URBAN RECEPTIVITY AND THE SECOND GENERATION:

COMPARING DIMENSIONS OF INCORPORATION IN U.S. AND EUROPEAN CITIES

Frank D. Bean

Susan K. Brown

James D. Bachmeier

University of California, Irvine

Tineke Fokkema

Laurence Lessard-Phillips

Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute

John H. Mollenkopf

City University of New York

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Over the past two decades immigrant-group integration in post-industrial countries has evolved into perhaps the touchstone issue in public policy debates about immigration (Caldwell 2009; Higley and Nieuwenhuysen 2009; Meissner et al. 2006). Not surprisingly, it has also become a major topic of social science research. Because the integration of the children of immigrants may be pivotal for immigrant-group incorporation, numerous large-scale research efforts have emerged to assess how the members of the second generation are faring in their countries of residence (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Crul and Heering 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Bean, Brown and Rumbaut 2006). While many of these assessments are still under way, first-round results suggests that some but not all second-generation groups, and perhaps more in the United States than in Europe, are demonstrating significant integration on many key aspects of incorporation. However, this integration appears to vary not only across groups (Heath, Rothon and Kilpi 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Liebig 2009), but also across countries and urban locales (Crul and Schneider 2010; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Heath et al. 2008; Koopmans 2010; Liebig 2009; Van Tubergen, Maas and Flap 2004). Such differences suggest that efforts to make further headway in answering questions about the factors underlying immigrant group integration could benefit from comparative and culturally oriented research (Foner 2005; Skrentny 2008; Van Hook and Bean 2009), especially multi-method and multi-level analyses (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2009; Fleischmann and Dronkers 2010; Lee and Bean 2010; Koopmans 2010; Rustenbach 2010).

This paper reports the results of an investigation into the structure and outcomes of second-generation incorporation comparing different kinds of cities within both the United States

and Europe. Its purpose is to provide a "broad-brush" portrait of connections between receptivity towards immigrants and the form and degree of place-specific immigrant incorporation. Here, the contexts we consider consist of the two major gateway cities in the United States and several in Europe where survey-based data collection efforts focusing on the incorporation of the children of immigrants have recently been completed. We strive to explicate theoretically and assess empirically how different types of urban context, especially their predominant kind of incorporation regime, relate to the nature and degree of immigrant second-generation integration. The overarching goal is to ascertain, broadly speaking, if "urban context matters" – if more "immigrant-friendly" cities appear to foster both more kinds of opportunity for mobility and greater second-generation advancement in regard to those opportunities.

We concentrate on five specific objectives. The first is to plumb the theoretical literatures on social action and immigrant incorporation for hints about the nature of dimensions of incorporation. The second is to scrutinize existing theoretical perspectives on immigrant integration even further to discern the numbers of incorporation dimensions they assume, or stated differently, the consolidation, or tightness, of incorporation processes and outcomes they presuppose (with greater tightness suggesting tendencies toward uni-dimensionality and less tightness tendencies toward multi-dimensionality). The third is to specify theoretically the correspondence between the number of incorporation dimensions and type of urban incorporation regime (with more multi-dimensional structures hypothesized to occur more in immigrant-friendly places and multi-dimensional structures less so). The fourth is to conduct empirical analyses of new second-generation data from U.S. and European cities to assess whether more immigrant friendly places do in fact show evidence of larger numbers of

incorporation pathways and greater immigrant incorporation. The fifth is then to try roughly to assess the extent to which any such differences owe to urban context per se or to the fact that certain kinds of immigrants tend to gravitate toward places more favorable to immigrant incorporation.

To help formulate ideas about how places that differ in their contexts of receptivity might also differ in the kind and degree of immigrant-group incorporation opportunities available to second-generation immigrants, we rely on evidence and conclusions from previous studies on how cultural, historical, institutional and policy factors (what we hereafter refer to as CHIP factors) affect immigrant incorporation. We do not possess data on enough cities, nor information across cities on enough CHIP factors, to conduct quantitative analyses of how patterns of variation across urban contexts relate to the content and form of incorporation. Hence, our analyses do not enable the assessment of which particular urban contextual factors among many might relate most strongly to incorporation. As an alternative, we analyze newly available survey data on second-generation outcomes from 11 European and two U.S. cities to shed light on the form and content of second-generation incorporation within two broad kinds of cities — those which previous case studies and comparative analyses reveal are more welcoming and supportive of immigrants versus those which such studies suggest are less so.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ABOUT THE DIMENSIONS OF INCORPORATION

What are the key dimensions of incorporation? In seeking to shed light on this issue, we turn both to general social theory and to incorporation theory. The former provides only a diffuse guide to answering our question, but one that nonetheless seems instructive. In outlining the nature of social interaction, general sociological theorists often note that two broad types of

activities appear to characterize social life – one that roughly corresponds to an economic dimension and another that broadly reflects a sociocultural one. These are implied in a number of broad theoretical conceptualizations. These include social actions envisioned as consisting of instrumental and expressive qualities (Parsons 1937), institutions and organizations viewed as establishing action and order (Alexander 1982), and behaviors seen as focused predominantly on either doing and being (Sen 2007). In short, all of these general theoretical treatments emphasize that certain categories of activity – roughly the economic and sociocultural – are fundamental to social life, which suggests these are intrinsic to immigrant incorporation processes as well.

These abstract approaches also imply that the economic and sociocultural realms constitute somewhat separate domains of social life, thus hinting that immigrant group incorporation may involve the two operating relatively independently. While little in the logic of the theoretical formulations mandates independence, the perspectives of at least Parsons and Alexander note that the dictates of interactional efficiency often foster the emergence of specialization. Thus, we would empirically expect economic aspects of incorporation (e.g., labor market activities and outcomes) and sociocultural aspects (e.g., group identity, linguistic patterns, family and religious orientations and behaviors, etc) to vary apart from one another to a considerable extent.

Despite the prominence of these two domains of social life in general theory, not to mention their frequent usage in immigrant incorporation research (Waters 1990; Bean and Stevens 2003), the theoretical perspectives formulated by early assimilation scholars such as Warner and Srole (1945), Park (1930) and Gordon (1964) do not provide clear guidelines for defining the nature of incorporation dimensions. Such assimilation frameworks scholars tend to imply that the various aspects of incorporation accompany one another, although sometimes in

sequence, which has led observers to say it is a “truism” that varying dimensions of incorporation may proceed at different rates (White and Glick 2009:23). As noted by Waldinger (2007), assimilation theorists envision the main driver of incorporation as exposure. In such perspectives, the greater the elapsed time, either among immigrants or across generations of immigrants, the greater the degree of incorporation. Even though Gordon (1964) conceptualized acculturation and then primary group integration as the first arenas of incorporation, he nonetheless expected other forms of incorporation eventually to occur, largely by dint of exposure. To be sure, Gordon defined and distinguished various facets of incorporation, but he did not really expect they would vary independently of one another, although he noted that they could. Classic assimilation theory thus often tends to view the economic and the sociocultural as facets of a single phenomenon, or at least as correlates of an underlying uni-dimensional process that involves its various facets progressing along one general pathway over time, albeit often in fits and starts (Gans 1999; Gordon 1964).

What about other dimensions of assimilation? Here neither general theory nor theoretical perspectives about incorporation provide much guidance. As Hirschman (2001: 318) notes in critiquing assimilation theoretical perspectives, there is "a lack of a clear specification showing how the various dimensions are related to one another," implying in turn that delineations of the number and kind of independent dimensions could benefit from further development. As a starting point for this refinement, it is useful to note that the research literature on incorporation, as well as the academic division of labor in the social sciences, often implies more than two integration dimensions (Thomson and Crul 2010). If economic and sociocultural incorporation are inherent in social life, as both theoretical and practical logic suggest, perhaps so too are spatial (or place-based) and political (behaviors and orientations relating to participation in the

polity) incorporation. Certainly the wealth of research studies on incorporation falling under these rubrics attests to this possibility (Van Kempen and Şule Özüekren 1998; Quintelier 2009, Junn 2000). As a first point of departure, then, we adopt a conceptualization of four broad domains of incorporation: economic, sociocultural, spatial and political. While general social theory suggests the first two might vary independently of one another, it offers little insight concerning how the second two might relate either to the former two or to each other.

