Modes of incorporation: a conceptual and empirical critique

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ABSTRACT

Entering the debate over segmented assimilation, this paper seeks to refocus discussion on a core, but neglected claim: that inter-group disparities among immigrant offspring derive from differences in a contextual feature shared by immigrant and immigrant descendants: a nationality's mode of incorporation. The paper engages in both theoretical and empirical assessment. We critically examine the concept of mode of incorporation, demonstrating that its operational implications have not been correctly understood; consequently, the core hypothesis has *never* been appropriately tested. The second part of the paper implements those tests, making use of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey. We do so by using nationality as a proxy for mode of incorporation, systematically contrasting more advantaged against less advantaged nationalities. We show: (a) that tests systematically varying modes classified as more or less advantageous yield inconsistent outcomes; (b) that positive or negative modes of incorporation are associated with few long-lasting effects; (c) that differences in governmental reception are particularly unlikely to be associated with interethnic disparities; and (d) that compared to theoretically relevant nationalities, neither Mexicans, a nationality assigned to a negative mode of incorporation, nor pre-Mariel Cubans, a nationality assigned to positive mode of incorporation, prove distinctive.

Introduced in the early 1990s by Portes and Zhou, the hypothesis of segmented assimilation galvanised research on the 'new' second generation by contending that assimilation might take disparate directions. While the children of middle-class immigrants welcomed by America's immigration policy would likely experience conventional assimilation, a different future awaited the children of working-class immigrants. Whereas one trajectory would entail 'rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity' another would involve a path to 'permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass' (Portes and Zhou 1993, 82). By asserting that assimilation could have both negative *and* positive consequences and that the negative consequences would entail *downward* assimilation into an *underclass*, the hypothesis of segmented assimilation became instantly influential but also controversial. The debate it sparked has mainly focused on the most inflammatory, but also most elusive contentions, as both 'downward assimilation' and 'underclass' are contested concepts almost defying

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consensual definition. Though now longstanding, this discussion has ironically cast aside that aspect of segmented assimilation posing the deepest intellectual challenge to conventional approaches: its argument concerning the mechanisms yielding change among immigrants and their descendants.

The conventional view of assimilation emphasises the *individual* pursuit of rational action, with immigrants' 'aspiration to improve the material and social circumstances of their lives' producing assimilation as 'an unintended consequence of practical strategies taken in pursuit of highly valued goals' (Alba, Reitz, and Simon 2012, 47). Yet it is precisely this approach that the hypothesis of segmented assimilation rejects, viewing immigrants as 'members of groups and participants in broader social structures that affect in multiple ways their mobility' and not just 'individuals who come clutching a bundle of personal skills' (Portes 1996a, 24). Emphasising 'the decisive importance of structural embeddedness in constraining individual action' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b, 312), Portes and his collaborators advance 'modes of incorporation' as the key concept for understanding the ways in which social structures affect outcomes among immigrants and their descendants:

> The structures in question are those of the receiving government, society, and preexisting ethnic community. Together they function to place individuals in different positions at the entry of the funnel of adaptation, determining the extent to which individual skills can be put into play and the level of social capital available to first-generation parents … . (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b, 313–314)

Since modes of incorporation can 'facilitate, alter, or prevent the deployment of individual skills' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b, 307), they yield constraints and opportunities 'that incorporate newcomers, regardless of the latter's ambitions or level of skills' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b, 314). Most important is 'a mode of incorporation marked by a hostile governmental and societal reception [which] yields negative outcomes both for immigrant adults and children' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001a, 273). As specified by Portes and his collaborators in a 2011 *Social Forces* debate with Alba, Kasinitz, and Waters: 'We believe that the most plausible explanation for these enduring national differences [among second generation groups] lies in the distinct modes of incorporation encountered by various groups in the United States' (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011, 755).

This contention stands at the heart of this paper, which seeks to recast the debate over segmented assimilation by returning to this core claim. As we will show, the importance of 'mode of incorporation' has been repeatedly asserted, but the concept has never been operationalised. In place of a variable, the proponents of segmented assimilation have instead supplied the names of nationalities. Though nationalities putatively exemplify distinct modes of incorporation, no rules for assigning them to modes can be found; instead, mode is designated by rule of thumb. Rather than juxtaposing theoretically relevant cases—nationalities ranked in a systematically ordinal way—comparisons are made to a jumble of heterogeneous nationalities, the composition of which varies from one analysis to the next. Consequently, the hypothesis concerning the impact of differences in mode of incorporation has *never* been appropriately tested.

This paper implements just such an assessment, using all waves of the Children of Immigrants' Longitudinal Survey (CILS), the same data set on which *Legacies* (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001a) and subsequent relevant publications are based. We begin by

reviewing methodological issues. We show that the existing literature has failed to adequately handle matters related to data quality and analysis; that publications do not correctly note the rate of attrition across surveys and fail to account for its distinctive pattern; and that they further use techniques inappropriate both for adjusting for missing data and for the clustered nature of the data. We identify the appropriate reference categories; adjust for clustering of the data; and correctly account for missing values.

Next, we move to empirical analysis, entailing 9 different tests with 627 relevant comparisons between nationalities. We find little support for the hypothesis that mode of incorporation affects second generation outcomes as specified by Portes and his collaborators. Specifically, we show that:

- systematic comparisons of modes assumed to be more or less advantageous yield inconsistent outcomes;
- the great majority of results are not statistically significant;
- long-lasting effects are few and as many contradict as confirm the hypothesis that modes of incorporation account for nationality differences;
- compared to theoretically relevant nationalities, neither Mexicans, a nationality assigned to a negative mode of incorporation, nor pre-Mariel Cubans, a nationality assigned to positive mode of incorporation, prove distinctive;
- differences in governmental reception yield few impacts.

We conclude by pointing to alternative approaches that would help better understand the impact of contextual factors on immigrants and their descendants.

The career of a concept

'The basic idea is simple', wrote Portes and Rumbaut in the first edition of *Immigrant America* (1990; hereafter *IA*). 'Individuals with similar background skills may be channeled toward very different positions in the stratification system, depending on the type of community and labour market in which they become incorporated' (1990, 83). If simple, the idea is never fully explicated nor is the reasoning behind it justified.

To gain clarity, a detour into intellectual history helps. Though never acknowledged, the hypothesis of segmented *assimilation* has obvious origins in the theory of segmented *labour markets*, developed by economists Doeringer and Piore (1971). That theory invoked context to explain *racial* (black-white) inequality: the features of the labour market segment in which workers were employed. In this view, statistical discrimination, *not* individual characteristics, confined African-Americans to the 'secondary labour market'; the context encountered there—unstable jobs in small firms, with few opportunities for mobility either within or across establishments—blocked upward mobility, impeding the human capital accumulation usually associated with experience. Piore then exported the theory to the study of immigration in his classic 1979 book, *Birds of Passage* and Portes and Bach submitted it to further test in their equally classic (1985) book, *Latin Journey*.

Latin Journey argued that Mexican immigrants got trapped in the secondary labour market, experiencing 'the characteristics of peripheral employment, including low prestige, low income, job dissatisfaction, and absence of return to past human capital'

(1985, 217). Cubans, however, converged on an 'enclave economy', benefiting from 'the built-in mobility opportunities in this mode of labour market incorporation', and gaining rewards 'from their work experience in Cuba and, subsequently, from additional U.S.-acquired education' (259). Consequently, 'The history of each minority and the distinct social context which receives and incorporates it decisively affect the group's collective fate, regardless of the skills and the dreams that individual migrants might bring with them' (268).

Latin Journey introduced the idea of modes of incorporation—promising to demonstrate the 'central importance of different modes of incorporation for the subsequent adaptation of different immigrant groups' (60)—without, however, precisely defining the concept. The first edition of *Immigrant America* (*IA* 1990) provided greater precision, with an exposition updated and expanded in the succeeding three volumes, but never significantly changed. Here 'context of reception' is described as entailing receiving government policies, labour market conditions, and the characteristics of groups' own ethnic communities. 'The combination of positive and negative features encountered at each of these levels determines the distinct mode of newcomers' incorporation' (*IA* 1990, 85).

The authors disaggregate government policies into three features: 'exclusion, passive acceptance, or active encouragement'. Government policies interact with immigrants' individual features to 'accelerate integration' or 'perpetuate economic marginalization' (*IA* 1990, 86). The most important labour market feature entails 'the manner in which particular immigrant groups are typified', whether positively or negatively. In addition, 'these situations interact … with individual skills and resources', leading to a plurality of outcomes (*IA* 1990, 87), of which the most important determinant is 'the ability of different types of immigrants to neutralize labour market discrimination'. Conceptualised as 'the most immediate dimension of the context of reception', 'the most important dimension of the ethnic community is its class composition', whether 'composed primarily of manual workers or contain[ing] a significant professional or business element' (*IA* 1990, 88). If the former, community-level networks help immigrants gain entry level jobs, but assistance is:

> constrained by the kind of jobs already held by more established members of the community. In addition, there is often a kind of collective expectation that new arrivals should not be 'uppity' and should not try to surpass, at least at the start, the collective status of their elders. (*IA* 1990, 88)

If the latter, as in the enclave economy, 'support of ethnic networks is not contingent on acceptance of a working-class lifestyle' and newcomers may be introduced 'from the start to the whole range of opportunities … ' (*IA* 1990, 89).

