

SPECIAL ISSUE

The Second Generation in Early Adulthood

Guest Editors: Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut

Introduction: The Second Generation and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study

Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut

Abstract

This Special Issue presents original results from the third wave of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study [CILS], a decade-old panel that followed a large sample of second-generation youths from early adolescence to early adulthood. The issue contains results of the third survey, conducted in 2001–2003 as members of the panel had reached an average age of 24. This introduction provides evidence of the importance of the topic, describes the methodology of the study, and summarizes the contents of the issue. The following articles examine different aspects of the second-generation adaptation process in early adulthood and tests alternative hypotheses on the forms of the process and its determinants.

Keywords: Second generation; children of immigrants; segmented assimilation; acculturation.

This Special Issue is dedicated to the study of the immigrant second generation and its adaptation process in early adulthood. It presents original results from the third wave of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study [CILS], a decade-old panel that followed a large sample of second-generation youths from early adolescence to early adulthood. Prior results from CILS have been presented in a number of articles, including two in this journal (Portes and MacLeod 1996; Portes and Hao 2002) and in three books (Portes 1996; Portes and

Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). All prior publications have been based on data from the first CILS survey, conducted in 1992, and its first follow-up, conducted in 1995–96.

This issue contains results from the third survey, conducted in 2001–03 as members of the panel had reached an average age of 24. The outcomes that it reports are not the early or preliminary ones of adolescence but hard realities of early adult life, ranging from actual educational achievement and occupational status to unemployment, premature pregnancies, and incarceration. These data can thus be put to use in testing hypotheses about the adaptation process of the second generation, including the expectations of a linear *versus* a segmented assimilation process and the effects of dissonant, consonant, and selective acculturation. Several of these hypotheses have emerged from the study itself, while others come from the general literature on immigration. The following article outlines the general theoretical framework of this study and the ensuing ones present and empirically test alternative predictions concerning this young population.

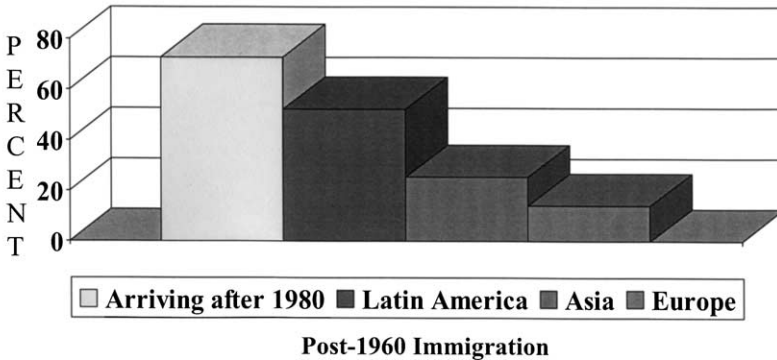
Significance of the second generation

It is well known by now that immigrants are the fastest growing component of the American population and that their presence has transformed the social ambience, culture, and politics of several major U.S. cities. There are now well over 30 million foreign-born persons in the United States; 11.2 million adult immigrants arrived during the last intercensal period alone (1990–2000) accounting, together with their children, for 70 per cent of the growth in the nation's population. According to the latest estimates, the foreign-stock population of the country (first plus second generation) now exceeds 60 million or 24 per cent of the total (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003; Rumbaut 2004). More importantly, the flow shows no sign of declining. Driven by the massive labour demand of a vast economy and the ever-strengthening social networks between immigrants and their home country counterparts, the movement can be expected to continue indefinitely and to expand geographically to all corners of the nation. The size, growth, and geographical origins of today's immigrant flow are graphically portrayed in Figure 1.

