0182]	-0.0229 [0.0185]	-0.0239 [0.0179]
1960-1964	-0.0103* [0.0041]	-0.0126 [0.0213]	-0.0306 [0.0217]	-0.0317 [0.0210]
1965-1969	-0.0282** [0.0041]	-0.032 [0.0231]	-0.0544* [0.0234]	-0.0541* [0.0233]
1970-1974	-0.0696** [0.0041]	-0.0733* [0.0292]	-0.0929** [0.0290]	-0.0898** [0.0287]
1975-1979	-0.0938** [0.0041]	-0.0974** [0.0237]	-0.1240** [0.0251]	-0.1203** [0.0250]
1980-1984	-0.1468** [0.0041]	-0.1509** [0.0254]	-0.1900** [0.0276]	-0.1802** [0.0269]
1985-1989	-0.1840** [0.0042]	-0.1881** [0.0325]	-0.2292** [0.0354]	-0.2127** [0.0345]
1990-1994	-0.2217** [0.0042]	-0.2229** [0.0321]	-0.2746** [0.0357]	-0.2552** [0.0344]
1995-2000	-0.2859** [0.0042]	-0.2833** [0.0243]	-0.3380** [0.0299]	-0.3235** [0.0296]
Yes, but not well	0.1205** [0.0013]	0.1211** [0.0107]	0.0998** [0.0094]	0.0896** [0.0099]
Yes, speaks well	0.2526** [0.0013]	0.2522** [0.0148]	0.2180** [0.0144]	0.1734** [0.0118]
Yes, speaks very well	0.3898** [0.0013]	0.3904** [0.0137]	0.3502** [0.0179]	0.2719** [0.0171]
Yes, speaks only English	0.4911** [0.0014]	0.4930** [0.0206]	0.4386** [0.0174]	0.3545** [0.0182]
HS Degree	0.1555** [0.0008]	0.1549** [0.0175]	0.1224** [0.0132]	0.0760** [0.0112]
Some College or AA	0.3172** [0.0009]	0.3158** [0.0209]	0.2733** [0.0150]	0.1586** [0.0147]
Bachelor's Degree	0.6854** [0.0009]	0.6829** [0.0241]	0.6293** [0.0181]	0.4420** [0.0199]
Advanced Degree	0.9738** [0.0010]	0.9743** [0.0271]	0.9212** [0.0194]	0.7017** [0.0216]
Percent unemployment in state of residence		-0.033 [0.0174]	-0.0228 [0.0161]	-0.0219 [0.0163]
Percent foreign-born in state of residence		0.0059** [0.0019]	0.0053** [0.0018]	0.0048** [0.0018]
Percent who live in an English-only state		-0.0388 [0.0298]	-0.0215 [0.0289]	-0.026 [0.0299]
Mexican			-0.1488** [0.0234]	-0.1103** [0.0267]
Vietnamese			-0.0106 [0.0242]	0.0006 [0.0273]
Service				0.0741** [0.0262]
Lower Blue Collar				0.2865** [0.0240]
Upper Blue Collar				0.4743** [0.0260]
White Collar				0.5272** [0.0270]
Professional				0.5938** [0.0266]
Constant	8.4875** [0.0064]	8.5565** [0.0840]	8.7348** [0.0829]	8.4434** [0.0945]
Observations	1.31E+07	1.31E+07	1.31E+07	1.31E+07

Standard errors in brackets
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Figure 11: Logit Coefficients for the Probability of Living in Poverty

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Base Model	+ State Effects	+ Mex/Viet	+ Occupation
Male	-0.2034** [0.0013]	-0.1999** [0.0110]	-0.2138** [0.0110]	-0.0677** [0.0222]
Married	-0.6713** [0.0013]	-0.6694** [0.0400]	-0.6840** [0.0380]	-0.5941** [0.0376]
Age	-0.0004 [0.0005]	-0.0008 [0.0049]	0.0033 [0.0047]	0.0342** [0.0049]
Age Squared	-0.0001** [0.0000]	-0.0001 [0.0001]	-0.0001* [0.0001]	-0.0005** [0.0001]
Child Immigrant	-0.0356** [0.0030]	-0.0311 [0.0349]	-0.0091 [0.0380]	0.0482 [0.0448]
Citizen	-0.3339** [0.0016]	-0.3352** [0.0339]	-0.3004** [0.0321]	-0.3046** [0.0289]
1950-1959	-0.2229** [0.0129]	-0.2193** [0.0665]	-0.1913** [0.0706]	-0.2346** [0.1089]
1960-1964	-0.1935** [0.0127]	-0.1913** [0.0603]	-0.1516* [0.0701]	-0.137 [0.0847]
1965-1969	-0.2549** [0.0125]	-0.2586** [0.0830]	-0.2078* [0.0964]	-0.1949 [0.1023]
1970-1974	-0.1647** [0.0124]	-0.1767** [0.0676]	-0.1299 [0.0778]	-0.1022 [0.0980]
1975-1979	-0.0740** [0.0124]	-0.0868 [0.0587]	-0.017 [0.0623]	0.0366 [0.0848]
1980-1984	0.0355** [0.0124]	0.0268 [0.0554]	0.1265* [0.0615]	0.1604 [0.0862]
1985-1989	0.0260* [0.0125]	0.0198 [0.0526]	0.1213* [0.0616]	0.1561 [0.0817]
1990-1994	0.0352** [0.0125]	0.0351 [0.0506]	0.1610** [0.0574]	0.1629* [0.0799]
1995-2000	0.4263** [0.0125]	0.4471** [0.0694]	0.5778** [0.0714]	0.6008** [0.0938]
Yes, but not well	-0.2189** [0.0020]	-0.2140** [0.0338]	-0.1747** [0.0250]	-0.1554** [0.0193]
Yes, speaks well	-0.5122** [0.0022]	-0.5047** [0.0373]	-0.4477** [0.0354]	-0.3850** [0.0256]
Yes, speaks very well	-0.6977** [0.0024]	-0.6855** [0.0256]	-0.6251** [0.0235]	-0.5441** [0.0191]
Yes, speaks only English	-0.6412** [0.0026]	-0.6365** [0.0573]	-0.5587** [0.0513]	-0.5030** [0.0572]
HS Degree	-0.4749** [0.0018]	-0.4698** [0.0215]	-0.4173** [0.0151]	-0.3642** [0.0201]
Some College or AA	-0.8018** [0.0021]	-0.7974** [0.0345]	-0.7223** [0.0257]	-0.5712** [0.0283]
Bachelor's Degree	-1.0880** [0.0025]	-1.0836** [0.0550]	-0.9891** [0.0524]	-0.7318** [0.0594]
Advanced Degree	-1.1453** [0.0030]	-1.1346** [0.0558]	-1.0446** [0.0521]	-0.7219** [0.0622]
Percent unemployment in state of residence		0.1901** [0.0569]	0.1659** [0.0540]	0.1583** [0.0518]
Percent foreign-born in state of residence		-0.0032 [0.0066]	-0.0015 [0.0064]	-0.0037 [0.0065]
Percent who live in an English-only state		-0.0559 [0.0975]	-0.0953 [0.0958]	-0.0663 [0.0992]
Mexican			0.2434** [0.0769]	0.2582** [0.0727]
Vietnamese			-0.1844* [0.0906]	-0.2001 [0.1071]
Service				-0.3213** [0.0775]
Lower Blue Collar				-0.6040** [0.0707]
Upper Blue Collar				-0.8591** [0.0581]
White Collar				-0.7411** [0.0688]
Professional				-1.0267** [0.0874]
Constant	-0.0072 [0.0162]	-0.7295** [0.2108]	-1.0445** [0.2236]	-1.4564** [0.2219]
Observations	2.10E+07	2.10E+07	2.10E+07	1.78E+07

Standard errors in brackets

* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Figure 12: Bivariate Probit Coefficients for the Probability of Living in Poverty and Being Unemployed

	Model A		Model B	
	POV100	UNEEMPLOYED	POV100	UNEEMPLOYED
Male	-0.01	-0.2060**	0.0105	-0.1516**
Married	-0.3118**	-0.1093**	-0.2994**	-0.1104**
Age	0.0344**	-0.0092**	0.0337**	-0.0079**
Age Squared	-0.0005**	0.0001**	-0.0005**	0.0001**
Child Immigrant	0.0133	0.0354**	0.0192	0.0376**
Citizen	-0.1698**	-0.1038**	-0.1574**	-0.0902**
1950-1959	-0.0977	0.0128	-0.1077	0.0086
1960-1964	-0.0704	0.0457	-0.0747	0.0506
1965-1969	-0.0846	0.0775	-0.0905	0.078
1970-1974	-0.0416	0.1115*	-0.0517	0.1096*
1975-1979	0.0405	0.0999	0.0334	0.0987
1980-1984	0.1200*	0.1283*	0.1024	0.1220**
1985-1989	0.1191*	0.1053*	0.1006	0.1030*
1990-1994	0.1356*	0.1117*	0.1100*	0.0956*
1995-2000	0.4048**	0.1945**	0.3780**	0.1268**
Yes, but not well	-0.1202**	-0.1400**	-0.1039**	-0.1316**
Yes, speaks well	-0.2706**	-0.2441**	-0.2335**	-0.2274**
Yes, speaks very well	-0.3689**	-0.3217**	-0.3120**	-0.3036**
Yes, speaks only English	-0.3865**	-0.2897**	-0.3300**	-0.2694**
HS Degree	-0.2188**	-0.1415**	-0.1922**	-0.1315**
Some College or AA	-0.3800**	-0.2340**	-0.3062**	-0.2040**
Bachelor's Degree	-0.5437**	-0.3498**	-0.4025**	-0.3185**
Advanced Degree	-0.5788**	-0.4264**	-0.3955**	-0.3963**
Percent unemployment in state of residence	0.0845**	0.0353*	0.0824**	0.0284
Percent foreign-born in state of residence	-0.0018	0.0075**	-0.0022	0.0064**
Percent who live in an English-only state	-0.0338	-0.0458*	-0.0319	-0.0358
Mexican	0.1905**	0.0517	0.1635**	0.0657*
Vietnamese	-0.0938	-0.0925**	-0.0905	-0.0840**
Employed			-0.0087	--
Service			-1.2746**	--
Lower Blue Collar			-0.1299**	--
Upper Blue Collar			-0.3251**	--
White Collar			-0.4738**	--
Professional			-0.4155**	--
Constant	-1.5640**	-1.1482**	-0.5636**	-1.2540**
Observations	1.45E+07	1.45E+07	1.43E+07	1.43E+07

Robust standard errors in brackets
 * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Figure 13A:

