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Are Chicanos Assimilating?

by
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Introduction

Assimilation is one of the key elements of American social thought. There is no doubt that the strength of the American belief in assimilation is based on historical reality. However, it is far from clear that assimilation is a universal process that applies to all peoples in the United States at all times. There are many reasons to think that the Mexican Origin population of the United States has not assimilated in the manner presumed to be typical of immigrants in the United States. However, problems of data availability, conceptual clarity, and the relatively continuous migration from Mexico all have made the accurate determination of the degree of Chicano assimilation difficult to assess accurately.

The research summarized here has the following goals: first, to clarify the meaning of assimilation by presenting three major theories; second, to present evidence that demonstrates that Chicanos have not assimilated at the same rate as other groups; and third, to provide a preliminary explanation of why Chicanos have not fully assimilated.

Three Major Theories of Assimilation

Milton Gordon's Social-Structural Theory

Milton Gordon's Assimilation in American Life (1964) is the typical point of departure for research on assimilation. Gordon's theoretical model, illustrated in Figure 1, has several important features. First of all, Gordon defines seven different aspects or elements of assimilation (also presented on Figure 1). These distinctions make it possible to speak of assimilation in precise and specific terms. These distinctions make it possible to discuss the assimilational status of a group as matter of types and degrees of assimilation rather than absolutes. Another advantage of Gordon's model is that it is open-ended. There is an alternative within the model to assimilation, i.e., the maintenance of structural pluralism. Finally, Gordon's model is theoretically non-reductionist in that a social outcome is explained in terms of other social facts. The difference between a group which assimilates and one which does not is due to differences in the composition or structure of their primary social interactions. The major problem with Gordon's theory is that it does not include any notion of economic assimilation. The absence of a theoretical role for this concept has created a disjunction between Gordon's theory and much of the data and analysis published on the topic of assimilation.

The Status Attainment / Human Capital Paradigm

Much of the published research on assimilation acknowledges Gordon's theory but implicitly or explicitly follows the status attainment/human capital paradigm. While status attainment is based on sociological theory and human capital on economic

theory, there is a very high degree of convergence between assimilation research done in either of these disciplines. Proponents of this model include Chiswick, Featherman and Hauser, Neidert and Farley, and McCarthy and Valdez. The basic elements of this paradigm are illustrated in Figure 2. Assimilation is defined in economic or socio-economic terms and is measured in terms of educational attainment, occupational prestige, or earnings.

A great deal of confusion has resulted from the fact that this economic assimilation has often been called structural assimilation. This is the same label Gordon used but with a very different meaning. In further contrast, this model is closed in that there is no theoretical alternative to economic assimilation. Within the framework of the model it seems that all groups assimilate but to different degrees. As suggested by the step-like pattern between the different generations shown in Figure 2, research in this paradigm often defines assimilation as an increase in the level of assimilation using cross-sectional rather than longitudinal data. [See Borjas, 1985 for a critique of the commonplace assumption that cross-sectional data accurately represent longitudinal processes with regard to Mexican immigrants.] Following the same line of reasoning, I argue that the best indicator of assimilation is not the increase in the value of the dependent assimilation variable from the first to the third generation at one temporal cross-section, Instead, assimilation is better understood as convergence in the assimilation measures of the third and third-plus generation of the immigrant group with the third and third-plus members of the host society. [See Chapa 1988, Ch. I-II for a more detailed discussion.]

Political-Economic Structures: Enclaves and the Secondary Sector

A third model of assimilation can be found in Portes and Bach (1985). Two types of political-economic structures are central to this theory. One is the notion of economic enclaves, the existence of a community of ethnic-owned and ethnic-staffed businesses that provide direct economic benefits to the owners and training and advancement opportunities for the workers. In these enclaves, the ethnic language, identity and culture are assets for economic assimilation rather than liabilities. The other economic structure that is important to this theory is that of the secondary economy characterized by low wages, seasonal or irregular employment, no fringe benefits, and no opportunities for advancement. The immigrants that end up in the secondary economy perceive themselves to be victims of prejudice and discrimination. The response to this is a disaffected ethnic culture. Figure 3 shows the schematic elements of this model with specific reference to the comparison between Cuban immigrants and Mexican immigrants. The publications upon which this model is drawn (Portes and Bach, 1985 and Pedraza-Bailey, 1985) both limit their analyses to the immigrant generation. Assimilation is generally understood to be an inter-generational

process, therefore Figure 4 is presented as the extension of this model hypothesized to explain low measures of Chicano assimilation.

Featherman and Hauser (pp. 429-479, 1978), Chiswick (1978), and Neidert and Farley (1985) all provide evidence that Chicanos, i.e., U.S.-born people of Mexican descent, have not experienced the same degree of economic assimilation as other groups. All of these researchers present generational-specific data for only one time point. This makes it possible to claim, as do McCarthy and Valdez (1985), that perceived differences between Chicanos and Anglos are only a temporary, transitory phenomenon and that the trend is towards complete economic assimilation for Chicanos. Data on assimilation variables over several decades rather than one point in time would provide more conclusive evidence on this issue.

