

## **What Happened to Familial Acculturation?**

*Key Words: Acculturation, bilingualism, assimilation*

## **Abstract**

The language acculturation of the ‘new’ second generation has received increasing attention. Past theoretical work suggests that parental and child understanding of English are needed to measure this concept. However, analysts have used child bilingualism in favor of familial acculturation. To reconcile this discrepancy, I present an argument for understanding how acculturation can occur among families and produce a blueprint for its measurement. I then determine how child background factors, parental skills and resources, and parental modes of incorporation combine to influence familial acculturation and child bilingualism. Among others, two results deserve attention. First, parental skills and resources do not affect child bilingualism, but are the most important determinants of familial acculturation. Second, while sex and Latino heritage differences in child bilingualism exist, no such difference exists for familial acculturation. Together, these findings encourage further consideration of how familial acculturation within immigrant families contributes to the entire process of second generation socioeconomic assimilation.

## **What Happened to Familial Acculturation?**

### **Introduction**

After many decades of nearly stagnant immigration, Congress, in 1965, passed the Hart-Celler Act, which drastically changed the character of immigration to the US. The new law looked favorably on immigrants whose skills were in demand and on those who desired to reunite with family members that were already in the US lawfully. While the volume of this immigration stream is not distinctive when compared to that of the past, its characteristics are. In comparison to their compatriots in the last immigration wave, today's immigrants are more diverse with respect to their racial/ethnic backgrounds (Perlmann and Waldinger 1998; Waldinger 2001) and their socioeconomic status (Alba & Nee 1997; 2003b).

Given the distinctive nature of this migration flow, a growing body of work, beginning with Gordon's (1964) canonical synthesis, seeks to determine the role of language acculturation in shaping the intermarriage and socioeconomic incorporation of first, second, and third generation immigrants (Espenshade and Fu 1997; Oropesa and Landale 1997; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Stevens 1992). In this literature, variables that measure language acculturation are often viewed as intervening mechanisms in the relationship between the background characteristics of immigrants and socioeconomic outcomes. This is so because analysts are sometimes interested in how immigrants acquire these language tools and how the tools in turn help them socioeconomically assimilate.

Recently, analysts who study language acculturation have focused on the rates at which first and second generation immigrants pick up English skills or maintain the use of the mother tongue (Linton 2004; Portes & Rumbaut 2001a; Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006; Stevens 1992). Specifically, their attention has been on the role of background factors (such as national origin, socioeconomic status, race, and sex) in determining the bilingualism or English monolingualism *individual* immigrants. However, I argue that this body of work omits an alternative possibility.

In *Immigrant America, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) suggest that different types of language acculturation result from combinations of first and second generation (or parental and child) understanding of English or American culture and the level of parental-child immersion within co-ethnic communities. That is, it is possible that acculturation is something that occurs among immigrant *families*, not just among individual immigrants. However, recent work on language acculturation does little to advance this conceptual argument. While recent work (Portes and Rumbaut 2007b) maintains a needed focus on child bilingualism, I argue that the literature seems to have moved away from operationalizing language acculturation as a familial construct. I believe that recent advances in the availability of good data such as the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) make such an operationalization possible.

Re-focusing attention on familial acculturation is important for three reasons. First, scholarship in developmental psychology (Galambos and Almeida 1992; Offer 1969) suggests that the family is one of the main social institutions where many of the important lessons concerning how to adapt to society at large are learned. Immigrant families are not exempt from this process. Indeed, a growing literature provides evidence that immigrant families work together to develop strategies that help them make it in their new society, and learning the new language is one of these strategies (Fuligni 2001; Reese 2002; Tseng and Fuligni 2000).

Second, by focusing attention on the bilingualism of children only, analysts miss an opportunity to rigorously measure the concept as it was originally conceptualized. This prevents them from ascertaining whether what we already know about bilingualism would be similar to or different from what we can learn from a different operationalization of the concept<sup>1</sup>. For example, Portes and Rumbaut (2001a) report that 2<sup>nd</sup> generation female children are significantly more likely to be bilingual than their male counterparts. This finding suggests that there is an “acculturative advantage” for females that may help them to achieve more favorable

socioeconomic outcomes than males. An important addition to the literature would be to ascertain if such an acculturative advantage surfaces when examining familial acculturation.

Third, focusing on familial acculturation allows for an introduction of variables that measure parental socioeconomic attainment and modes of incorporation, factors that exist in the conceptual model developed by Portes & Rumbaut (2001a) but have never been incorporated into an analytical model. For example, when studying child bilingualism, past work has correctly relied on child-level covariates such as sex, race, family background, and family structure to explain the process of child bilingualism. However, focusing on familial acculturation allows for this process to be explained by child background factors as well as characteristics of the child's parents. I believe that such an exercise would provide a fuller understanding of the child and parental factors that explain an understudied social process.

To fill these voids, I advance an argument for conceptualizing and operationalizing acculturation as a familial process. Specifically, I argue that while past scholarship has maintained attention on the language acculturation of first, second, or third generation immigrants, the process of acculturation can also be viewed as a familial one. Moreover, I believe that recent advances in data collection allow for a measurement of this concept. In the pages that follow, I provide a brief summary of assimilation theory. I then discuss in conceptual terms, how past discussions of acculturation can be refined by a focus on familial language acculturation. Finally, I provide a blueprint for measuring familial acculturation and conduct analyses of its determinants that include theoretically important covariates. In the pages that follow, I aim to establish that familial acculturation is a concept that is distinct from child bilingualism in its origin and its influences.

## **Background and Theory**

### **From Classical to Segmented Assimilation**

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

Burgess (1921) state that assimilation is “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and by *sharing* [emphasis mine] their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life” (Park and Burgess 1921:735). At its core, the Park-Burgess interpretation argues that the inevitable adaptation is a social process which will eventually draw immigrants into the American mainstream.

Although this interpretation may appear clear, sociologists had difficulty operationalizing some of the concepts in the Park-Burgess framework. These difficulties continued until Milton Gordon wrote *Assimilation in American Life* (1964). His multidimensional conceptual framework of the assimilation model was groundbreaking because it was the first time that an analyst had been able to provide operational definitions of the concepts within the assimilation model, an innovation important to those wishing to use the model for quantitative analysis. Importantly, Gordon (1964) provides an analytical and conceptual separation between acculturation and assimilation, arguing that acculturation is the minority group’s adoption of the “cultural patterns” of the host society. Thus, acculturation is the first step in the adaptation process where immigrants obtain the cultural “tools” that enable them to better adapt to their new host society. On the other hand, structural assimilation is the integration of immigrants into the host society and the end result of the assimilation process, with intermarriage being the primary marker of this type of assimilation.