Given this situation, it is timely and appropriate to consider the long-term effects that contemporary immigration will have on the American social fabric and culture. Experts on immigration like to frame the question by comparing the present situation with that at the beginning of the twentieth century. Then, as now, the nation was engulfed in a human tide that showed few signs of receding. At the peak of that earlier movement, immigrants came to represent close to 15 per cent of the total population, a figure that is being rapidly

Figure 1. *The Immigrant Population of the United States, 2002*

	Total	Native Parentage Third+ Generation	Immigrant First Generation	Immigrant Second Generation	Foreign Stock %
Population (Millions)	282.1	215.9	36.0	30.2	23.5
Children under 18 (Millions)	72.6	55.7	3.7	13.2	23.2



Source: *U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, annual (March) demographic file, 2002*

approached by the present flow. Then, as now, immigrants went to the areas where demand for their labour was concentrated. At that time, the demand was concentrated in the industrial cities of the Northeast whose demographic composition and institutional structures were thoroughly transformed by the mass presence of the European newcomers. While at that time, as now, much was made of the foreign tongues, dresses, and habits crowding American urban spaces, in the long term it was not the sights and sounds of the first generation but the settlement process of their children that determined the long-term consequences of the immigrant flow for the nation. First-generation immigrants have always been a restless bunch, here one day and gone the next: *in* the society, but not yet *of* it.

By contrast, their U.S.-born and reared offspring were U.S. citizens and, overwhelmingly, here to stay. The course of their adaptation set the long-term character of the ethnic communities spawned by that earlier immigrant wave. The story of this settlement process is well known and indeed gave rise to our generalized understanding of how the process of assimilation is supposed to work itself out. Children of European immigrants learnt English, gradually abandoned their parents' language and culture, and clawed their ways through schools and entrepreneurship into economic affluence. Historical events such as World War II and the post-war economic boom facilitated their

economic and social integration. By the third generation, foreign languages were a distant memory and ethnic identities were social conveniences, displayed on selected occasions but subordinate to overwhelming American selves.

Today, the process of second-generation settlement is also proceeding apace and with consequences every bit as momentous as a century ago. Now, as then, the consequences for the nation of massive immigration are linked to what happens to its descendants, Americans all and here to stay. However, the straight-line notion of assimilation, inherited from that European past, does not seem to function too well to describe the current process and its likely outcomes. There are groups among the contemporary second generation that appear slated for a smooth transition into the middle-class white mainstream, and for whom ethnicity will soon be a matter of personal choice. They, like descendants of earlier Europeans, will identify with their ancestry on occasion and when convenient. There are others for whom their ethnicity continues to be a source of strength and who may well muscle their way up, socially and economically, on the basis of the networks and resources of their solidary communities. There are still others, for whom their ethnicity does not appear to be a matter of choice nor a source of progress, but a mark of permanent subordination.

Today, almost one in four Americans under age 18 is an immigrant or a child of an immigrant and that proportion just keeps growing (see Figure 1; Jensen 2001). The prospect that at least some members of today's second generation may be joining those at the bottom of society, adding to the social pathologies that have been the bane of American urban life for more than half a century, has more than a purely academic interest. That prospect can affect the life chances of millions of Americans and the quality of life in the cities and communities where they concentrate. Hence, while assimilation may still represent the master concept in the study of today's immigrants, the image of a relatively uniform and straightforward path is questionable given the many contingencies and the novel forces affecting the process.

Instead, the present second generation may be better defined as undergoing a process of *segmented assimilation* where outcomes vary across immigrant nationalities, and where rapid integration and acceptance into the American mainstream represent just one possible alternative. This concept, which emerged from earlier results of this study, describes alternative paths of adaptation as depending on a number of factors, of which four are considered decisive: 1) the history of the first generation; 2) the pace of acculturation among parents and children and its bearing on normative integration; 3) the barriers, cultural and economic, confronted by second-generation youth in their quest for successful adaptation; 4) the family and community resources for confronting these barriers.

The interaction between these various factors have been analysed at length in a number of prior publications (Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1994; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). We will not repeat the argument here, leaving its description and discussion of its implications to the following articles. The key point is that the data set to be analysed by them is the first that allows us to establish what patterns of assimilation today's children are actually following. The longitudinal nature of the data permits us, as well as future analysts, to establish causal relationships among different aspects of the process with a measure of confidence not provided by the more common cross-sectional surveys or one-time case studies of particular immigrant populations.