THE MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF INCORPORATION STRUCTURES

While reason exists to think that the economic and sociocultural dimensions of incorporation might constitute separate spheres of variation, the degree to which spatial and political incorporation might stand alone from economic and sociocultural incorporation is less clear. For example, traditional conceptions of spatial assimilation view it as a function of sociocultural adaptation and economic mobility (Massey 1985). Yet recent studies have questioned such a strong connection (Logan, Alba, and Zhang 2002; Murdie and Ghosh 2010). Several of the new Asian groups to the United States (Chinese, Koreans and to a lesser extent Filipinos) contain large fractions of very highly educated immigrants, some of whom settle in co-ethnic communities when they arrive, but many of whom do not (Logan et al. 2002). This tends to loosen the association between spatial and economic incorporation, the latter being the dimension to which spatial incorporation might be most tied. Moreover, even some Asians who can afford to live in a variety of suburbs choose to settle in co-ethnic communities. Thus, if for no other reason, this would suggest spatial incorporation often varies independently of economic incorporation.

But life-course factors are likely also to weaken linkages between spatial and economic incorporation. Spatial incorporation may proceed more slowly than other types of incorporation because a change in residence, the key to spatial mobility, is highly related to the life course in ways that other dimensions of incorporation may not be. In particular, people often move when they marry and have children and settle down once they hit middle age (Courgeau 1985; Kulu and Milewski 2007; Michielin and Mulder 2008; Rabe and Taylor 2009). Thus, spatial mobility levels off at the age when income mobility is likely to expand. Further, while income certainly constrains the choice of neighborhoods and dwellings – and this is true for everyone – poor immigrant groups and the working class may face particular claims on their income and time from extended family, so that they may be unable or unwilling to translate gains in income to better neighborhoods (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Brown 2007; Maloutas 2004; De Haas 2006; Mansoor and Quillin 2006; Van Dalen, Groenewold and Fokkema 2005). Also, in both the European and U.S. context, majority-group avoidance and limited access to desirable owner-occupied housing keep spatial mobility separate from other dimensions of incorporation (Bolt, Özüekren and Phillips 2010).

In the case of political incorporation, the picture is even murkier. Partly this is because the phenomenon presents formidable challenges of conceptualization (Andersen and Cohen 2005; Hero and Wolbrecht 2005; Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). This is evident in its widely divergent definitions, which include referents ranging from the mere presence of an international migrant within a polity to participation in voting, the most commonly studied variety of political incorporation, to active involvement in politics and in coalitions (Bloemraad et al. 2008; Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1984; Jones-Correa 2005). Moreover, both the nature and form of immigrant political engagement in

destination countries can change over time, as well as across the life course and across generations (Haller and Landolt 2005; Hollifield 2004; Portes, Escobar and Arana 2008). Political incorporation thus constitutes a broad and diffuse concept whose intersection with other incorporation sub-dimensions remains ambiguous, both because the phenomenon is multi-faceted and hard to define and because it sometimes operates as cause and sometimes as effect of other dimensions at different points in the incorporation process (Bloemraad et al. 2008; Bean et al. 2010). Here, as we note below, we empirically gauge only a small piece of this rich domain, so our treatment is far from definitive. But because the phenomenon so often clearly connects with economic position, we expect in general that it is the dimension most likely not to vary independently.

Different theoretical perspectives about incorporation also imply different patterns of relationships among incorporation dimensions. This suggests that no fixed number of incorporation dimensions exists naturally or universally, but rather that the tendency for dimensions to vary independently of one another will depend on context. For ease of discussion and brevity, and because the various theoretical perspectives share certain assumptions about the number of incorporation pathways, we group them here into roughly two sets. The first consists of classic assimilation, ethnic disadvantage (or racialization), and segmented assimilation perspectives, explications of which are well-known and widely discussed (Bean and Stevens 2003; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Jiménez 2009). These all share the idea that incorporation occurs steadily over time (Alba and Nee 2003), even if faster or more slowly in certain cases, the latter for a variety of reasons that include racial discrimination and other structural barriers that retard the process (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). For the most part, such frameworks nonetheless implicitly embrace the idea of a single general incorporation pathway.

To be sure segmented assimilation emphasizes that ethnic disadvantage slows advancement (even sometimes fostering "downward assimilation") and that selective acculturation can facilitate incorporation for some immigrants, especially economic incorporation, as a result of immigrants retaining ethnic cultural repertoires (Portes and Zhou 1993). Yet overall the perspective envisions one general incorporation process, albeit in which the pace and unevenness of advancement may often be affected by other conditions.

A second set of incorporation perspectives consists of multicultural, integration, and post-industrial frameworks. These are sometimes more prescriptive than analytical in emphasis, but they nonetheless point to the possibility that the more tangible aspects of integration (economic, spatial, certain aspects of political) and sociocultural integration need not occur together, and indeed often do not empirically (Fokkema and De Haas forthcoming; Kymlicka 1995; Montserrat and Rex 2010). In particular, multicultural and integration perspectives both assume and postulate that specific ethnic values, customs and practices are not inimical to other kinds of incorporation. Under conditions where tolerance and respect for ethnic identity and culture are widespread and publically encouraged, the frameworks imply that no reason exists to think either economic or political incorporation will be thwarted as a result (Modood 2007; Reitz et al. 2009). From a practical point of view, such theories tend to suggest integration policies that focus more on economic rather than sociocultural factors, except for general policy endeavors to encourage tolerance and respect for ethnic diversity (Koopmans 2010).

In broad outline, the two sets of incorporation perspectives correspond roughly to two of the kinds of incorporation emphases (i.e., regimes) that Castles and Miller (1998; 2009) apply to countries. The first set combines Castles and Miller's differential exclusion and assimilationist categories into a single differential exclusion/assimilationist (DE/A) category and the second fits

well with their multicultural, integrationalist (MI) category. DE/A countries include both those that have been historically open to new settlers (although assimilationist places require sociocultural assimilation among immigrants) and those that historically have tended to emphasize citizenship on consanguineal bases, thus viewing immigrants as "guest workers." In our data, France comes closest to the assimilationist model, while the main examples of the latter are Germany and Switzerland. By contrast, MI countries are ones that have more explicitly adopted multicultural and integration policies, such as the United States, Sweden and the Netherlands.[1] Despite changes in societies and policies throughout the years, the above-mentioned typology of immigrant societies and clusters of countries have remained fairly unchanged (e.g., Entzinger, 2000; Hammar, 1985; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni and Passy, 2005; Meuleman, 2009; Mitchell & Russell, 1996; Penninx, Kraal, Martiniello and Vertovec, 2004; Rex, 1997; Soysal, 1994).

We conjecture that places differing in their incorporation regimes will also differ in their incorporation structures. DE/A tendencies foster a stronger overall interconnection among incorporation dimensions (a tighter incorporation structure) than do MI regimes. In assimilationist countries, little of any particular kind of immigrant advancement has often been encouraged (or in some cases even allowed) unless other kinds were also occurring, while in differential exclusion countries all kinds of advancement have tended to be formally constrained, at least until recently. In contrast, multicultural and integration countries have sought to foster economic advancement without requiring sociocultural conformity (Goodman 2010; Herzog-Punzenberger 2003). Thus, cities in countries that have emphasized DE/A regimes are likely to

[1] Castles and Miller (2009) categorize the United States as a MI country, though one lacking a strong legal framework for such policies.

show tendencies toward fewer independent incorporation dimensions (to exhibit relatively greater uni-dimensionality of incorporation structures), with MI regimes showing more complexity in the form of a larger number of dimensions. Interestingly, uni-dimensionality tendencies are implied by the first set of incorporation theoretical perspectives, all of which are constructed around traditional assimilation hypotheses that embrace implicitly the idea that it is possible to gauge overall immigrant advancement by examining its components one at a time (i.e., that assimilation with regard to one facet implies a similar outcome with regard to another, since exposure is the main driver of the process).