While supporters of conventional assimilation describe immigrants’ potential for adaptation in largely optimistic terms, supporters of segmented assimilation theory are slightly more pessimistic. Proponents argue that the socioeconomic outcomes of some immigrant children will not be as favorable as once suggested. Indeed, some may experience downward assimilation into the underclass. The disparate trends in socioeconomic assimilation for immigrant children occur because of peculiarities in the economic and social contexts of reception that greet new immigrants when they come to the United States (see Zhou 1997 for a

detained discussion of these social and economic contexts). Because of these reception contexts, segmented assimilation theorists (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Zhou 1997) argue that several factors determine the direction of socioeconomic assimilation for today's second generation immigrants.

The model suggests that parental or first generation skills and resources, second generation characteristics and family structure, and the social reception that the first and second generation receive from their host environment (i.e. more commonly called modes of incorporation) all affect different patterns of language acculturation of immigrant families. In turn, different types of acculturation, along with the factors just mentioned affect the type and direction of socioeconomic assimilation for the second generation *through* social and economic contexts of reception such as the amount of racial discrimination experienced by the second generation, the types of labor markets that they encounter, and the messages they receive from the sub-cultures within the inner cities. Portes and Zhou (1993) and Portes and Rumbaut (1996) describe the interweaving of all of these relationships as the entire process of assimilation. A simplified version of this model appears on Figure 1 below. Importantly, although individual and structural factors do determine whether or not second generation immigrants will acculturate, it is acculturation that in turn determines the future well-being of immigrant children. These points are noteworthy because they establish that acculturation is an important *intervening variable* in the process of assimilation.

[Insert Figure 1 About Here]

In an important elaboration of this argument, Portes and Rumbaut (1996), in their seminal volume *Immigrant America, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, create a typology, discussed below, which suggests ways of measuring language acculturation. However, while Portes and Rumbaut (1996) provided a groundbreaking blueprint for thinking about acculturation as occurring between immigrant parents and children, the literature has not followed their lead by providing operational indicators of this concept. Therefore, I offer below a conceptual framework for

thinking about intergenerational or familial acculturation and suggest a concrete method for measuring the concept.

### **Intergenerational Acculturation**

#### Language Consonance and Dissonance

In the assimilation literature, culture is an important component of the adaptation process.

However, immigration theorists who care about acculturation do not agree on a definition of culture. In an effort to circumvent this disagreement, Zhou (1997) suggests that individual and structural factors are intertwined with 'immigrant culture' and group characteristics to determine the eventual fates of immigrant children<sup>2</sup>. To adapt to a new lifestyle and to be accepted by the members of the receiving society, immigrant families must make use of norms, values, and English, tools that will help them adapt to American society. These tools are either brought with them at immigration or picked up along the way in their new environments. Families use the cultural and language tools that best fit with the norms and values of the host society (Matute-Bianchi 1986).

Often, immigrant parents determine for their small children which tools to utilize, although older children do this for themselves and even for their parents. Moreover, in an effort to pass on certain family values and traditions, parents decide what host culture values and norms are beneficial to keep and what values are better left unused. Many encourage their children to learn English quickly so that they can do well in school and help their parents negotiate their new environments effectively (Fillmore 1991). For example, immigrant children are often used as translators for their parents, facilitating their participation in legal, educational, and medical domains (Orellana, Dorner, and Pulido 2003; Orellana, Reynolds, and Meza; 2003a) of life. The negotiation between parents and children about the usage of acculturative tools is really a type of family dynamic that occurs in all families (Collins 1989). However, because immigrant families face added pressures to learn host culture norms and values, three parts of these dynamics are more important to them.

First, because of the increasing sense of child autonomy, individuality, and self-fulfillment in the United States, the ways in which parents used to interact with their children in the sending country may be different from interaction styles in the receiving country. Moreover, the expectations in parental-child interactions that were present at the time of the parents' childhood are no longer in force. Therefore, parental-child interaction styles are likely to have changed over both time and place.

Second, parents learn more slowly than their children. When new immigrants come to a new country, children often have the ability to pick up cultural norms faster than their parents. Thus, parents may have to rely on their children much more than they would have if they were in the home country (Orellana, Dorner, and Pulido 2003; Orellana, Reynolds, and Meza 2003a). Thus, in the words of Portes and Rumbaut (1996, pp. 239-40), 'children become, in a very real sense, their parents' parents.'

Third, as children get older, there may be constant negotiations between parents and children concerning which sending country traditions and values should be left unused and which should be used to aid in the assimilation process. For immigrants in tight-knit communities, parents and children actively negotiate the strategies that will best help children succeed. These strategies often involve selectively using the values of the host society that help children get ahead (Gibson 1988). This type of parental-child strategizing occurs in a new environment where parents may not have as much control over their children as they did in the sending society.

For immigrant families, these three characteristics may well lead to different rates of acculturation between parents and children. Some families may pick up acculturative tools at the same pace, while others may acquire them at different paces<sup>3</sup>. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) bring an important innovation to the literature by conceptualizing the differences in the rate of language acculturation between immigrant parents and children in terms of consonance and dissonance. On the one hand, they argue that *generational*<sup>4</sup> *consonance* occurs when parents

and children have the same general level of understanding of English. On the other hand, *generational dissonance* occurs when parents and children do not have the same general level of English competence. Either parents are more languageally acculturated (an admittedly rare occurrence) or children are more languageally acculturated. Table 1, adapted from *Immigrant America 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, elucidates this generational aspect of acculturation<sup>5</sup>.

[Insert Table 1 About Here]

#### Acculturation in Families – A ‘New’ Approach

While the conceptualization in Table 1 is instrumental in enhancing our understanding of how different types of acculturation occur, I believe two elaborations to this conceptual framework provide support for the idea that acculturation can be viewed as a familial construct. First is the possibility that generational consonance (i.e. when parents and children have the same level of English competence) has two outcomes. On the one hand, parents and children can both have a high rate of language competence. I term this *consonant acceptance*. On the other hand, parents and children can both have a low rate of language competence. This, I call *consonant rejection*, formally called consonant resistance to acculturation. I think of consonant acceptance and consonant rejection as opposite types of generational consonance. In essence then, generational consonance is really another way of discussing the *similarity* in the rate of acculturation between immigrant parents and children while generational dissonance symbolizes the *dissimilarity* in the rate of acculturation. Viewed in this way, acculturation is something that occurs *between* parents and children<sup>6</sup>.

Second, as noted on Table 1, operationalizing consonant acceptance, consonant rejection, and generational dissonance requires knowledge of the level of English competence of second generation immigrants (i.e. immigrant children) as well as the level of English competence of their parents, the first generation. That is, *both* pieces of information are necessary to turn the abstract concepts of consonant acceptance, consonant rejection, and generational dissonance into concrete variables. I view this as an important extension of the

measures of language acculturation used in *Legacies*. I present a tabular depiction of this conceptual re-formulation of consonance and dissonance on Table 2.

[Insert Table 2 About Here]

To sum up, I conceptualize generational language acculturation in two ways. First, parents and children can both have a high level of competence of English, experiencing what I call *consonant acceptance*. Parents and children can also both have a low level of competence of the English language or *consonant language rejection*. I consider both of these to be opposite forms of the same concept, consonant acculturation. Second, there can be a generational dissimilarity in the understanding of English, which I call *language dissonance*.