The study¹

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) focused on a baseline population of mean age fourteen, corresponding to the census estimate of the average for children of Asian and Latin American immigrants in 1990. In addition to this correspondence, there was another powerful reason to focus on this age group. At this early age, most children are still in middle school or junior high school, which makes it possible to generate representative samples by tapping the school population. At later ages, an unknown number drops out of school, biasing samples restricted to student cohorts.

The design of the study called for taking large samples of students of foreign parentage in the eighth and ninth grades, ranging in age from thirteen to seventeen, and following them for three to four years until their last year of high school. At this point, a second survey took place of all those students who had remained in school and were about to graduate, as well as those who had abandoned their schooling. Through this strategy, it was possible to examine adaptation outcomes at the crucial school-to-work or school-to-college transition and, more important, to establish unambiguously the causal forces determining these outcomes; i.e., the study did not measure potential causes and consequences at the same time but with a lag of three to four years.

In total, 5,262 students took part in the first survey. Their parents came from seventy-seven different foreign countries. To be eligible for an interview, the student had to be U.S.-born or to have lived in the United States for at least five years and to have at least one foreign-born parent. Thus, even the oldest foreign-born youths in these grades, age 17, would have had to arrive in the United States by age 12 to be included. This corresponds to a broad operational definition of *second-generation* as native-born children of foreign parents or foreign-born children who were brought to the United States before adolescence.

The samples were drawn in forty-nine schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Florida; and San Diego, California.

These cities were selected because they represent two of the areas most heavily affected by the new immigration and because they serve as entry points to significantly different groups of migrants. Miami receives mainly immigrants from the Caribbean – especially Cubans, Haitians, Dominicans, Jamaicans and other English-speaking West Indians; Central Americans, mostly Nicaraguans; and South American, primarily Colombians, Venezuelans and Brazilians. San Diego is one of the main entry points and places of settlement for the large migrant inflow from Mexico; it also receives large numbers of Salvadorans and Guatemalans and is one of the cities preferred by immigrants from Asia – such as Filipinos, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians, and, to a lesser extent, by Chinese, Japanese and Koreans.

In both cities, the sample design called for inclusion of schools in areas of heavy immigrant concentration, as well as those where the native-born predominated. This strategy has allowed us to analyse how various adaptation outcomes are affected by different school contexts (Portes and Hao 2004). The San Diego school district was sufficiently diverse to contain both types of schools. Miami had been so heavily affected by immigration that most of its schools included large proportions of first- and second-generation students. For this reason, the sample encompassed the schools of Ft. Lauderdale (Broward County) where native-parentage students predominate. In addition, we encountered a well-developed bilingual private school system in Miami, serving primarily the children of former Cuban exiles. Two such schools were included in the sample.

In the absence of prior knowledge of the distribution of the second generation, the sample could not be drawn with exact probabilities of inclusion. Instead, the survey team in each city combined its own knowledge of the area with the cooperation of the respective school districts to target schools serving the principal immigrant nationalities, those containing students from smaller immigrant groups, and a control sample of schools where students of native parentage were dominant. In terms of national origin, the sampling goal was to include roughly proportional numbers of students from the principal immigrant groups in each area while reserving approximately one-fourth of the interviews to represent smaller nationalities. This goal was met. As shown in Table 1, the major groups in both areas – Cubans, Nicaraguans, Colombians, and Haitians in South Florida and Filipinos, Mexicans, and Vietnamese in Southern California – jointly comprise 75 per cent of the sample. The remainder is represented by children of immigrants from seventy other countries.

