

The Price of Identity

The Effect of Acculturation on Labor Market Outcomes Among Immigrant Youth in the U.S.

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Abstract: This empirical paper investigates the impact of acculturation strategies on labor market outcomes (income, career goal achievement capabilities, job satisfaction) of immigrant youth, using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), a longitudinal study ran from 1992 to 2002 in Florida and California. The study categorizes respondents into two acculturation strategies: positive acculturation (a stronger attachment to the U.S.) and negative acculturation (a stronger attachment to one's native country). To draw causality, this study employs a child's duration of stay and parental attachment to the U.S. as instruments. Findings indicate that gender and one's migrant group are the most important predictors of labor market outcomes. Being a woman or a part of a "visible minority" has the most detrimental impact. Surprisingly, positive acculturation has a negative but overall small and statistically insignificant impact on labor outcomes, emphasizing the importance of anti-discrimination policies over integration policies to support immigrants in the labor market.

Keywords: immigrant youth, acculturation, returns to acculturation, labor market, ordinary least squares, instrumental variables, United States of America

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The views stated in this thesis are those of the author and not necessarily those of the supervisor, second assessor, Erasmus School of Economics or Erasmus University Rotterdam.

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1 Introduction

”I always tell my kid, ‘on one shoulder you have to be Vietnamese, on the other shoulder you have to be American,’” says Frances Nguyen, one of the 130,000 Vietnamese children brought to America in the aftermath of the Vietnam War in 1975. *”So how do you balance that? This is a fast lane society. You have to adapt to be an American. But at the same time, you cannot forget where you are coming from”* (Gonzales, 2015).

Transitioning from one’s homeland to life in a new country is no easy task. For immigrants who do so in the context of a host culture far different from their native values and traditions, the task is exponentially more challenging as they navigate between conflicting values and goals (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018). Broadly speaking, this ”transition” – the way an immigrant’s values and behaviors adapt to a new culture - is called acculturation. This study explores the relevance of the acculturation of immigrant youth in optimizing future labor market outcomes by exploiting survey data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), a longitudinal study conducted by Princeton University from 1992 to 2002 in Miami, Florida, and San Diego, California. The CILS has a starting sample of 5,262 eighth and ninth graders with immigrant parents. This includes both the second and ”1.5” generation of immigrants, where the latter were born in the U.S. and the former were brought into the U.S. at an early age.

Examining these immigrants in the context of America holds significant relevance. In 2021, among the 18 million children of immigrants in the U.S., 43 percent came from low-income households. This rate was higher than that of children born to U.S.-born parents, of which 34 percent (out of the total 51.6 million) were in low-income households (Ward, 2023). Thus, analyzing whether the immigrant youth can utilize acculturation to improve their labor market outcomes in a meaningful way has practical policy implications. Additionally, the number of second-generation children in the U.S. has experienced a consistent upward trend since 2000, according to data from the Pew Research Center. Between 2000 and 2010, there was a substantial 40 percent increase, elevating the count from 10.4 million to 14.6 million (Batalova, 2021). In 2022, this number has risen to 17.6 million second generation immigrants (Migration Policy Institute, 2022).

By combining CILS survey responses, this paper derives that a respondent can take on one of two ”acculturation strategies”: 1) positive acculturation - stronger attachment to the U.S. than their

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native country or 2) negative acculturation - stronger attachment to the native country compared to the host country. This binary variable, referred to in this study as *attachment*, serves as the treatment. The construction of this variable and the selection of survey questions used to create it is motivated by the modernized fourfold "AIMS" model developed by Berry (1980, 2006). "AIMS" stands for assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation, referring to the four different acculturation strategies that depend on how an immigrant discards or holds on to both the new host culture and the old native culture. The model was updated by Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik (2010), Bornstein (2017), and Ward and Geeraert (2016, 2019) to incorporate how acculturation varies along behaviors, values, and identity – factors that affect acculturation other than the immigrant's choices.