URBAN CONTEXT AND THE FORM AND DEGREE OF INCORPORATION

Another deep implication embedded in classic assimilation theoretical perspectives is the ironic possibility that urban contexts characterized by assimilationist and exclusionary features are less likely to foster incorporation in <u>any</u> of its various aspects. This is partly because they offer little in the way of institutional support to immigrants (i.e., policies, histories, and/or cultures that exhort the desirability of assimilation but that institutionally leave matters primarily up to the individuals involved and the resources of their group). But it is also likely because such places embrace incorporation regimes that, as noted above, envision "assimilation" as a pre-requisite of participation and belonging (e.g., settlers are welcome <u>if</u> they adopt the majority language and culture). This limits advancement because it requires that little mobility occur without acculturation. With incorporation also being more difficult in DE/A cities because of less institutional support and opportunity, incorporation aspects are less likely to split into multiple pathways of opportunity that allow singular avenues of advancement. In short, in cities with strong DE/A regimes, aspects of incorporation are more consolidated (or more tightly

bundled together), offering fewer prospects for immigrant advancement. In countries with MI regimes, the cities offer more institutional support, resulting in more differentiated opportunity structures and more diverse pathways of mobility. Interestingly, this expectation is consonant with structural differentiation theory which, following Simmel (1923), predicts that more consolidated structures (i.e., those with fewer independent dimensions of differentiation) are more likely to limit opportunity because they constrain contacts and familiarity across various segments of urban society (Blau 1977; Blau and Schwartz 1984; Blau 1994).

General Theoretical Expectations

What do these considerations imply about what we might expect in the way of differences in the form and extent of incorporation among second-generation immigrants living in the cities for which we have data? In this research, we include second-generation survey results for 11 cities in Europe and two in the United States (New York and Los Angeles). We divide the European cities into two types that correspond to the MI and DE/A types. Our goal is to compare these two broad groupings, along with New York and Los Angeles, with respect to both the form and extent of second-generation incorporation. In doing so, our work follows in the tradition of a large number of recent articles and studies that have laid out various bases for expecting city differences in immigration and incorporation dynamics (see, for example, Brettell 2003: Crul and Schneider 2010; Foner 2007; Koopmans 2010; Reitz 1998; Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Goodwin-White 2009; Mollenkopf 1999; Keogan 2002; Waldinger 1996; 2001; Kalter and Kogan 2006; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2009). The body of work in these studies emphasizes a variety of historical, cultural, policy and institutional factors that make for enhanced or lessened immigrant incorporation with respect to one or more dimensions of incorporation.

These analyses, the factors they adumbrate as affecting immigrant well-being, and the nature of the relationships hypothesized or observed (i.e., whether the factor facilitates or stifles the extent of incorporation) are shown in Figure 1. We cannot quantitatively investigate the relative influence on the form and degree incorporation of the historical, cultural, policy and institutional factors these studies emphasize because, as previously noted, data are not available on each of the factors across a sufficient number of cities to examine empirically how they account for variation in incorporation structure and content across places. But we can note qualitatively what kinds of factors they suggest are important for immigrant well-being and integration. While each of the studies tends to focus on one or two factors, overall, they parallel in their emphases the kinds of factors Castles and Miller envision as relating to types of incorporation regimes in DE/A and MI countries. The general theoretical model guiding our work is shown in Figure 2. Thus, we envision CHIP factors (the kinds of phenomena covered in the studies listed in Figure 1) as relating to whether a given city may be more characterized roughly as having a DE/A or a MI incorporation regime. Type of incorporation regime, in turn, is viewed as affecting the form of incorporation (i.e., the number of independent dimensions in the city's incorporation structure) and the degree of immigrant incorporation in the city, with MI places expected to show greater immigrant advancement or integration than DE/A places. These two sets of linkages are the ones examined empirically in this paper.

Research Hypotheses

Based on the incorporation regime dichotomy, we can formulate hypotheses about the form and extent of incorporation comparing New York with Los Angeles and MI with DE/A cities in Europe. With respect to the form of incorporation, we expect New York to be more

receptive to immigrants than Los Angeles. It is characterized by a number of factors that foster receptivity and immigrant advancement — including a longer immigration history, more familiarity with immigrant diversity, and more institutional support for immigrants, among others (Foner 2007; Mollenkopf 1999; Waldinger 2001). Accordingly, we hypothesize it will show a greater number of incorporation dimensions than Los Angeles. We also hypothesize that similar differences will characterize MI cities compared to DE/A cities in Europe. Also, because the United States has a longer history of being an "immigration nation" with a tradition of migrant settlement accompanied for the most part by the expectation of citizenship (Castles and Miller 2009; Motomura 2006), we expect the most pronounced tendencies toward multi-dimensionality and non-consolidation to be evident in New York and the least pronounced in the DE/A cities of Europe, with Los Angeles and the MI cities of Europe falling in between. Finally, with respect to the degree of second generation incorporation, we expect immigrant incorporation, especially in its more tangible aspects (i.e., economic, spatial, and political behaviors) as opposed to more subjective sociocultural aspects to follow a pattern of New York exceeding Los Angeles and in Europe of MI cities exceeding DE/A places.

DATA, MEASURES AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

To assess the above ideas empirically, we rely on data from three major studies of the adult children of immigrants carried out in New York, Los Angeles, and cities across Europe. The first data source comes from the Study of the Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York (ISGMNY) (Kasinitz et al. 2008), a telephone survey conducted between 1998 and 2000. The targeted age range of ISGMNY's respondents was 18 to 32. ISGMNY focused on the adult children of the largest immigrant groups – Colombians, Ecuadorans, Peruvians, Chinese, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, West Indians, and Russian Jews – in 10 New York and

New Jersey counties in the New York metropolitan area, and included 3rd+ generation white and black comparison groups. The analyses here are based on the sample of 2,419 1.5/2nd generation respondents in New York, weighted so that each group is proportional to its share of the total NY population.

The second of these is the study of Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA). Beginning in 2004, the IIMMLA study surveyed via telephone one-and-one-half generation persons (those born abroad but immigrating as children prior to age 12) and second-generation persons between the ages of 20 and 40[2] residing in the five-county region of the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area.[3] Through various sampling methods, IIMMLA collected a representative sample of 1.5/2nd generation adults from the six national-origin groups – Mexican, Salvadoran/Guatemalan, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Filipino – that comprise the bulk of the immigrant population residing in Los Angeles. IIMMLA also includes two residual groups of 1.5/2nd generation adults, one of which consists of all "non-white" persons with a national-origin other than one of these six, and a second consisting of persons of other background who identified as non-Latino and white. IIMMLA also includes two comparison groups consisting of 3rd+ generation (born in the U.S. to U.S. born parents) non-Latino whites and blacks, respectively. These comparison groups are excluded from the analyses for this study, which focuses exclusively on the 1.5/2nd generations (N=3,440). Person weights were computed to make the share of each national-origin and racial-ethnic group in the sample

[2] The New York and LA samples also include foreign-born children of immigrants because of the relative recency of large-scale migration flows. The foreign.-born children of immigrants who were included (so-called 1.5 generation persons) were those who were quite young when their parents immigrated, meaning they grew up mostly in the United States, like second-generation respondents.

[3] The five counties comprising the greater L.A. metro area are: Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura.

proportional to its share in the total L.A. metro population aged 20 to 40, and the sample was weighted accordingly in the analyses presented here.