Data and Definitions

The recent availability of the 1940 and 1950 Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) along with the previously available 1960 and 1970 PUMS files and the 1979 Current Population Survey (CPS) all published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census were used to address this issue. As rich as these historical PUMS data are they do one major limitation; they did not consistently assess Spanish heritage or identity. In the California Census data from 1940-1970 presented below, I have equated the Spanish Surname population with the Mexican Origin population. The history of the Spanish Surname population of California during this time ensures that most of the people so identified were of Mexican Origin. The bias of the Spanish Surname identifier compared to the self-identified Mexican Origin population is towards higher socio-economic status measures in data sets when the two identifiers can be compared directly. Thus any imprecision involved in the use of the Spanish Surname identifier will probably tend to underestimate the true differences between Chicanos and higher status groups. The data for Chicanos in 1979 is based on the self-identified Mexican Origin population. I use Chicano to refer to people of Mexican Origin born in the United States. For the data from 1940 through 1970, Anglos were defined as Whites with non-Spanish surnames. In 1979, Anglos were White non-Hispanics. The other race/ethnic groups are defined on the basis of race and are exclusive of the Spanish Surname or Chicano population.

The nativity of an individual's parents was the basis for identifying different generations. I define the third and third-plus generation as consisting of the U.S.-born children of U.S.-born parents. The second generation consists of a person born in the United States with one or two foreign-born parents. The first generation refers to foreign-born immigrants. The absence of the nativity of parentage item from the 1980 Census is the reason that those data were not used in this analysis.

Longitudinal Data on Chicano Assimilation

Table 1 presents educational attainment data for the U.S.-born children of U.S.-born parents, i.e., the third and third-plus generation. Time trends from 1940 through 1979 are shown for California. The data in Table 1 shows a secular increase in educational attainment across all groups. However, if the attainment figures for each group are compared to that of Anglo males a distinct pattern emerges. Third-generation adult Chicanos have a consistently low level of educational attainment compared to Anglos throughout this period. In contrast, Asian educational attainment increases from the same low level as Blacks and Chicanos in 1940 to virtual equality with Anglos in 1979. This sharp increase in Asian educational attainment is the pattern expected under most conceptions of assimilation.

Table 2 shows the time trend of occupational attainment as measured by Duncan SEI (Socio-Economic Index) for males. The overall pattern is a large increase in the occupational attainment of Anglo males over this time period. There was no significant change in the figures for Black and Chicano males. The net effect is that their occupational attainment is decreasing compared to that of Anglo males. The pattern for Asians occupational attainment is not as clear cut as was the pattern of educational attainment, but Asian male occupational attainment is not significantly different than that of Anglos in 1979.

A more comprehensive picture of the occupational attainment of third and third-plus generation Blacks, Chicanos, Asians and Anglos males is presented in Table 3. Rather than summarizing occupational attainment as an average of one summary measure, as done above in Table 2, Table 3 presents the distribution of the same population in terms of occupationally-defined classes. The middle class is defined as consisting of professional and technical workers as well as of managers and administrators. The white-collar working class consists of clerks and sales personnel. The blue-collar working class is composed of craft workers and operatives. Finally, the lower class occupations are service workers, laborers and farm workers.

The most striking result of Table 3 is that the proportion of third and third-plus generation Chicanos in the blue-collar occupations had increased to a very high level by 1979. The proportion of Chicanos in such occupations had been significantly higher than the that of Anglos since 1950. The fact that recent macro-economic changes have diminished the pay and benefits of blue collar workers does not bode well for the current or future economic status of these Chicanos. [See for example, Bluestone and Harrison, 1982.] One improvement in the Chicano class distribution is the diminution of the proportion in lower class occupations. In 1979, the proportion of Chicanos in these occupations was not significantly different from that of Anglos. The proportion of Chicanos in middle class occupations doubled over this period, but the proportion of all men and the

proportion of Anglo men in such occupations more than doubled. The proportion of Chicanos in white-collar working class jobs was less than that of Anglos at a highly significant level for every point in this period. The apparent decline in the percent of Chicanos with such jobs, may well be an artifact of the use of the Spanish Surname identifier in 1970 versus the self-identification method in 1979. Overall, these data show no reason to think that the occupational distribution of Chicanos is converging with that of Anglos. The increase in the proportion of Chicanos with middle class occupations and the decrease of those with lower class occupations does show a positive improvement in Chicano occupational status, but the concentration of Chicanos in blue collar occupations is a worrisome trend.

Table 4 shows the pattern of earnings of third and third plus generation Black, Chicano and Asian males as a proportion of the earnings of Anglos from 1940 through 1979. There was a large increase in the relative earnings of Chicano men between 1940 and 1950, but 1950 was the high point in this comparison. There was an sharp decline in Chicano earnings relative to that of Anglo males during the 1950's. From 1960 through 1979 Chicanos have earned about 80% as much as Anglos.

The level of Black earnings have been lower than the level Chicano earnings throughout this period. There was a jump in Black income during the 1940's. For Blacks too, 1950 was the high point of their earnings compared with Anglo males. The relative earnings of Blacks were lower 1960 and 1970 and increased by 1979 to about the same level as in 1950.

The earnings of the Asian males before 1960 should be interpreted with the caution that proportionally many more Asians were self-employed during these years than any other group. (See Ong, Chapa, et al., 1986, pp. 45-48.) The reported earnings of the self-employed are often not strictly comparable with those of wage and salary workers. At least since 1960, Asian earnings have been increasing as a proportion of Anglos.