Adding detail to the framework outlined in *IA*, *Legacies* claimed that 'modes [of incorporation] condition the extent to which immigrant human capital can be brought into play to promote successful economic and social adaptation' (49), with individual endowments likely to be trumped by mode of incorporation:

> … no matter how educated a Mexican or Haitian parent is, his or her chances of moving ahead economically are significantly constrained by the social environment in which his or her group has become incorporated … By contrast, southeast Asian refugees enjoy an advantage in relation to their human endowments that corresponds to their more recent and more favorable contexts of reception … . (80–81)

Paralleling the shift from the first generation, which was the focus of *Latin Journey*, to the second generation, *Legacies, IA,* and later works emphasised 'the enduring influence of coethnic communities and the intergenerational transmission of advantage and disadvantage associated with the modes of incorporation of different immigrant groups' (Portes and Hao 2004, 11921). Consequently, second generation options are path dependent: 'opportunities for success appear abundant and open to all at the start, but are progressively restricted by the operation of forces rooted in the individual's social context' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b, 313). Favourably received adult immigrants with high human capital arrive with the resources needed by their children; less advantaged refugee groups gain government assistance needed to rebuild communities which thereby facilitates second generation success. By contrast, when most adult immigrants in a group encounter discrimination and unfavourable government policies, ensuing disadvantages get transmitted to their children. Consequently, 'differences among first-generation immigrants go on to determine forms of adaptation in the second generation' (Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2008, 18), doing so in self-reinforcing fashion such that 'differences among first-generation immigrants in human capital and contexts of reception cumulate over time, leading to large subsequent inequalities' (Portes and Hao 2004, 11927; emphasis added).

The various typologies inaugurated in *IA* and reappearing in subsequent publications represented a more nuanced approach to the diversity of contexts and immigrant groups than found in *Latin Journey*. However, modes of incorporation have never been operationalised, let alone measured; instead, analysts have used 'national origin as a suitable empirical proxy for modes of incorporation' (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011, 758). According to *Legacies*, 'dichotomous variables representing major individual nationalities … provide direct indicators of modes of incorporation, since the history of early reception and settlement of each of these groups is known' (2001a, 78). Yet the text's illustrative examples—Mexicans and Haitians, on the one hand, and Laotians and Vietnamese, on the other hand—differ on not one, but rather several dimensions, as shown in Table 1, begging the question of how much impact any one dimension might yield. Since the conceptualisation of modes of incorporation as a combination of features leads to so many different modes, reliance on knowledge of specific cases entails a highly subjective procedure, yielding idiosyncratic and unstable judgements and little

Table 1. Modes of Incorporation: Groups analysed in *Legacies*.

		Governmental reception					
		Hostile		Neutral		Favourable	
		Prejudiced societal reception	Neutral societal reception	Prejudiced societal reception	Neutral societal reception	Prejudiced societal reception	Neutral societal reception
Co-ethnic community	Entrepreneurial/ professional	Nicaraguans Cubans (Mariel)		Jamaicans, Colombians Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans		Vietnamese	Cubans (pre-Mariel)
	Working-class	Mexicans, Haitians		Dominicans			
	Poor					Cambodians Laotians	

Source: Portes and Rumbaut (2001a): Table 3.1, pp. 50–51.

guidance as to how to classify groups into a complex matrix. *Legacies* assigns a hostile governmental reception to 'groups suspected to harbor large numbers of unauthorised immigrants or being involved in the drug trade, becoming targets of deportation by U. S. immigrant authorities', without explaining how the authors knew which groups were suspected and whether any suspicion was related to involvement in the drug trade or concentrations of undocumented migration. While the criteria invoked in *Legacies* assign Jamaicans to a neutral governmental reception context the third and fourth editions of *IA* and related subsequent publications assign them to a negative mode. Since these later definitions describe the negative mode as 'black immigrants and those nationalities with large proportions of undocumented (illegal) entrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2014, 267)', they also conflate societal and policy reception, putatively distinctive.

Moreover, the mechanisms linking different combinations of features and outcomes of interest remain unspecified. One could hypothesise that groups enjoying *cumulatively positive combinations*—favourable governmental reception *and* a neutral societal reception *and* a professional co-ethnic community—will experience better outcomes than those experiencing *cumulatively negative combinations*—hostile government policy *and* a prejudiced societal reception *and* a poor co-ethnic community. Yet how the different features might add up, and how they might be weighted is never clear. As most groups fall into either the category of neutral or hostile government policy, the question is crucial.

Differences in societal reception are unlikely to be crucial. Relying on subjective assessments, *Legacies* assigns a 'prejudiced' societal reception to 'nonwhite immigrants'—Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Dominicans, Jamaicans, Colombians, Haitians, Laotians, Nicaraguans, and Cambodians—without providing evidence that similar levels of prejudice or discrimination extend to all these groups. More objective sources point to far greater variability. For example, in responding to a 2000 General Social Survey question concerning ethnic groups' contribution to the US, the proportion of non-Hispanic whites answering 'little positive contribution' ranged widely—from 2% for the English, to 12.5% for the Chinese to 23.5% for Mexicans, to 32.9% for the Vietnamese and to 40% for Cubans.[1] By insisting on a more uniform pattern, Portes and his collaborators lose analytic leverage, leaving societal reception with virtually no variance.

Consequently, government policy is positioned as the most crucial feature. *Legacies* contends that since refugee groups arrived suddenly without a prior ethnic community in place, 'their modes of incorporation were largely determined by government policy' (2001a, 281). *IA* maintains that Southeast Asians, benefiting 'from a consistently positive mode of incorporation', enjoyed high earnings, despite very low skills, a 'remarkable result [that] is directly attributable to governmental assistance, given the low human capital, low labor market participation' of these groups (2014, 146). Nicaraguans, however, could not 'make use of the considerable human capital brought from their home country' because 'most were denied asylum and those who stayed were classified as illegal aliens' (Portes and Rumbaut 2014, 145).

Moreover, the emphasis on government policy makes it doubtful that co-ethnic community qualifies among the 'structural forces [that] confront immigrants as a fait accompli' (IA, 2014, 148). Rather, the nature of the co-ethnic community is largely determined by government policy, since 'the governmental reception accorded to different nationalities conditions the chances for the rise of cohesive ethnic networks' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001a, 65). Referring to the refugee groups studied in CILS, Portes and Rumbaut write: 'governmental support for family reunification allowed each of these

groups to rebuild families and form cohesive families' (2014, 143), thus generating resources that proved decisive for later arrivals.

Lastly, the writings seem to imply that inter-group differences should not appear among nationalities sharing a common mode of incorporation, as suggested when Portes and Rumbaut conclude that 'statistically insignificant nationality effects in these models indicate that the original observed group differences are entirely accountable by the average characteristics that immigrants brought along and by their achieved occupational status and work experience' (2001a, 80). Although Table 1 shows that many of the groups studied in Legacies share a common mode, the matter is never specifically addressed.

For all their emphasis on modes of incorporation, the proponents of segmented assimilation have never succeeded in testing its importance. As shown in Table 1, the framework outlined in *Legacies* generates a three-way table with 18 cells; putting each group selected for empirical study in *Legacies* into the appropriate cell leaves 11 of those 18 cells vacant. Consequently, while Portes and Rumbaut state that 'Mexicans represent *the* textbook example of theoretically anticipated effects of low immigrant human capital with a negative context of reception' (2001a, 277) the data set created to assess the impact of reception context lacks the capacity to do the job. The appropriate test would involve comparisons of adjacent cells, changing only one variable at a time and leaving the other two constant. Yet as Table 2 shows, three of the five cells needed for those comparisons are empty. Whereas the authors place particular emphasis on the capacity of government policy to alter outcomes for groups with class disadvantages, the populations studied allow for only *one* such comparison to Mexicans—with Dominicans—and not a single comparison that would contrast Mexicans to a group of similar class background experiencing a favourable, rather than, as with the Dominicans, a neutral, government policy. Likewise, the contrast between Nicaraguans/Mariel Cubans, on the one hand, and Mexicans/Haitians, on the other hand, provides the only opportunity for assessing the impact of co-ethnic community when government policy is hostile and societal reception is negative.

Of course, one can test the importance of context as it affects more advantaged groups, contrasting Vietnamese with pre-Mariel Cubans (controlling for professional/entrepreneurial co-ethnic community and positive governmental reception, varying societal reception) or Chinese versus Vietnamese (controlling for negative societal and professional/entrepreneurial co-ethnic community, varying governmental reception). However, at no point have the proponents of segmented assimilation considered any of these theoretically relevant contrasts. In part, the problem stems from the construction of the concept as a combination of different contexts and the failure to provide the criteria needed to array different combinations in an order ranging from best to worst. The third and fourth

Table 2. Detailed view of cells adjacent to Mexican mode of incorporation.

		Societal reception			
		Negative		Neutral	
		Governmental reception			
Co-ethnic community		Favourable	Hostile	Favourable	Hostile
	E-P		Nicaraguans		
	W-C	Empty	Mexicans	Dominicans	Empty
	P		Empty		

Source: Portes and Rumbaut (2001a): Table 3.1, pp. 50–51.

Table 3. Type of mode of incorporation as specified in *Immigrant America*, fourth edition.

Positive	Neutral	Negative
Pre-Mariel Cuban	Chinese	Mexican
Laotian	Filipino	Nicaraguan
Cambodian		Jamaican
Vietnamese		Haitian
		Dominican
		Post-Mariel Cuban

Source: Portes and Rumbaut, 2014: 267, Table 37; Dominican added by authors.

editions of *Immigrant America* (along with Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2009) do provide a ranking, albeit in highly scaled back form, which we report in Table 3. Yet even this ranking does not obviate the difficulties produced by the decision to proxy mode of incorporation by nationality, as a systematic test for nationality differences requires 65 pairwise comparisons.