The European analog to the New York and Los Angeles data comes from The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) project. The TIES surveys, carried out between 2006 and 2008, cover 15 European cities in eight countries.[4] They targeted adult children, aged 18 to 35, born in the survey country to immigrant parents (i.e., the target sample consists exclusively of the 2nd generation). The study focused on 2nd generation adults of Turkish, Moroccan, and ex-Yugoslavian origin, mostly children of labor migrants, and the group(s) included in city-specific samples vary by aggregate, usually depending on which group(s) predominate.[5] The targeted sample size was 250 respondents per city-group. Each city includes a comparison sample of individuals with parents born in the survey country. As in the two American cities, the European analyses presented in this paper do not include the comparison groups and exclude the samples collected in Spain and Belgium, yielding an analytical sample of 3,539 observations across 11 cities in six countries. Samples were weighted using post-stratification weights that take into account the age-sex distribution of the groups (2nd generation and reference group alike) at the city level. [6]

To conduct the analyses the New York and Los Angeles samples were merged into one data set and the selected European cities were merged into a second data set. The two data sets were analyzed separately because, while we have information from all of them on key indicators of the four basic a priori dimensions of incorporation, many of the measures of independent

[4] The eight countries are: France (Paris and Strasbourg); Germany (Berlin and Frankfurt); Spain (Madrid and Barcelona); Austria (Vienna and Linz); the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam); Belgium (Brussels and Antwerp); Switzerland (Basel and Zurich); and Sweden (Stockholm).

[5] Turks and Moroccans are the target groups in France, the Netherlands, and Belgium; Turks and ex-Yugoslavians are the target groups in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland; Turks are the target group in Sweden; and Moroccans are the target group in Spain.

[6] Additional information about the TIES project is available on-line at: http://www.tiesproject.eu/.

variables employed in some of the statistical analyses are measured on different scales, making pooling of the U.S. and European data questionable. Survey-specific questionnaires for each data set were compared in order to derive a set of indicators that would be similar in content if not in scale across the cities within each data file, and then subjected to Principal Components Analysis. The total set of American and European indicators are defined in Table 1, within the four conceptual dimensions of immigrant incorporation noted above. As economic indicators of incorporation, the analyses of the American data include items on educational attainment, employer-provided health insurance and personal income. The corresponding measures for the European data include education (measuring the respondents' highest level of educational attainment), perceived difficulties with current income, and occupational prestige, based on the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of occupational status (Ganzeboom and Treiman 1996). Under linguistic/cultural indicators, the American data include measures of attitudes toward racial/ethnic exogamy, mother-tongue proficiency, home language preference, ethnic media consumption and frequency of religious attendance. The European data contain similar measures, except for the attitudinal measure, and include self-measured proficiency in the parents' native language, a measure of the use of the parental native language in the respondent's household, consumption of ethnic media, and a measure of religious attendance.

In both the U.S. and Europe, the spatial aspects of incorporation are measured by two indicators of respondents' neighborhood, one measuring its ethno/racial composition and the other its socioeconomic status. In the U.S. these indicators are based on tract-level data from the 2000 U.S. Census, while in Europe the indicators are based on respondents' perceptions of their current neighborhood of residence. Finally, political incorporation in the United States is measured using three indicators. The first is a scale measuring the extent to which respondents

favor intervention by the federal government in ensuring citizens' standard of living (i.e., their political outlook). The second political measure consists of a scale indicating a person's level of political engagement (e.g., registering to vote, participating in political organizations, etc.). The third indicates whether an individual voted in the last election. In Europe political indicators consist of voting behavior at the most recent local election and engagement in political organizations. The means and standard deviations of all indicators used in the analyses are reported in Table 2 for Los Angeles, New York, the European DE/A cities, and the European MI cities, respectively. The European/U.S. differences in the scales of some of the indicators are evident in the means.

We used Principal Components Analysis (PCA) to determine both the number of incorporation dimensions within each of the four city sets and the extent to which the structure of these dimensions differ or are comparable across city types in accordance with the ideas introduced earlier. PCA shows which indicators among a set "bundle together" on a particular dimension, thus providing information about the number of incorporation dimensions in a given type of city. It also provides a scoring matrix that can be used to give each respondent in each type of city a score on a given dimension. These scores, which are standardized with mean zero and standard deviation one, can then be used as variables in multivariate regression models to determine whether net city-differences emerge on a given incorporation dimension, and if so, whether these differences support the hypotheses articulated above. To ascertain the numbers of components (or dimensions), we applied two criteria – whether a component showed an eigenvalue greater than 1.10 (a number implying that the amount of variance among all of the variables explained by that component's particular linear combination of variables exceeds chance by about ten percent) and whether the component's eigenvalue occurred "above the

elbow" of a scree plot of the eigenvalues for all of the components (see Brown [2006]). Because many of our indicators are not continuous and are relatively few in number, we did not employ confirmatory factor analytic tests of the statistical significance of the components. Of course, no absolute criterion exists for determining whether a structure is uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional. Answers depend as much on theoretical as on empirical considerations. As noted above, various theoretical literatures are suggestive about "how many" and "what kind" of dimensions characterize immigrant incorporation. While a principal component approach cannot provide a definitive answer to the question of dimensionality, it does provide a guide to the patterns that emerge if we apply uniform criteria to the examination of the four available city-type data sets (two in the U.S. and two from Europe), and whether these conform to the theoretical expectation that a greater number of dimensions will characterize more immigrant-friendly contexts.

FINDINGS

The Structure of Incorporation

We summarize first the findings regarding incorporation structure for both U.S. and European cities. As expected, New York shows the most differentiated structure, with four incorporation dimensions emerging (economic, sociocultural, spatial, and political) (Figure 3). New York also is characterized by the lowest percentage of variance explained by the first component extracted in the PCA (see Appendix Table A1). This is notable because the first component always explains the most variance in common among a set of indicators and thus invariably involves the most indicators (Brown 2006). Moreover, the more variance it explains, the more it reflects what structuralists term consolidation and the more it represents a tendency toward a uni-dimensional general assimilation pattern. It is thus particularly noteworthy that

New York, long considered the premier gateway city in the country most often characterized as a "nation of immigrants" (Kasinitz et al. 2008), reveals the most differentiated structure of all of the cities examined. Stated differently, New York exhibits the most different kinds of mobility pathways, or the least strong general assimilationist pattern.

Los Angeles and the MI-European cities show less differentiation and more consolidated structures than NY, with three dimensions emerging as a result of political and economic indicators tending to bundle together more in their cases than in the NY case (see Figure 4). The DE/A-European cities show the least differentiated and most consolidated structures, with only two dimensions emerging (with greater bundling occurring among more materialist and objective behavioral indicators in one component and among more sociocultural and subjective indicators in another). In short, the incorporation configurations of cities located in European countries whose recent past histories have been the least welcoming of immigrants most approach uni-dimensionality of structure. This suggests the second-generation incorporation patterns in such places, in revealing more similar levels of integration on <u>all</u> aspects of incorporation at once (a pattern which as we will see below is also associated with relatively <u>lower</u> levels of immigrant integration), most reflect the influence of differential exclusion and assimilationist forces. In the vernacular of structural differentiation theory, then, these places show the least differentiation and the most consolidation among aspects of incorporation among all of the cities examined. In keeping with the theoretical ideas outlined above, we would expect these properties to be associated with less second-generation incorporation, especially economic incorporation.

It is also worth noting the nature of the dimensions that emerge in NY's case (and to a certain degree in the other cases as well). In NY, an overall sociocultural dimension does not emerge, except largely one defined by linguistic indicators. This suggest that indicators of

perceptions of the importance of ethnic identity, religious behavior, and intermarriage are not very likely to bundle together or strongly co-vary with linguistic indicators. Partly, this reflects the strong tendencies for immigrants everywhere and irrespective of their other characteristics to learn the host country language to a considerable degree, certainly in the United States (Esser 2006; Rumbaut, Massey and Bean 2006). But it also may reflect the possibility that the sociocultural aspects of incorporation do not "hang together" to the degree that aspects of other major dimensions do. This does not mean they are unimportant, only that we can less readily predict one aspect of sociocultural incorporation from knowledge of another. Such "non-determinative" features of sociocultural incorporation would be less consistent with assimilation theoretical perspectives (which emphasize uni-dimensionality among aspects), but more in keeping with multicultural and post-industrial perspectives, which tend to view sociocultural phenomena as more independent, "optional," and situationally fluid.