### **Familial Acculturation vs. Bilingualism**

The preceding discussion is instrumental in clarifying one possible way of thinking about acculturation in immigrant families. My argument relies heavily on the work of Portes & Rumbaut (1996), who developed theoretical apparatus for my elaboration. While a long line of scholarship on bilingualism in particular and language acculturation in general (Espenshade and Fu 1997; Linton 2004; Oropesa and Landale 1997; Portes & Rumbaut 2001a; Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006; Stevens 1992) follows their work, none of it uses their ideas to develop measures of familial consonance and dissonance as these authors suggest. My work attempts to fill this void.

Having suggested a way of conceptualizing familial acculturation, I believe that a reasonable next step would be to ascertain what determines different measures of familial acculturation and how those determinants compare or contrast with child bilingualism. Preliminarily though, I must acknowledge that these are distinct processes. While both measure language acculturation, they measure different aspects of the concept. Nevertheless, I believe that the literature could benefit from an exercise that suggests a different way of measuring familial acculturation, shows which factors are its strongest determinants, and then compares and contrasts those findings with the determinants of bilingualism. In doing so, I am not

suggesting that bilingualism is somehow inferior to familial acculturation. I am however suggesting that through this exercise, we can find out whether or not we can learn more about language acculturation by focusing attention on a different aspect of the concept that has been in the past understudied.

### **Research Questions**

In their book *Legacies*, Portes and Rumbaut (2001a) focus on the determinants child bilingualism. In doing so, they follow the conceptual model displayed on Figure 1 which suggests that language acculturation is an intervening variable in the relationship between factors such as parental skills and resources, second generation family structure and background factors, modes of incorporation, and the future socioeconomic attainment of second generation immigrants. As a first step in providing empirical support for this model, they focus on the determinants of child bilingualism. I elaborate on their model by focusing attention on the determinants of language consonance and dissonance. I consider the variables that I will construct to be measures of acculturation that more closely mirror an underutilized part of the theoretical literature. Because I conceptualize language acculturation to have multiple dimensions (i.e. consonant acceptance, consonant rejection, and dissonance), I attempt to ascertain whether covariates behave in theoretically expected ways across variables that represent these concepts.

I also elaborate on Portes and Rumbaut's statistical model by using the parental questionnaire of the CILS to generate measures of parental skills and resources and modes of incorporation. This is an elaboration because while these factors are cited as important in the conceptual framework depicted on Figure 1, little past scholarship has attempted to ascertain how *parental* variables influence familial acculturation in a statistical sense. More importantly, while past scholarship (see Alba and Nee 2001b) provides extensive discussion of modes of incorporation, little scholarship includes rigorous measures of the concept. I attempt to fill that void in subsequent analyses.

To accomplish these two elaborations, I begin by proposing the following research question:

*1). How do child background factors and family structure, parental skills and resources, and parental modes of incorporation influence multiple measures of familial acculturation?*

Such a question can be answered by modeling various measures of familial acculturation as a function of three sets of covariates: parental skills and resources, second generation family structure and background factors, and modes of incorporation. Importantly, analysts contributing to the segmented assimilation literature focus a great deal of attention on the effects of group membership or nationality status on language and socioeconomic outcomes. While this is a worthwhile endeavor, it is not the focus of analyses here because such analyses require more conceptual development and theorizing than I accomplish above. Therefore, I leave extensive discussion of group effects for another time.

In an effort compare and contrast my findings with those that would be obtained by using child bilingualism as a dependent variable, I ask:

*2). Are the effects of covariates on familial acculturation similar to or different than the effects on child bilingualism?*

It is my aim that an answer to this question will make clear whether or not shining a lens on familial acculturation changes our substantive knowledge of how immigrant families acculturate.

### **Data & Variables**

The data come from Waves I & II of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS). The CILS is a longitudinal survey designed to study the adaptation processes of the immigrant second generation (see *Legacies* for an extensive discussion of this data source) and is arguably the best data available to study issues of child bilingualism and familial acculturation. In wave I of the CILS, only children are interviewed. At time 2 of the survey, one parent or guardian of

the child, in addition to the child, was queried about their language ability, making it possible to create measures of generational acculturation. Because parents had to be interviewed in their homes and in their own language, the cost of conducting parental interviews for all children in the sample was prohibitive. Thus, only about 50% of the child sample contains a corresponding parental interview, creating a non-trivial amount of missing information for the parental data. In addition, because the limited funding for the parental interviews was only received at the time of the follow-up child questionnaire, the parental data only contain information at time 2 of the survey.

The lack of parental interviews posed a serious hurdle for the present analyses because the dependent variables rely on the presence of complete child *and* parental information for their construction. To circumvent this problem, I decided to use the information for children whose parents were given a parental interview. This essentially eliminates just under half of the sample of children. However, the alternatives would involve the multiple imputation of parental characteristics and language acculturation, ensuring that imputed characteristics appear on the left and right hand side of the equation. Because I felt safer making inferences about families that have complete information instead of making assumptions about parents' language use that is imputed, I delete children whose parents did not receive a parental interview from the sample.

In total, the original CILS sample contains 5,272 child respondents, 4,281 of which were re-interviewed three years later. Of these 4,281 child respondents, 294 children had English as their mother tongue because they were born in the English-speaking Caribbean. I remove them from the sample because it made little sense to talk about the language acculturation of a population whose mother tongue was English<sup>7</sup>. In addition, I delete 103 respondents who could not be neatly classified into homogenous nationality groups large enough to form their own separate categories. These first two deletions result in a sample of 3,884. From this number, I remove 1,760 children whose parents did not receive a parental interview, leaving an analytical sample of 2,124 child records.

To rule out the possibility that results obtained are driven by changes in the measurement of the dependent variables and not by changes in the sample, I conduct a set of preliminary multivariate analyses (not shown here, but available upon request) intended to ascertain whether the general pattern of results presented by past work (I use the statistical model presented in *Legacies* as an example because I use the same data here that is used in the book) would be obtained even when using my limited sample. To do this, I replicate the results in Portes and Rumbaut (2001a) by using their full sample to regress child bilingualism on the limited set of independent variables reported in that book. I repeat that regression using the limited sample explained below. Analyses suggest that in general, the overall pattern of the results from the limited sample mirror those that would be obtained using all of the data. I am therefore reasonably confident that despite the fact that I am forced to delete so many observations, the sample that I use is similar enough to the original authors and to make firm conclusions about the dependent variables from the limited sample I use.

### Dependent Variables

#### *Consonant Acceptance*

Knowledge of the English language is the foundation variable I use to measure language acculturation. In Waves I & II of the CILS, children are asked about their ability to speak, read, write, and understand English. Unfortunately, parents are only asked these questions in Wave II. Because of the missing parental information in Wave I, I use Wave II data to create all familial acculturation dependent variables. Each of English competence questions is measured on a 4-point Likert scale where 1 represents speaking, reading, writing, or understanding English ‘not at all’ and 4 represents speaking, reading, writing, or understanding English ‘very well.’