The average age of the sample was 14 at the time of the survey, and it was evenly divided by sex and by grade in school. Similarly, about half the respondents were native-born of foreign parentage (corresponding to a strict definition of *second generation*), and the

Table 1. *Characteristics of Children of Immigrants Interviewed in South Florida and Southern California, 1992*

Variable	Number of cases	Per cent
Location:		
Miami/Ft. Lauderdale	2,842	54.0
San Diego	2,420	46.0
Grade in school:		
8 th	2,833	53.8
9 th	2,429	46.2
Sex:		
Male	2,575	49.0
Female	2,687	51.0
Length of U.S. Residence:		
U.S.-born	2,507	47.6
10 years or more	1,426	27.1
9 years or less	1,329	25.3
U.S. Citizen:		
Yes	3,335	63.4
No or does not know	1,927	36.6
Father's Education:		
Less than high school	2,172	41.3
High school graduate	1,889	35.9
College grad or more	1,201	22.8
Mother's Education:		
Less than high school	2,163	41.1
High school graduate	2,034	38.7
College grad or more	1,065	20.2
National Origin:		
Cuban	1,226	23.3
Filipino	819	15.6
Mexican	755	14.4
Vietnamese	370	7.0
Nicaraguan	344	6.5
Colombian	227	4.3
Haitian	178	3.4
Jamaican	156	3.0
Laotian	155	2.9
Other West Indian	116	2.2
Dominican Republic	104	2.0
Cambodian	95	1.8
Chinese	72	1.4
Hmong	53	1.0
Other Latin American	365	6.4
Other Asian	91	1.7
Other (Middle East, Europe, Canada, etc.)	136	2.6

Table 1 (*Continued*)

Variable	Number of cases	Per cent
Language Spoken at Home:		
English	371	7.0
Spanish	2,931	55.7
Tagalog/Other Philippine	756	14.4
Vietnamese	326	6.2
Lao	158	3.0
Haitian Creole	150	2.8
Chinese	98	1.8
Cambodian	82	1.6
Hmong	51	1.0
Other languages	100	1.9
No information	41	0.8
N	5,262	100.0

Source: Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 26–27.

remainder were members of the 1.5 generation (born abroad but brought at an early age to the United States). This first survey was conducted in 1992.

Follow-up and parental surveys

In 1995, three years after the original survey, a follow-up was launched. As described previously, its purpose was to measure adaptation outcomes at a key juncture in the life of these adolescents when they left school for work or college. Whenever possible, interviews were conducted in school, first with the original ninth graders as they reached their senior year, and then with the original eighth graders as they, in turn, became seniors. For students who had dropped out or moved to other areas, questionnaires were completed in two other forms – either a member of the survey team visited the last known address and asked the student to fill out the schedule or it was mailed to the student with an addressed stamped envelope and instructions. In a few cases, students who had returned to their country of origin were located and interviewed by telephone.

A problem of potential bias existed because the follow-up survey did not retrieve all the original respondents; the total follow-up sample is 4,288 or 81.5 per cent of the original. The question is whether lost cases were random or whether they overrepresented a particular class of respondents. In the latter case, a sampling bias exists. To test this possibility, we compared retrieved and lost respondents on their characteristics measured in the first survey and correlated ‘presence’ in the follow-up with potential determinants, also ascertained in 1992. Results of this exercise indicated that, by and large, the follow-up

sample faithfully reproduced the different categories of respondents in the original survey. For example, the second survey retrieved almost identical proportions of boys and girls, of native-born and foreign-born youth, and of U.S. citizens and non-citizens. Similarly, the proportions represented by different nationalities in both surveys were very similar. There was a slight tendency for children from intact families (both parents present) to be overrepresented in the follow-up survey. With this exception, all other differences were statistically insignificant (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, pp. 25–31).

An important limitation of the original student survey was that information on the families was obtained indirectly from relatively young teenagers and thus was often quite limited. It is obvious that the social context provided by immigrant parents plays a decisive role in the adaptation outcomes of their children. For this reason, we deemed it vital to extend the interviews conducted with a small group of parents following the first survey to a sizable sub-sample. This much larger parental survey took place simultaneously with the follow-up of students in their senior year. Questions in the parental questionnaire were designed to gauge the contexts that received these immigrants, the characteristics of their present neighbourhood, their relationships with and aspirations for their children, and their socio-economic condition and cultural adaptation.