There is every reason to think that some of the differences between the earnings of Chicanos and Anglos are related to group differences in educational attainment. Both sociologists and economists have developed a wide range of techniques for estimating the economic returns to education. (See for examples, Neidert and Farley, 1985; and Chiswick, 1978.) These techniques often involve questionable assumptions and are not necessary here. Asians were omitted from this comparison because there were too few in several of the educational categories to draw any reliable conclusions. The educational categories consist of those who have not completed high school, high school graduates, those with one through three years of college, and those four or more years of college.

The results of this comparison are shown in Table 5. Among men with less than a high school education the pattern of Black relative earnings is roughly similar to that for all Blacks in

Table 4; a large increase from 1940 to 1950 and then a decrease to a lower plateau. The earnings of Chicanos in this group increase to near parity with Anglos in 1950 and after falling and rising, drops sharply during the 1970's to a level lower than that of Blacks in 1979.

Among high school graduates, the comparison between Anglos and Chicanos reveals a very different pattern than previously seen. The earnings of Chicano high school graduates are not significantly different from those of Anglos for 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1979. The earnings of Black high school graduates compared with Anglos changes very little over the entire period. The difference in Black and Anglo earnings are about the same in 1979 as in 1940.

There were very few college educated Blacks and Chicanos in 1940 and 1950. Insofar as valid comparisons can be made, the same pattern as seen among high school graduates appears to hold among men with some college educations from 1960 and 1979. Blacks earn about three-quarters as much as Anglos do. In 1960 and 1979, Chicano earnings cannot be distinguished from that of Anglos. Among college graduates, the earnings of relative earnings of Blacks have gradually increased. For Chicanos, it is only possible to make comparisons for 1960 and 1970. The very small number of Chicano college graduates in 1960 had earnings similar to those of Anglos.

The apparent drop in the earnings of Chicanos with a high school education or more in 1970 is very probably due to the fact that most of the Chicanos with these higher levels of educational attainment in 1970 were on the average younger than the Anglos. Chicano educational attainment did increase during the 1960's. More young Chicanos finished high school and attended college than before. This made the 1970 population of Chicano high school graduates and college attendees younger on the average than the comparable group of Anglos in 1970.

The results of Table 5 can be summarized as indicating that Chicanos with a high school education or beyond have earned about as much as an Anglo with the same level educational level. This generalization appears to apply since at least 1960 and before then for Chicano high school graduates. Part of the difference between the earnings of all Chicanos compared to all Anglos shown in Table 4 is due to the fact that Chicanos have much lower levels of educational attainment throughout this period. For example, in 1979 38% of the third generation Chicano male working age population had less than a high school education compared to 15% of the Anglos. As high as this level of dropouts was then, the proportion of Chicano dropouts was much higher from 1940 through 1970 (Chapa 1988, Ch. III). The other reason for the difference in overall earnings shown in Table 4 is that the earnings of Chicanos who have not finished high school have been significantly lower than that of Anglo high school dropouts and the gap in the earnings of these two groups appears to be increasing.

I interpret the data in the tables above as providing very strong evidence that Chicanos have not and are not assimilating in terms of the principle measures of assimilation used by the status attainment/human capital paradigm. While these data do not assess any causal relationships, the persistence of this relatively low level of Chicano attainment calls the theoretical completeness and empirical usefulness of this paradigm into question. Furthermore, the persistence of low levels of educational attainment, the concentration of Chicanos in blue-collar occupations and the relatively low earnings of Chicano dropouts are all consistent with the concentration of Chicanos in the secondary sector as suggested by Portes and Bach. More precise identification of the secondary sector and more analysis is necessary before any firm conclusions on this point can be drawn.

Determinants of Low Educational Attainment Among Chicanos

In an effort to better explain this persistently low level of Chicano educational attainment data from the 1979 National Chicano Survey were analyzed in a regression model. Adult educational attainment for U.S.-born Chicanos was the dependent variable. It was hypothesized that the non-white appearance of some Chicanos could be a factor in their lower educational attainment through the "Pygmalion Effect," (Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968.) Childhood Spanish use could have a negative effect on educational attainment both as an indirect measure of English ability and as an indicator of the existence of cultural differences. In the first analysis, class background was defined as the Father's occupation when the respondent was age six. The respondent's age, sex, generational status and parents educational attainment were also specified as independent variables.

The results of this first analysis are shown in Table 6. All of the independent variables were found to be significant except class background. Given that class background has been found to be an important explanatory factor in virtually every published work on educational attainment, the results of this analysis were not taken at face value.

The distribution of the class background variable was examined and are presented in Tables 7a and 7b. These tables show an extreme amount of concentration in low status occupations. Out of the hundreds of occupations possible within this coding scheme, 70% of the parents of second generation Chicanos are found in just 10 of these (Table 7a). Perhaps even more striking is that fact that the same pattern is found among the third generation (Table 7b).

This distribution of the class background variable has two effects; one statistical, the other substantive. The statistical effect is simply the inability of regression analysis to explain variation in the dependent variable in terms of an independent

variable with no or little variation. The lack of significance of the class background variable in Table 6 could simply be due to its extremely skewed and concentrated distribution. The statistical effect would hold if this concentration were found in any group of occupations. For example, we could expect the same lack of significance if the class background variable was concentrated among the ten highest status occupations instead of the ten lowest. The fact that this observed concentration of class background is found among the lowest status occupations suggest that there may also be a substantive effect as well. Here it is hypothesized that the content of this substantive effect is concentration in the secondary economy.