To begin, I sum all four English competence variables (i.e. ability to speak, read, write, & understand English) to create an index (range 4 – 16) of English competence. I do this separately for parents and children, resulting in two separate indexes measuring English

language competence. I group each of the indexes into four-category variables, with 1 representing *very low comprehension*, 2 representing *moderately low comprehension*, 3 representing *moderately high comprehension*, and 4 representing *very high comprehension*. I then cross-tabulate grouped parental and child English competence, determining how many parents and children are at high and low levels of English competence (these tables are included in the tabular appendix). While 634 parents and children are at high levels, too few are at very low levels to sustain a separate category. Thus, I do not have enough children in the sample to create a category for consonant rejection. However, I argue that it is theoretically possible and should be considered in future analyses. With the cross-tabulation as a guide, I consider children and parents to express *consonant acceptance* if both have *very high* English competence. This yields a dummy variable, with 1 representing parents and children who are *very high* and 0 representing otherwise.

#### *Language Dissonance*

I create an index of absolute language dissonance between parents and children using a different method. This index is simply the absolute value of the difference between the child and parental competence variables. Conceptually, if children have a zero (0) on this scale, they are at parity with their parents with respect to English competence. If they have values *greater than zero*, their English competence is different than their parent. Of importance then is the *absolute difference* in the level of acculturation that occurs between parents and children. Possible scores on this index range from zero (parents and children are at parity) to twelve.

#### *Child Bilingualism*

Child bilingualism is a variable constructed by Portes and Rumbaut and is taken directly from the CILS data. In Wave II, it is originally a four-category nominal variable where 1 represents *fluent bilinguals*, 2 represents *English dominant*, 3 represents *foreign language dominant*, and 4 represents *limited bilingual*. I recode this nominal variable into a dummy variable where 1 represents fluent bilinguals and 0 represents all other groups.

### Independent Variables

As I previously stated, I use three groups of independent variables: parental skills and resources, second generation family structure and background factors, and modes of incorporation. In past work (Linton 2004; Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006; Stevens 1992), child background factors and socioeconomic status have been used as control variables in statistical models of language acculturation. My aim however is to build a statistical model that closely mirrors the conceptual framework developed by Portes & Rumbaut (2001a) because their model guides the tone of the conversation in the literature. To do this, I develop a set of covariates that measure child background factors, parental skills and resources, and parental modes of incorporation. Independent variables will come from Wave 1 of the child questionnaire (collected in 1992) and the parental questionnaire (collected in 1995).

#### *Child Background Factors & Family Structure*

All of the variables measuring child background factors and family structure are measured in 1992, Time 1 of the survey. Nationality status of second generation immigrant children is measured by a set of effect-coded dichotomous variables that indicate the country of origin of the child's mother. I use effect coding instead of dummy coding for because there are no native-born whites in the CILS data. This prevents me from using that group as a reference category, something that has become standard practice in the immigration literature. Such a weakness means that the choice of reference category is completely arbitrary. To help solve this problem, I decide to compare each group to the "average" immigrant in the data, while omitting Cubans simply because they are the largest group. This interpretation is accomplished via effect coding.

I make several decisions when creating nationality groups. When the mother is not interviewed or is missing, I make use of the paternal place of birth. When parental information is completely missing, I use the place of birth that was provided by the child<sup>8</sup>. I also include the sex and race of the child respondent. For racial status, I group all respondents that are not white

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

I include two variables that measure family structure in the models. The first is an indicator variable that measures whether or not children have two parents in the household. I also include a variable that measures the number of siblings that are living in the child's household. Both of these variables have been used extensively in past work as measures of family structure. I include two variables measuring children's citizenship status and length of tenure in the United States. Citizenship is a dummy variable, with 1 representing those who are citizens, and 0 representing all others. Length of tenure in the US is originally an ordinal variable. I create dummy variables for each category of stay, using children who are in the county for the least time as the omitted category

#### *Parental Skills & Resources*

With the exception of pre-migration parental occupational status, all of the parental skills and resources variables that were considered for use come from the parental survey which was administered at time 2 (1995). I originally considered three candidate covariates that measure parental socioeconomic status: parental family income, years of completed education, and current occupational prestige. Because parental income and current occupational status had a non-trivial probability of changing between 1992 and 1995 and because any SES effects on acculturation outcomes may result from the pre-migration class status of parents, I decide not to use current parental income and occupational prestige in my analyses. Instead, I use years of completed education (which is not as likely to undergo substantial changes between 1992 and 1995) and pre-migration occupational status. Education was originally a continuous variable and I leave it in its original form. Pre-migration occupational status is originally measured using Treiman prestige scores. Many parents were not working prior to migrating or did not report an

occupation, creating a non-trivial amount of missing data. Thus, I transform the prestige scores into quintiles and include the missing information as a dummy variable.

I measure parental experience in the US using three variables. In the parental survey, parents are asked their ages and the year they migrated to the United States. Using this information along with the date of the interview, I create a variable measuring the number of years parents have been in the US. In addition, I also create an indicator variable measuring whether or not the parent or guardian was a child (under the age of 13) at the time of migration. Finally, I include an indicator variable that measures whether or not the child has at least one native-born parent in the home, which I consider to be an indicator of the presence of a parent who has some knowledge of how to make it in the United States.

#### *Modes of Incorporation*

As previously noted, modes of incorporation are the specific social contexts that greet first or second generation immigrants upon arrival in the United States. I include three measures of modes in subsequent analyses. Although I measure modes of incorporation with questions from parental questionnaire (time 2), all of these questions query parents about the situations they encountered *at the time of immigration*, minimizing the endogeneity of modes of incorporation and acculturation.

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

## **Results**

### Multivariate Analyses

To begin the analyses, I first ascertain whether or not my two measures of familial acculturation are distinct from child bilingualism. I use a zero-order correlation matrix presented in Table 3. Analyses suggest that measures of familial acculturation are not associated strongly with child bilingualism. None of the correlations between child bilingualism and familial acculturation exceed .10, suggesting that familial acculturation and child bilingualism are separate and distinct concepts.

To determine the collective influence of child background factors, parental skills and resources, and parental modes of incorporation on familial acculturation and child bilingualism, I fit a series of regression equations. In models of consonant acceptance and child bilingualism, I use logistic regression techniques and use OLS techniques when modeling language dissonance. Before interpreting these fully specified statistical models, I fit a series of intermediate models. These intermediate equations are useful for ascertaining which groups of variables are the strongest predictors of the dependent variables. This step is important because past scholarship suggests that child background factors are the strongest determinants of child bilingualism. I attempt to determine whether these factors are also the strongest determinants of familial acculturation. While I do not show the coefficients for these intermediate models, I present, in Table 4, goodness-of-fit statistics instead. These Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC) coefficients tell how well a particular model fits in comparison to another model with different covariates. A model fits better if its BIC statistic is more negative than a comparison model. For example, when I regress consonant acceptance on child background factors and parental skills separately, I find that a model containing parental skills and resources produces a BIC statistic that is more negative than the BIC produced in Model 1 (-14150.33) containing child background factors.