Because of the complexity of locating and interviewing so many non-English speaking parents, the survey was conducted with a probability sample representing 50 per cent of the student follow-up. The parental sample was drawn randomly, but with differential probabilities by national groups in order to ensure sufficient representation of smaller nationalities, especially those comprising immigrants of more modest socio-economic background. Table 2 shows that the majority of interviewed parents had been in the country for a considerable length of time, averaging 21.6 years, and that most had become U.S. citizens. Close to 90 per cent of our 2,442 respondents were the biological parents of students in the sample; three-fourths were married and the vast majority had remained married to the child's other biological parent. Thus, we are dealing with a rather stable and settled adult population. Results from this survey provide context to findings on the adolescent and adult adaptation outcomes of second-generation youths and point towards their possible long-term determinants.

The final survey

During 2001–03, or a decade after the original survey, a final follow-up was conducted. The sample now averaged 24 years of age and, hence, patterns of adaptation in early adulthood could be readily

Table 2. *Basic Demographic Characteristics of Immigrant Parents Interviewed in 1995–96*

	Miami/Ft. Lauderdale		San Diego		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Parent's Country of Birth:						
Cambodia	–	–	85	6.4	85	3.5
Colombia	83	7.4	3	0.2	86	3.5
Cuba	384	34.2	2	0.2	386	15.8
Haiti	75	6.7	–	–	75	3.1
Jamaica/West Indies	99	8.8	4	0.3	103	4.2
Laos (Hmong)	–	–	46	3.5	46	1.9
Laos (Lao)	–	–	140	10.6	140	5.7
Mexico	8	0.7	321	24.4	329	13.5
Nicaragua	203	18.0	3	0.2	206	8.4
Philippines	1	0.1	359	27.2	360	14.7
Vietnam	1	0.1	248	18.8	249	10.2
Other Latin America	207	18.5	17	1.3	224	9.2
Other Asia	11	1.0	64	4.9	75	3.1
Other country	51	4.5	26	2.0	77	3.2
Relationship to Child:						
Parent	1,081	96.3	1,289	97.8	2,370	97.1
Stepparent	17	1.5	3	0.2	20	0.8
Guardian	25	2.2	26	2.0	51	2.1
Gender:						
Male	338	30.1	583	44.2	921	37.7
Female	785	69.9	735	55.8	1,520	62.3
Marital Status:						
Married	847	75.5	1,106	83.9	1,953	80.0
Divorced/Separated	209	18.6	126	9.6	335	13.7
Widowed	39	3.5	64	4.9	103	4.2
Other	28	2.4	23	1.6	51	2.1
If Married, Partner's Relationship to Child:						
Biological father/ mother	713	84.2	1,001	90.5	1,714	87.8
Stepparent	119	14.1	88	8.0	207	10.5
Other	15	1.7	17	1.5	32	1.7
Present Citizenship:						
Foreign	514	45.8	675	51.3	1,189	48.7
U.S.	609	54.2	643	48.7	1,252	51.3
N	1,123	100.0	1,319	100.0	2,442	100.0

Source: Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 32–33.

assessed. The original and follow-up surveys were conducted mostly in schools attended by respondents, greatly facilitating access to them. Most respondents had already left school by the time of the second follow-up so they had to be contacted individually in their places of work or residence. Tracking the sample after a six-year *interim* period was made possible by two factors: First, the availability in our data files of information on social security numbers, birth dates, and last known addresses of respondents and their parents; second, the rise in recent years of Internet services able to conduct confidential searches on the basis of this type of information.

With the authorization of the Human Subjects Review boards of our respective institutions, we were able to conduct such searches that produced residential addresses or telephone numbers for over 90 per cent of the original sample in South Florida and approximately 75 per cent in Southern California. This search was supplemented by other retrieval methods, some of which were also based on published information in the Internet. After obtaining updated address information, the first step of data collection consisted in sending letters to all respondents with known current addresses reminding them of their participation in the study in the past and inviting them to collaborate again by completing the appended questionnaire. As an incentive to do so, they were offered both material and symbolic incentives, although the introductory letter also indicated that participation in the study was entirely voluntary. This letter was followed by several reminders in cases where it was not returned as undeliverable or the respondent indicated that he/she did not wish to participate.