Rather than systematically pursuing the relevant pairwise comparisons, the regressions run in *Legacies* and all subsequent publications test for the significance of differences in the coefficients for nationality dummies compared to an omitted (comparison) category consisting of many other nationalities lumped together. The number of nationalities grouped into the reference category is sometimes never specified (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005, 1024); it can vary from one publication to the next (e.g. 74 in Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2009, 1103 versus 'approximately 60' in Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011, 744); and the omitted category can comprise almost 50% of a given wave's sample.[2] Given the size and shifting boundaries of the nationalities grouped into the reference category the comparisons simply indicate how a group is faring relative to a collection of nationalities grabbed together helter-skelter without shedding any light on the crucial question at hand: do modes of incorporation hypothesised to be more or less advantageous yield systematic differences? Consequently, the proponents of segmented assimilation have never succeeded in testing the very hypothesis they developed. It is to this task which we now turn.

Empirical assessment

Data

The pioneering Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) sampled immigrant offspring living in San Diego and Miami/Ft. Lauderdale (born abroad and raised in the United States or born in the US to at least one foreign-born parent). In 1992, CILS surveyed 5262 respondents then enrolled in middle school, returning to them as high school students in 1995–1996 and then again as young adults in 2001–2003. The data in CILS 1 and 2 came from written answers to questionnaires distributed in schools and in CILS 3 mainly from responses to mailed questionnaires. Schools supplemented data provided by respondents.

Following hard to reach populations over time, CILS suffers from non-response and attrition, matters not adequately treated in the relevant publications:

Non-response: The prevalence of non-response and its implications are matters not noted in *Legacies* nor in any of the many publications that we have reviewed.[3] Every

wave of CILS involves missing data on the dependent and independent variables due to non-response or other not fully specified reasons, in addition to missingness caused by attrition. As indicated in Table 4, presenting the percent of each nationality with missing values on key dependent variables, significant levels of data are missing in every wave. In CILS II, information on whether individuals dropped out or became inactive in school is not available for any child who went to junior high school in Fort Lauderdale, FL, leading to a loss of information for over 40% of Jamaican students and over 17% of Haitians and Cubans. In addition, dropout or inactivity data are unavailable for 8.3% of the respondents sampled in Miami, but for none of the respondents sampled in San Diego. Missing data for first wave Stanford math and reading test is also extensive, almost reaching the 40% level among the Fort Lauderdale respondents. Similarly, rates of missing data for reading and math scores vary on a school specific basis.[4]

Attrition: In addition to non-response, CILS 2 and 3 suffered from attrition: CILS 2 retained 81.5% of respondents from the first wave and CILS 3 retained 63.6% of the original sample (a fraction inconsistently reported in the relevant publications, as explained in endnote 5). However, only 57% of the original sample was maintained throughout all three waves; almost 10% of CILS 3 respondents consist of persons not surveyed by CILS 2, an anomaly never noted by relevant publications using CILS 3.[5]

Adjustments for attrition: Publications subsequent to *Legacies* (i.e. Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2009) use a Heckman selectivity technique to adjust for attrition. Developed to account for the ways in which the factors selecting women into employment affected their earnings, that technique is highly sensitive to model specification; furthermore, its implementation adjusts for biases resulting from selection into/out of the sample, but not for other sources of missingness already described.[6]

Table 4. Percent of missing values on the dependent variable by nationality.

	Wave 1			Wave 2		Wave 3			
	Math	Read	gpa92	Dropout	Inactive	yrseduc	occ	Unemployed	Dev
Vietnamese	17.8	13.8	0.3	0.8	0.8	47.6	64.5	47.8	48.4
Cambodian	7.4	6.3	0	0	0	35.8	61.1	31.6	32.6
Laotian	12.0	12.5	0	0	0	42.3	55.3	42.3	43.3
Filipino	11.7	4.9	0	0.4	0.4	30.0	49.2	28.3	29.3
Chinese	19.4	16.7	1.4	9.7	9.7	33.3	66.7	30.6	33.3
Korean	17.4	17.4	0	8.7	8.7	56.5	69.6	52.2	56.5
Cuban	16.5	16.5	4.0	17.2	17.2	34.4	52.0	34.2	37.0
Dominican	20.0	19.1	2.9	14.3	14.3	47.6	60.0	47.6	48.6
Jamaican	30.5	29.8	4.8	43.0	43.0	42.3	61.4	41.9	45.6
Colombian	14.5	15.0	4.4	13.2	13.2	32.2	48.5	32.2	35.2
Mexican	17.5	14.8	0.3	.7	.7	46.8	54.7	45.6	46.1
Haitian	17.4	17.4	2.3	18.5	18.5	45.5	67.4	46.1	51.1
Nicaraguan	9.6	9.9	2.0	2.3	2.3	34.9	50.0	34.3	38.4
Other	16.6	15.8	3.2	19.7	19.7	35.7	54.0	35.6	38.0

Notes: Math and read represent Stanford math and reading achievement percentiles; gpa92 represents grade point average in 1992; dropout refers to whether the individual has dropped out of high school and inactive refers to whether the individual has become inactive in school; yrseduc refers to the years of education the respondent has had; occ refers to the Treiman occupational prestige score of the first job; and unemployed refers to whether the respondent was unemployed (but not in school). Dev refers to the multinomial measure of whether the individual was never arrested or confined, arrested, or confined. The percent missing for this variable refers to no information on any of these measures.

Comparison groups and hypotheses

While Portes and his collaborators seek to assess how modes of incorporation affect immigrant mobility paths and the adaptation of the immigrants' children, the concept is never operationalised. Instead modes are inferred from 'resilient nationality effects that do not disappear after family controls are introduced' (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2009, 1092). As noted, instead of directly testing for differences between nationalities experiencing a positive versus a negative context, the comparisons involve a contrast to a reference category comprised of numerous small nationalities, the number and composition of which is unstable. By contrast, the appropriate procedure involves testing each higher ranked group against all remaining lower ranked groups and similarly ranked groups against one another. Towards that end, we adapt a simple ranking first described in the third edition of *IA* and appearing in later publications, in which specific nationalities are assigned to modes of incorporation which are, in turn, ranked as favourable, neutral, or unfavourable as shown in Table 3.

We use this ranking to systematically apply the hypothesis quoted above:

… the most plausible explanation for these enduring national differences [among second generation groups] lies in the distinct modes of incorporation encountered by various groups in the United States. (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011, 755)

Concretely:

H1: Net of controls (to be specified below) higher ranked groups should be associated with more favourable outcomes (e.g. Laotians with a 'positive' mode of incorporation should perform better than Nicaraguans with a 'negative' mode of incorporation)

H2: Net of controls, similarly ranked groups (e.g. Filipinos and Chinese, each assigned a 'neutral' mode of incorporation) should be consistently associated with similar outcomes.

Modes of *immigrant* incorporation are hypothesised to generate enduring advantages and disadvantages. If 'early differences in the arrival and modes of incorporation of immigrants can have decisive consequences both for their own future and that of their American descendants' (Portes and Schauffler 1994, 271), such that 'consistent handicaps observed among Mexican Americans and black Caribbeans—even after controlling for individual, family and school characteristics—must be linked to the unfavourable context encountered by first-generation immigrants in the United States' (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011, 755), differences in the impact of modes of incorporation should be sustained through all three waves of CILS. As Portes and Rumbaut have argued:

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. (2005, 987)

Therefore, we hypothesise:

H3: Net of controls, advantages associated with higher ranks should persist to outcomes measured, not just in childhood, but also during early adulthood.

Methods and variables

Dependent variables: We seek to understand differences among nationalities across different outcomes and at different stages of their adolescent and early adult lives, focusing on outcomes of four types:

- *educational performance in early adolescence*: (Stanford math and reading achievement percentiles (wave 1), grade point average for each student in junior high (wave 1);
- *length of schooling in later adolescence and early adulthood*: high school enrollment status, whether active/inactive or enrolled/dropped out (wave 2); years of education completed in early adulthood (wave 3);
- *economic outcomes in early adulthood*: Treiman occupational prestige scores; employment status (unemployment and not in school versus other);
- *deviance*: arrest history during prior five years without subsequent confinement; arrest and subsequent confinement in a reform school, detention centre, jail, or prison during prior five years.[7]

Independent variables: We seek to replicate the operationalisation of the independent variables as appearing in the relevant literature. We include the following independent variables, all measured in wave 1 of CILS and used in *Legacies* and all subsequent publications, conforming to the operationalisations described in *Legacies* (346–347)[8]:

- age;
- gender;
- family structure (1 if both biological parents are present; 0 otherwise);
- parent's SES (measured as a standardised scale centred around 0 of both parent's education, occupational SEI score, and family home ownership);[9]
- length of residence in the US, measured with two dummy categories, one for long-term residency (10 years or more) and the other for US nativity (born in the US or lived in the US 'all my life') compared with a reference category of those who lived in the US fewer than nine years;
- bilingual capacity: dummies for fluent bilinguals and limited bilinguals; 0 for all others;[10]
- the frequency of intergenerational clashes;
- school characteristics: inner city location (1 = yes; 0 = other); average student SES (measured as the obverse of the percent of students who are eligible for federally subsidised lunch).

Unlike Portes and Rumbaut (2001a) we do not control for region due to collinearity between this variable and the nationality categories.[11] We follow Haller, Portes, and Lynch (2011) and Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller (2005) in adding a dummy variable measuring the school's ethnic composition (1 = 60% or more black or Hispanic; 0 = otherwise).