The Degree of Incorporation

Turning next to assessing such differences in incorporation, we first note that, in order to be able to do so, we must take into account that different kinds of cities reveal various numbers of incorporation dimensions. Less immigrant-favorable urban contexts show fewer dimensions, meaning they exhibit more consolidated patterns. This indicates that in such places more aspects of incorporation tend to bundle together on fewer dimensions. This must be taken into consideration in comparing the extent of a given kind of incorporation across kinds of cities. To do so, we used the component loadings (e.g., weights) for each indicator as estimated for the most favorable city context in either the U.S. or Europe, depending on where the city is located, to calculate incorporation scores for less immigrant-favorable cities. For example, in the case of Los Angeles, we take the loadings for the indicators on each of New York's components (e.g.,

the economic and the other three components) and apply them in combination with Los Angeles's indicator means to generate scores for Los Angeles for the four dimensions emerging from the NY analyses. Essentially, we ask what Los Angeles's score would be on some dimension of incorporation if LA had the same overall incorporation structure as NY but its own levels (indicator means) on various aspects of incorporation? After doing this, when we compare scores across the two cities (or, in case of Europe, the two types of cities) with respect to any particular incorporation dimension, we first control for age and gender differences because composition in these varies across types of cities. We treated the results of using such controls as a baseline model against which the results from subsequent models are compared.

As hypothesized, after controlling for age and gender, greater levels of second-generation immigrant incorporation characterize NY than LA in the U.S. case (Figure 5, first bar). This difference is greatest for economic incorporation, but is statistically significant also for political and spatial incorporation, although the magnitude of the differences for these two kinds of incorporation is less than for economic. In the European case, where a three-dimensional structure emerges among the MI cities (with political indicators bundling with economic ones), after controlling for age and gender differences, the MI cities show higher levels of economic/political incorporation than do DE/A cities, again as expected. The same is true of spatial and linguistic incorporation, although as in the U.S. case to a lesser degree than for economic/political incorporation. In both the U.S. and European cases, we also introduced controls for several background factors (parent's education and various family structure variables). These provide a rough indication of selection effects, or the tendency for certain kinds of immigrants to locate in cities providing more favorable incorporation contexts. The differences in city types after introducing such controls are shown in the second bars of each pair

in Figures 5 and 6. In the U.S., such controls reduce by about 10-12 percent the advantage NY shows in economic and political incorporation over LA, but they do not eliminate it, as they do for spatial incorporation. In Europe, such controls increase the advantage the MI cities show over the DE/A cities. In other words, in Europe, it is immigrants with less incorporation-ready backgrounds that gravitate to the more favorable contexts. Whatever the case, the children of immigrants fare better in NY than in LA and in MI contexts than in DE/A ones.

Robustness Checks

We also conducted several robustness checks on the above results. The first was to try to ascertain whether the observed NY difference might stem from the presence of such a large Mexican group in LA (a group that is low education and very poor). This involved our deleting the Mexicans from the LA data and re-running all of the analyses. After doing so, we found that very nearly the same incorporation structures and differences emerged as when the analyses were conducted including the Mexicans. The second was to ask whether cost-of-living differences between NY and LA could account for the NY economic effect. But when we compared cost-of-living data, we found that while NY's observed incorporation advantage is over 20 percent higher than LA's, its cost-of-living exceeds LA's by only about 6 percent (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009). The third was to ask whether differential in- or out-migration patterns across the two cities by factors included in our measures (e.g., greater out-migration of less successful second-generation persons in NY) might explain the differences, but if anything, they increased them rather than reducing them. Thus, the incorporation advantage that second-generation immigrants enjoy, at least in NY, appears to hold up to further scrutiny.

In the case of the European cities, we also checked to see whether including the two French cities in the DE/A category, each of which was deemed to provide an example of an

assimilationist context, affected the results. The reason different results could emerge is that cities in France constitute only a partial fit with the classification. While France represents a strong example of an assimilationist orientation (Castles and Miller 2009), it also is a country which embraces strong universal values that emphasize the ideal of equal treatment of persons regardless of origin or background (Simon 2003; Silberman and Fournier 2007). Thus, cities in France could be construed as fitting better with either DE or MI kinds of places. When we ran separate analyses for the second-generation samples for the two French cities, however, the results for the non-French cities did not differ much from the case where the French cities were included, showing no change in structure and only a slight increase in the extent of economic/political incorporation difference between DE and MI cities. Specifically, the French cities were slightly more similar to MI cities than to DE/A cities.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the theoretical discussions and empirical findings presented above suggest that urban and national contexts matter for immigrant group integration, at least in the sense that the broad incorporation regimes characteristic of different cities in countries with different kinds of incorporation cultures, histories, institutions and policies help to explain incorporation pathways and outcomes. Most particularly, the more favorable a city's culture, history, institutions and policies are to immigrants, then 1) the more the city's incorporation structures show evidence of multi-dimensionality and non-consolidation and 2) the better the children of immigrants fare with respect to various kinds of incorporation, especially on economic and political dimensions. Stated differently, the more channels of mobility there are in a city and the less immigrants must depend on any one of them to advance with respect to others, the greater the degree of second-generation immigrant mobility in the city on most dimensions of

incorporation, especially economic and political ones. Also, such city effects do not appear appreciably to be explained by selectivity effects among migrants, but rather seem to owe more to differences in the kinds of opportunity structures that characterize the urban contexts the immigrants experience. This notwithstanding, a large portion of the variation observed here remains individual variation, which suggests that while social background matters to some degree for immigrant advancement, individual attainment also varies greatly within places and within national origin and class groups.

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Table 1. Indicators of Incorporation along Four Dimensions among 1.5/2nd Generation Immigrants in the United States and Europe

		United States	Europe
Economic	Education	Years of completed schooling	Five-level categorical variable
	Health Insurance	Has job-related health insurance (dummy-coded)	N/A
	Income	Natural log of annual individual income	Income hardship scale (low=great hardship, high=secure)
	Occupational Prestige	N/A	Continuous ISEI score
Sociocultural / Linguistic	Pro-Exogamy	Does not believe it is important to marry within racial/ethnic group (dummy-coded)	N/A
	Language Loss	Does not speak parents' native language well (dummy-coded)	Five-category indicator of proficiency of parents' native language (high=poor, low=excellent)
	Host Country Language at Home	Prefers to speak English at home (dummy-coded)	Frequency of usage of host language with family members (higher scores=more frequent use of host tongue)
	Low Ethnic Media Usage	Does not consume ethnic-specific media on a weekly basis (dummy-coded)	Four-category indicator of ethnic media exposure (high=never, low=only ethnic media)
	Non-Religious	Attends services fewer than two times annually (dummy-coded)	Five-category indicator of mosque attendance (high=never, low=weekly)
Spatial	Ethno-Racial Composition of Neighborhood	Percent U.S.-born, Non-Latino White in Census Tract, 2000	Five-category indicator of perceived ethnic composition (high=almost nobody of same ethnic background, low=almost everyone same background)
	Socioeconomic Status of Neighborhood	Median household income of Census Tract, 2000	Three-category indicator of perceived SES of neighborhood (lower-class, middle-class, upper-class)
Political	Pro-Government Intervention	Scale (low=unfavorable toward Federal government interventions, high=favorable)	N/A
	Political Engagement	Z-score (low=low engagement, high=high engagement)	Participation in political parties/groups (dummy-coded)
	Voting	Voted in recent election (dummy-coded)	Voted in last municpal elections (dummy-coded)