[Insert Table 4 about Here]

Results from the goodness-of-fit statistics first show that indeed, child background factors are the strongest determinants of child bilingualism. In fact these variables are such strong determinants of child bilingualism that a model containing only these factors would fit better than a model with all three types of covariates. Conversely, parental skills and resources are stronger determinants of familial acculturation than child background factors. Moreover, when all three groups of variables are used to model consonant acceptance and language dissonance, I find that the full model is preferred, providing better model fit than any of the intermediate models. This finding suggests that all types of variables are needed from the conceptual framework to produce a statistical model of familial acculturation. Thus, I find the first piece of preliminary evidence that the story we are able to tell about language acculturation depends on how the construct is measured. When child bilingualism is used, the ascribed characteristics of immigrant children are the strongest determinants. However, when familial acculturation is the concept under examination, parental skills and resources strongly influence family acculturation.

In Table 5, I present parameter estimates for two models of familial acculturation and one model of child bilingualism. Again, all models contain the same covariates. Two theoretically noteworthy sets of results and one minor finding surface from the multivariate analyses. First, results suggest that parental skills and resources are strong and important determinants of familial acculturation, but not child bilingualism, confirming the goodness-of-fit findings. By and large, immigrant children whose parents are educated, have more years of experience in the US, are child migrants, and who have at least one native-born parent in the home are more likely to learn English at the same rate as their parents and experience less language dissonance overall. With the exception of having a native-born parent in the home, none of these parental skills and resources are significant predictors of child bilingualism.

[Insert Table 5 about here]

The effects of parental education and parental experience (i.e. whether or not the parent was a child migrant) are worth explaining for emphasis. Net of all other characteristics, a one year increase in parental human capital increases the odds of consonant acceptance of language by 46 per cent ( $\exp^{.38} - 1$ ) and decreases the amount of language dissonance by almost half (- .41) a scale unit. Results also show that having a parent who was a child migrant increases the odds of consonant acceptance by 166 per cent and decreases overall language dissonance by 1.27 scale units. These results provide strong evidence that parental skills and resources have strong influences on familial acculturation, but not child bilingualism.

Second, past work suggests that sex and Latino/a origin are among the strongest influencers of child bilingualism. Indeed, I am able to replicate the results for group effects (not discussed extensively here) and sex. Net of other covariates, the odds of child bilingualism for males are 31 per cent lower than females' odds. In addition, the collective effect of Latino/a origin on bilingualism is quite strong as noted by the Wald test for significance of the coefficients for Nicaraguans, Mexicans, and Other Latinos/as. However, analyses of familial acculturation reveal no such sex and Latino/a origin differences. These are important findings because they again show that if the analytical focus were to be on familial acculturation, the story told about the determinants of familial acculturation would be different to the story told about child bilingualism. Put differently, these results suggest that focusing attention on familial acculturation would likely produce an update to what we know about the factors that influence language acculturation.

Together, these two sets of results (plus those from the goodness-of-fit analyses) present the literature with a first glimpse of the determinants of familial acculturation, along with a sense of how these findings compare to analyses of child bilingualism. Past scholarship points to the importance of nationality status (i.e. Latino/a origin), sex, and the length of US residence in determining bilingualism. However, results reported here suggest that while child

background factors (and especially Latino/a origin) are the strongest influencers of child bilingualism, parental skills and resources the strongest determinants of familial acculturation.

The third set of findings paint a portrait of the effects of modes of incorporation that is within theoretical expectations<sup>11</sup>. Specifically, Alba and Nee (2003a) argue, among other things, that the host society has been increasingly likely to provide equal treatment to its new entrants. Consequentially, variables that measure the modes of incorporation of immigrants should have negligible effects on acculturation or socioeconomic assimilation outcomes. Results appear to support that interpretation with respect to language acculturation. I find that variables measuring whether or not, at arrival, immigrant parents received aid from the government or from their co-ethnic counterparts, whether or not they had co-ethnic supervisors or friends, or the number of family and friends they had in the US collectively have weak effects on familial acculturation or child bilingualism. What matters more are the things mentioned above: parental skills and resources, group membership, and US citizenship.

To sum up, the multivariate evidence presented above provides a revised portrait of language acculturation among immigrant families. First, parental skills and resources are much more important in determining familial acculturation than child bilingualism and are the strongest predictors of familial acculturation. Second, contrary to findings reported elsewhere, there are no sex and few Latino/a differences in familial acculturation outcomes. Third, I detect minimal effects of parental modes of incorporation on measures of language acculturation or child bilingualism. Together, these findings provide the incentive for adding familial acculturation to the fold of our discussion of the entire process of assimilation and for updating our understanding of the factors that determine this concept.

### **Discussion**

This paper is motivated by a lack of attention in the literature to theory-driven construction of familial acculturation variables. Past work has focused almost exclusively on child bilingualism, even though such a conceptualization is advocated by Portes and Rumbaut (1996). Therefore,

the measures that I construct here are not theoretically ‘new,’ but are indeed methodologically distinctive. I believe that the method of conceptualizing familial acculturation closely adheres to the important theoretical groundwork supported in *Immigrant American, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*.

Even though this may be the case, curious observers would be correct to wonder what the value-added would be of focusing on familial acculturation, since the literature has long focused on bilingualism or English monolingualism and have produced meaningful results from such a focus. To help answer this inevitable question, I argue that much can be gained from using an older paradigm and verifying its ideas with newly available data. At the very least, we can find out if the older paradigm actually works. At best, we can determine whether what we know about language acculturation is updated by a different kind of operationalization. I believe both of these possibilities find support from the exercises presented here.

In the sections above, I shine an analytical lens of the acculturation of families, demonstrating that this concept is distinct from child bilingualism in the manner in which it is conceptualized and operationalized. To bolster this claim, I present evidence which suggests that measures of familial acculturation are not highly correlated with child bilingualism. Furthermore, I argue and demonstrate that familial acculturation is not only distinct from bilingualism with respect to conceptualization and operationalization, but is also distinct with respect to its determinants. No work to my knowledge has compared the predictors of child bilingualism and familial acculturation. To fill this gap, I conduct multivariate analyses meant to ascertain which groups of variables are the most important predictors of familial acculturation and child bilingualism. Thus I change the original question posed by Portes and Rumbaut (2001a). Instead of asking ‘what makes a bilingual’, I ask ‘what factors determine acculturation in families and how do those determinants compare to child bilingualism?’

Past analyses (Linton 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2001a; 2007b) point to the importance of nationality status (i.e. Latino/a origin), sex, and having a US- born parent in the home in predicting child bilingualism. While my findings partially support those presented in the

literature, there are also important differences. If the analytical focus is on familial acculturation, Latino/a origin and sex are not as important as parental skills and resources. Put differently, the skills and resources that an immigrant child's parents possess are the important factors when considering the pace at which families acquire English skills, while background factors are important for child bilingualism.