Portes and Bach (1985) operationally identified occupations in the secondary economy in terms of the occupational concentration of non-white minorities. Since they were drawn from a national probability sample, the data in Tables 7a and 7b are approximate indicators of Chicano occupational concentration. Class background was redefined as a categorical variable. The five most frequent occupations from Tables 7a and 7b were distinguished from all other occupations listed for class background variable. The other variables were defined as before.

Table 8 shows the results obtained from this respecified regression model. The Observed "Mexicaness" of Appearance or phenotype variable is a three point scale ranging from light with European features to dark with Indian features. A dark-Indian looking Chicano finished one year less of education than did one with a light-European appearance. Higher degrees of childhood Spanish use also resulted in markedly lower educational attainment. The negative relation between age and the dependent variable reflects the secular increase in Chicano educational attainment shown in Table 1.

In distinction to the previous results, class background does have a moderately or slightly significant effect on Chicano educational attainment. Following contemporary standards focusing on probabilities rather than a priori fixed confidence levels these results can be interpreted as saying that there is a better than ninety percent chance that the educational attainment children having a father who worked in one of these concentrated occupations completed 0.622 less years of school than those who did not. While far from offering definitive and conclusive evidence on the effects of class background on the educational attainment of Chicanos, these results do suggest that Portes' political-economic structuralism provides a promising route for understanding the specific nature and consequences of the Chicano class structure.

One final result from Table 8 that requires comment is the value of the dummy variable distinguishing between second and third generation Chicanos (Third Generation). While it is tempting to interpret the negative, significant parameter estimate for this variable as an empirical challenge to the status attainment/human capital paradigms of assimilation, such an

interpretation may be based on too mechanical and literal interpretation of this theoretical model. Whatever the meaning of this negative variable it is consistent with the "second generation" effect found by Featherman and Hauser (1978, pp. 478-479). From this research, it is apparently typical for the second generation to attain proportionately higher educational and occupational returns for their background characteristics than the third generation.

Summary and Conclusions

This research reviewed Gordon's socio-structural theory of assimilation, the human capital/status attainment paradigm, and the political-economic structuralism of Portes and others. The educational attainment of third and third-plus generation Chicanos relative to Anglo levels indicate very little increase from 1950 through 1979. There is no significant change in the occupational attainment of Chicano males as measured by Duncan Socio-economic Index from 1940-1979. Chicanos have experienced a large relative decrease in occupational attainment when compared to Anglo males by the same measure. The disaggregation of occupational attainment into class categories show that third generation Chicano males have become highly concentrated in blue-collar occupations. The concentration of Chicanos in lower class occupations has decreased sharply between 1940 and 1979.

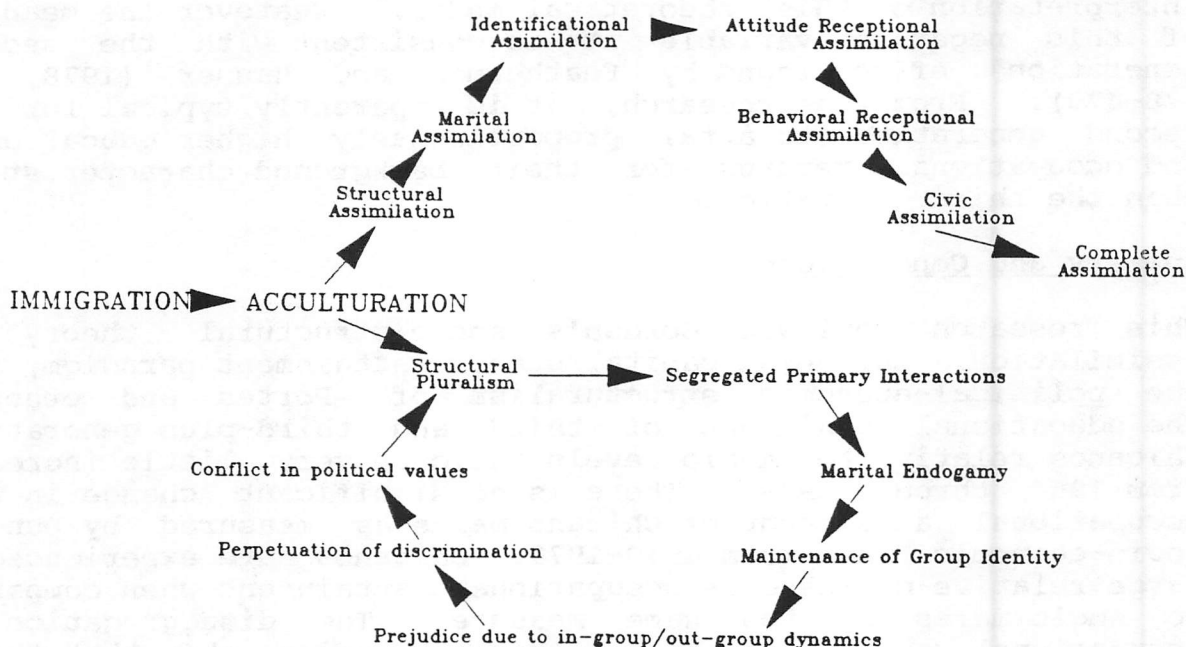
The relative earnings of third generation Chicanos compared to Anglos increased sharply between 1940 and 1950 to 90% of the Anglo level. Between 1950 and 1960 Chicano relative earnings dropped to 82% of the Anglo earnings and have remained at approximately the same level from 1960 through 1979. The analysis of earnings by educational level indicate that much of the earnings inequality between Anglos and Chicanos is due to lower wages earned by Chicanos who have not finished high school combined with the fact that a large proportion of Chicanos have low levels of education.