Source: Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA)
Study of the Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York (ISGMNY)
The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES)

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations for Indicators of Incorporation among 1.5/2nd Generation Immigrant Adults in the U.S. and Europe[a]

	Los Angeles (N=3,440)		*New York (N=2,419)*	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Economic				
Education	13.7	2.4	13.2	2.1
Health Ins.	0.53	0.50	0.41	0.49
Income	8.2	3.8	8.4	3.5
Language / Culture				
Pro-Exogamy	0.83	0.38	0.86	0.35
Language Loss	0.33	0.47	0.48	0.50
Host Language at Home	0.69	0.43	0.72	0.45
No Ethnic Media	0.52	0.50	0.37	0.48
Non-Religious	0.36	0.48	0.66	0.47
Spatial				
NHW in Neighborhood	0.27	0.21	0.20	0.25
SES of Neighborhood	43,975	16,985	34,002	15,001
Political				
Pro-Govt. Intervention	4.4	1.2	4.4	1.4
Political Engagement	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
Voted	0.38	0.48	0.35	0.48
	European DE/A Cities[b] (N=2,562)		*European I/M Ciities[c] (N=977)*	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Economic				
Education	3.4	1.1	3.7	1.3
Occupational Prestige	41.0	11.1	42.7	10.7
Income	2.7	1.0	2.6	1.1
Language / Culture				
Language Loss	2.4	1.2	2.7	1.2
Host Language at Home	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.2
No Ethnic Media	2.3	1.0	2.5	0.8
Non-Religious	2.6	1.4	2.5	1.4
Spatial				
SES of Neighborhood	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6
Ethnicity of Neighborhood	2.9	1.0	2.7	1.0
Political				
Voted	0.43	0.50	0.67	0.47
Political Engagement	0.03	0.17	0.04	0.21

Sources: Los Angeles (IIMMLA), New York (ISGMNY), Europe (TIES)

[a] See Table 1 for variable definitions

[b] Cities in nations with Differential Exclusionist or Assimilationist regimes: Austria (Vienna and Linz), Switzerland (Basel and Zurich), Germany (Berlin and Frankfurt), and France (Paris and Strasbourg)

[c] Citieis in nations with Integration / Multicultural regimes: Sweden (Stockholm), The Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam)

Figure 1. Studies Postulating Relationships Between Urban (or National) Contextual Factors and Aspects of Incorporation

Study	Examples of factors	Relation to incorporation
Waldinger (1996, 2001)	Union concentration Historical immigrant presence Racial/ethnic diversity	 +
Reitz (1998)	Skill selectivity Inequality in labor markets	+ -
Mollenkopf (1999)	Political segmentation	+
Keogan (2002)	Symbols of receptivity	+
Castles and Miller (2009)	Integration/multicultural regime	+
Crul and Schneider (2010)	Institutional features of labor markets, housing, religion and legislation	+ -
Brettell (2003)	Historical immigrant presence Diversity Intergroup relations	 +
Bloemraad (2006)	Multicultural policies	+
Foner (2007)	Historical immigrant presence Intergroup relations	 +
Glick-Schiller and Çağlar (2009)	Disinvestment caused by restructuring Urban position in power continuum	- +
Goodwin-White (2009)	Unionization rates Educational opportunities	+
Koopmans (2010)	Generosity of welfare state and multicultural policies together	-

Figure 2. Theoretical Framework Depicting Expected General Relationships Between CHIP Factors, Type of Incorporation Regime, Incorporation Dimensionality and Degree of Incorporation

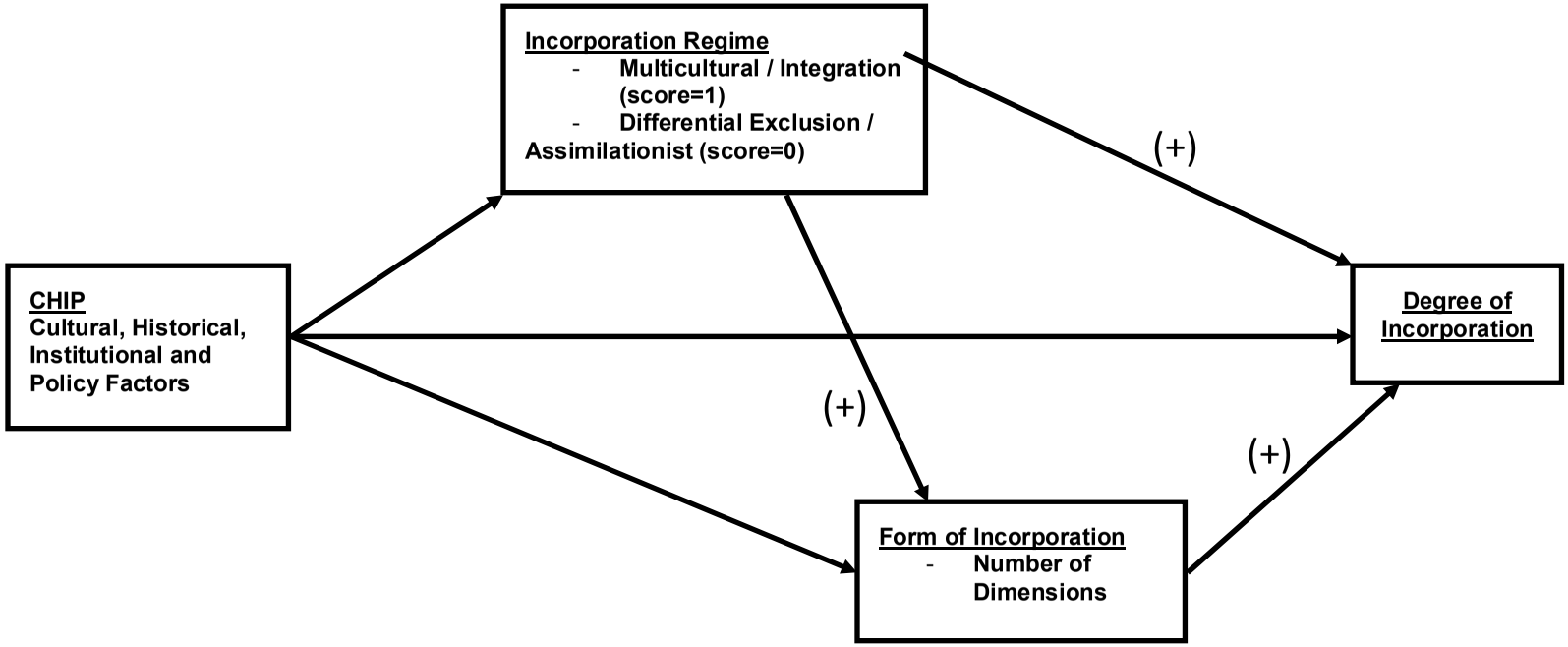
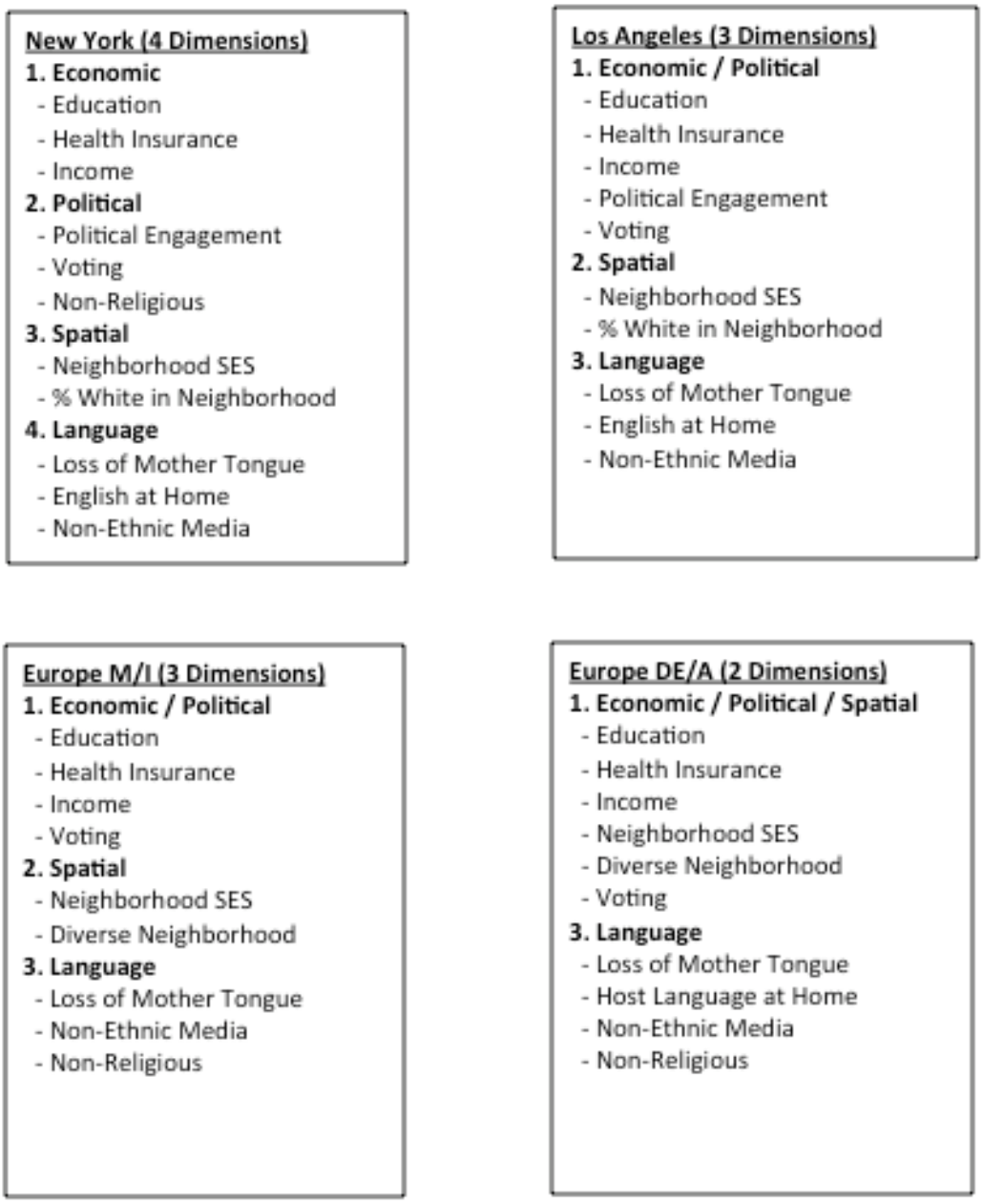