Aside from theoretical benefits, these results also suggest practical benefits. Much of the current debate in the media focuses on how best to help immigrants fit into American society. Indeed, many policy experts and political pundits continue to debate the merits of making English compulsory in more domains of everyday life. Results reported here imply that parental human capital is one of the most important means by which immigrant families acquire English skills. They suggest that if one of the goals of immigrant acculturation is to help families learn English together, then investing in programs that increase the human capital of immigrant parents is one of the most reliable and consistent ways of accomplishing that goal. Moreover, they also support the idea that if parents can acquire more education, then they would learn English alongside their children and not have to rely on them to learn English and help them participate in legal, educational, and medical domains (Orellana, Dorner, and Pulido 2003; Orellana, Reynolds, and Meza; 2003a) of life.

Admittedly, careful observers will note that while I simultaneously analyze the effects of various covariates on child bilingualism and familial acculturation and call them both language acculturation, they are really distinct social processes. On the one hand, child bilingualism represents the simultaneous maintenance of the mother tongue and acquisition of a new language. On the other hand, familial acculturation represents the rates at which parents and children acquire English skills at the same or different rates. It stands to reason that one would expect different variable effects. While this criticism is in place, I argue that even though familial acculturation is a concept that receives considerable attention and development in past scholarship, recent work has abandoned it. Analyzing these two concepts side by side allows

observers to ascertain whether any additional information can be obtained by re-focusing attention on familial acculturation. Thus, I do not advocate abandoning analyses of bilingualism. I simply advocate adding familial acculturation back into the fold of language acculturation variables and concepts.

Finally, analysts interested in the issues discussed here should begin thinking about how familial acculturation affects the socioeconomic well-being of immigrant children. At the heart of segmented assimilation theory is the expectation that interactions between immigrant social context and familial acculturation produce different types of assimilation outcomes. Determining if this is indeed the case may help shed light on whether or not the language acculturation that immigrant families affects the future socioeconomic destinies of their children.

## Notes

1). Admittedly, familial acculturation and child bilingualism are distinct processes. I will define the former as the rate at which parents and children pick up English skills at the same or different paces while the latter is defined as the extent to which children hold on to the mother tongue and pick up English skills. Therefore, the effects of a covariate like sex on these processes could be different. My aim however is not to show that a focus on child bilingualism is incorrect, but to demonstrate the results that could be obtained if the literature were to simultaneously focus attention on familial acculturation.

2). Theorists outside of immigration also have various definitions of culture. However, they all appear to agree that culture involves some combination of values, norms, traditions, and ideas.

3). Admittedly, there may be other reasons (such as the socializing effects of schools and peer pressure from friends) why differential rates of acculturation among families can occur. I just offer three to serve as examples.

4). The term ‘generational’ refers to interactions between parents and children.

5). I omit from the conversation and the description of the Portes/Rumbaut typology the role of parental/child insertion into co-ethnic communities as well as a focus selective acculturation. I make these decisions because selective acculturation requires more stringent conceptualization of exactly what the “level of insertion into co-ethnic communities” actually means. Moreover, if I operationalize “communities” by using census tracts (as the majority of the literature has done), I would need tract-level indicators for Miami and San Diego. Currently, I am unable to identify the census tracts in which census tracts parents and children reside in Miami.

6). Here I argue strongly that acculturation occurs between parents and children. However, this argument does not rule out the possibility that intragenerational (i.e. occurring between older and younger siblings) acculturation is possible.

7). To demonstrate this point, I fit a preliminary set of regression models with child bilingualism as the dependent variable. In the first equation, I include the parental SES index used by Portes and Rumbaut. In subsequent equations, I substitute various iterations of parental SES from the parental questionnaire. Results suggest that models containing parental reports of their own SES fit better than models that contain child reports of parental SES.

8). This characteristic could ostensibly apply to children from the Philippines because many of them have a healthy command of English upon arrival. However, analyses revealed that a non-trivial proportion of these children also report using their mother tongue. Therefore, while the vast majority of them will appear in the consonant acceptance category, they still have the potential for experiencing miscommunication. Therefore, I decide to leave them in the analyses.

9). In focusing part of my attention on the likelihood of familial miscommunication, I must acknowledge that even if I detect such a probability, it is likely that what I measure in the form of a variable is some consequence of a process that has occurred in the past. Parents and

children may have undergone some process that resulted in the miscommunication that I detect. Currently, there exist no variables to correct for parts of the process that occurred prior to the miscommunication. Hence, the results I report are speculative.

10). When examining group effects in multivariate models, I children of Cuban descent are the omitted category. While it is possible to separate private and public school Cubans and omit private school Cubans, I decided against it because they come from homes that are so much better off socioeconomically from other groups, making comparisons misleading and unhelpful. Moreover, omitting public school Cubans created cell-size issues with some of the dependent variables. I decide to control for public-private school attendance, but refrain from showing it in multivariate models because it was non-significant. Importantly, I to preserve space, I place a table with means and standard deviations for all covariates in the appendix and refrain from discussing bivariate results.

11). I do not characterize this finding as “major” because I have not provided an extensive discussion of modes of incorporation in the literature review. Such an extensive discussion is provided in the later chapters of Alba and Nee (2003a), as is a theoretical reformulation of the assimilation paradigm. I simply report on these findings because they are in the statistical model and deserve at least minimal comment. I refrain from discussing them further in the discussion section to preserve space.

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## Technical Appendix

### *Model Specifications*

Because two of the three dependent variables are dichotomous, I make use of binary logistic regression to model the effects of the independent variables on those dependent variables. Moreover, each child in the sample is clustered within a particular school, so I make statistical corrections to the standard errors to account for this clustering.

For a binary response model, I use the following model for  $\pi_{ij}$  and explanatory variables  $X_{ij}$ ,  $Y_{ij}$  and  $Z_{ij}$ . The formal model is written as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} Y &= \pi_{ij} \\ \pi &\sim \text{Binomial}(n_{ij}, \mu) \\ \pi_{ij} &= \text{logistic}(\alpha + \beta_1 X_{ij} + \beta_2 Y_{ij} + \beta_3 Z_{ij} + u_{oj}) \end{aligned} \quad \text{Eq. (1.1)}$$

The equation simply states that the log odds (logit) of the dependent variable is modeled as a function of child background factors and family structure ( $X_{ij}$ ), parental skills and resources ( $Y_{ij}$ ), and parental modes of incorporation ( $Z_{ij}$ ). Importantly, the subscripts indicate that child  $i$  is clustered within school  $j$ .