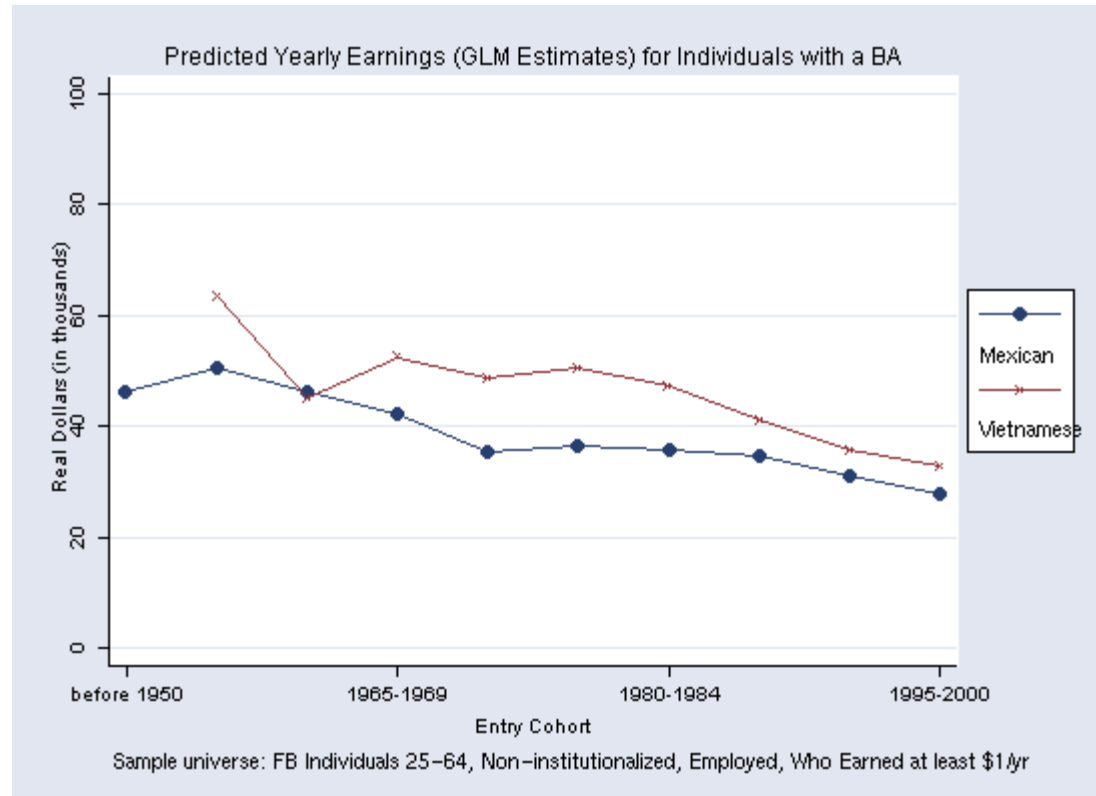


Figure 13B:

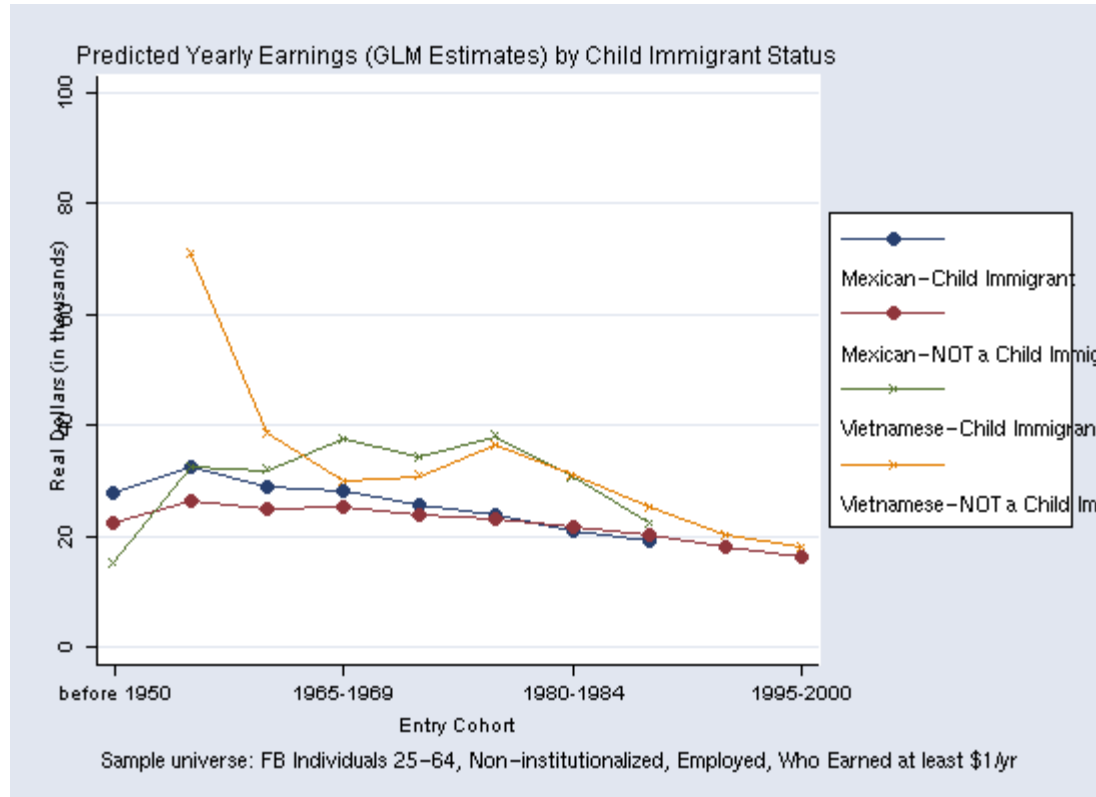


Figure 13C:

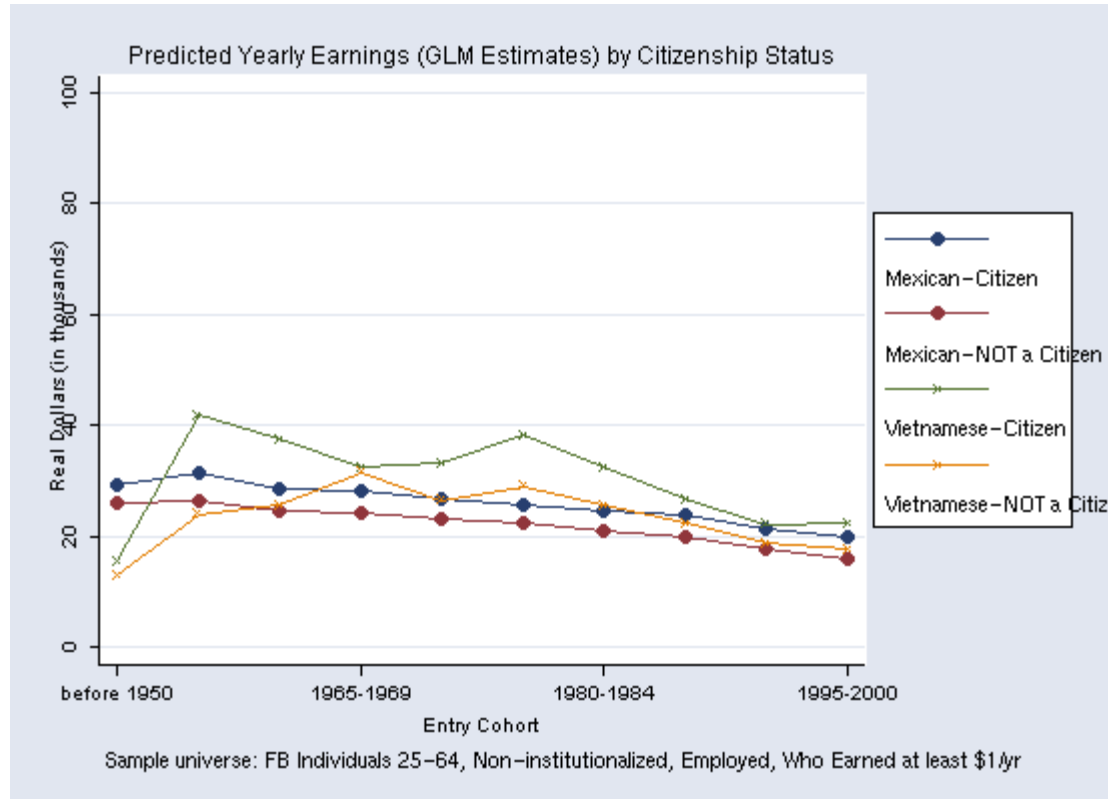


Figure 13D:

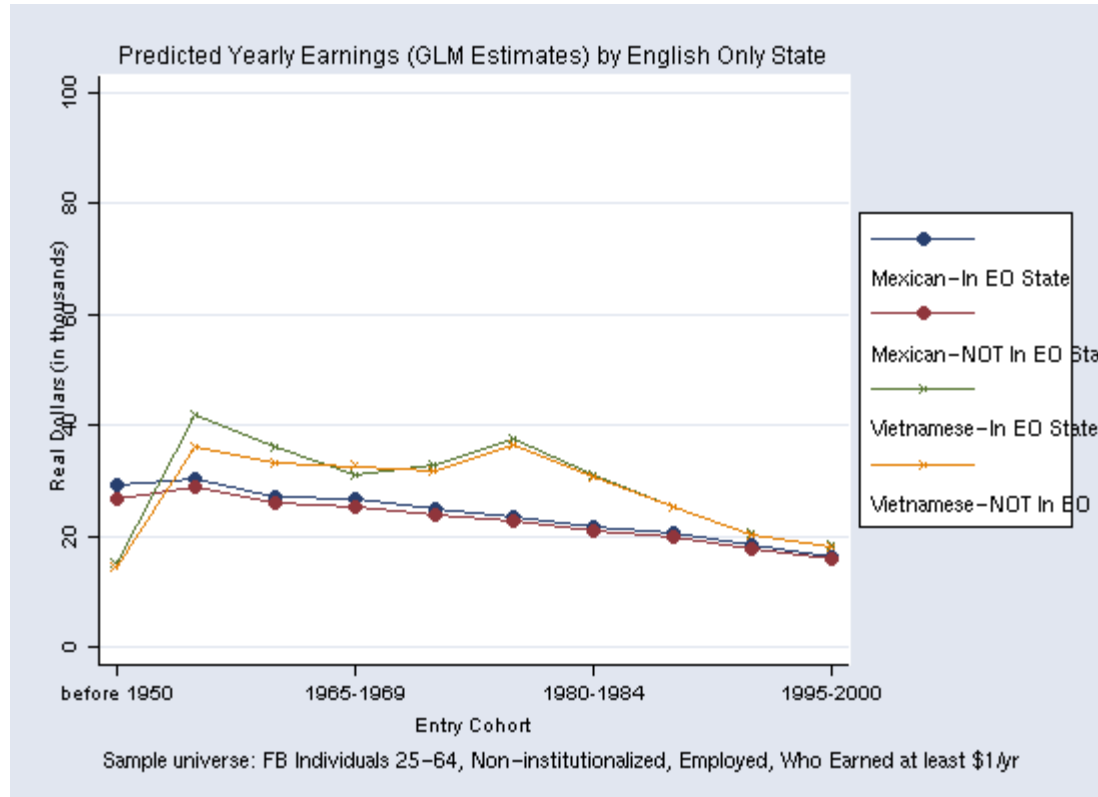


Figure 13E:

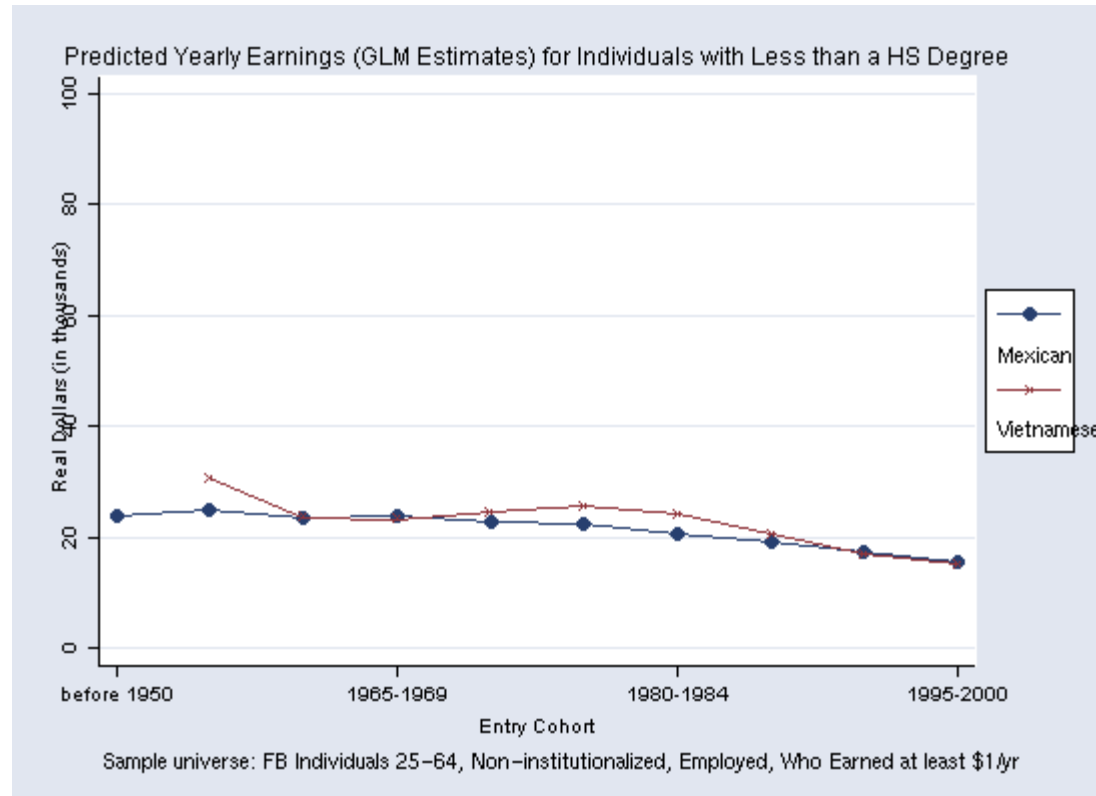


Figure 13F:

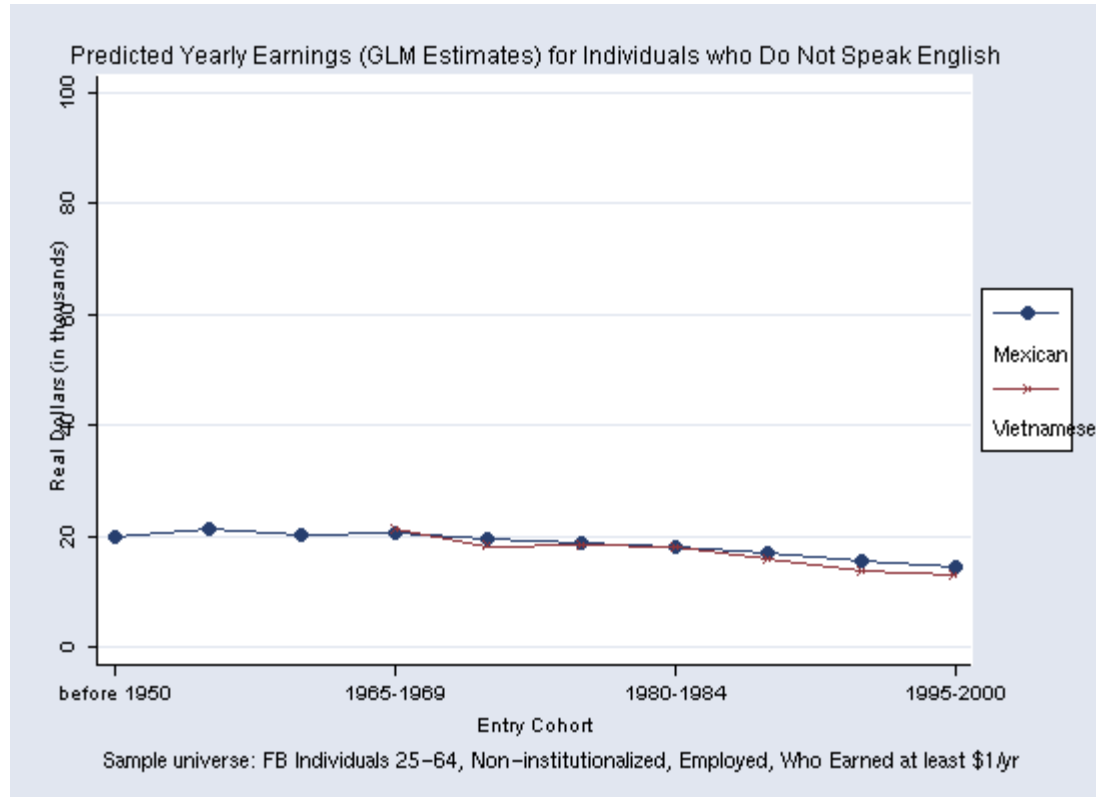


Figure 13G:

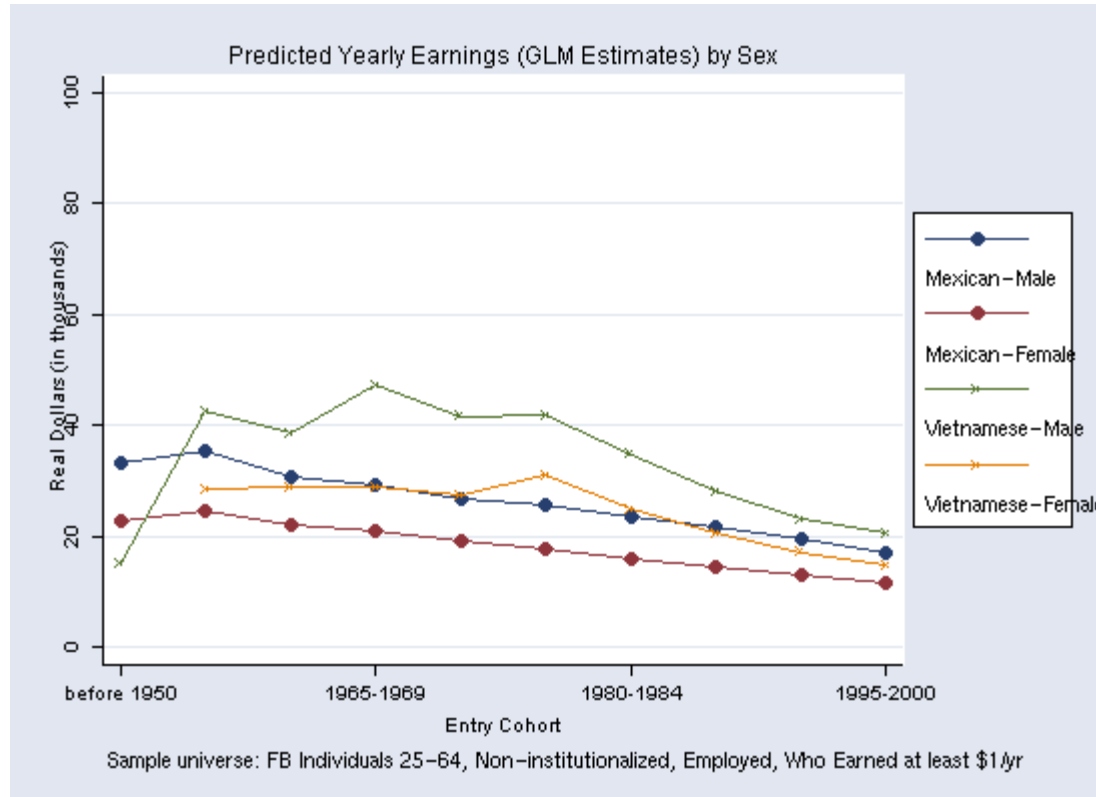


Figure 13H:

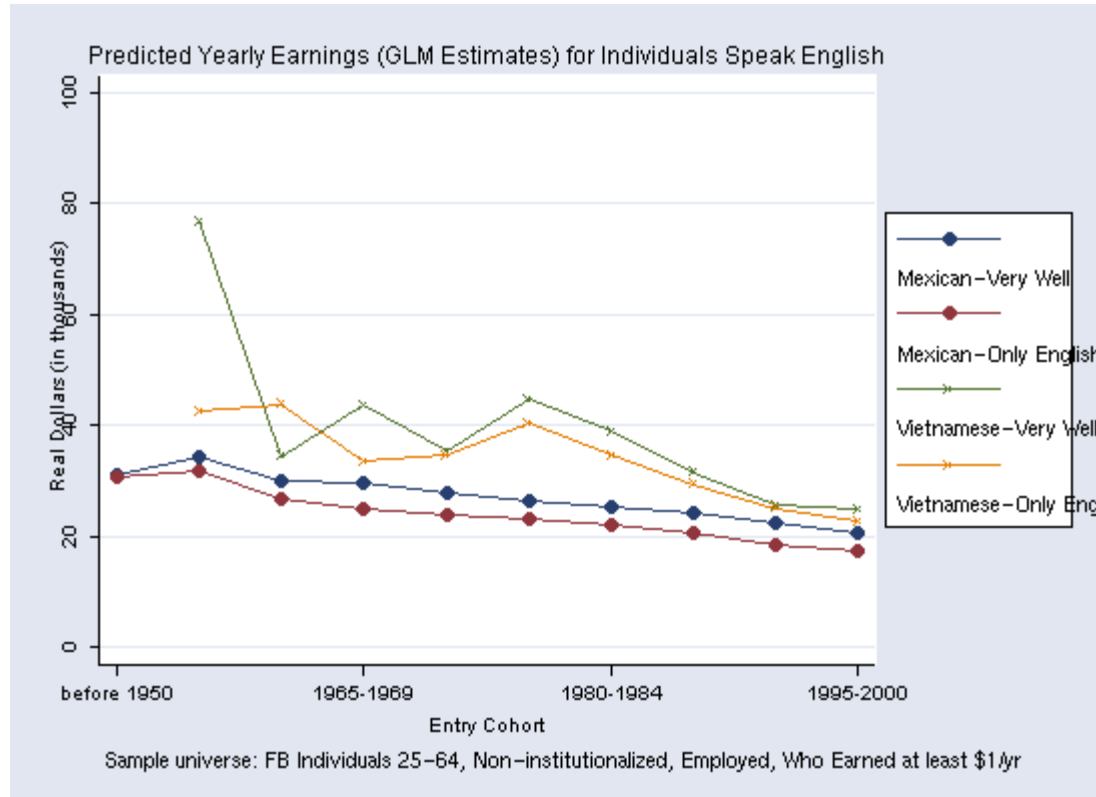


Figure 14A:

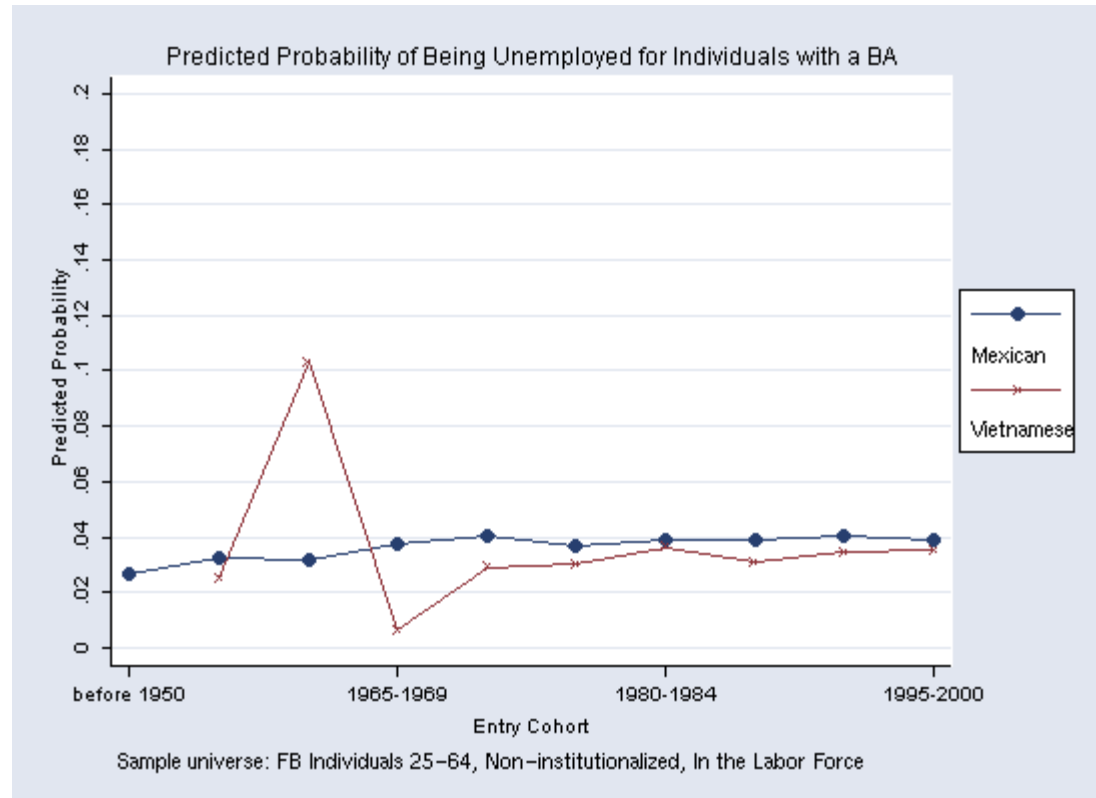


Figure 14B:

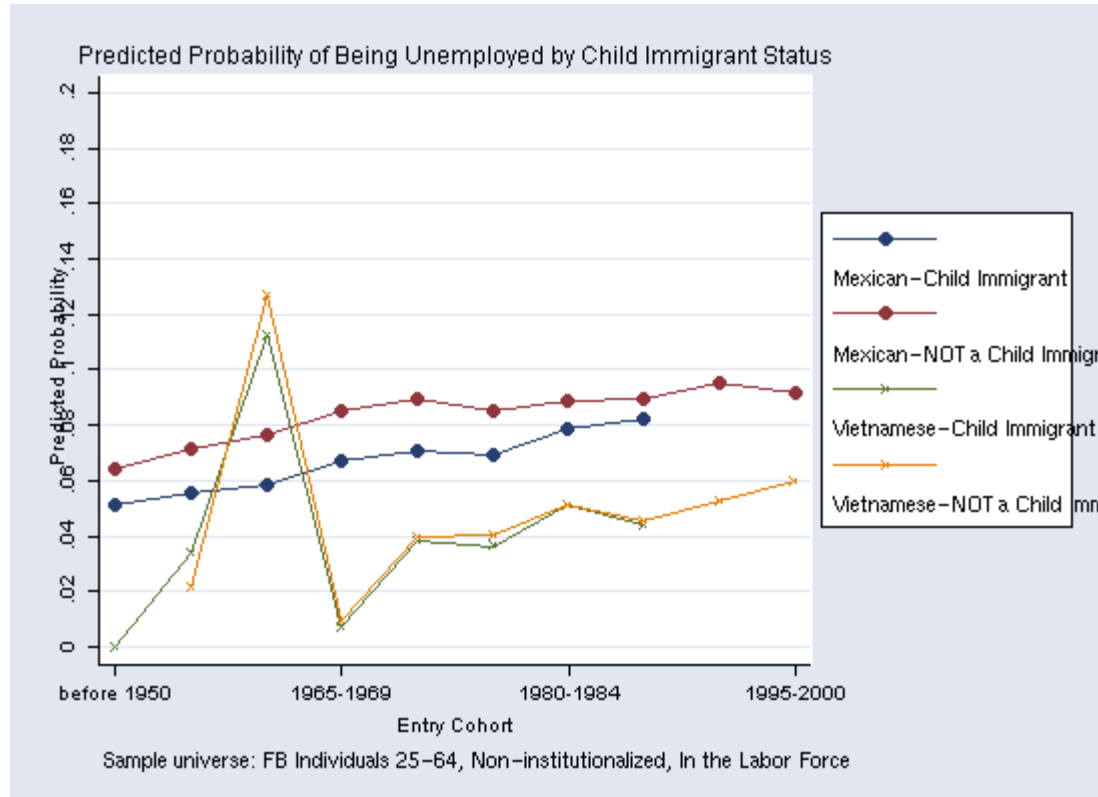


Figure 14C:

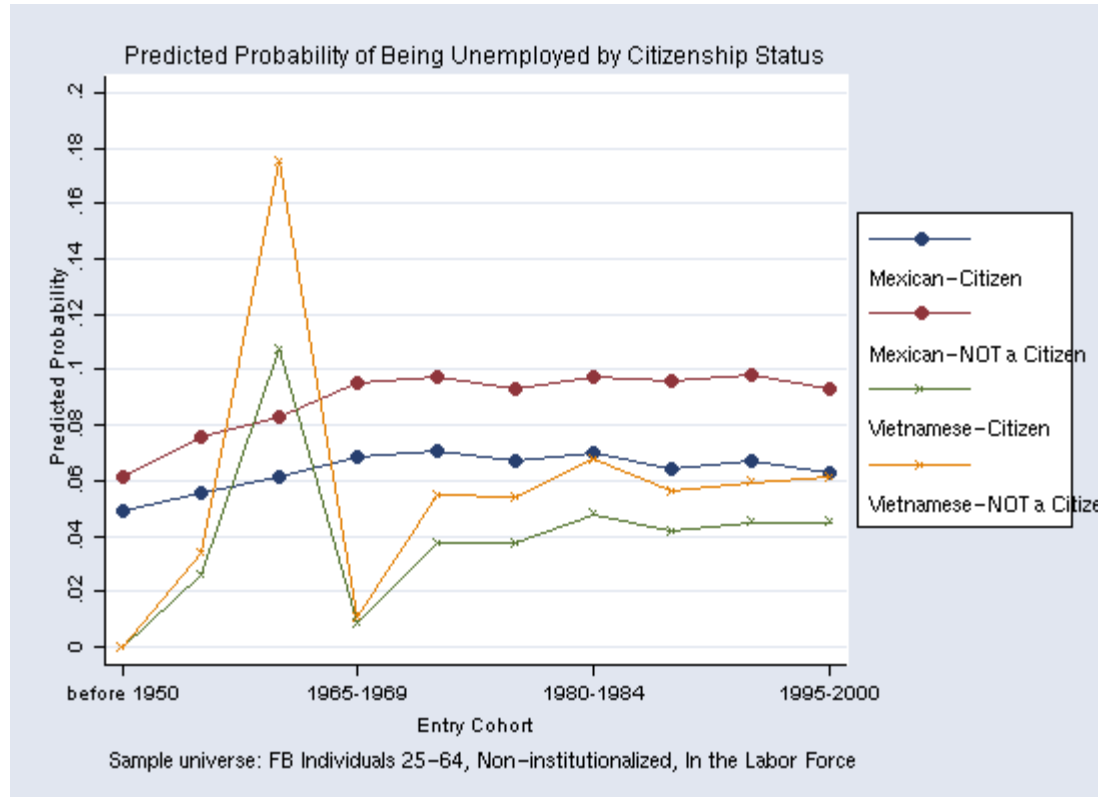


Figure 14D:

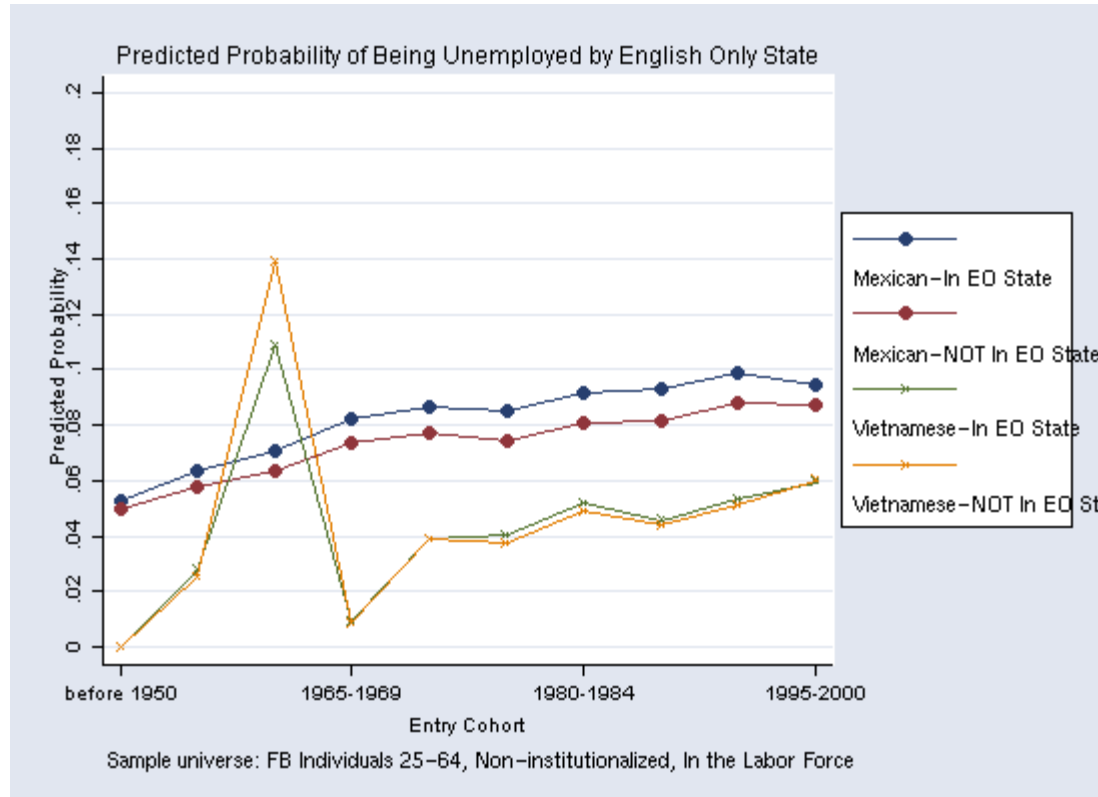


Figure 14E:

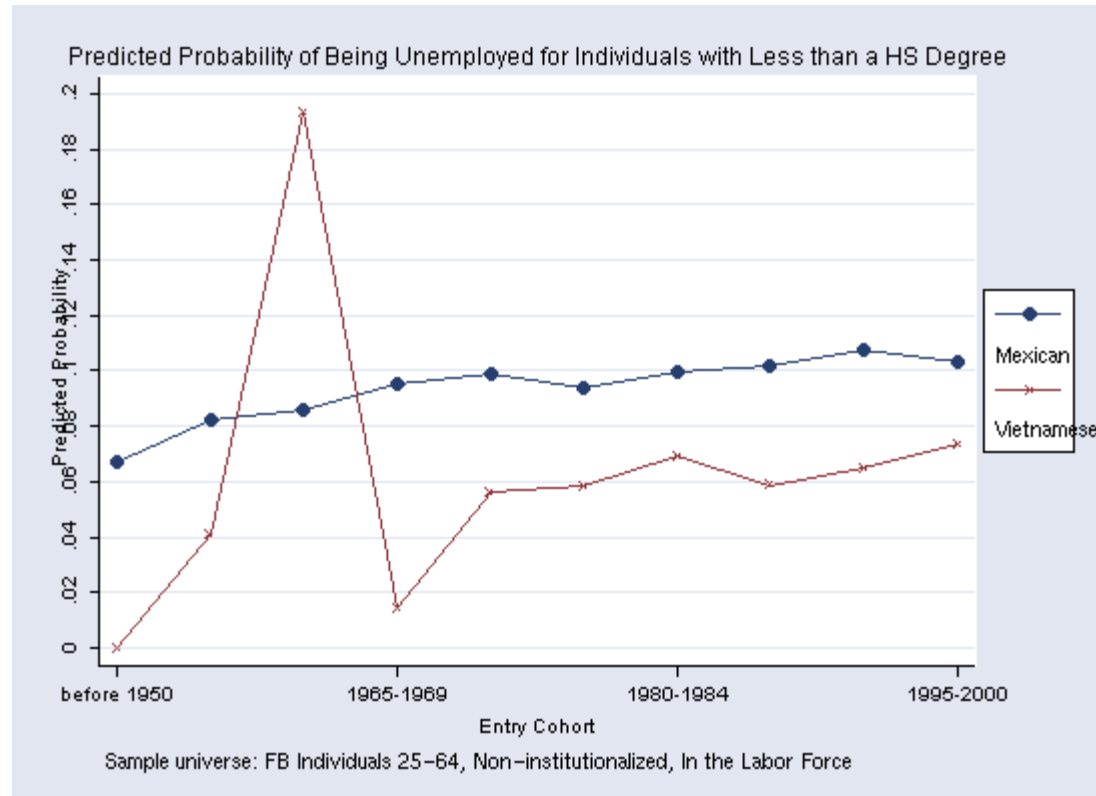


Figure 14F:

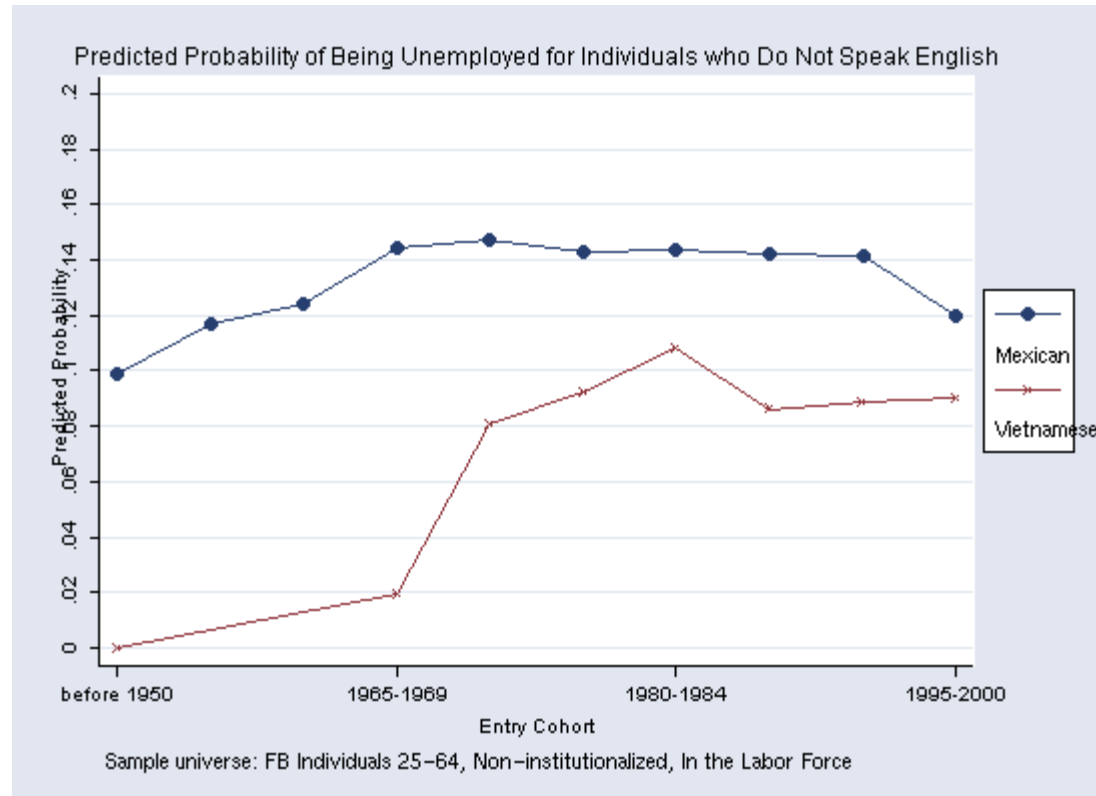


Figure 14G:

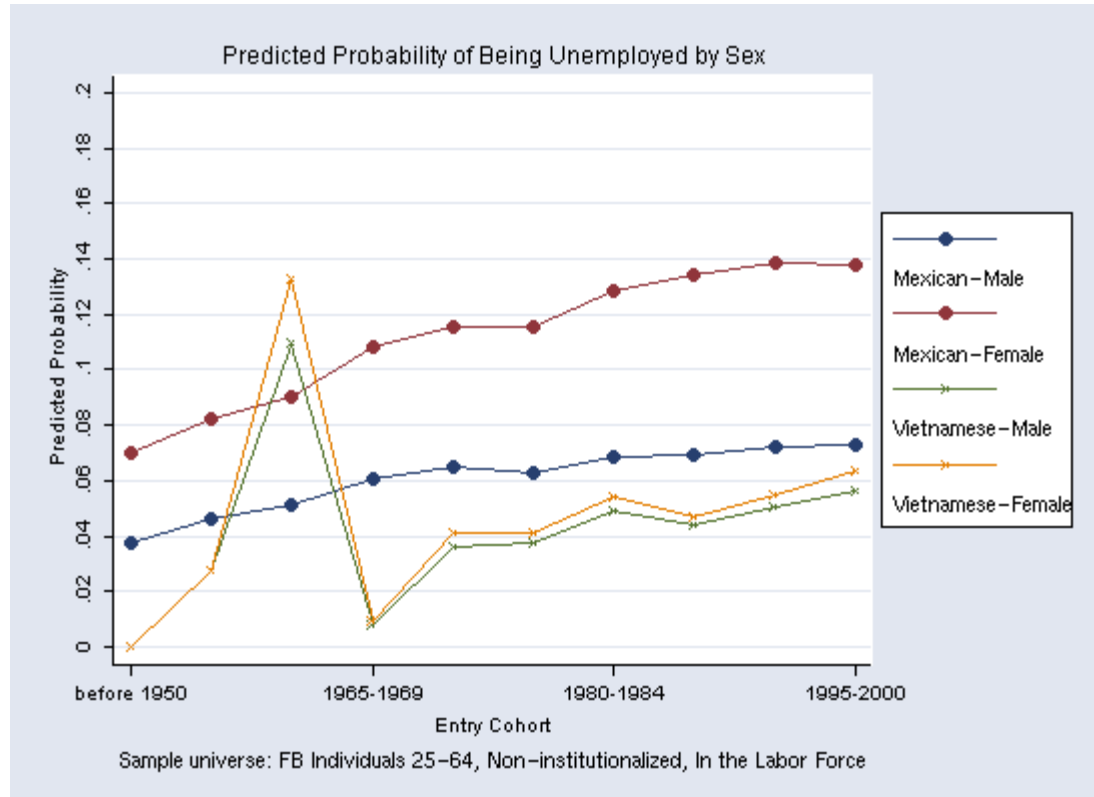


Figure 14H:

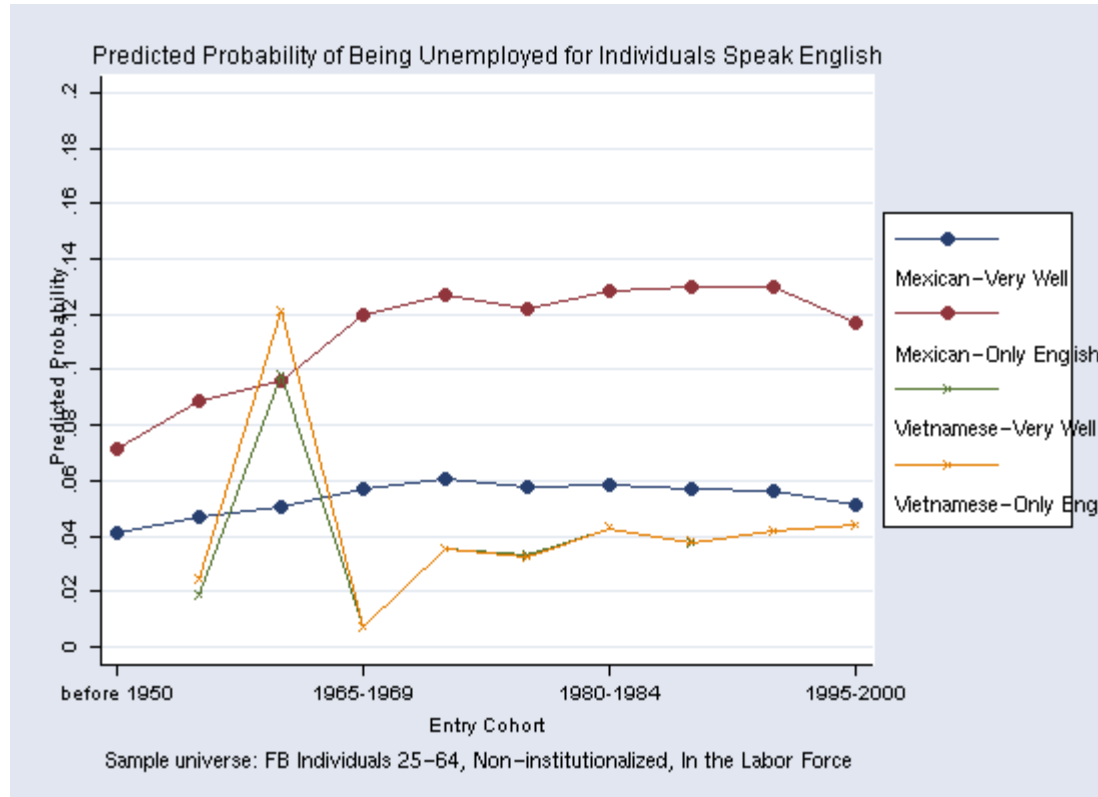


Figure 15A:

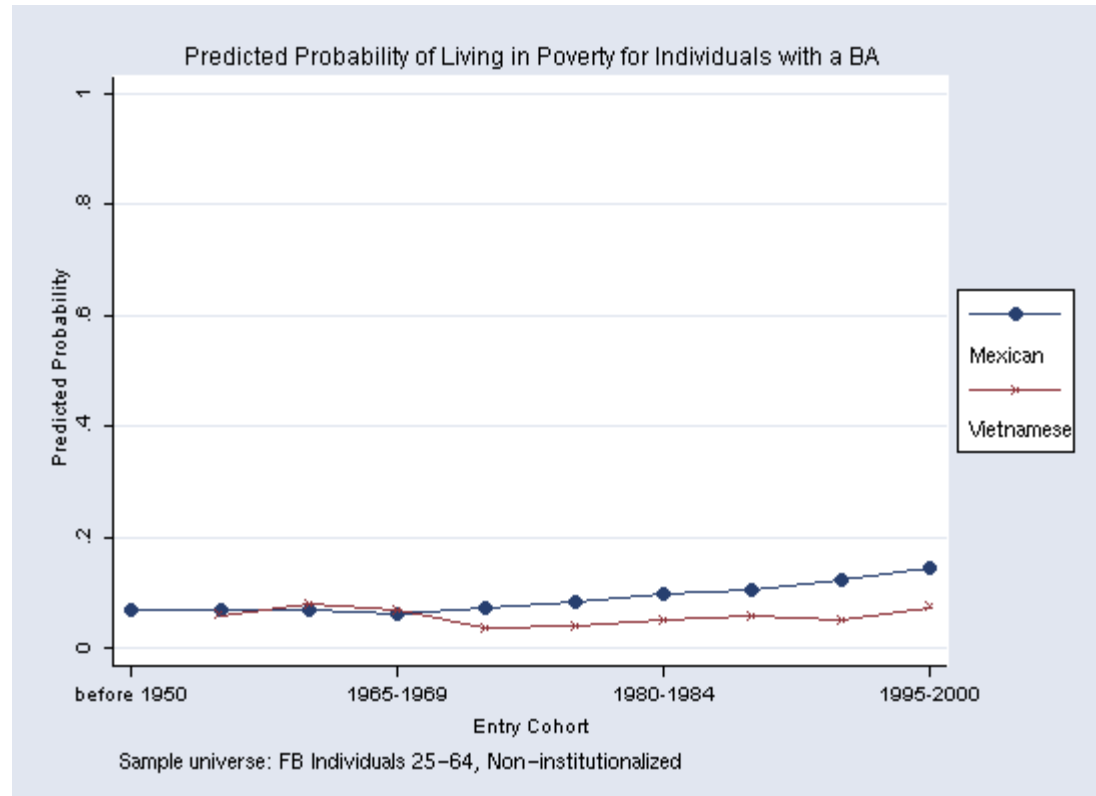


Figure 15B:

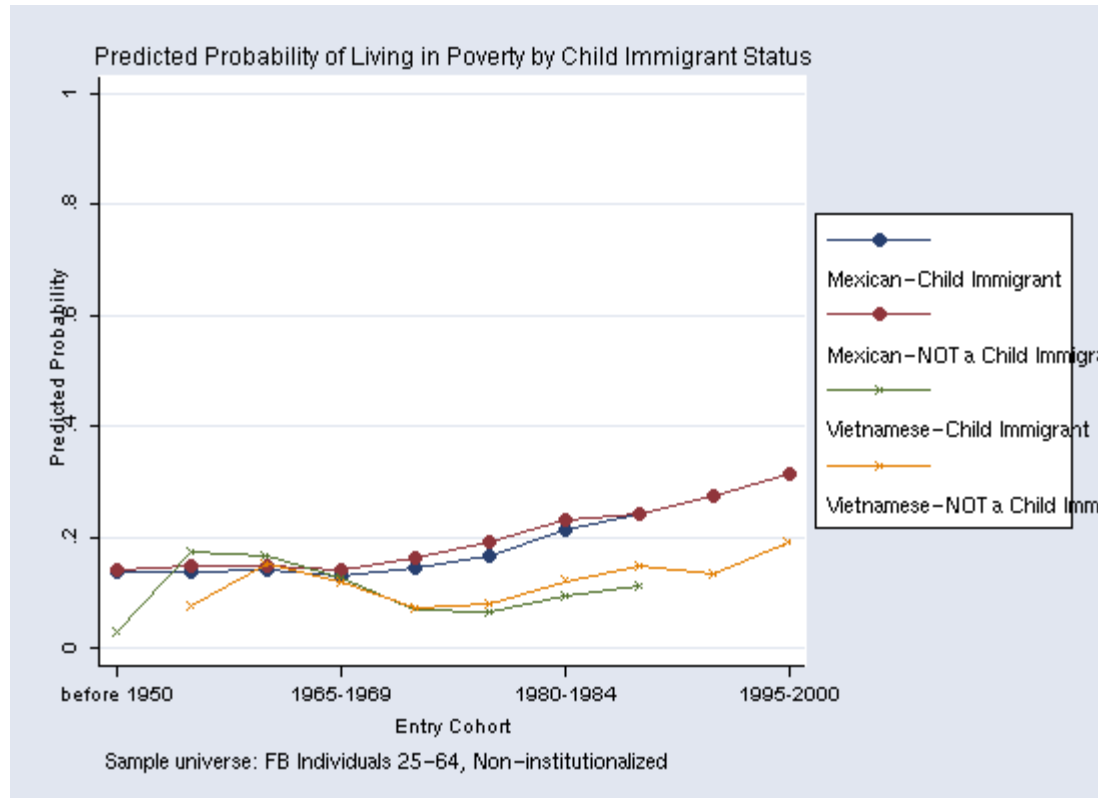


Figure 15C:

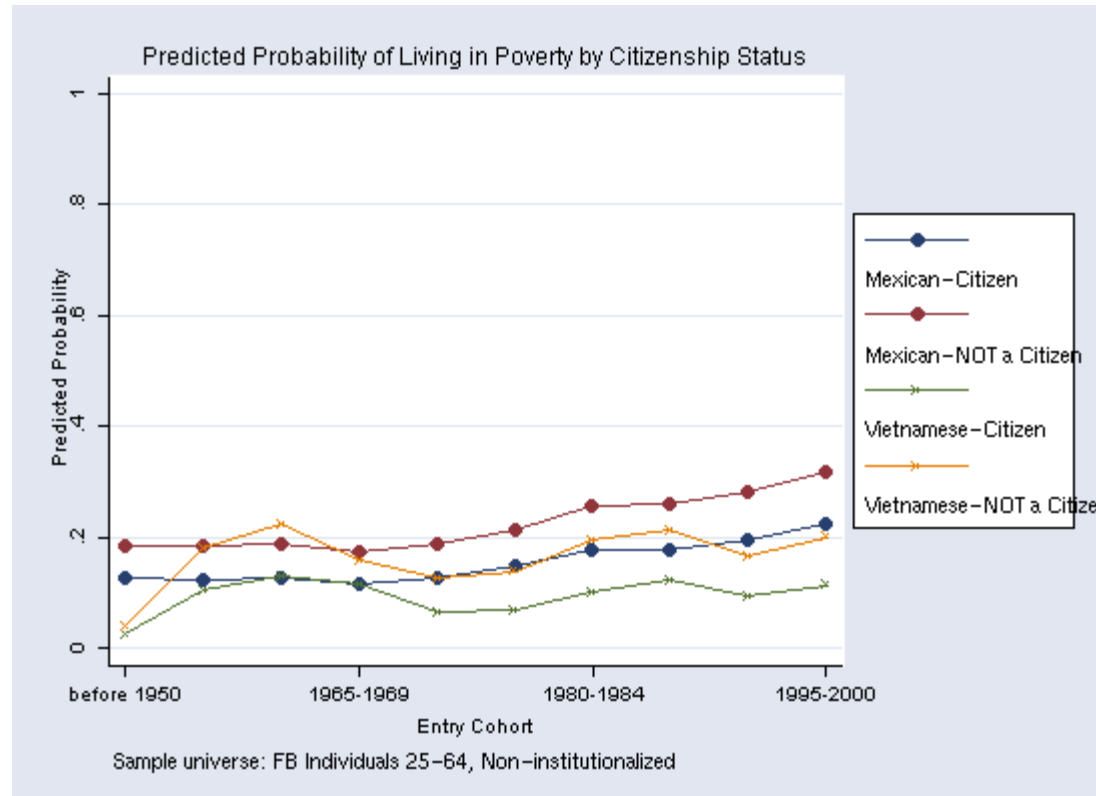


Figure 15D:

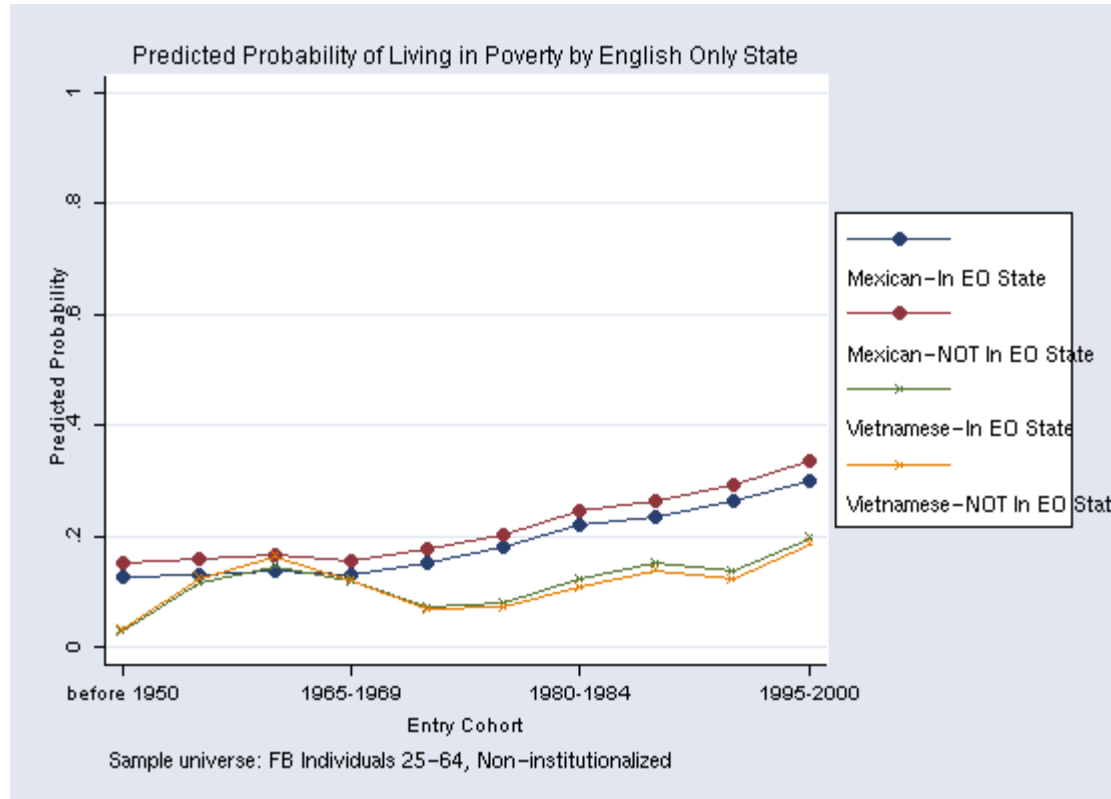


Figure 15E:

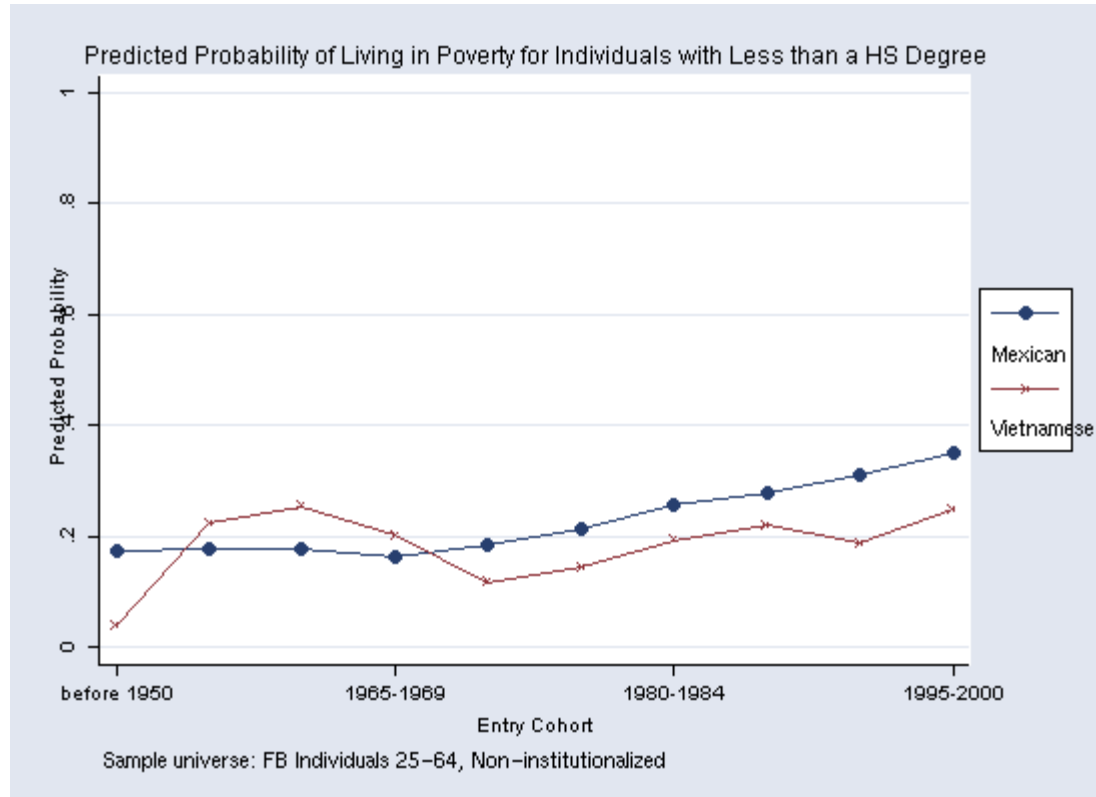


Figure 15F:

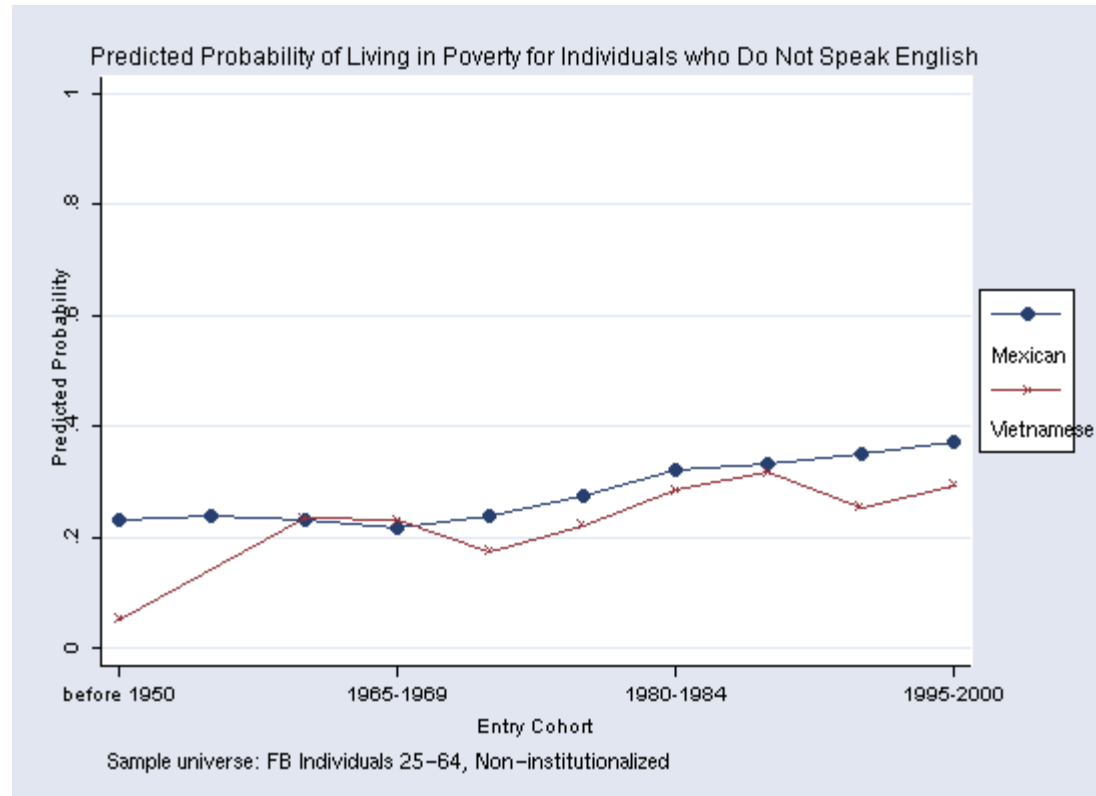


Figure 15G:

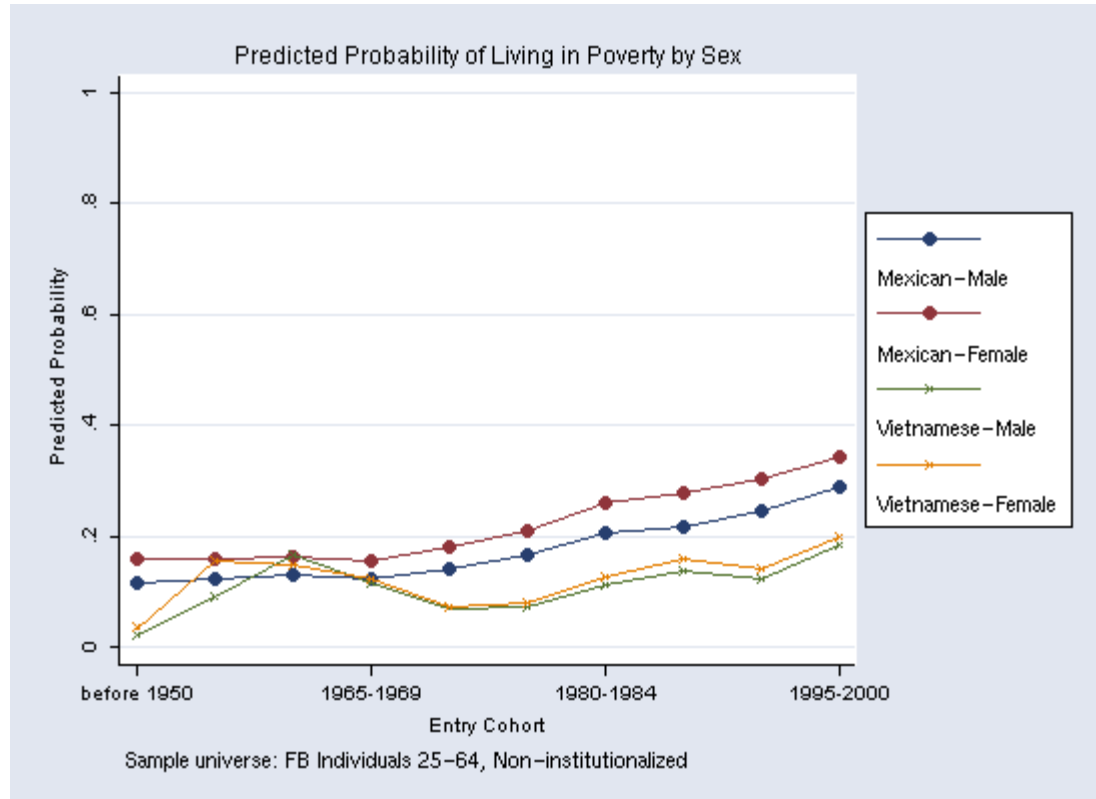


Figure 15H:

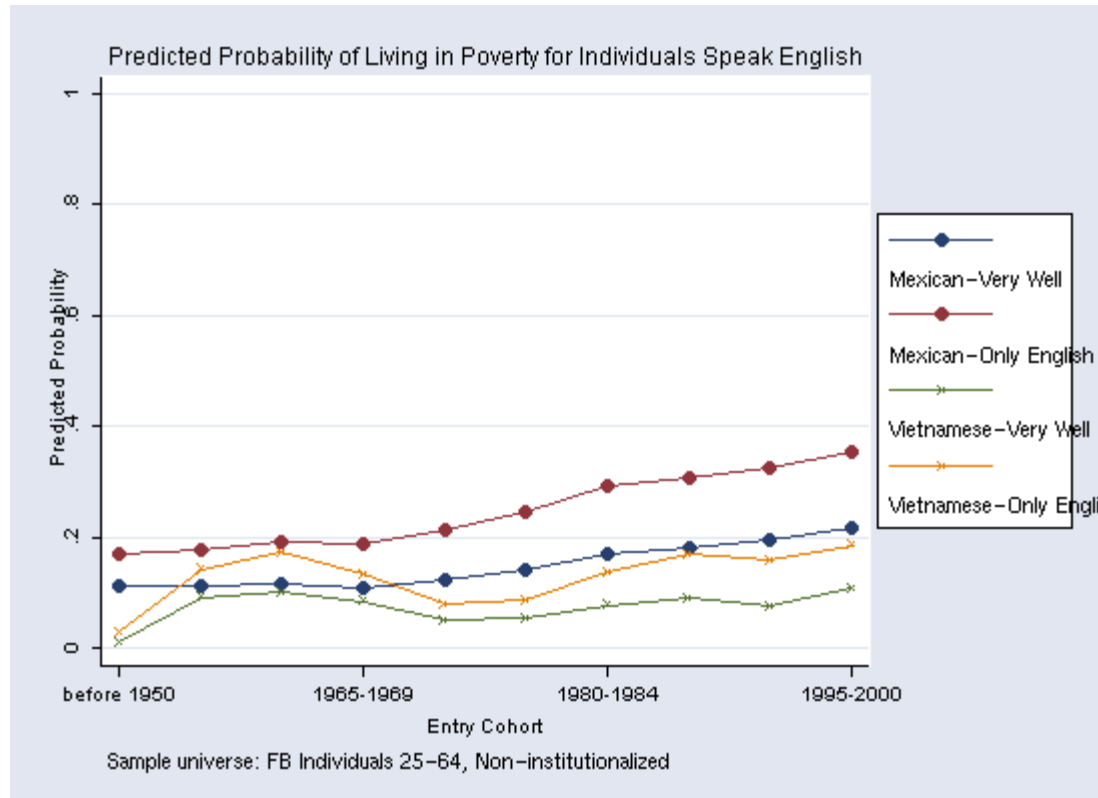
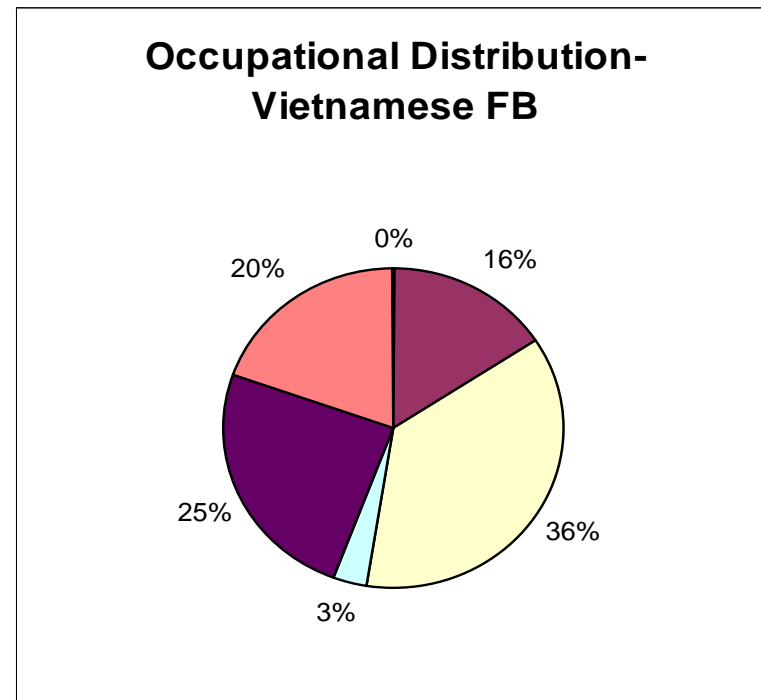
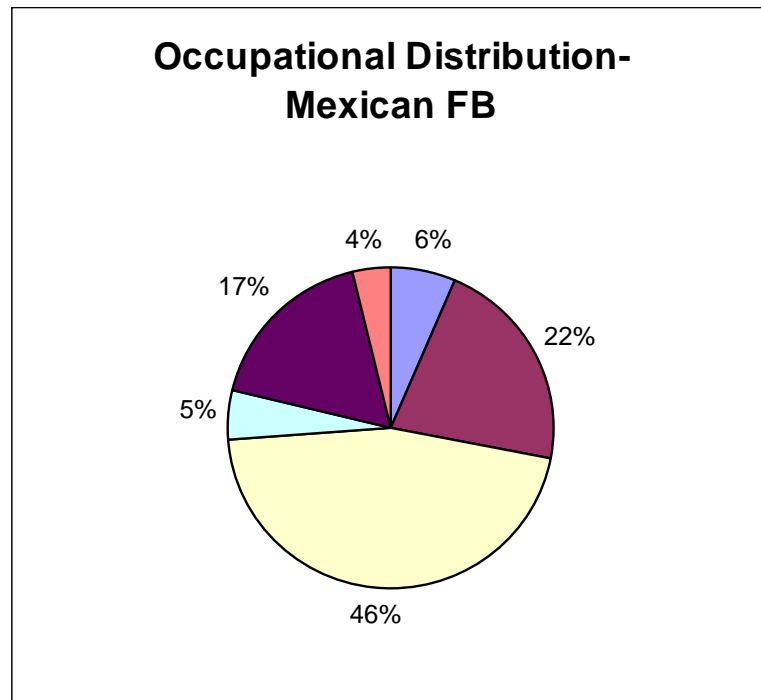
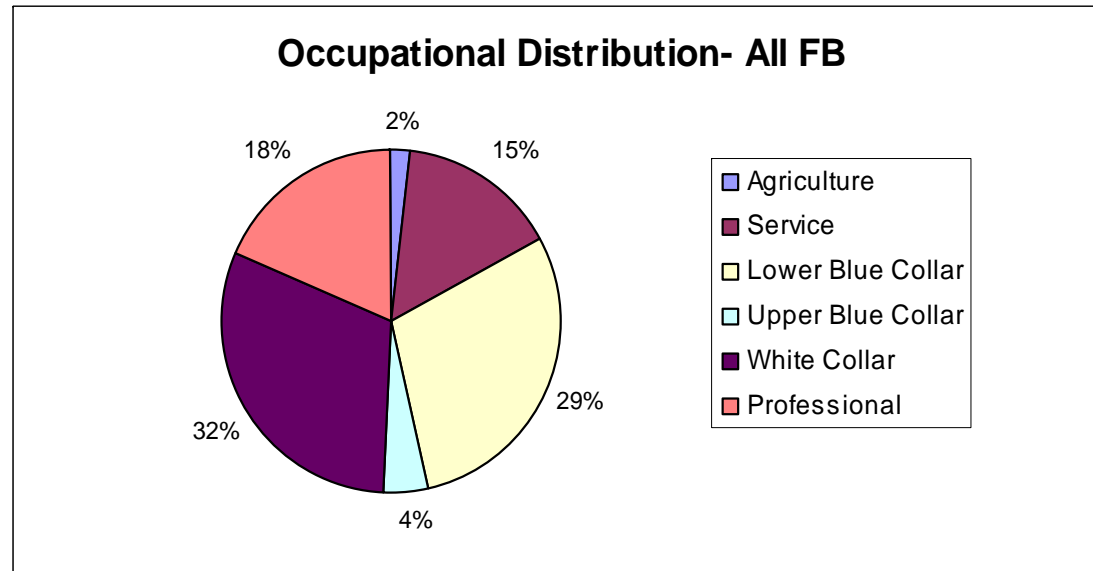


Figure 16.



**Figure 17: Multinomial Logit Results for Occupational Status
(Base Category: Agriculture)**

	Service	Lower Blue Collar	Upper Blue Collar	White Collar	Professional
Male	-1.0585**	0.3086**	0.4599**	-1.1746**	-1.1508**
Married	-0.3180**	-0.0922	0.0689	-0.064	-0.0713
Age	-0.0066	0.0386**	0.0736**	-0.0053	-0.0550**
Age Squared	0.0001	-0.0005**	-0.0010**	-0.0001	0.0004*
Child Immigrant	0.0708	0.1672**	0.0248	0.4109**	0.1262*
Citizen	0.1862**	0.2885**	0.3538**	0.4417**	0.4861**
1950-1959	0.0908	0.1332	0.065	0.1162	-0.0336
1960-1964	0.048	0.0034	0.0355	0.0761	-0.1453
1965-1969	0.2283	0.2238	0.0999	0.1859	0.0018
1970-1974	0.2697	0.2024	-0.0419	0.1572	-0.0561
1975-1979	0.2107	0.1439	-0.1292	0.1172	-0.1612
1980-1984	0.2386	0.0648	-0.2637	-0.0133	-0.3354
1985-1989	0.3306	0.1045	-0.2982	-0.0408	-0.3673
1990-1994	0.3048	0.0515	-0.5732*	-0.175	-0.3845
1995-2000	0.5854*	0.202	-0.6053*	0.0639	-0.1425
Yes, but not well	0.8427**	0.6904**	0.8423**	0.9363**	0.6759**
Yes, speaks well	1.3802**	1.1887**	1.6944**	1.9120**	2.0295**
Yes, speaks very well	1.1244**	0.9856**	1.6788**	2.2192**	2.5041**
Yes, speaks only English	0.4644**	0.4236**	1.0919**	1.7416**	2.0278**
HS Degree	0.7139**	0.7989**	1.0092**	1.4167**	1.5368**
Some College or AA	1.0233**	1.1345**	1.5521**	2.4506**	3.5198**
Bachelor's Degree	1.0491**	1.0121**	1.9027**	3.1920**	5.3101**
Advanced Degree	0.5786**	0.4840*	1.5240**	3.1950**	6.1327**
Percent unemployment in state of residence	-0.3031	-0.3474	-0.3274	-0.3304	-0.3353
Percent foreign-born in state of residence	0.0157	0.0074	0.0081	0.0297	0.0201
Percent who live in an English-only state	-0.4824	-0.3886	-0.3112	-0.3767	-0.4272
Mexican	-1.8735**	-1.8120**	-1.9035**	-2.4574**	-2.6297**
Vietnamese	0.8658**	1.1708**	0.6372	0.5536	1.1671**
Constant	4.2687**	3.7160**	0.5357	3.6516**	3.0869**
Observations	1.31E+07	1.31E+07	1.31E+07	1.31E+07	1.31E+07

Robust standard errors in brackets
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Figure 18: Appendix 1- Brief Summary of Legislation Impacting Refugees to the U.S.*

Year/Period	Legislation	Major Provisions
1948	Displaced Persons Act	The first refugee legislation in the US, which between 1948-1951, enabled the admission into the US of more than 400,000 displaced persons from post-war Europe (Holman in Haines, 5).
1953	Refugee Relief Act	Authorized the admission of 200,000 more refugees from Europe (Holman in Haines, 5).
Early 1960s		Allocation of \$1 million by President Eisenhower to establish the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami in 1960, which President Kennedy dedicated further support to (Holman in Haines, 7) This program provided funding for health services, public education (training for refugee adults, English-language instruction, vocational training), and assistance in finding employment for refugees for two decades.
1962	Migration and Refugee Assistance Act	This is the first legislation that specifically authorized and funded a number of domestic assistance and services to refugees within the U.S. This was the sole program of domestic assistance to refugees in the U.S. until 1975 (Holman in Haines, 10). However, these resources were aimed specifically at Cuban refugees in Miami.
1975	Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act	Extended provision from the 1962 Migration and Refugee Assistance Act to Vietnamese and Laotian refugees. Benefits were also extended to Laotians via an amendment to the Act in 1976. This created the IRAP (Indochinese Refugee Assistance Program), which had a national focus, and allocated federal refugee funds to states for financial assistance to needy refugees (Holman in Haines, 11).
1977	Indochinese Refugee Act.	Permitted Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese parolees to adjust to legal permanent resident status after 2 years in the US (Gordon in Haines, 342).
1978	Refugee Parole Act	Extension of the provisions of the 1977 Indochinese Refugee Act to other groups; primarily refugees from Soviet Union.
1980	Refugee Act of 1980	Created a single program for post-arrival assistance to all refugee groups in the US in order to provide “a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission to this country of refugees of special humanitarian concern to the US and to provide comprehensive and uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and absorption of those refugees that are admitted”. This act also officially adopted the United Nations definition of refugees into US law and it removed the previous requirement that a refugee must have fled from a Communist or Communist-dominated country. It also created the Office of Refugee Settlement.

* I would like to thank Els de Graauw (graduate student in the Political Science Department at the University of California at Berkeley), who has researched and compiled the information in Appendix 1 for a separate project under the direction of Dr. Irene Bloemraad (Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Berkeley.) All errors or mistakes however are my sole responsibility.