Nationalities: Table 39 in *IA* ranks the mode of incorporation for 10 different nationalities. We use dummies for each nationality: Cubans; Filipinos; Mexicans; Vietnamese; Nicaraguans; Haitians; Jamaicans; Laotians (including Hmong); Cambodians; Chinese

(including Hong Kong, Taiwan; mainland). As the list unfortunately omits Dominicans, a group of crucial theoretical importance, in that it shares the co-ethnic community characteristic of Mexicans and Haitians, but benefits from a neutral policy reception, we include it in our analyses, assigning it an unfavourable rank.[12] We group all other nationalities into a miscellaneous 'other' category.[13]

Table 39 in *IA* assigns all Cubans to a favourable mode of incorporation, departing from the practice followed in other writings. *Legacies*, however, divides the Cuban sample into a small group of respondents originally enrolled in private, bilingual schools and a much larger group of Cubans enrolled in public schools. *Legacies* draws attention to 'the notable bifurcation [in academic achievement] between Cuban-American students in public and private schools' (250), without, however, noting some of the salient traits of the Cuban private school sample: that the great majority (86%) were male; that the overwhelming majority was born in the United States (91% versus 68% for the Cuban public school students versus 44% for the rest of the CILS sample); that a disproportionate fraction (30% vs. 16% for the Cuban public school respondents) were themselves the children of 1.5 generation, child migrants from Cuba;[14] and that none of the Cuban private school students had arrived in the five years prior to CILS1, in contrast to 8% of the rest of the CILS sample.

Later in the same book, Portes and Rumbaut note the 'paradox' of Cuban Americans, whose grades are worse and dropout rates higher than average despite 'a favorable reception and relatively high levels of family human capital … ' (261). The authors find the solution to this puzzle in the hostile reaction elicited by the sudden refugee influx in 1980. As this event transformed the Cubans from 'a "model minority"' to 'one of the foreign groups viewed with greatest suspicion' (262), they 'reason that this change in modes of incorporation, added to the more modest skills of recent refugees, should have a significant impact on the adaptation patterns of Cuban families and, in particular, their children' (263). Portes and Rumbaut then verify this hypothesis by dividing the Cuban sample into one component with parents who arrived prior to the Mariel inflow and another with parents arriving during this event and subsequently.[15]

Our examination of the parental survey finds that almost all Cuban respondents who report being US born or in the US 'all my life' were children of parents who themselves report arriving before 1980—the year of the Mariel boatlift. Similarly, 97% of all Cuban student respondents who report foreign-birth also report having parents who arrived after 1979, of whom the overwhelming majority arrived in 1980. As the US-born account for 91% of the private school students and 68% of the Cuban-origin public school sample, we use place of birth to separate the pre- and post-Mariel Cubans, thereby obviating reliance on the unique characteristics of the private school students.

Methods

We run OLS regressions to predict continuous measures (GPA in 1992; Stanford math and reading scores in 1992; years of schooling completed as of wave 3);[16] logistic regressions to predict binary outcomes (active/inactive in wave 2, dropout/enrolled in wave 2; unemployment & not in school vs. other in wave 3); and a multinomial logit when predicting wave 3 results regarding whether the individual was arrested (but was not involuntarily confined) and whether the individual was arrested and was then involuntarily confined, with neither being arrested nor being involuntarily confined as the baseline. Altogether we run nine

different tests (with the ninth test producing two sets of results from the multinomial logit).

CILS collected data by interviewing children in schools. Students within the same school are exposed to similar stimuli (e.g. the same teachers, the same school policies, the same opportunities for AP classes, etc.) making students within a school more similar to one another than to students in other schools. In a number of publications focusing on school effects (Portes and Schauffler 1994; Portes and Hao 1998; Portes and MacLeod 1999; Portes and Hao 2004), Portes and collaborators acknowledge the potential bias produced by clustered data. In other publications (Portes et al. 2007, 2009; Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011), however, Portes and colleagues do not adjust estimates to account for clustered data.[17] In the following analysis, we adjust standard errors to account for the non-independence between individuals in schools using Stata's cluster command.[18]

We implement a multiple imputation by chained equations (MICE) technique to account for *all* sources of missing data, including those resulting from attrition using the ICE command in Stata (Royston 2005). The MICE technique assumes that data are missing at random whereby each variable with missing data is modelled conditional upon other variables in the data set. We created 30 new data sets for each dependent and independent variable in which plausible values were imputed to replace each missing value. We pooled the 30 data sets in all analyses to obtain our results, retaining the imputed dependent variables in every analysis. Although the inclusion of imputed dependent variables may introduce noise to the models if there were few imputed data sets, running a multiple imputation then deletion or other strategies designed to deal with missing dependent variables only offer minute improvements to efficiency of estimates (Von Hippel 2007; Johnson and Young 2011). The large number of imputed data sets (30) allows us to retain missing information without adding error to the estimates (Von Hippel 2007; Young and Johnson 2010; Johnson and Young 2011). As a robustness check, we also ran all comparisons using listwise deletion and without clustered errors following Portes and Rumbaut's methods, procedures that added to the number of significant results reported, albeit by increasing the number of coefficients that contradict the hypotheses being tested (results available upon request). The increase in the number of significant results, however, is relatively low.

Analyses of CILS 1 controls for the independent variables described above. However, following the procedures in *Legacies* and other subsequent works, analyses of CILS 2 and 3 add psychosocial predictors of educational expectations and self-esteem measured in the first wave. We also control for GPA in junior high.[19] As noted, we disaggregate Cuban nationality by US born and foreign-born. We therefore re-run all nine analyses mentioned above with pre-Mariel Cubans as the reference group and then again with Mariel Cubans as the reference group. These analyses, however, do not control for length of acculturation since we have disaggregated the Cuban subsample by these variables.

Results

Our assessment entails 627 comparisons between nationalities over nine different tests. Since Portes and Rumbaut (2014, 286) state that 'The direction of these effects is in line

with our knowledge of the modes of incorporation of each of these immigrant groups', our discussion uniquely focuses on the coefficients for nationality. As noted, ambiguities regarding how the many possible combinations should be ordered make it difficult to consistently predict the direction of nationality effects. To facilitate that task, we first use rankings adapted from the third and fourth editions of *IA*, as described above and shown in Table 3, and examine all of the pairwise comparisons for all the relevant nationalities. We then use the criteria displayed in Table 1 and drawn from *Legacies*, applied, for reasons of tractability, to pre-Mariel Cubans and Mexicans alone. Unlike the first set of contrasts, these comparisons do not entail a ranking. Rather, they examine the impact of each successive combinatorial change, starting with the group most proximate to either pre-Mariel Cubans or Mexicans and then proceeding step by step, to assess the effects of each change in context and degree of adjacency. Throughout, we adopt the following classification procedure:

- *Differently ranked groups*: In assessing H1 and H3, entailing contrasts of more versus less advantaged nationality groups, we label a coefficient as consistent with modes of incorporation if the coefficient for the less advantaged nationality is negative at statistically significant levels relative to a more advantaged group. Inconsistent results occur when the coefficient for the less advantaged nationality is positive at statistically significant levels relative to the more advantaged group. Unconfirmed results are those in which the coefficient for nationality fails to reach statistically significant levels.
- *Shared modes of incorporation*: For contrasts involving nationalities sharing a mode of incorporation, we label a coefficient as *inconsistent* if the coefficient for the nationalities under comparison (e.g. Cambodians and Laotians) attains statistically significant levels. If the coefficient for the nationalities in question does *not* attain statistically significant levels, we classify the result as confirmatory; in thus setting the bar for confirmation low, our classification system works in favour of the perspective that we criticise.

We begin by presenting results for comparisons among the nationalities ranked in Table 3, starting with nationalities at different ranks and then proceeding to comparisons among nationalities occupying the same mode of incorporation. The number of coefficients presented derives from Table B in Appendix B (see Supplemental data section) for these comparisons.[20] Next, we move to the comparisons of varying combinations of contexts. These numbers come from Table C in Appendix C. Appendix D contains the full analysis (see Supplemental data section).

Comparisons among nationalities at different ranks: Table 5 presents a summary of the results for comparisons with different ranks, disaggregating by the four different types of outcomes identified above: early school, length of school, labour market, and deviance measures.

As Table 5 shows, less than a quarter (24%) of these tests yielded results confirming the prediction that nationalities with a more favourable mode of incorporation should be advantaged relative to lower ranked nationalities, net of controls. 11.6% of the tests yielded inconsistent results; the great majority of tests yielded results in which the coefficients for nationalities failed to show any statistically significant difference. Moreover, most confirmatory results (72%) came from wave one, with levels of confirmation dropping precipitously as the contrasts extended to later adolescence or early adulthood

Table 5. Number of consistent, inconsistent, and unconfirmed results over all analyses with different rank orders.

	Early school measures (3 measures) (a)	Length of schooling (3 measures) (b)	Labour market outcomes (2 measures) (c)	Deviance (2 measures) (d)	Subtotal (b–d)	Total
Statistically significant results						
Confirms MOI	71	17	9	1	27	98
Disconfirms MOI	21	14	13	0	27	48
Non-statistically significant results	40	91[a]	65	71[b]	227[c]	267
Total	132	122[a]	87	72[b]	281[c]	413

Notes: Results come from Table A in Appendix A (see Supplemental data section). The early school measures include math and reading scores and GPA in 1992 (wave 1); the length of schooling measures include dropping out, becoming inactive, and years of education (waves 2 and 3); the labour market outcomes include unemployment and occupational prestige; and the deviance measures include arrested (no time) and time (wave 3).
[a]This excludes Chinese comparisons in the dropout model because there were no dropouts in that nationality group.
[b]This excludes Cambodians in the deviance model because too few Cambodians were arrested in that nationality group.
[c]This excludes Chinese in the dropout model and Cambodians in the deviance model.

outcomes. Just 17 of the 122 (or 13.9%) of the length of schooling comparisons were confirmatory versus 14 (or 11.5%) that were inconsistent, with most (74.6%) yielding no statistically significant effect. Contrasts involving labour market outcomes provided a lower level of confirmation (10.3%) and a higher (14.9) percent of inconsistent results. Virtually all (98.6%) contrasts for the deviance measures yielded results that are not statistically significant. As the analysis fails to reject the null hypothesis stating that all nationalities are equal in a joint test of significance, *overall, there are no statistically significant nationality differences on the deviance measures.* Summing up across all wave 2 (high school) and wave 3 (young adulthood) outcomes, 9.6% proved confirmatory versus 9.6% that were inconsistent.