When I model language dissonance, I make use of an Ordinary Least Square Regression (OLS) model. For a continuous response model  $Y$  with explanatory variables  $X_{ij}$ ,  $Y_{ij}$ , and  $Z_{ij}$ , the formal model is written as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} Y &= Y_{ij} \\ Y_{ij} &= \alpha + \beta_1 X_{ij} + \beta_2 Y_{ij} + \beta_3 Z_{ij} + e_{ij} \end{aligned} \quad \text{Eq. (1.2)}$$

This equation states that language dissonance  $Y_{ij}$  can be modeled as a function of child background factors and family structure ( $X_{ij}$ ), parental skills and resources ( $Y_{ij}$ ), parental modes of incorporation ( $Z_{ij}$ ), and an error term ( $e_{ij}$ ). Again, the subscripts indicate that child  $i$  is clustered within school  $j$ .

## Tabular Appendix

*Table A1.1. Distribution of Grouped Parental English Comprehension*

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Very Low Comprehension	308	14.50
Moderately Low Comprehension	480	22.60
Moderately High Comprehension	669	31.50
Very High Comprehension	667	31.40
Totals	2,124	100.00

*Table A1.2. Distribution of Grouped Child English Comprehension*

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Very Low Comprehension	2	.09
Moderately Low Comprehension	39	1.84
Moderately High Comprehension	340	16.01
Very High Comprehension	1,743	82.06
Totals	2,124	100.00

Numbers in parentheses are from the full sample of child respondents.

*Table A1.3. Cross-classification of Grouped Child English Comprehension By Parental English Comprehension*

Categories	Child Grouped Language Comprehension			
	Very Low	Moderately Low	Moderately High	Very High
Very Low	1 (50.00)	18 (46.15)	114 (33.53)	175 (10.04)
Moderately Low	1 (50.00)	14 (35.90)	105 (30.88)	360 (20.65)
Moderately High	0 (0.00)	6 (15.38)	89 (26.18)	574 (32.93)
Very High	0 (0.00)	1 (2.56)	32 (9.41)	634 (36.37)

Numbers in parentheses are column percentages.

Table A2. Means and Proportions

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Means	Std. Dev.
<b>Dependent Variables**</b>				
Consonant Acceptance of English	0	1	.30	---
Language Dissonance	0	12	3.93	3.19
Bilingualism	0	1	.25	---
<i>Background Factors &amp; Family Structure</i>				
Laos/Hmong	0	1	.081	---
Cubans	0	1	.16	---
Vietnam	0	1	.11	---
Mexico	0	1	.16	---
Nicaraguan	0	1	.08	---
Other Latinos/as	0	1	.11	---
Sub-Saharan Africa	0	1	.04	---
Asia <sup>1</sup>	0	1	.04	---
Philippines	0	1	.17	---
Other Southeast Asia <sup>2</sup>	0	1	.04	---
Non-Whites	0	1	.88	---
Males	0	1	.51	---
Intact Family	0	1	.73	---
Number of Siblings	0	8	1.96	1.53
Citizen of US	0	1	.56	---
Born in US	0	1	.40	---
10 or More Years in US	0	1	.29	---
5 – 9 Years in US	0	1	.23	---
Less Than 5 Years in US	0	1	.07	---
<i>Parental Skills &amp; Resources</i>				
Education**	0	20	12.45	3.44
1 <sup>st</sup> Pre-Migration Prestige Quintile**	0	1	.10	---
2 <sup>nd</sup> Pre-Migration Prestige Quintile**	0	1	.12	---
3 <sup>rd</sup> Pre-Migration Prestige Quintile**	0	1	.08	---
4 <sup>th</sup> Pre-Migration Prestige Quintile**	0	1	.09	---
5 <sup>th</sup> Pre-Migration Prestige Quintile**	0	1	.09	---
Missing Prestige Information**	0	1	.50	---
Years of US Experience**	1	51	18.33	8.17
Child Migrant**	0	1	.06	---
At Least 1 Parent Native Born	0	1	.09	---
<i>Modes of Incorporation**</i>				
Economic Assistance at US Arrival	0	1	.30	---
Co-Ethnic Supervisor or Coworker at US Arrival	0	1	.25	---
Number of Family & Friends at US Arrival	0	170	43.99	49.25

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

\*\* Measured at Time 2, parental questionnaire.

<sup>1</sup> Includes children from mainland China, Taiwan, and Japan.

<sup>2</sup> Includes children from Burma, Cambodia, and Malaysia.

*Table 1. Types of Acculturation Across Generations*

Child Learning of U.S. Culture/Language	Parental Learning of U.S. Culture/Language	Child Insertion into Ethnic Community	Parental Insertion into Ethnic Community	Acculturation Types	Predicted Consequences
Low (-)	Low (-)	High (+)	High (+)	Consonant Resistance	Isolation in Ethnic Community
High (+)	High (+)	Low (-)	Low (-)	Consonant Acculturation	Quest for Integration
High (+)	Low (-)	Low (-)	High (+)	Dissonant Acculturation I	Abandon Ethnic Community
High (+)	Low (-)	Low (-)	Low (-)	Dissonant Acculturation II	Loss of Parental Control
High (+)	High (+)	High (+)	High (+)	Selective Acculturation	Preserve Language/Resources

Adapted from *Immigrant America, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*; Portes & Rumbaut (1996)

*Table 2. Types of Acculturation Across Generations, A Re-Formulation*

Child Learning of U.S. Culture/Language	Parental Learning of U.S. Culture/Language	Acculturation Types	Predicted Consequences
<b>Similarity in Language Acquisition – Consonant Acculturation</b>			
High (+)	High (+)	Consonant Acceptance	Familial Quest for Integration
Low (-)	Low (-)	Consonant Rejection	Isolation Within Ethnic Community
<b>Dissimilarity in Language Acquisition – Dissonant Acculturation</b>			
High (+)	Low (-)	Language Dissonance	Integration via Child English Knowledge
Low (-)	High (+)	Language Dissonance	Unknown

*Table 3. Zero-order Correlations Between Familial Acculturation and Child Bilingualism*

Variables	Consonant Acceptance	Language Dissonance	Child Bilingualism
Consonant Acceptance	1.00		
Language Dissonance	-.69	1.00	
Child Bilingualism	.02	.09	1.00

*Table 4. Goodness of Fit Statistics for Models of Familial Acculturation and Child Bilingualism*

Models	Consonant Acceptance BIC	Language Dissonance BIC	Child Bilingualism BIC
Intermediate Models			
M1 <sup>1</sup>	-14150.33	-473.46	-14234.48
M2 <sup>2</sup> – M1	-123.77	-274.00	346.06
M3 <sup>3</sup> – M1	335.12	350.12	240.24
M3 – M2	458.90	621.12	-105.76
Full Models			
Full – M1	-214.63	-366.80	75.90
Full – M2	-90.85	-92.80	-270.10
Full – M3	-549.75	-713.92	-164.34

<sup>1</sup> Model contains only background factors and family structure

<sup>2</sup> Model contains only parental skills and resources

<sup>3</sup> Model contains only modes of incorporation

Table 5. Effect Parameters for Logistic and OLS Models Predicting Language Acculturation