Mailed questionnaires were, by far, the principal source of completed data in this third survey. To facilitate their completion, the instrument was limited to ninety items, almost all close-ended and answerable in approximately twenty minutes. After the return rate for mailed questionnaires began to taper off, two new sample retrieval strategies were launched. First, respondents for whom telephone numbers were available were contacted and interviewed by phone whenever possible. Shortly thereafter, teams of interviewers were recruited and trained in both cities to visit respondents for whom no telephone numbers were available, but for whom we had some residential information in the form of last known address of themselves or their parents. Field interviews were the most expensive form of data collection and, for this reason, it was implemented only in those cases where all other attempts had failed.

In addition to completed questionnaires, the various sample retrieval methods obtained information on respondents who had died, were in prison, were fugitive from justice, were in the armed forces, had attended area colleges and universities, had returned to their parents' country, etc. This is valid information concerning the life course of

these respondents and was added as substantive, albeit incomplete data to the respective files. In total, CILS-III retrieved complete or partial information on 3,613 respondents representing 68.9 per cent of the original sample and 84.3 per cent of the first follow-up. In Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, the respective retrieval rates were 67.9 per cent and 86.7 per cent; while, in San Diego, they were 69.6 per cent and 81.6 per cent. Fieldwork for this project – from the original internet searches to the implementation of all possible methods of data collection – lasted over twenty-four months. Table 3 presents the breakdown of the CILS-III sample by age, sex, nationality and current residence.

A detailed list of relevant adaptation outcomes measured in this survey includes educational attainment, employment and occupational status, income, civil status and ethnicity of spouses/partners, political attitudes and participation, ethnic and racial identities, delinquency and incarceration, attitudes and levels of identification with American society, and plans for the future. Unlike the first follow-up, where effects of sample attrition could be assumed to be negligible, the time elapsed between the last two surveys and the significant sample mortality, especially relative to the original one, indicate the need for adjusting results for sample selection bias.

CILS-III levels of sample attrition are similar or lower than national longitudinal or cross-sectional surveys conducted in the United States recently. For example, recent General Social Surveys (2000 and 2002) have yielded response rates of approximately 70 per cent and the last National Election Study produced a response rate of 60 per cent (Smith 2002). Frequency distributions of the final CILS sample by gender, age, and nationality are quite similar to those of the preceding two surveys. Nevertheless, with 36 per cent of the original sample unaccounted for, it becomes necessary to correct descriptive results and predictive models for potential bias. The longitudinal character of the data makes it possible to construct predictive models for sample attrition, using the resulting coefficients to adjust substantive models (Berk 1983; Portes and Jensen 1989).

A series of initial runs indicates that age, family composition, and early academic performance are the principal predictors of presence/absence in CILS-III. Table 4 presents the predictive equations for the entire sample and the two regional sub-samples. On the basis of these equations, it becomes possible, in principle, to adjust means of all relevant dependent variables and to correct multivariate equations. Preliminary runs indicate, however, that adjusted averages do not differ significantly from those unadjusted for this source of error. The following two articles present results illustrating this finding.

In addition to the main survey, we conducted a supplementary set of qualitative in-depth interviews with a sub-sample of respondents in Miami and San Diego, selected to maximize variation in family status,

Table 3. *Basic Characteristics of CILS-III Sample, 2001–2003*

Variable	South Florida		Southern California		
	N	%	N	%	
Sex:			Sex:		
Male	958	49.7	Male	803	47.3
Female	971	50.3	Female	861	52.7
National Origin:					
Cuban	862	44.7	Mexican	470	27.9
Nicaraguan	232	12.0	Filipino	627	37.2
Colombian	159	8.2	Vietnamese	232	13.8
Haitian	121	6.3	Laotian, Cambodian	208	12.4
West Indian	170	8.8	Chinese	38	2.3
Other Latin American	267	13.8	Other Latin American	57	3.4
Other	118	6.2	Other Asian	52	3.1
Age:					
23	375	19.4	23	385	22.9
24	883	45.8	24	731	43.4
25	532	27.6	25	434	25.8
26 or more	139	7.2	26 or more	134	7.9
Current residence:					
Miami/Ft. Lauderdale	1,530	79.3	San Diego	1,201	73.5
Other Florida	111	5.8	Other California	315	19.3
Other US	192	10.0	Other US	111	6.8
Overseas	6	0.4	Overseas	7	0.4
Residence	<u>90</u>	<u>4.5</u>	Residence	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Unknown			Unknown		
Totals:	1,929	100.0		1,684	100.0