Table 5 summarises all comparisons across differently ranked nationalities, thus including contrasts between nationalities at polar ends of the scale (positive vs. negative) as well as those that are more closely ranked (neutral vs. negative). However, since more advantageous modes of incorporation should systematically yield outcomes superior to those of less advantageous modes, we now move to a more disaggregated approach. We compare each mode of incorporation against the other. In each of the following figures, we note the modes that we are varying; the number of comparisons over the nine analyses; and the percent of the coefficients that are consistent, inconsistent, and unconfirmed by wave. For tractability, however, we present figures in the text that report the percent of coefficients that are consistent, inconsistent, and unconfirmed when predicting differences between modes by wave of the CILS.

Figure 1 compares nationalities differing in mode of incorporation. The left-hand panel of Figure 1 compares groups with a positive versus a negative mode of incorporation as classified in Table 39 of *IA*. This contrast yields 228 comparisons, of which 22.8% of the coefficients are consistent, 7.4% inconsistent, and the remainder non-significant. Three-quarters of the consistent comparisons come from CILS 1. Among the consistent comparisons in the first wave nearly 60% come from comparisons that use either pre-Mariel Cubans or Vietnamese as the omitted category. However, any advantage that these two groups hold over those with a negative mode of incorporation virtually disappears by middle school and early adulthood. Of the later wave coefficients, 9.2% are consistent, 9.5% inconsistent, and 81.2% are not statistically significant.
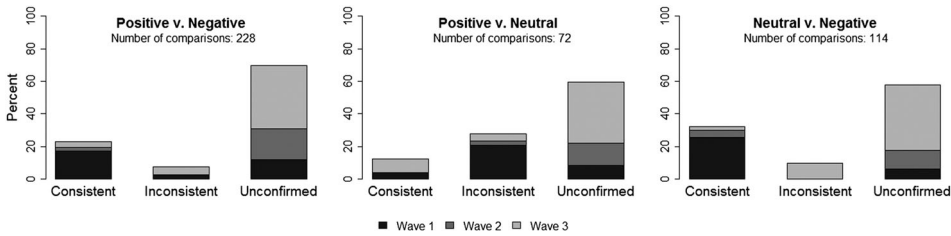
Figure 1. Percent of coefficients consistent, inconsistent and unconfirmed with modes of incorporation.

The next two panels in Figure 1 compare groups with more proximate modes, positive versus neutral and neutral vs. negative. Of all the contrasts, the positive versus neutral comparisons generate the lowest fraction of consistent and the highest fraction of inconsistent coefficients. Moreover, there is neither within rank consistency—as comparisons with Chinese generated most of the inconsistent results—nor across wave consistency—as the most consistent coefficients came from wave 3, whereas wave 2 generated not a single consistent coefficient. Overall, the majority of these comparisons yielded results that were not statistically significant.

The right panel, comparing neutral to negative modes, displays the opposite pattern. This comparison generates the highest proportion of consistent results. However, once again there is neither within rank nor across wave consistency: almost all of the consistent results come from wave 1 and all of the inconsistent results come from wave 3; most of the statistically significant coefficients are again produced by the Chinese advantage in early childhood. The great bulk of results (57.9%) are unconfirmed.

Comparisons among nationalities with shared modes of incorporation: As shown in Table 3, many nationality groups share a mode of incorporation. In these cases, inconsistent results entail contrasts in which the coefficient for nationality is statistically significant. Results that do not reach statistically significant levels are considered confirmatory.[21]

Unlike the contrasts of differently ranked nationalities, most of the coefficients obtained when comparing groups sharing a mode of incorporation are confirmatory, that is to say, they lack statistical significance. Yet, as Table 6 shows, the results lack consistency. Contradictory results are most common (40%) among the early school measures, less so (20%)

Table 6. Comparing nationalities with shared modes of incorporation.

	Early School measures (3 measures) (a)	Length of schooling (3 measures) (b)	Labour market outcomes (2 measures) (c)	Deviance (2 measures) (d)	Subtotal (b–d)	Total
Confirmatory: Results *not* statistically significant	39	52	35	37	124	163
Inconsistent: statistically significant results found but *not* predicted by modes of incorporation	26	13	9	1	23	49
Total	65	65	44	38	147	212

Notes: Results come from Table A in Appendix A (see Supplemental data section). These comparisons exclude Chinese in the dropout model and Cambodians in the deviance model. The early school measures include math and reading scores and GPA in 1992 (wave 1); the length of schooling measures include dropping out, becoming inactive, and years of education (waves 2 and 3); the labour market outcomes include unemployment and occupational prestige; and the deviance measures include arrested (no time) and time (wave 3).

among the length of schooling and labour market outcome measures and least so (2%) among the deviance measures. As already noted, the paucity of statistically significant results for the deviance measure reflects the fact that overall these measures lack statistical significance. Likewise, confirmatory results were most common among nationalities with a negative mode of incorporation (83.3%), less so among those with a positive mode (62.5%), and least so among those with a neutral mode (44.4%). Moreover, the contribution to consistent results from the different waves varied from one mode to another. Among the nationalities in both positive and negative modes, consistent results were least likely to come from wave 3 and most likely to come from wave 1; among the nationalities in a neutral mode, all the consistent results came from wave 2.

Comparisons among theoretically important groups. Table 7 reports the results comparing pre-Mariel Cubans to all groups and Mexicans to all groups. *Legacies* described pre-Mariel Cubans as a model minority, enjoying a positive mode of incorporation upon

Table 7. Comparing Pre-Mariel Cubans vs. all others and Mexicans vs. all others.

	Early school measures (3 measures) (a)	Length of schooling (3 measures) (b)	Labour market outcomes (2 measures) (c)	Deviance (2 measures) (d)	Subtotal (b–d)	Total
Pre-Mariel Cuban (reference)						
Comparisons with same mode of incorporation						
Confirms	3	5	4	3	12	15
Disconfirms	6	4	2	1	7	13
Comparisons with neutral mode of incorporation						
Confirms	0	1	2	0	3	3
Disconfirms	4	1	0	0	1	5
Non-statistically significant	2	3	2	4	9	11
Comparisons with negative mode of incorporation						
Confirms	10	1	3	1	5	15
Disconfirms	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-statistically significant	8	17	9	11	37	45
Total	33	32	22	20	70	107
Mexicans (reference)						
Comparisons with the same mode of incorporation						
Confirms	8	13	6	10	29	37
Disconfirms	7	2	4	0	6	13
Comparisons with positive mode of incorporation						
Confirms	9	3	2	1	6	15
Disconfirms	0	0	1	0	1	1
Non-statistically significant	3	9	5	5	19	22
Comparisons with neutral mode of incorporation						
Confirms	6	2	1	0	3	9
Disconfirms	0	0	1	0	1	1
Non-statistically significant	0	3	2	4	9	9
Total	33	32	22	20	74	107

Notes: Results come from Table A in Appendix A (see Supplemental data section). These comparisons exclude Chinese in the dropout model and Cambodians in the deviance model. The early school measures include math and reading scores and GPA in 1992 (wave 1); the length of schooling measures include dropping out, becoming inactive, and years of education (waves 2 and 3); the labour market outcomes include unemployment and occupational prestige; and the deviance measures include arrested (no time) and time (wave 3).

their entry into the United States. However, when compared to groups assigned a neutral mode of incorporation, the coefficient for pre-Mariel Cubans was more likely to be negative than positive. While the contrast to groups assigned a negative coefficient yielded a higher fraction of confirmatory coefficients, two-thirds of those coefficients came from CILS 1; 75% of all comparisons were not significant. Close examination of the group-by-group results shown in Appendix B (see Supplemental data section) precludes the possibility that any advantages may be systematic. While 5 of the 9 comparisons to Mexican immigrants yield confirmatory results (with the remainder of the coefficients lacking statistical significance), no other contrasts yield an equivalent hit rate. Thus only two of the comparisons to Haitians proved confirmatory—exactly the fraction recorded in the contrast to the post-Mariel Cubans. The contrast to Nicaraguans yields but one confirmatory coefficient (an early schooling result), contradicting the oft-repeated assertions regarding the unfavourable nature of this group's mode of incorporation.

As noted earlier, the degree to which Mexicans experience a negative mode of incorporation has triggered significant debate. In the comparison to groups with a favourable mode of incorporation, the great majority of the early schooling measures prove consistent; however, few of the coefficients from the later wave analyses provide confirmatory results. Of particular importance are the comparisons to Laotians and Cambodians, as only 1 of the 11 later wave analyses yield confirmatory results. Similarly, Chinese and Filipinos, assigned a neutral mode of incorporation, show clear advantages in the measures from wave 1, but 75% of the coefficients for the waves 2 and 3 measures are either not significant or inconsistent Overall, the highest fraction of confirmatory results for the Mexican comparisons stem from comparisons with other groups assigned a negative mode of incorporation. Yet in these cases, confirmatory results correspond to coefficients that are not statistically significant, of which 10 come from the deviance model that fails to reject the joint test of significance.

Comparisons across different dimensions of modes of incorporation—Cubans and Mexicans: As noted earlier, the third and fourth editions of *IA* and other subsequent publications (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2009; Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011) reduce mode of incorporation to the single context of governmental reception. Yet as originally conceptualised in *Legacies*, and as reiterated in many later publications (e.g. Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011, 734), and as displayed in Table 1, mode of incorporation is understood as a combination of contexts: governmental reception, societal reception, and co-ethnic community. Therefore, this section seeks to assess the effect of different combinations of context. The comparison begins with the group most proximate to the nationality in question and then moves on by context and degree of adjacency. For tractability, we limit the comparison to the critical cases of Mexicans and pre-Mariel Cubans, which differ on all three contexts (governmental, societal, and co-ethnic), with the Mexicans located in categories non-adjacent to those of the Mariel Cubans (positive vs. negative governmental reception; entrepreneurial vs. working class co-ethnic community). Every comparison for each combination of modes, however, is presented in Table C in Appendix C (see Supplemental data section). The comparisons are ordered by proximity, starting with the closest (shared mode of incorporation for Mexicans and differences on 1 mode for Cubans) and ending with the most distant (differences on three contexts, non-adjacent categories). As the two nationalities are at opposite ends of the spectrum, the comparison with Cubans extends to progressively less advantaged nationalities, whereas

Table 8. Comparisons among different combinations of mode of incorporation for Pre-Mariel Cubans and Mexicans.