Multivariate regression analysis of the variation in the educational attainment of U.S.-born Chicanos from the 1979 National Chicano Survey indicates that major negative influences on Chicano educational attainment are childhood Spanish use, observed "Mexican-ness" of appearance and parental employment in secondary sector occupations.

These results challenge the applicability of the human capital/status attainment paradigm to the experience of Chicanos in the United States as a whole. Insofar as educational attainment and occupational class are indicators of assimilation, then some Chicanos have assimilated, but a far larger proportion have not. The analysis of earnings by educational level suggest that the Chicanos who are disadvantaged in the labor market are those with less than a high school education. Many of the characteristics of Chicanos presented

Figure 1

Gordon's Process of Assimilation & the Perpetuation of Structural Pluralism
(over several generations)



- 1) Cultural or behavioral assimilation (also called acculturation) -- change of cultural patterns including religious beliefs and observances to that of the host society;
- 2) Structural assimilation -- large scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society on a primary group level, i.e., personal, informal and intimate contact;
- 3) Marital assimilation (also called amalgamation) -- large scale intermarriage between the different groups;
- 4) Identificational assimilation -- development of a sense of peoplehood, or ethnicity, based exclusively on the host society (e.g. American) rather than on their race, religion or ethnicity;
- 5) Attitude receptional assimilation (prejudice) -- absence of prejudiced attitudes against the immigrant group;
- 6) Behavioral receptional assimilation (discrimination) -- absence of discriminatory behavior against the immigrant group; and,
- 7) Civic assimilation -- absence of value and power conflict, i.e., the immigrants do not raise political issues that are opposed by the members of the host society.

(Adapted from Gordon, 1964, pp. 68-72 *et passim*)

Figure 2

Economic Assimilation in the Status Attainment/Human Capital Paradigm
(over several generations)

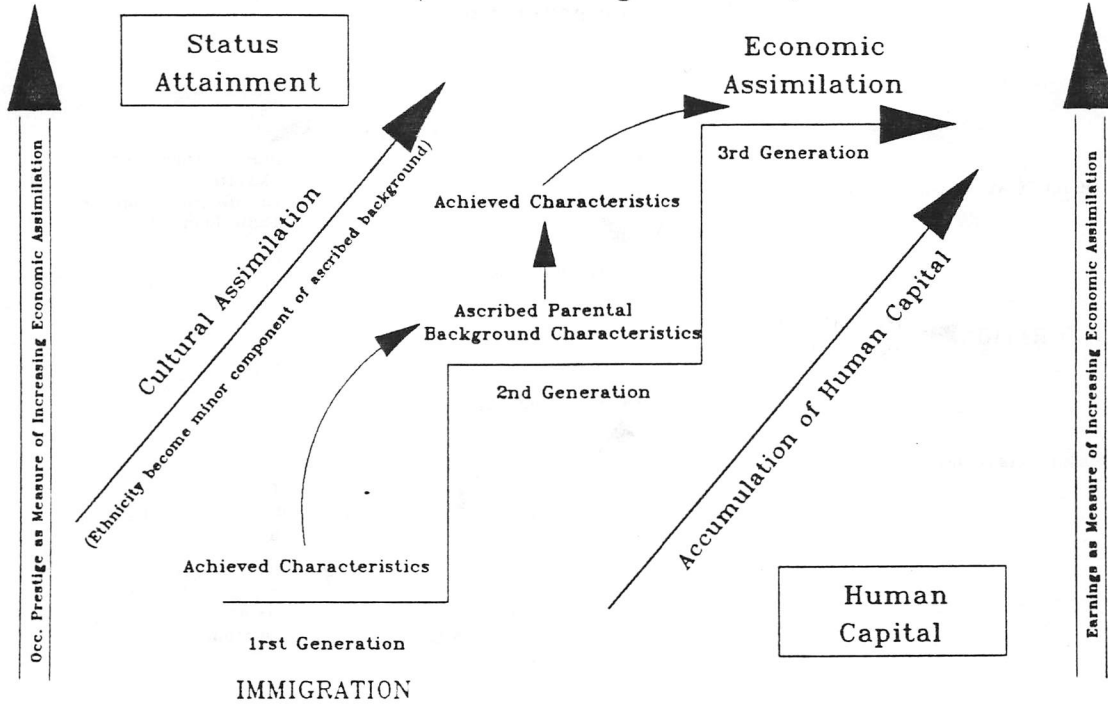


Figure 3

Portes', Bach's and Pedraza-Bailey's View of Immigrant Adjustment
(during one generation)