Variables	Consonant Acceptance		Language Dissonance		Bilingualism	
	Coeff.	R.S.E.	Coeff.	R.S.E.	Coeff.	R.S.E.
<i>Background Factors &amp; Family Structure</i>						
Laos/Hmong <sup>1</sup>	-.27	.41	-.38	.31	-1.94**	.49
Vietnam	-.90*	.44	-.71**	.23	-1.07**	.32
Mexico	-.30	.30	.66**	.15	1.84**	.20
Nicaraguan	.08	.29	.51*	.25	1.25**	.22
Other Latinos/as	.22	.19	.22	.21	1.36**	.20
Sub-Saharan Africa	.84**	.28	.09	.25	-.05	.32
Asia <sup>2</sup>	-.62*	.31	.26	.23	-.30	.36
Philippines	1.08**	.22	-1.28**	.15	-.64**	.25
Other Southeast Asia <sup>3</sup>	.009	.61	.38	.39	-2.31**	.93
Race (1=nonwhite)	-.01	.16	.12	.22	.09	.20
Sex (1=males)	-.14	.09	-.07	.08	-.37**	.12
Intact Family	-.21	.12	.18	.14	.08	.12
Number of Sibs	-.12**	.04	.03	.03	-.05	.05
U.S. Citizen	.45**	.18	-.49**	.17	-.26**	.12
U.S. Born <sup>4</sup>	-.08	.32	1.62**	.22	.67	.43
> 10 Yrs in U.S.	-.09	.35	1.83**	.19	.52	.39
5 – 9 Yrs in U.S.	-.13	.30	1.57**	.20	.76**	.33
<i>Parental Skills &amp; Resources</i>						
2 <sup>nd</sup> Prestige Quintile	.30	.33	.33	.04	.51	.38
3 <sup>rd</sup> Prestige Quintile	.48*	.23	.23	.21	.83	.40
4 <sup>th</sup> Prestige Quintile	-.08	.23	.47*	.24	.48	.33
5 <sup>th</sup> Prestige Quintile	-.06	.26	.46	.25	-.10	.39
Missing Prestige	.28	.29	.27	.23	.31	.30
Education	.38**	.03	-.41**	.03	.05	.03
Experience	.06**	.01	-.07**	.01	-.005	.01
Child Migrant	.98**	.25	-1.27**	.27	.36	.22
1 N.B. Parent	.49**	.19	-.42*	.23	-.57**	.20
<i>Modes of Incorporation</i>						
Economic Assistance	-.42	.24	.42*	.23	.14	.19
Co-ethnic Super.	-.07	.16	.17	.16	-.12	.13
Coworker						
# of Family/Friends	.002	.002	-.004**	.001	-.003	.001
Intercept	-7.16**	.76	9.09**	.53	-1.10	.68
Link Function	Logit		OLS		Logit	
R-Square	---		.400		---	
Nationality Status Effect <sup>5</sup>	133.42**		26.21**		217.29**	
Latino/a Effect <sup>6</sup>	2.13		11.95**		106.03**	

\* p < .05

\*\* p < .01

<sup>1</sup>Reference is Cuban children.

<sup>2</sup>Includes children from mainland China, Taiwan, and Japan.

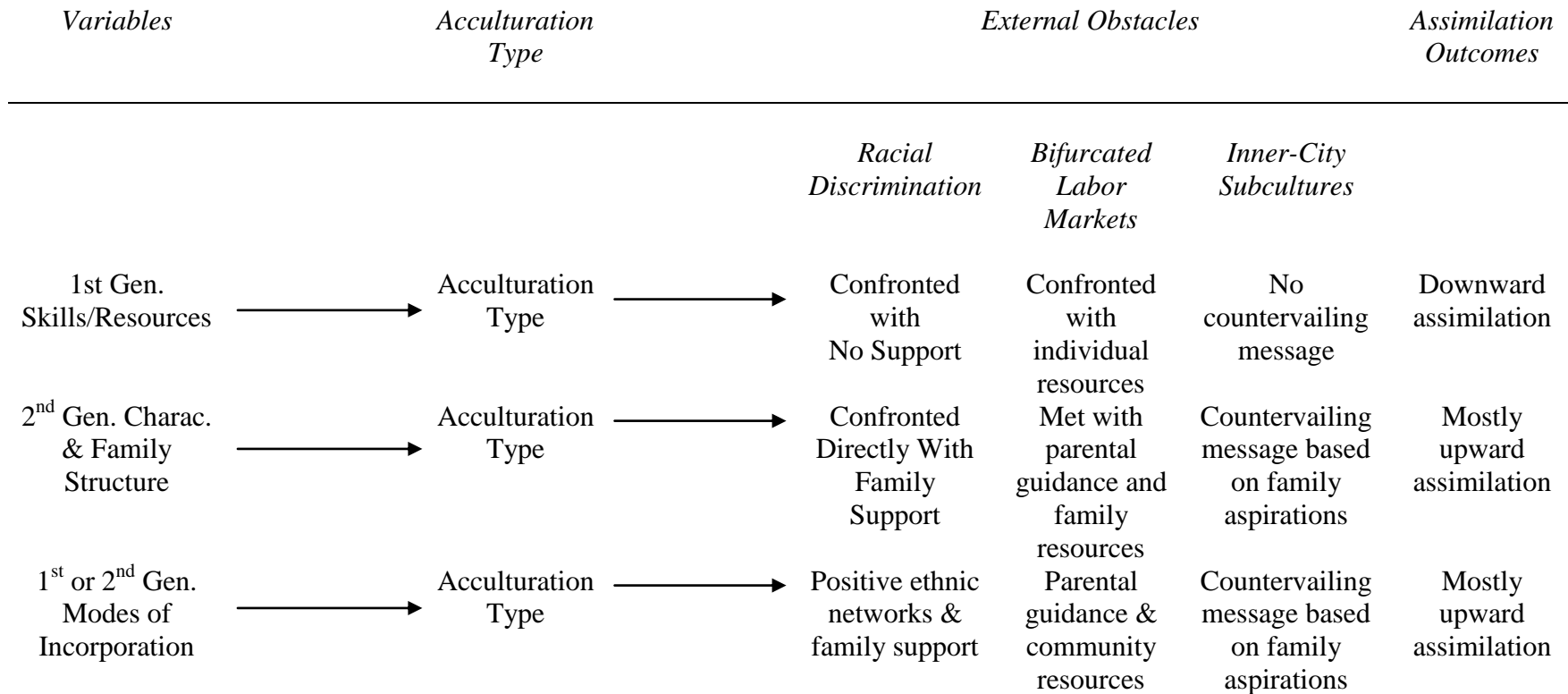
<sup>3</sup>Includes children from Burma, Cambodia, and Malaysia.

<sup>4</sup>Reference is 'in U.S. less than 5 years'

<sup>5</sup>Wald test for significance of nationality status indicators; distributed as chi-square with one-tailed test of significance

<sup>6</sup>Wald test for significance of indicators of Mexican, Nicaraguan, and Other Latin heritage

**Figure 1. The Process of Segmented Assimilation: A Model**



Adapted from Portes & Rumbaut (2001)