Cubans				Mexicans			
Shared Mode of Incorporation							
				Governmental reception same; community same; societal reception same	Consistent	0 (0%)	
					Inconsistent	3 (30%)	
					Unconfirmed	7 (70%)	
Offsetting Mode of Incorporation							
				Societal same; governmental positive v. negative; community working-class v. poor	Consistent:	5 (27.8%)	
					Inconsistent:	0 (0%)	
					Unconfirmed:	13 (72.2%)	
Differences on 1 Mode							
Governmental reception same; community same: neutral v. negative societal reception	Consistent:	2 (20%)		*Governmental same; societal same; community ent./prof. v. working-class*	Consistent:	6 (30%)	
	Inconsistent:	2 (20%)			Inconsistent:	0 (0%)	
	Unconfirmed:	6 (60%)			Unconfirmed:	14 (70%)	
				Community same; societal same: neutral v. negative governmental reception	Consistent:	1 (10%)	
					Inconsistent:	0 (0%)	
					Unconfirmed:	9 (90%)	
Differences on 2 Modes: Adjacent Categories							
Community same: Governmental (favorable v. neutral); societal (neutral v. prejudiced)	Consistent:	5 (17.2%)					
	Inconsistent:	5 (17.2%)					
	Unconfirmed:	19 (65.5%)					
Differences on 2 Modes: Non-Adjacent Categories							
Community same: governmental (favorable v. hostile); societal (favorable v. prejudiced)	Consistent:	3 (15%)		*Societal same; governmental (neutral v. hostile); community (ent./prof. v. working-class)*	Consistent:	12 (41.3%)	
	Inconsistent:	0 (0%)			Inconsistent:	1 (3.4%)	
	Unconfirmed:	17 (85%)			Unconfirmed:	16 (55.2%)	
Governmental same: societal (neutral v. prejudiced); community (ent./prof. v. poor)	Consistent:	5 (27.8%)		*Societal same: governmental (favorable v. negative); community (ent./prof. v. working class)*	Consistent:	5 (50%)	
	Inconsistent:	4 (22.2%)			Inconsistent:	1 (10%)	
	Unconfirmed:	9 (50%)			Unconfirmed:	4 (40%)	

Table 8. Continued

	Cubans	Mexicans

Differences on 3 Modes: Adjacent Categories

Governmental (favorable v. neutral); Societal (neutral v. prejudiced); community (ent./prof. v. working-class)

Consistent: 3 (30%)
Inconsistent: 0 (0%)
Unconfirmed: 7 (70%)

Differences on 3 Modes: Non-Adjacent Categories

Governmental (favorable v. unfavorable); societal (favorable v. negative); community (ent./prof. v. working-class)

Consistent: 7 (35%)
Inconsistent: 0 (0%)
Unconfirmed: 13 (65%)

Governmental (favorable v. unfavorable); societal (favorable v. negative); community (ent./prof. v. working class)

Consistent: 5 (50%)
Inconsistent: 0 (0%)
Unconfirmed: 5 (50%)

Total

Consistent: 25 (23.4%)
Inconsistent: 11 (10.3%)
Unconfirmed: 71 (66.4%)

Consistent: 34 (31.8%)
Inconsistent: 5 (4.7%)
Unconfirmed: 68 (63.6%)

Note: the left bar in each graph refers to the number of consistent results, the middle bar in each graph refers to inconsistent results, and the right bar refers to results that remain unconfirmed. Results come from Table C in Appendix C.

the comparison with Mexicans extends to progressively more advantaged nationalities. The comparisons only include the 11 nationalities under examination in this paper. Results for Colombians and Korean, nationalities with modes reported in *Legacies*, are available in Appendix C (see Supplemental data section).

While proximity offers a criterion for ordering modes, the groups studied in *Legacies* do not exhaust the logical possibilities; hence, the progression of modes by distance follows two distinctive patterns, with missed steps for each nationality. Compared to the most proximate, less advantaged group, differing on one mode, Cubans show an advantage on just two of the 10 tests and a disadvantage on two. Extending the comparison to nationalities that differ on two modes (29 tests) the share of inconsistent results grows. Further slight increases in distance—to non-adjacent categories and then to nationalities differing by three modes—mildly increase the percent of consistent results, albeit without any correspondence between each step and the fraction of inconsistent results. Even when distance is at its maximum—a contrast to groups that differ on three modes, with non-adjacent categories—only 35% of the tests prove consistent. Overall, only 23% of the tests are consistent, 10% are inconsistent, and 66% yield no significant results.

Whereas pre-Mariel Cubans rank above all other groups, Mexicans share a mode of incorporation with Haitians. Though *Legacies* and *IA* portray both groups as experiencing similar levels of disadvantage, 3 of the 10 coefficients indicate statistically significant national differences (two favouring Haitians, one favouring Mexicans). We label the next contrast as involving an 'offsetting mode', as *Legacies* assign Mexicans a less favourable governmental reception but a more favourable co-ethnic community than Cambodians and Laotians: 5 of these 18 tests (all from wave 1) are consistent and the rest are not statistically significant. As distance grows in the next comparison—contrasting to nationalities with a similarly negative governmental reception but a more advantageous co-ethnic community—the fraction of confirmatory results remains roughly the same, though most come from wave 1. However, the share of confirmatory results falls when Mexicans are compared to a group with a similar co-ethnic community, but a more advantaged (neutral) government policy context. In the next contrast, which leaps two steps by moving from differences on one mode to differences on two modes and non-adjacent categories, almost half of the coefficients are significant. In the final comparison at the maximum distance, five of ten coefficients yield confirmatory results. Overall, however, only 32% of all comparisons generated confirmatory results, but half of these confirmatory results came from wave 1 while the other half came from waves 2 and 3 (Table 8).

Discussion

Writing in the second edition of *IA*, Portes and Rumbaut review the effects of individual characteristics on academic achievement in wave 1 and find that the Mexicans and the Haitians fall far behind the Cubans and Vietnamese after controlling for background characteristics. Noting this disparity, the authors write that 'overall, there is *something* in the character of ethnic communities that is not fully explained by their average status, location, or length of US residence' (1996, 267; emphasis in the original). The question posed by this paper is whether the concept of 'modes of incorporation' captures that 'something', as the authors contend.

We think not, for reasons adduced in the conceptual critique, and as indicated by the data presented in this paper. When conceptualised as a combination of contexts, mode of incorporation is meant to vary from those that are more advantaged to those that are less advantaged. While the combination of contexts can yield over 40 possibilities, the relevant writings offer no criteria for ranking. Understood as a combination of contexts, the concept of modes of incorporation lacks variance: having all undergone the same negative societal reception nonwhite immigrant groups cannot experience variance on this dimension. Though predictive power hinges on the impacts exercised by government policy the writings never tell us whether the one step differences from negative to neutral to positive should exercise similar or different effects. Since mode of incorporation is never directly measured but rather proxied by nationality, the entire enterprise is prone to classificational error, given the subtleties that would be needed to determine placement in the middle of the matrix, displayed in Table 1. The influence of subjective assessments can be seen in the changes transpiring from earlier to later publications, as ranking criteria have shifted and contexts have been conflated. That the hypothesis concerning the impact of modes of incorporation has never been properly tested suggests that its implications have never been fully understood.

This paper has sought to provide that long-delayed assessment, providing the appropriate statistical tests. As we have seen, the comparison between higher and lesser ranked nationalities provides relatively few confirmatory results, with little consistency in the patterns of confirmation. Half of the wave 1 tests confirm the hypothesis that nationalities with more advantaged modes do better than those with modes that are less advantaged. *However, contrary to the claim that modes of incorporation encountered by the first generation yield long-term effects, analysis of effects in high school and young adulthood yield ratios that shift against confirmation.* Of the 281 wave 2 and 3 tests from Appendix B (see Supplemental data section), just as many contradict as confirm the hypothesis; the great bulk of coefficients (80.1%) lack statistical significance. Nationalities with a neutral mode compare the most favourably to nationalities with a negative mode; they also compare favourably when contrasted to nationalities with a favourable mode; these latter contrasts also generate the highest fraction of inconsistent results. There is little consistency in the degree to which similarly ranked nationalities generate confirmatory coefficents when compared to higher or lower ranked nationalities. Likewise, the degree to which specific waves generate consistent results varies from one rank and one nationality to the next.

Further doubt comes from the disparities between the results for differently ranked nationalities and those with shared modes of incorporation. If nationalities correspond to 'known modes of incorporation' and those modes exercise determinative effect, nationality impacts should appear in much the same way across each comparison. But as we have seen, the coefficients for nationality are most likely to yield *confirmatory* results in wave 1 among the differently ranked groups, but most likely to yield *inconsistent* wave 1 results among the nationalities with shared or offsetting modes.