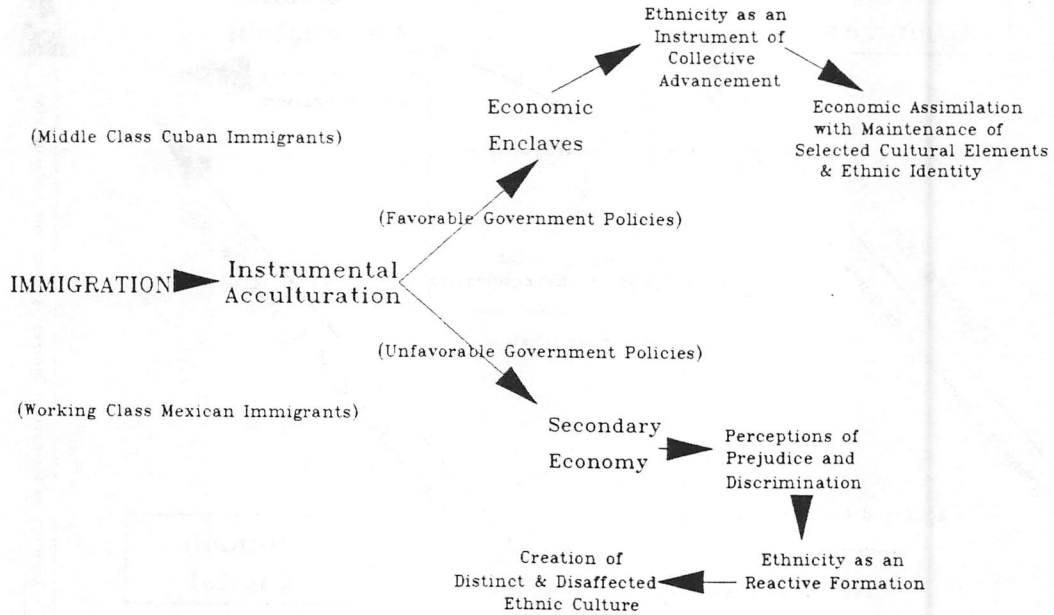


Figure 4

Hypothesized General Extension of Immigrant Adjustment Model to Apply to U.S.-born Chicanos

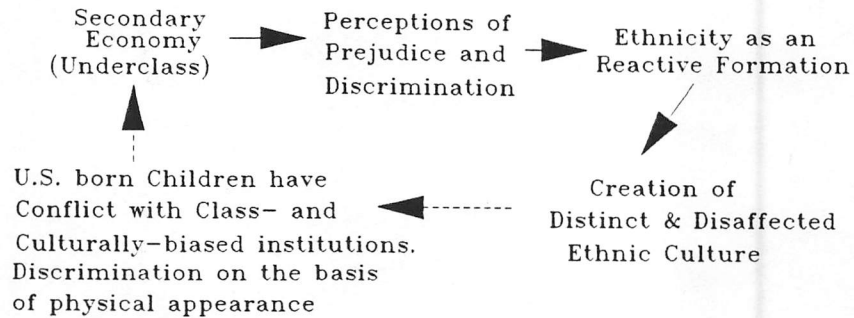


Table 1

Years of school completed by race for third and third-plus generation adults ages 25-64, California, 1940-1979

Sources: 1940, 1960 and 1970 data from Census 1% PUMS file; 1979 data from the November 1979 Current Population Survey.

	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Chicano</u>	<u>Anglo</u>
<u>1940 (California - Census)</u>				
Yrs. Sch. Completed	7.6 **	8.4 **	7.5 **	10.5
Standard Deviation	4.4	3.3	3.8	3.0
% of Anglo	72%	80%	71%	100%
Number in sample	90	676	244	19,752
<u>1950 (California - Census)</u>				
Yrs. Sch. Completed	8.5 **	8.6 **	9.1 **	11.1
Standard Deviation	3.6	3.4	3.4	3.0
% of Anglo	77%	78%	82%	100%
Number in sample	211	2,499	1,000	32,846
<u>1960 (California - Census)</u>				
Yrs. Sch. Completed	10.2 **	9.6 **	9.4 **	11.5
Standard Deviation	4.0	3.3	3.8	3.0
% of Anglo	88%	83%	81%	100%
Number in sample	315	3,906	1,776	44,608
<u>1970 (California - Census)</u>				
Yrs. Sch. Completed	11.8 **	10.9 **	10.5 **	12.3
Standard Deviation	3.5	3.1	3.3	2.8
% of Anglo	96%	89%	85%	100%
Number in sample	686	5,530	2,522	53,773
<u>1979 (California - CPS)</u>				
Yrs. Sch. Completed	13.5	12.0 **	11.0 **	13.4
Standard Deviation	3.6	3.0	3.5	2.6
% of Anglo	101%	90%	82%	100%
Number in sample	88	414	173	3,472

<u>1979 (United States - CPS)</u>				
Yrs. Sch. Completed	11.5 **	11.0 **	10.4 **	12.6
Standard Deviation	4.0	3.3	3.8	2.8
% of Anglo	91%	87%	82%	100%
Number in sample	755	5,888	661	48,679

* Anglo-minority differences significant, $p < .05$

** Anglo-minority differences significant, $p < .01$

Table 2

Occupational Attainment (Duncan SEI) by race for third generation adults males age 25 and older, California, 1940-1979 and the United States, 1979.
Sources: 1940, 1960 and 1970 data from Census 1% PUMS file;
1979 data from the November 1979 Current Population Survey.