This paper investigates three key labor market outcome variables: monthly earnings, career goal achievement capability, as measured by the proximity of a respondent's current job to their desired job's Treiman prestige score, and job satisfaction. Natural logs are taken of both job satisfaction and monthly earnings. Selection bias and endogeneity concerns arise by simply running an OLS regression of labor market outcomes on *attachment* with controls. The selection of an acculturation strategy is not exogenous but is instead determined by the individual and is shaped by various external factors such as discrimination in the host country and the cultural gap between the U.S. and their native culture. Additionally, the regression would suffer from omitted variable bias, potentially leading to spurious results. Finally, reverse causality is a threat; an individual unsuccessful in the labor market might feel discriminated against and turn to form groups with people from their country of origin. To address these concerns, the instrumental variable method is implemented. Two-stage least squares (2SLS) estimates are reported. This paper's primary instrument is the child's duration of stay – a longer duration of stay in the U.S. should induce the child into being more attached to the U.S. than their native country and ultimately lead to better labor market outcomes. 2SLS estimates of a secondary instrument, parental attachment, are reported as a robustness check. These two 2SLS models are compared to OLS estimates, reduced form estimates, and no-control specifications.

By identifying patterns across these specifications, this paper finds that sex and migrant group matter most for all three labor market outcomes. Specifically, women made between 10 to 13 percent less than men, an effect consistently significant at the 1 percent level. Women also fell short of their career goals by 1-6 prestige points, but this effect is relatively small. In terms of

migrant groups, Cubans, predominantly identifying as white, were the least affected by race, while Caribbeans, often categorized as black, consistently were most disadvantaged in the labor market. Acculturation, surprisingly, negatively impacts labor market outcomes, but estimates were small and insignificant. These results suggest that anti-discrimination policies matter most to support immigrants in the U.S. labor market as opposed to integration policies, as previous research may suggest.

Section 2 introduces a general overview of acculturation, how it matters for labor market outcomes, and highlights various contributions of this research. Section 3 describes the historical background of immigration to Florida and California and how immigrants are affected. Section 4 describes the data and provides descriptive statistics that relay the different acculturation experiences of different migrant groups. Section 5 outlines how labor market outcomes, acculturation, and controls are constructed. Section 6 outlines the instrumental variable method and evaluates the strength of each identifying assumption. Section 7 describes the results, and Section 8 considers different specifications as a robustness/sensitivity check. Section 9 synthesizes Sections 7 and 8, and Section 10 addresses limitations, and Section 11 concludes.

2 Theory and Literature Review

2.1 Models of Immigrant Acculturation

In a broad sense, acculturation encompasses the behavioral and ideological shifts occurring within an individual due to interactions with culturally diverse people, groups, and societal influences. (Gibson 2001). How acculturation has been modeled has constantly evolved since it was first formally conceptualized in psychological research in the late 60s. Juang and Syed (2019) best explain acculturation's development as a theory. The following summarizes the paper's key points and models relevant to this paper.

Acculturation was formally defined for the first time in the mid-60s by American sociologist Milton Gordon. He conceptualized it as a unidimensional process, positioning the retention of heritage culture and assimilation into the host culture at opposite ends of a single spectrum.(Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik, 2010). According to this model, as migrants embraced the