Figure 3. Number of Incorporation Dimensions Observed in Each Receiving Context[a]

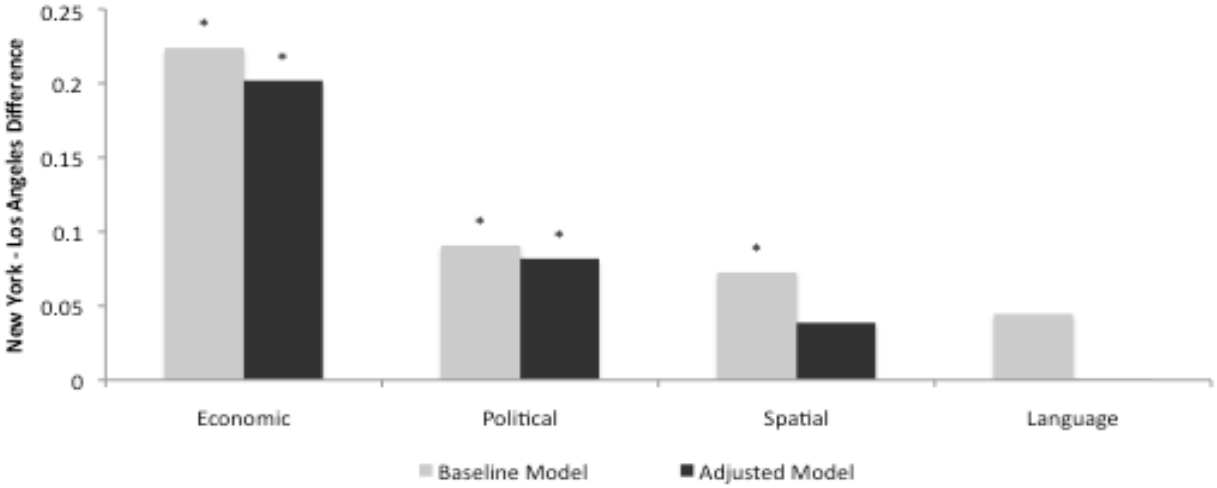
[a] Based on Principal Components Analysis of indicators of incorporation defined in Table 1

Figure 4. Dimensions of Incorporation and Their Components among 1.5/2nd Generation Immigrant Adults in Different Types of Receiving Contexts in the United States and Europe[a]



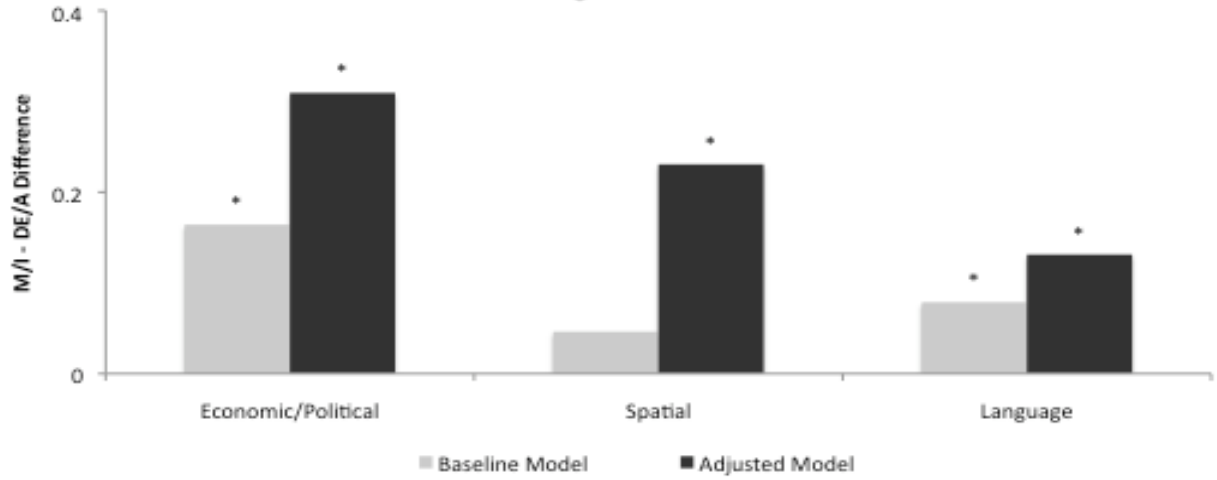
[a] Summary of principal components analyses of incorporation indicators within each type of receiving area; factor loadings are reported in Appendix Table A2.