national origins, and gender. This ethnographic module has already provided valuable leads for the analysis and interpretation of survey data as well as illustrating major trends in second-generation adaptation uncovered by quantitative results. Qualitative interview material is used for this purpose in several of the following articles and provides the sole basis for one of them.

Contents of this Special Issue

The next article by Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller presents the theoretical framework developed on the basis of earlier results from the study and illustrates it with selected findings from these earlier surveys. It then proceeds to test hypotheses derived from this

Table 4. Equations Predicting Presence/Absence in the Third CILS Survey, 2001–03¹

Predictors	Miami/Ft. Lauderdale			San Diego			Total		
	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>z</i> -ratio	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>z</i> -ratio	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>z</i> -ratio
Age	-.128	.050	2.57**	-.196	.051	3.86***	-.165	.035	4.66***
Intact Family, 1992–93	.468	.085	5.49***	.531	.094	5.67***	.462	.062	7.43***
Grade Point Average, 1993	.572	.050	11.40***	.354	.052	6.85***	.425	.034	12.35***
Constant	.885	.741	–	2.072	.745	–	1.614	.522	–
LR χ^2 (d.f.)	253.03 (4)***			177.59 (4)***			403.28 (4)***		
Pseudo R ²	.072			.055			.060		
N	2735			2418			5153		

¹Binomial logistic regressions. “Presence” in the third survey is coded 1.

**p* < .05

***p* < .01

****p* < .001

framework with data from the South Florida sample drawing on indicators of early adult adaptation collected during the third survey. These include, among others, educational and occupational attainment, family and personal income, language knowledge and use, unemployment, adolescent childbearing, and arrest and incarceration. Individual histories collected by the ethnographic module attached to the survey are used to illustrate some of the principal quantitative results.

The article by Rumbaut replicates this analysis on the basis of the Southern California CILS sample and complements it with presentations of data for the entire U.S. second generation on the basis of official census and current population surveys [CPS]. These results are useful because they provide information on the universe of today's children of immigrants and because they show that CILS sample findings correspond with those from that universe for key indicators available in both. As in the study's results, census data document wide variation in adaptation outcomes in early adulthood – particularly in educational attainment, incarceration, and early childbearing – by nationality, class background, gender, generation and other variables.

The following article by Fernández-Kelly and Konczal provides detailed individual histories of some of our respondents selected as representative of adaptation patterns, positive and negative. The article, based on the South Florida ethnographic module, introduces the concept of *expressive entrepreneurship* to identify one of the distinct occupational and economic trajectories implemented or aimed by second-generation youths. The article highlights the widely divergent patterns of adaptation even among respondents of the same national background, contingent on the economic resources of their families and their parents' modes of incorporation.

Next, Feliciano and Rumbaut explore the role of gender in the educational and occupational careers of second-generation youths. They find a reliable advantage among females in adolescent aspirations and expectations, as well as in translating them into actual achievement levels. As in prior studies of the native-born population, these authors find that early aspirations and expectations are major predictors of subsequent attainment. In a felicitous sentence, they summarize their results by noting that paths of assimilation 'are segmented not only by class and ethnicity, but also by gender'.

The article by Zhou and Xiong problematizes the concept of 'model minority' as applied to Asian immigrants. Drawing on the CILS-III Southern California survey, as well as on census data, the article shows significant differences in education, occupation, and other indicators of achievement among children of Chinese, Korean, and Filipino immigrants, on the one hand, and those of Southeast Asian refugees (Laotians and Cambodians), on the other. These differences

extend to indicators of downward assimilation, such as premature childbearing and incarceration rates pointing to the enduring influence of parental human and social capital in the life trajectories of these youths. The case of Vietnamese-Americans and Filipino-Americans come in for special attention as they show the powerful influence of ethnic community ties, or of their absence, in the achievement patterns of the second generation.