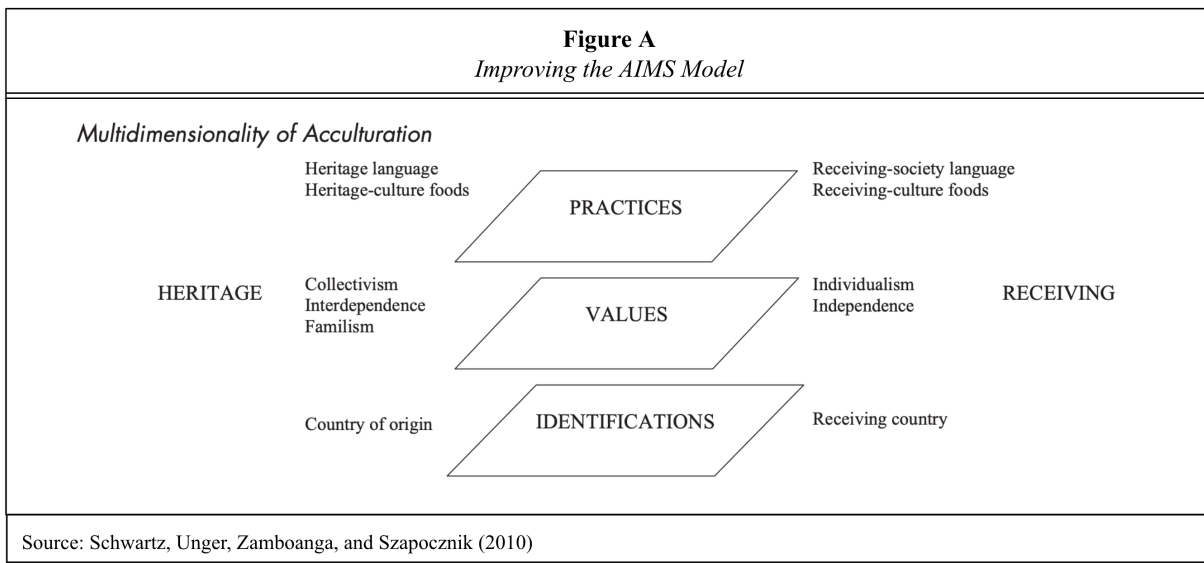
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values, practices, and beliefs of their new homelands, the host society expected them to completely detach themselves from those associated with their native heritage. Fifteen years later, this framework was reworked into Berry's fourfold model, in which migrants' acculturation varies along two spectra: the extent to which the new culture is adopted or rejected and the extent to which the native culture is simultaneously adopted or rejected. The four possible combinations, or "acculturation strategies," are assimilation, separation, and marginalization – hence the model's moniker, the "AIMS" model. First, integrated immigrants are those who strongly identify with both their country of origin and destination or host country. This has come to be called biculturalism and is often regarded as the ideal identity state. Research shows that integration is often associated with the most ideal psychological and social outcomes, especially among young immigrants. Second, assimilated immigrants strongly identify with the cultural norms and values of the destination/host country, but leave behind those of their native country. On the contrary, separated immigrants maintain cultural connections solely with their country of origin, while rejecting adapting into the host country. Finally, marginalized individuals identify neither with the host nor the origin/native cultures (Berry, 1980).

Berry's model faces several key criticisms. First are the implications of dividing acculturation into four strategies. For one, the line between rejection versus adoption of the host (or origin) culture is arbitrary and likely varies across samples, making comparison difficult. Additionally, the model does not allow for neutrality. Second, marginalization as an acculturation strategy is particularly criticized (Del Pilar Udasco, 2004) since the probability of a person rejecting both the host and the native culture is likely low. On a more theoretical level, a third criticism relates to how labeling acculturation as "strategies" implies that migrants have complete autonomy regarding which strategy they ultimately identify with. The reality is, however, that there exist demographic and contextual factors that often constrain immigrants from having full control over the strategy they realize.

In light of these criticisms, modifications to the AIMS model were made over time to integrate more nuanced approaches. Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik (2010) suggest considering acculturation in three separate dimensions — practices, values, and identity — within the two broad orientations with heritage and majority cultures (*Figure A*). They argue that these dimensions should be studied over time to see whether they change individually or together and

how each relates to the other. Their work guides this paper’s selection of survey questions used to construct our unique acculturation measure. Bornstein (2017) added to this work by proposing five factors of acculturation: 1) the setting condition (reason to migrate, place of migration, experience, socioeconomic status), 2) personal characteristics (gender, personality), 3) time (age, length of time spent in a country), 4) process (socialization, learning, instruction, opportunity), and 5) domain (multidimensionality, dynamic adaptability). Similarly, Ward and Geeraert (2016) emphasized the importance of cultural distance and, later in 2019, included child development perspectives and theories into acculturation models. These studies motivate this study’s inclusion of a detailed explanation of Florida and California’s immigration history, careful attention to selecting controls, and use of the instrumental variable method to untangle intertwined and complex acculturation processes.



2.2 The Link Between Acculturation and Labor Market Outcomes

Most of the literature supports that positive acculturation of immigrants is conducive to successful labor market outcomes. However, there is debate whether acculturating in the form of assimilation or integration matters. In their 2007 study, Nekby, Rodin, and Ozcan delved into the implications of identity formation among 10,000 immigrant Swedish students for their future labor market outcomes. Their findings revealed that the extent of identification with Swedish culture significantly influences labor market outcomes, while the strength of identity with the origin cul-