	<u>Asian</u> <u>Males</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Males</u>	<u>Chicano</u> <u>Males</u>	<u>Anglo</u> <u>Males</u>
<u>1940 (California - Census)</u>				
Occupational Attainment	33	30 **	29 *	35
Standard deviation	22	14	17	3
(percent of white males)	94%	85%	83%	100%
Number in sample	20	156	47	4,459
<u>1950 (California - Census)</u>				
Occupational Attainment	34	29 **	28 **	37
Standard deviation	22	14	17	3
(percent of white males)	93%	79%	77%	100%
Number in sample	117	1,262	504	17,611
<u>1960 (California - Census)</u>				
Occupational Attainment	31 **	29 **	31 **	39
Standard deviation	19	16	20	24
(percent of white males)	80%	76%	80%	100%
Number in sample	203	2,057	901	25,106
<u>1970 (California - Census)</u>				
Occupational Attainment	37 **	32 **	33 **	42
Standard deviation	21	18	21	24
(percent of white males)	88%	76%	79%	100%
Number in sample	367	2,945	1,204	30,464
<u>1979 (California - CPS)</u>				
Occupational Attainment	44	34 **	34 **	50
Standard deviation	28	23	23	24
(percent of white males)	88%	68%	69%	100%
Number in sample	50	210	91	1,948

<u>1979 (United States - CPS)</u>				
Occupational Attainment	37 **	28 **	31 **	43
Standard deviation	25	21	21	24
(percent of white males)	85%	66%	73%	100%
Number in sample	395	3,003	353	27,284

* Anglo-minority differences significant, $p < .05$

** Anglo-minority differences significant, $p < .01$

Table 3

Class distribution by race for third and third-plus generation
males ages 25-64, California, 1940-1979.

Sources: 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970 data from Census 1% PUMS file;
1979 data from the November 1979 Current Population Survey.

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1979
Middle Class					
Black	5% **	4% **	7% **	13% **	21% **
Chicano	12% **	9% **	17% **	17% **	24% **
Anglo	22%	26%	30%	35%	46%
Asian	20%	21%	14% **	28% *	36%
% of Male Labor Force	21%	24%	28%	32%	44%
White-Collar Working Class					
Black	3% **	6% **	8% **	12% **	16%
Chicano	4% **	8% **	8% **	11% **	5% **
Anglo	17%	15%	15%	16%	14%
Asian	8% *	9%	11%	14%	16%
% of Male Labor Force	16%	14%	14%	15%	14%
Blue-Collar Working Class					
Black	22% **	37% *	40%	43% **	37%
Chicano	33%	47% *	49% **	48% **	56% **
Anglo	37%	42%	42%	36%	29%
Asian	14% **	22% **	46%	36%	26%
% of Male Labor Force	36%	41%	42%	37%	30%
Lower Class					
Black	69% **	53% **	45% **	32% **	26% **
Chicano	51% **	37% **	26% **	24% **	15%
Anglo	25%	18%	13%	13%	11%
Asian	57% **	48% **	29% **	22% **	21%
% of Male Labor Force	27%	21%	16%	15%	12%

Total Number of Third

Generation Men in Sample: 10,364 16,511 24,129 29,674 2,033

* Anglo-minority differences significant, $p < .05$

** Anglo-minority differences significant, $p < .01$

Table 4

Annual earnings as percent of Anglo males by race for third and third-plus generation males 25-64, California, 1940-1979;
Sources: 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970 data from Census 1% PUMS file;
1979 data from the November 1979 Current Population Survey.

<u>Race/Ethnic Group</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Black	57%	70%	65%	63%	69%
Chicano	66%	90%	82%	79%	81%
Anglo	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Asian	58%	52%	64%	70%	85%
Anglo Earnings	\$1,173	\$2,633	\$5,200	\$8,889	\$20,932
Total Number	10,364	4,831	24,129	29,674	2,033

Table 5

Annual earnings as percent of Anglo males by race for third and third-plus generation males 25-64, California, 1940-1979; **

Sources: 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980 Census 1% PUMS; and November 1979 Current Population Survey.

<u>HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Black	62%	78%	71%	66%	71%
Chicano	68%	94%	82%	87%	67%
Anglo	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Anglo Earnings	\$995	\$2,362	\$4,337	\$6,658	\$16,676
Total Number	6,141	2,343	10,456	8,889	313
<u>HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Black	73%	73%	69%	72%	76%
Chicano	100%	100%	100%	92%	100%
Anglo	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Anglo Earnings	\$1,305	\$2,877	\$5,367	\$8,410	\$18,460
Total Number	2,179	1,344	6,547	9,423	540
<u>1-3 YEARS COLLEGE</u>			<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Black			72%	74%	73%
Chicano			100%	82%	100%
Anglo			100%	100%	100%
Anglo Earnings			\$5,663	\$9,475	\$20,014
Total Number			3,707	5,747	528
<u>4+ YEARS OF COLLEGE</u>			<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Black			63%	74%	78%
Chicano			100%	85%	*
Anglo			100%	100%	100%
Anglo Earnings			\$6,778	\$12,137	\$25,376
Total Number			3,245	5,350	604

* The number of Chicanos in this educational group in the sample was too small to form the basis of a valid comparison.

** For clarity of presentation, non-significant differences between Anglo and Chicano earnings were represented as being equal. For example, Chicano college graduates earned 101% of Anglo graduates in 1960, but this may well be due to chance rather than reflect a real difference in earnings. All minority earnings ratios not equal to 100% are significant at the 95% level.