In defense of the hypotheses being tested, one might argue that modes of incorporation entail unique historical configurations, of which only a few will impinge decisively. Whether or not one accepts such a formulation, some results are certainly more substantively significant than others. Portes, Rumbaut, and collaborators consistently emphasise the importance of governmental reception, but *the comparisons varying governmental*

reception are particularly unlikely to yield confirmatory results. Overall, the 60 tests contrasting pre-Mariel Cubans to the six nationalities assigned a negative mode of incorporation produced 15 confirmatory coefficients, 11 of which came from wave 1. Of these tests, the comparison to the post-Mariel Cubans offers an opportunity to assess the impact of societal reception, as the sudden advent of the latter changed Cubans 'from being one of the most favourably received groups in American immigration history to becoming one the least popular' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001a, 262). While one would expect the US-born respondents to clearly outperform their Cuban-born counterparts, *only 2 of those contrasts between pre- and post-Mariel Cubans, both from wave 1, yield statistically significant consistent results*. Similarly, *Legacies* and *IA* repeatedly emphasise the advantages of the mode encountered by Laotians and Cambodians over that encountered by Nicaraguans Yet of the 36 tests contrasting Nicaraguans with Laotians and Cambodians, *more statistically significant results were contradictory than confirmatory, with most coefficients lacking statistical significance,* indicating that the positively received Laotians and Cambodians fared no better than the negatively received Nicaraguans.

Legacies contends that 'Mexicans represent *the* textbook example of theoretically anticipated effects of low immigrant human capital with a negative context of reception' (2001a, 277). As Mexicans comprise the largest foreign-born group and are still more over-represented among the children of immigrants, this contention has triggered considerable controversy, as exemplified by Perlmann's (2005) book-length treatment of the issue, Portes' (2006) negative assessment of that very evaluation, and Perlmann's rejoinder (2011). *But as compared to a group similar in class, yet differing in governmental reception, the distinctive mode of incorporation experienced by Mexicans fails to yield any negative effect.* The most relevant contrast is the Dominican vs. Mexican/Haitian comparison: groups purported to have similarly weak co-ethnic communities and negative societal receptions, but differing in policy reception (neutral for the Dominicans, negative for the Mexicans and Haitians). Of the 20 coefficients shown in the appendix, only two are significant, one confirmatory, the other inconsistent. The Cambodian vs. Mexican/Haitian comparison yields a slightly higher hit rate, though the three consistent results come from waves 1 and 2 and the two inconsistent results derive from wave 3. The Laotian vs. Mexican/Haitian comparison is a bit more favourable (five consistent coefficients), but the analysis of wave 3 yields two inconsistent results and one that is not confirmatory.

Likewise, Portes and his collaborators have often insisted that nationalities from more disadvantaged modes of incorporation should be vulnerable to higher rates of arrest and involuntary confinement. We note that the relevant question asked respondents to answer yes or no to two queries regarding experiences over the past five years: 'I was arrested'; 'I spent time in a reform school, detention center, jail or prison.' Hence, the data set contains *no* information regarding 'incarceration' let alone the possibility that positive answers to the latter question implied 'the commission and sentencing of a crime', as stated by Haller, Portes, and Lynch (2011, 741). *Regardless of how these responses are to be interpreted, our analysis shows that nationality yields no effect whatsoever on the deviance measures.*

Conclusion

This paper has sought a new entry into the longstanding debate sparked by the hypothesis of segmented assimilation. As we have argued, disagreements regarding the relative

importance of context mark the fundamental theoretical divide separating segmented from the classical or neo assimilation approaches. A theme first invoked in *Latin Journey* and then imported to and further developed in the works discussed in this paper, the centrality of context receives a particularly eloquent summary in the following passage from *Immigrant America*:

> Making it in America is a complex process, dependent only partially on immigrants' motivations and abilities. How they use these personal resources often depends on international political factors—over which they have no control—and on the history of earlier arrivals and the types of communities they have structured—about which newcomers also have little say. These complex structural forces confront immigrants as an objective reality that channels them in different directions … Social context renders individualistic models insufficient because it can alter, in decisive ways, the link between individual skills and motivations and their expected rewards. (2006, 181–182)

The key contextual influences stem from the ways in which government policy, societal reaction, and the characteristics of the co-ethnic community combine to generate a distinctive mode of incorporation. Opportunities and constraints associated with the mode of incorporation encountered by each immigrant group in turn yield national-origin differences in both the first and the second generation.

Yet the concept of mode of incorporation has never been given operational definition. Hence, Portes and his collaborators have been caught in a circular loop, contending that knowledge of each nationality's mode of incorporation provides the basis for predicting nationality effects, but then using the nationality coefficients as evidence of the importance of mode of incorporation. As this paper has demonstrated, in the first effort to systematically compare nationalities assigned to a more or less advantaged mode of incorporation, no consistent confirmatory patterns can be found.

These findings do not entail a complete evaluation of the hypothesis of segmented assimilation, a goal to which this paper never aspired. Our findings nonetheless generate relevant implications. As Portes and his collaborators have argued:

> For the segmented assimilation hypothesis to be disproved one of two things needs to be demonstrated: (1) that downward assimilation does not exist or affects only an insignificant number of second generation youths; (2) that differences between immigrant nationalities are random so that, regardless of the average human capital and mode of incorporation of different groups, they will have about the same number of 'success stories' and failures in the second generation. (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005, 1019)

A great deal of scholarly attention has focused on the first of these 'two things', starting out with an early critique by Perlmann and Waldinger (1996) and further developed by Alba and Nee (2003), Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters and Holdaway (2008), as well as later contributions by Perlmann (2005, 2011) and Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; and Waldinger, Lim, and Cort 2007).

This paper addresses the second of these 'two things', up until now a neglected issue. While the findings reported here do not necessarily indicate that inter-group differences are 'random' (a possibility of which we are highly sceptical), they provide little ground for thinking that the source of those disparities is to be found in the different modes of incorporation as understood by Portes and his collaborators. Furthermore, since the strategic value of ethnic retention rests on the importance attributed to modes of incorporation,

the conclusions of this article cast the entire framework into doubt. As Portes and Rumbaut note in the concluding chapter to *Legacies* downward assimilation:

> constitutes a real possibility for children growing up in poverty and lacking the support of strong and solidary communities. The significance of modes of incorporation comes through repeatedly as they condition the chances for such communities to emerge and the opportunities for socioeconomic achievement in the first generation. (280; emphasis added)

If, however, mode of incorporation yields no consistent effect, as we have amply demonstrated in this paper, why would one look to ethnic retention to make a difference? Indeed, as other studies have shown, most notably the results of a survey of immigrant offspring living in New York, and reported in *Inheriting the City* (Kasinitz et al. 2008), evidence of a positive relationship between ethnic retention and socioeconomic progress is not to be found.

Abandoning this particular approach to the study of contextual effects on immigrant and second generation outcomes need not entail rejecting contextual effects all told. On the contrary: the nature of population movements across border is likely to yield contextual effects, overriding or amplifying the impact of individual characteristics. Yet apprehending those contextual effects requires a different approach, one that uses variables instead of names and disaggregates the different features that a nationality-oriented approach inevitably conflates.

Every immigrant enters the destination state as a foreigner, excluded from the circle of receiving society citizens; government policy sets the criteria by which citizenship can be obtained, the conditions of which are only partly amenable to individual effort. Moreover, migration control yields a system of civic stratification among the non-citizens themselves, with differences in rights and entitlements corresponding to different formal statuses. Hence, while 'migration and stratification are intimately and irrevocably linked', as Jasso has argued (2011, 1292), group-level impacts of immigration policy have the capacity to alter that connection. The various legal statuses acquired at entry or over the course of settlement vary greatly across foreign-origin populations (for example, unauthorised vs. legal presence or, among the latter, legal permanent residence versus temporary work authorisation [Menjivar and Abrego 2012]); hence, the resources triggered by those statuses or the risks to which they make persons vulnerable are likely to ramify across entire populations. While those impacts are likely to exercise their greatest influence on immigrant parents, their children are unlikely to be spared. As with the respondents in CILS, many of the children of immigrants are themselves foreign-born; furthermore, if context exercises significant influence on immigrant parents, those contextual influences are likely to comprise part of the package that parents transmit to their offspring.

Other shared characteristics are likely to matter, in particular education, for reasons related to the resources that schooling can access and the symbolic meaning it conveys, a nationality's average level of education is also likely to matter. To the extent that social circles tie immigrants and their offspring to other people of the same origin, the rewards of education or the penalties associated with lack of education may be widely shared, average levels of education are likely to ramify widely, affecting the ways in which referral networks connect to employers and jobs, the quality and diversity of information conveyed through ethnic ties, and the degree of engagement and understanding of host society institutions.

We further suggest that the relevant contexts are not limited to the exogenous factors confronted in the society of reception but extend to the endogenous contextual influences deriving from the society of origin. Just as the individual does not choose her country of origin, neither does she select its conditions—whether cultural, political, or economic; consequently, country of origin features are likely to exercise causal effects. Since children do not choose their parents, parental influences are conditioned by the home country environment in which they grew up. As most migrants move from less to more developed countries the disparity between home country and receiving country environments tends to be large. Given the diversity of migration streams and the variations in culture and level of economic development among the countries from which today's immigrants come differences at the point of origin should yield significant effects at the point of destination.

Following these suggestions would also shift research from names to variables. Whereas nationalities inevitably conflate channels of influence—making it impossible to parse out origin from reception factors—variables such as average levels of education and legal status prevalence levels are separate dimensions, the effects of which can be assessed independently of one another.

Such an approach would further entail a move from subjective assessments to objective measures. Rather than rely on the eye of the beholder, whose criteria are not always stated and often appear transitory, standard measures drawn from sources that are available to all researchers would be preferable, thereby allowing for replication and application to a broader variety of data sets.

Of course, implementing this alternative and demonstrating that it might yield value added are matters for another paper. While pursuit of that agenda awaits full development, this paper shows that migration scholars need to rethink an approach that they have largely taken for granted. Modes of incorporation are inherently too problematic to be of any further use: we all need something better.