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ture was inconsequential. This result, notably, only holds up for men. Thus, at least for men, they maintain that assimilation and integration are equally effective acculturation strategies in the context of the labor market. Carillo, Lombardo, and Venittelli (2022), on the other hand, find robust evidence that in a sample of about 12,000 immigrants to Italy, integrated immigrants actually have higher employment rates than assimilated immigrants. They discovered that the advantages of integration in the labor market are particularly useful for individuals who encounter substantial barriers when trying to enter the job market: women, low-skilled workers, and immigrants with relatively short experience in Italy or who arrive in Italy at older ages. Authors report that the primary mechanism driving the positive effect of additional identification with one's origin culture is the benefits of increased local networks that ensure in-group favoritism and information sharing. Similarly, Valdivia and Flores (2012) report benefits of integration over assimilation. When looking at job satisfaction as a labor market outcome among 253 Latino immigrants in rural communities in Midwestern America, results indicated that *both* ethnic identity and acculturation to American culture positively impacted satisfaction rates.

Interestingly, several studies find evidence that a strong attachment to the home country *always* harms immigrants' economic outcomes – even in a bicultural context. For instance, Battu & Zenou (2010), by using an IV method in a sample of 5,100 minorities in England and Wales, find that those with a strong ethnic attachment have a seven percentage point lower possibility of being employed as compared to those who align more with the host culture. Bisin et al. (2011a), with data from the European Social Survey, find that although the probability of second-generation immigrants being employed is not statistically different from that of natives, those with a strong ethnic identity have a lower chance of finding a job than natives. Finally, Cano-Urbina and Mason (2016) empirically examine the relationship between self-identification as Indigenous and earnings inequality in the Mexican labor market with national census data. Their study reveals that those who self-identify as Indigenous experience an earnings penalty, with an additional and larger penalty for Indigenous persons fluent in an Indigenous language – regardless of Spanish language fluency.

The last three studies, however, are juxtaposed against findings from Pendakur & Pendakur (2005), who instead observe benefits of identifying with the home country - researchers find that for European ethnic minorities in Canada, the strength of minority identity is positively related to use of informal methods for gaining employment. Similarly, Piracha, Tani, Cheng, and Wang (2021)

exploit Australian longitudinal data and find that ethnic identification of immigrants is strongly associated with employment, wages, and several job satisfaction measures. Outcomes of one study, Islam and Raschky (2015), are unique from all the aforementioned papers, as they find a negligible effect of assimilation on immigrants' labor market outcomes in the Canadian context.

One recurring trend among the research is the implications of being a "visible" minority. In the aforementioned study, Pendakur & Pendakur (2005), researchers find that the effect of acculturation disappears for visibly foreign minorities (i.e., dark complexion or non-European physical features). Rather, ethnic identity is consistently associated with lower occupational prestige. Mason (2004) finds that for Hispanic groups in America, adopting a non-Hispanic white racial identity is associated with higher annual income and hourly wages but is insufficient to overcome negative penalties associated with a dark complexion or non-European phenotype. Race's significant role in future outcomes motivates employing a migrant group dummy as a key control in this paper.

2.3 Contribution - What About the Children?

The empirical literature that explores the intersection of acculturation and labor market outcomes, specifically in the context of immigrant children is relatively small and still growing. Exploring this niche is, therefore, the primary contribution of this study's research.

The articles that best investigate this niche are Borjas, Bronars, & Trej (1992), and Schaafsma & Sweetman (2001). The former explores whether young internal migrants in the U.S. experience increased earnings the longer they spend in the country. Ultimately, researchers find that time eventually neutralizes the initial wage differential between immigrants and their native counterparts. Similarly, Schaafsma and Sweetman (2001) also explore the effects of age at immigration and also observe a positive correlation between the age of immigration and earnings in Canadian census data – a relationship that is particularly advantageous to visible minorities and for those whose mother tongue is not English. This paper builds on the aforementioned papers by constructing an actual measure of acculturation with survey data and using time spent in the U.S. as an instrument instead of a direct proxy for acculturation itself.

Since the literature discussed above suggests that acculturation generally leads to better labor market outcomes, the following hypothesis is tested: **Immigrant children who positively acculturate – proxied by a stronger attachment to the U.S. compared to the native country – will,**

on average, have better labor market outcomes compared to those who negatively acculturate - proxied by a stronger attachment to the native country compared to the U.S.