Figure 5. Size of New York-Los Angeles Difference in Scores on Four Incorporation Dimensions among 1.5/2nd Geneartion Immigrant Adults



Notes:
- Differences are based on regression models of factor scores on a New York dummy variable
- Baseline Model includes only a New York dummy,and age and sex controls
- Adjusted Model adds parental background factors to baseline (see Appendix Table A3)
- * City-difference significant at $p < .05$

Figure 6. Size of Multicultural/Integration - Differential Exlcusion/Assimilationist Difference in Scores on Three Incorporation Dimensions among 2nd Generation Immigrant Adults



Notes:
- Differences are based on regression models of factor scores on a Multicultural/Integration dummy variable
- Baseline Model includes only an M/I dummy, and age and sex controls
- Adjusted Model adds parental background factors to baseline (see Appendix Table A4)
- * Regime type-difference significant at $p < .05$

APPENDIX TABLES

Table A1. Summary Results for Principal Components Analyses of Indicators of Incorporation among 1.5/2nd Generation Immigrants in the United States and Europe

	Expected Rank-Order on Openess of Incorporation	Number of Incorporation Dimenstions	% of Variance Explained by First Factor	
			Total	As Share of Variance Explained by Retained Factors
New York	1	4	15.4	32.0
European I/M Cities	2	3	15.6	40.0
Los Angeles	3	3	18.5	45.1
European DE/A Cities	4	2	20.1	58.7

Table A2. Varimax-Rotated Factor Loading for Principal Components Analyses of Indicators of Incorporation among 1.5/2nd Generation Immigrants in the United States and Europe

	Los Angeles			*New York*			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Education	**0.618**	0.344	0.075	0.012	0.318	**0.498**	0.310
Health Insurance	**0.499**	0.027	0.018	-0.087	0.101	**0.681**	0.207
Income	**0.526**	-0.042	0.085	-0.041	-0.007	**0.725**	-0.006
Pro-Exogamy	0.087	-0.122	0.364	0.196	-0.167	0.209	-0.213
Language Loss	-0.201	-0.006	**0.637**	**0.783**	-0.058	-0.077	0.041
English at Home	0.223	0.161	**0.601**	**0.756**	-0.065	-0.022	0.071
Low Ethnic Media Usage	0.074	0.200	**0.746**	**0.582**	0.260	0.060	-0.067
Non-Religious	0.013	0.096	0.329	0.101	0.032	0.202	**-0.428**
NHW in Tract	0.059	**0.865**	0.102	-0.115	**0.852**	0.025	-0.016
SES of Tract	0.016	**0.874**	0.061	0.097	**0.829**	0.058	-0.006
Pro-Govt. Intervention	-0.017	-0.024	0.171	0.181	-0.001	0.270	-0.385
Political Engagement	**0.708**	-0.008	-0.019	0.094	0.023	0.094	**0.697**
Voted	**0.689**	0.012	0.034	0.083	-0.081	0.366	**0.645**

	European DE/A Cities		*European I/M Cities*		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Education	**0.665**	0.091	**0.729**	0.210	0.025
Occupation	**0.599**	-0.039	**0.381**	**0.414**	0.152
Income	**0.540**	0.042	**0.606**	-0.033	0.016
Language Loss	-0.128	**0.604**	0.046	-0.154	**0.673**
Host Language at Home	0.134	**0.721**	-0.172	0.108	-0.225
Low Ethnic Media Usage	0.018	**0.705**	0.199	-0.094	**0.612**
Non-Religious	0.161	**0.605**	-0.201	0.248	**0.617**
Neighborhood Diversity	**0.523**	0.174	0.157	**0.706**	0.016
SES of Neighborhood	**0.522**	0.079	-0.033	**0.768**	-0.072
Political Engagement	0.225	-0.174	0.149	-0.035	-0.147
Voted	**0.435**	0.095	**0.548**	-0.169	-0.030

Notes: Loadings greater than or equal to |.400| in **bold**
Loadings based on weighted analyses

Table A3. OLS Coefficients for PCA Factor Scores Regressed on City, Demographic Characteristics, and Parent's Education, 1.5 and 2nd Generation Adults in Los Angeles and New York

	Economic			*Political*		
	B	B	B	B	B	B
Constant	-0.004	-1.441 ***	-1.629 ***	-0.001	-0.668 ***	-1.098 ***
New York	0.008	0.224 ***	0.202 ***	-0.016	0.091 ***	0.082 ***
Age		0.048 ***	0.050 ***		0.026 ***	0.026 ***
Male		0.179 ***	0.161 ***		-0.132 ***	-0.149 ***
Parent's Education[a]			0.015 ***			0.017 ***
At Least one Citizen Parent			0.085 **			0.210 ***
Two-Parent HH Growing Up			0.028			0.130 ***
Lived Abroad Growing Up[b]			0.038			-0.004
Number of Siblings			-0.031 ***			-0.001
R-Squared	0.000	0.115 ***	0.136 ***	0.000	0.039 ***	0.064 ***

	Spatial			*Language*		
	B	B	B	B	B	B
Constant	0.007	-0.488 ***	-1.072 ***	-0.004	-0.302 ***	-0.954 ***
New York	-0.002	0.073 **	0.039 +	0.002	0.045 +	-0.006
Age		0.016 ***	0.020 ***		0.009 ***	0.009 ***
Male		0.079 ***	0.033		0.096 ***	0.069 **
Parent's Education[a]			0.041 ***			0.048 ***
At Least one Citizen Parent			0.111 ***			0.272 ***
Two-Parent HH Growing Up			0.183 ***			-0.083 ***
Lived Abroad Growing Up[b]			0.021			-0.115 **
Number of Siblings			-0.044 ***			-0.006
R-Squared	0.000	0.012 ***	0.098 ***	0.000	0.006 ***	0.086 ***

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$ (two-tailed test)

Notes: Sample weighted by person weights that make each ethnic group proportional to its population share within each city

[a] Years of education completed by same-sex parent; in cases where same-sex parent's education is unknown, education of the opposite-sex parent is used

[b] For a period of at least six months after initial immigration

Table A4. OLS Coefficients for PCA Factor Scores Regressed on Immigration Regime, Demographic Characteristics, and Parental and Family Background Variables, 2nd Generation Adults in Europe (N=3,539)

	Economic / Political			*Language*		
	B	B	B	B	B	B
Constant	-0.076 *	-0.830 ***	-0.981 ***	-0.063 *	-0.392 ***	-0.579 ***
Integration/Multicultural City	0.125 *	0.164 **	0.309 ***	0.060	0.079 +	0.131 *
Age		0.032 ***	0.041 ***		0.016 ***	0.023 ***
Male		-0.110 *	-0.089 +		-0.168 ***	-0.138 **
Parents' Education[a]						
Primary Level			-0.390 ***			-0.420 ***
Tertiary Level			0.619 ***			0.086
Missing			-0.745 ***			0.296 **
Family Structure / Background						
Number of Siblings			-0.043 **			-0.029 *
At Least One Citizen Parent[b]			0.261 ***			0.229 ***
Missing			-0.126			0.231 +
Parents Divorced before R 18			-0.190 *			0.559 ***
Parents Divorced after R 18			0.052			0.333 *
Missing			-0.477 *			0.120
Lived in Parent Country			-0.503 **			-0.438 **
Missing			0.172			0.263
R-Squared	0.001	0.014	0.087	0.000	0.009	0.081

	Spatial		
	B	B	B
Constant	-0.025	-0.035	0.078
Integration/Multicultural City	0.043	0.046	0.231 ***
Age		0.003	0.010 *
Male		-0.153 **	-0.141 **
Parents' Education			
Primary Level			-0.513 ***
Tertiary Level			0.671 ***
Missing			-0.595 ***
Family Structure / Background			
Number of Siblings			-0.055 ***
At Least One Citizen Parent			-0.095 +
Missing			-0.350 *
Parents Divorced before R 18			0.029
Parents Divorced after R 18			0.239
Missing			-0.222
Lived Abroad as Youth			-0.159
Missing			-0.192
R-Squared	0.000	0.003	0.078

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$ (two-tailed test)

Notes: Sample weighted by person weights that make each ethnic group proportional to its population share within each city

[a] Reference category is Secondary Level; variable is based on the level of education completed by same-sex parent; when same-sex parent's education is unknown, education of the opposite-sex parent is used; coded as "missing" if both are unknown

[b] Reference category is neither parent holds citizenship in survey country

[c] Reference category is parents still married

[d] Reference category is never lived abroad between ages 12 and 16