In the final contribution to this Issue, Haller and Landolt explore the role of transnational ties among children of immigrants on the basis of behavioural and attitudinal indicators reflecting enduring loyalties and interests in the parents' countries of origin. Overall, the analysis finds that second-generation transnationalism is feeble, reflecting an overwhelming commitment and orientation among respondents towards their American lives; but, as with other dimensions of adaptation, significant differences emerge by nationality and social class. Haller and Landolt uncover some interesting and counter-intuitive results concerning, among others, determinants of remittance-sending and repeated journeys to the parents' home country.

Overall, this collection highlights key aspects of the adaptation experiences of the second generation in early adulthood and provides empirical evidence on segmented assimilation as it takes place today, on the ground. We hope that these findings provide the basis for future comparative studies with other countries of immigration, as well as longitudinal ones on the life trajectories of the new second generation in the United States as it reaches maturity.

Acknowledgements

Data presented in this Introduction and throughout the present Issue were collected with the support of grants from the National Science Foundation (#SBR-9022555 and SES-0350789); Russell Sage Foundation (#88-95-03; 88-01-05, and 88-02-05); Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; Hewlett Foundation (for a fellowship year in residence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences to Rubén G. Rumbaut); and Spencer Foundation (Senior Scholar Award to Alejandro Portes). The authors express their special gratitude to Eric Wanner, President of the Russell Sage Foundation, and Patricia A. Graham, former president of the Spencer Foundation, for their strong and continuous support throughout this project.

Note

1. This section is based on a detailed prior description of the study. See Portes and Rumbaut (2001: pp. 22–32).

References

- BERK, RICHARD 1983 'An Introduction to Sample Selection Bias in Sociological Data', ——— American Sociological Review, vol. 48, pp. 386–98
- JENSEN, LEIF 2001 'The demographic diversity of immigrants and their children', in Rubén G. Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes (eds), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 21–56
- PORTES, ALEJANDRO 1996 *The New Second Generation*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation
- 2004 'The schooling of children of immigrants: Contextual effects on the education attainment of the second generation', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 101, pp. 11920–11927
- and HAO, LINGXIN 2002 'The price of uniformity: Language, family, and personality adjustment in the immigrant second generation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 25, pp. 889–912
- and JENSEN, LEIF 1989 'The enclave and the entrants: Patterns of ethnic enterprise in Miami before and after maríel', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 54, pp. 929–49
- and MACLEOD, DAG 1996 'Educational progress of children of immigrants: The roles of class, ethnicity, and school context', *Sociology of Education*, vol. 69, pp. 255–75
- and RUMBAUT, RUBÉN G. 2001 *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation
- and ZHOU, MIN 1993 'The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants among post-1965 immigrant youth', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, vol. 530, pp. 74–96
- RUMBAUT, RUBÉN G. 2004 'Ages, life stages, and generation cohorts: Decomposing the immigrant first and second generations in the United States', *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, pp. 1160–1205
- 1994 'The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants', *International Migration Review*, vol. 28, pp. 748–94
- and PORTES, ALEJANDRO 2001 *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*, Berkeley: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation
- SMITH, TOM 2002 Personal communication from the Research Director of the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago
- US BUREAU OF THE CENSUS 2003 'The Foreign-born Population in the United States: March 2002', *Current Population Reports*, pp. 20–539, February

ALEJANDRO PORTES is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Migration and Development at Princeton University.
 ADDRESS: Department of Sociology, 186 Wallace Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, 08544, USA.

RUBÉN G. RUMBAUT is Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Irvine, and Co-Director of UCI's Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy.
 ADDRESS: Department of Sociology, 3151 Social Science Plaza, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA 92697, USA.
 Email: <rrumbaut@uci.edu>