TABLE 6 -- REGRESSION OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AGAINST INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS
 PRELIMINARY MODEL
 POPULATION = ENTIRE U.S.-BORN NATIONAL CHICANO SURVEY SAMPLE, 1979.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: YEARS OF EDUCATION

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SOURCE	DF	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARE	F VALUE	PROBABILITY OF A GREATER F-VALUE
MODEL	8	3105.26	388.15	41.48	.0001
ERROR	405	3789.72	9.36		
C TOTAL	413	6894.98			
ROOT MSE	3.06	R-SQUARED		.4504	
DEP MEAN	10.34	ADJUSTED R-SQUARED		.4395	
C.V.	29.58				

PARAMETER ESTIMATES

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>PARAMETER ESTIMATE</u>	<u>STANDARD ERROR</u>	<u>T FOR H0: PARAMETER=0</u>	<u>PROBABILITY OF A GREATER T </u>	<u>STANDARDIZED ESTIMATE</u>
INTERCEPT	1	16.055	1.011	15.881	.0001	0
AGE	1	-.114	.013	-8.817	.0001	-.365
YEARS OF SCHOOL - MOTHER	1	.171	.054	3.172	.0016	.181
YEARS OF SCHOOL - FATHER	1	.150	.052	2.888	.0041	.161
FEMALE (FEMALE = 1, MALE = 0)	1	-1.331	.317	-4.192	.0001	-.157
CHILDHOOD SPANISH USE	1	-.373	.163	-2.295	.0223	-.108
OBSERVED "MEXICAN-NESS" OF APPEARANCE	1	-.476	.206	-2.306	.0216	-.086
THIRD GENERATION (3RD GEN = 1, 2ND = 0)	1	-.701	.326	-2.148	.0323	-.086
CLASS BACKGROUND - DUNCAN SEI (FATHER'S OCCUPATION WHEN RESPONDENT WAS 6)	1	.010	.011	.935	.3506	.038

Table 7a -- Occupational concentration and Duncan SEI of respondents' fathers when respondent was age six, second generation Chicanos, United States, 1979. Source: National Chicano Survey.

Occupation	Frequency	Percent	Duncan SEI	
1 Farm Laborers	99	39%	16.77	
2 Miscellaneous laborers	21	8%	17.49	
3 Truck drivers	11	4%	21.10	
4 Unspecified laborers	11	4%	17.77	
5 Managers & admin., n.e.c.	8	3%	49.13	
6 Mine operatives, n.e.c.	8	3%	20.24	
7 Unspecified operatives	8	3%	19.43	
8 Construction laborers	6	2%	18.50	
9 Lumber workers	5	2%	17.69	
10 Hucksters & peddlers	4	2%	22.62	
Top Ten	181	70%	19.09	s.d.= 6.8
Sample Total	257	100%	20.73	s.d.= 7.6

Table 7b -- Occupational concentration and Duncan SEI of respondents' fathers when respondent was age six, third generation Chicanos, United States, 1979. Source: National Chicano Survey.

1 Farm Laborers	73	29%	16.77	
2 Truck drivers	18	7%	21.10	
3 Miscellaneous laborers	17	7%	17.49	
4 Construction laborers	15	6%	18.50	
5 Mine operatives, n.e.c.	11	4%	20.24	
6 Carpenters	10	4%	22.58	
7 Managers & admin., n.e.c.	8	3%	49.13	
8 Unspecified operatives	8	3%	19.43	
9 Unspecified laborers	6	2%	17.77	
10 Brick & stone masons	5	2%	22.62	
Top Ten	171	67%	19.86	s.d.= 6.7
Sample Total	256	100%	22.13	s.d.= 9.75

NOTE: n.e.c. means not elsewhere classified

TABLE 8 -- REGRESSION OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AGAINST INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS
 PRELIMINARY MODEL WITH CLASS BACKGROUND DICHOTOMIZED INTO MOST COMMON AND LESS COMMON OCCUPATIONS.
 POPULATION = ENTIRE U.S.-BORN NATIONAL CHICANO SURVEY SAMPLE, 1979.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: YEARS OF EDUCATION

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SOURCE	DF	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARE	F VALUE	PROBABILITY OF A GREATER F-VALUE
MODEL	8	3130.50	391.31	42.10	.0001
ERROR	405	3764.48	9.30		
C TOTAL	413	6894.98			
ROOT MSE	3.05	R-SQUARE	.4540		
DEP MEAN	10.34	ADJ R-SQ	.4432		
C.V.	29.48				

PARAMETER ESTIMATES

VARIABLE	DF	PARAMETER ESTIMATE	STANDARD ERROR	T FOR H0: PARAMETER=0	PROBABILITY OF A GREATER T	STANDARDIZED ESTIMATE
INTERCEPT	1	17.065	1.136	15.025	.0001	0
AGE	1	-.114	.013	-8.858	.0001	-.365
YEARS OF SCHOOL - FATHER	1	.147	.051	2.898	.0040	.157
YEARS OF SCHOOL - MOTHER	1	.159	.054	2.929	.0036	.168
SEX (FEMALE = 1, MALE = 0)	1	-1.325	.316	-4.189	.0001	-.156
CHILDHOOD SPANISH USE	1	-.374	.162	-2.313	.0212	-.108
OBSERVED "MEXICAN-NESS" OF APPEARANCE	1	-.502	.206	-2.435	.0153	-.091
THIRD GENERATION (Third Gen = 1, Second = 0)	1	-.690	.325	-2.127	.0340	-.084
CLASS BACKGROUND *	1	-.622	.328	-1.896	.0587	-.076

* Class Background = 1 if respondent's father worked in one of the following five most common occupations: farm, miscellaneous, unspecified, or construction laborer, or as a truck driver, otherwise class background = 0. (See Table 4a and 4b).

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