Notes

1. Authors' calculation from the General Social Survey, 2000.
2. Indeed, the number of nationalities can vary within a single article: while Haller, Portes, and Lynch (2011): report that the 'the reference category is the rest of the CILS-III sample comprising approximately 60 different nationalities, $N = 1{,}538$', two pages later they state that the reference category consists of 70 nationalities.
3. Thus, Haller and colleagues write: 'In the following analysis, all predictors come from the CILS first and second waves where missing data was not a serious problem. The problem appears with the dependent variables that were measured in the third survey' (2011, 744). Unfortunately, as documented in this paper, these statements are not true.
4. We have been unable to find any explanation for why these data should be missing nor any correction for their absence from the sample.
5. Comparison of results produced using the public use data set with those found in publications authored by Portes and collaborators reveals significant discrepancies regarding the size of the wave 3 sample. The data sets downloaded from ICPSR and the Center for Migration and Development at Princeton University both contain 3344 cases from the third wave, of which 1503 are from San Diego and 1841 from South Florida as of 7 November 2014. The ICPSR codebook also reports that the data set contains 3344 third wave cases. Rumbaut (2005, 1067) reports 1502 cases from San Diego (1 fewer than that produced by the public use data set), with Ns for different nationalities reproducible from the data set. Analysing the San Diego sample, Zhou and Xiong similarly report numbers for Asian nationalities that

can be reproduced from the publically available data set (2005, 1132). However, other publications report sample sizes 10% larger, with corresponding nationality numbers that *cannot* be reproduced from the public use data set. Thus Portes and Rumbaut (2005, 994) report that CILS 3 contained 3613 cases and that 1929 cases were from the original South Florida sample and 1684 were from southern California (2005b, 995). The text in the third and fourth editions of *IA* state that wave 3 retrieved 3564 cases, below the total reported in the 2005 article, but still above the total produced by the public use data set. However, Table 43 in the third edition of *IA* reports 1822 cases from South Florida and 1502 from southern California (2006, 274), yielding a total of 3324 (20 *fewer* than those produced by the public use data set). Table 42 in the 2014 edition of *IA* instead reports a total wave 3 sample of 3249 (85 *fewer* than those produced by the public use data set), though the nationality numbers in the table *can* be reproduced from the public use data set. By contrast, *none* of the numbers from the table appearing in Portes and Rumbaut (2005) showing 'Basic characteristics of CILS 3 Sample, 2001–2003' can be reproduced from the public use data set. In addition, the numbers for nationalities in the San Diego sample shown in that table vary from those shown for the San Diego sample in Rumbaut (2005, 1067), with differences ranging from 8.6% to 19.6%. Haller et al. (2011, 739) report that CILS 3 retrieved 3613 cases, but their table with descriptive statistics (742) shows a total N of 3249, thus yielding counts of the total sample size both above and below the 3344 produced by the publically available data set. Not one of the Ns for the nationalities shown in that table corresponds to the wave 3 nationalities listed in Table 2 of Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller (2009), although the two articles analyse the exact same data set. All the statistics shown in this paper derive from the public use sample downloaded from ICPSR 20520.

6. For example, Portes et al. (2007) correct for attrition, but include, as a predictor, the school-supplied variable measuring whether a respondent was inactive in wave 2. Thereby, they lose *all* of the Fort Lauderdale respondents—*none* of the Fort Lauderdale schools reported this information—as well as *all* respondents (10% of wave 3) not surveyed in wave 2 but surveyed in wave 3. Haller, Portes, and Lynch (2011) proceed differently, using a full information maximum likelihood (FIML) technique to account for attrition. However, they only apply that technique to analysis of a latent variable model. They use a simple listwise deletion method predicting a 'downward assimilation index', thereby reducing statistical efficiency on this important analysis.

7. This analysis draws on CILS III, a paper and pencil survey asking respondents the following: 'During the last five years have any of these life changing events happened to you or your family.' A list of 14 items, answered by filling in the appropriate circle under columns marked 'yes' or 'no' followed this question. We analyse the yes/no responses to two statements: 'I was arrested' and 'I spent time in a reform school, detention center, jail, or prison.' In publications analysing wave 3, Portes and Rumbaut have repeatedly categorised those answering 'yes' to this latter question as having undergone incarceration (e.g. 'the reported degree of arrest and incarceration among the Laotians and Cambodians was just under 10 percent' [Rumbaut 2005, 1069]; 'Still more compelling evidence comes from differences in incidents of arrest and incarceration. Young males are far more likely than young females to be arrested and to find themselves behind bars' [Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2009, 1087]). While the Oxford English Dictionary defines the word incarcerate as to imprison, the nature of the question posed makes it impossible to distinguish between respondents who may have spent a night in jail due to an arrest for driving under intoxication as opposed to those sentenced to prison for a felony conviction. The former is far more common than the latter, as suggested by the following statistic from the US Department of Justice: '[l]ocal jails admitted an estimated 12.8 million persons during the 12 months ending June 30, 2009, or about 17 times the size of the inmate population (767,620) at midyear' (Dolovich 2012, 219). Furthermore, time may be spent in an immigration detention centre without any evidence of commission of a crime. The ICPSR codebook indicates that 5.1% of all valid wave 3 cases responded 'yes' to the question 'I spent time in a reform school, detention center, jail, or prison', thus precluding the possibility that 5.3% of wave 3 respondents could have been 'incarcerated' as contended by Haller, Portes,

and Lynch (2011, 742). Given the important distinctions in the severity, length, cause and consequence of time spent in jail vs. prison vs. detention centre vs. reform school, we categorise all positive responses to this question as entailing 'involuntary confinement'.

8. Descriptive statistics of the imputed data set (described in more detail below) are located in Appendix A (see Supplemental data section).
9. The inclusion of this variable follows Portes and colleagues in every article and book that analyses modes of incorporation.
10. Fluent bilinguals include respondents with an English Knowledge Index score of 3.75 or higher and a Foreign Language Index score of 3.25 or higher; limited bilinguals scoring lower than these two index scores. The omitted category in this set of dummies is monolingual individuals (either English dominant or a foreign language dominant) following Portes and Rumbaut (2001). Although the CILS data set provides a bilingualism variable, its means do not match the report on page 346–347 of *Legacies*. We therefore reconstructed this variable using the definition above (from variables c4 and c6 as opposed to c8).
11. Virtually all (99.84 %) of the Cuban and Nicaraguan (98.84%) respondents lived in Miami or Fort Lauderdale. By contrast, virtually all of the Mexican (96.29%), Filipino (98.66%), Vietnamese (98.66%), Cambodian (98.95%), Laotian (99.35%) and *all* of the Hmong respondents lived in San Diego.
12. On average, Dominicans have lower levels of education and professional employment than Chinese or Filipinos, the two neutrally ranked groups. Almost all legal Dominican migration has taken place through family preferences, whereas a significant fraction of Chinese and Filipino immigration, ranked neutral, has occurred through employment-related preferences. Hence, we rank Dominicans in a category below the neutrally classified Chinese and Filipinos.
13. The regressions leave Koreans and Colombians as separate categories since *Legacies* identifies their mode of incorporation. Results from these comparisons appear in Appendix C (see Supplemental data section). As there are few Koreans in the sample, results for this group should be interpreted cautiously.
14. Calculated from the CILS parent survey.
15. In other publications (e.g. *IA* and Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005, 2009), Portes and collaborators adopt approaches that muddy the pre- and post-Mariel distinction. Thus the third edition *IA* (2005, 276)

    > divided the large Cuban-origin sample into students who attended public school and those who enrolled in bilingual private high schools … The latter are mostly the offspring of early middle- and upper-class Cubans … ; the latter are mostly children of refugees arriving during and after the chaotic Mariel exodus of 1980.

    While the former statement is true, the latter statement is false, as indicated above. The multivariate analysis of differences in educational attainment presented in the fourth edition of *IA* claims that the positive nationality coefficients for Cubans demonstrate the effects of an advantageous mode of incorporation, although a footnote indicates that the table only reports results for Cuban private school students (285–286). Haller, Portes, and Lynch (2011) do not split the Cuban sample along either the private/public or pre-/post Mariel divides, but rather use a dummy for *all* Cubans. However, endnote 2 of that article returns back to the distinction made in *Legacies* as the authors write that they 'expect significant differences in second generation outcomes between children of pre- and post-Mariel parents' and that further analysis shows that 'these differences consistently favor the offspring of pre-1980 Cuban exiles' (759).

16. We also ran an OLS model predicting GPA in high school. We do not report results because the results for GPA in 1995 and 1992 are almost identical in significance and sign (although the coefficients are lower in the 1995 analysis). Given the stability of GPA over time, we suspect that these models underscore the same processes.
17. A footnote in *Legacies* acknowledges that the analysis does not account for the clustered nature of the data because prior analysis of the data using hierarchical linear models 'did not reveal

substantive departures from the pattern of contextual effects reported' (364), citing results reported in Portes and MacLeod (1996). However, that article was based on wave 1 data only and its models employed neither the same control variables nor the same nationality dummies used in *Legacies*. As already noted in our paper's main text, we reran all the regressions without clustered errors, a procedure that increased the number of statistically significant coefficients in the opposite direction as predicted by Portes and Rumbaut.

18. We have pursued a parallel analysis using multi-level models, with results, available upon request, comparable to those presented here.

19. The inclusion of GPA in junior high school in the second and third wave analyses may make many results statistically insignificant, especially in the educational attainment models. We include this measure because Portes and colleagues use it in *all* but one of their second and third wave analyses (see, e.g. Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2009). Because it remains possible that mode of incorporation is not influenced over and above an influence of mode of incorporation through junior high GPA, we also ran all analyses without this measure. In no situation does omitting GPA in junior high change our interpretation. Results are available upon request.

20. Appendices A–D are available online as supplementary files.

21. Although the joint test of significance for the deviance model fails to reject the null hypothesis in the imputed data set.

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Disclosure statement

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