In addition to this research contributing to an unexplored niche in migration literature, its attempt at a more empirical analysis via the instrumental variable method stands out within the literature on acculturation in the context of the labor market reviewed in Section 2.2. These papers mainly employ OLS with controls and sometimes fixed effects as their empirical strategy. Only two studies utilize a more robust method, both employing an instrumental variable method. Battu & Zenou (2010), which found harmful labor market outcomes from a strong ethnic identity, implement three instruments: 1) Whether individuals have experienced racial harassment, 2) if their parents made the decision to choose their wife or husband, or 3) if they prefer a school of their religion for their children. Islam and Raschky (2015), which found a negligible impact of assimilation, use genetic distance as their instrument. This study complements Battu & Zenou (2010) by not just isolating those with strong native attachments but comparing them with those with strong attachments to the host.

The final contribution of this study is from a contextual perspective; the current literature that explores the effect of acculturation on labor market primarily covers Europe, with some exceptions of studies in Canada, Australia, and Mexico. One study is set in the U.S., but only in the context of 215 Mexican immigrants in the Midwest. In contrast, this paper explores a much larger group of individuals across different migrant groups and does so in the context of both the West Coast and East Coast of the United States. Thus, this data better mirrors the national immigration population, improving the external validity of this paper's results.

3 Historical Background: Florida and California

This study is centered around the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), which surveys young immigrants at the beginning of high school in 1992, at the end of high school, and at the beginning of their careers as young adults. The CILS sample is drawn primarily from two places: San Diego, California, and Miami, Florida, two cities known for their high immigration rates.

¹ These states have different immigration histories and ethnic compositions that have important implications for the acculturation process and, therefore, are documented in detail in this section.

3.1 Immigration History: 1940s-1990s

The migrant groups associated with immigration to Florida and California are primarily defined by the destination's geographic location (Wilkins et al., 2018). In other words, most immigrants came from neighboring countries – those immigrating to California came from Mexico, the Philippines, and a few other Southeast Asian countries. In contrast, those immigrating to Florida mainly came from Cuba and various Caribbean countries.

We begin with California. Before the 1960s, immigrants to California were typically affluent individuals seeking economic opportunity and could afford to start a new life in America. Typically, those with established connections to immigrants already residing in America were those who made the move. For instance, San Diego's growth of Mexican-born residents, in particular, was facilitated by preexisting Mexican communities founded by Mexicans who were granted citizenship after the Mexican-American war ended in the late 1800s. Filipino roots in San Diego lie in their ties to the U.S. Navy; more than half of Filipino babies born in the greater San Diego area were born at Balboa Naval Hospital in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Espiritu, 2010). Regarding those from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, however, many of them were refugees who came after the Vietnam War ended (Shek & Auble, 1996; Alperin & Batalova, 2018; King, 1985). When the U.S. Congress overhauled America's immigration system with the Immigration Act of 1965, it marked the beginning of a 25-year period that was the most inclusive in U.S. immigration history. The act allowed entrance into the nation based on needed skills rather than region of origin and created ways for families and employers to sponsor people. Consequently, from 1970 to 1980, the proportion of Anglo-California residents declined to 76 percent from 89 percent. Over that decade, Asians and Pacific Islanders grew most rapidly, increasing by 140 percent to 1.25 million people. The number of Californians with Latino roots, the fastest-growing category at the aggregate level, increased by 92 percent to 4.5 million. By the end of the decade, California became the number one destination spot for immigrants in America (Lindsey, 1981).

¹Notably, 6 percent of the CILS sample is from Fort Lauderdale, an hour's drive from Miami. Since the differences between Miami and Fort Lauderdale are negligible, the two cities are combined into a single category.

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Across the country in Florida, the pre-60s period of immigration was defined similarly to California's; affluent Cubans seeking a better life crossed the border to settle in relatively small but vibrant ethnic enclaves. By the time the '60s hit, America's updated open-door policy, Cuba's political crises (and general instability in the Caribbean region), and high demand for labor among U.S. fruit harvesting industries (Lorenzi Batalova, 2022) caused an immigration boom to occur as well in Florida. In 1965 alone, 100,000 Cubans packed into the twice daily "freedom flights" from Havana to Miami (Jacoby, 1974). The Mariel Boatlift of 1980 brought a second wave of Cuban immigration to Miami: 150,000 of them, the largest transport in civilian history. Unlike the previous exodus of the 1960s, most of this wave's arriving Cuban and Caribbean refugees were poor.

The CILS sample reflects this history. The motivation for immigrating of the parents of the respondents varied greatly between those who immigrated to Florida versus California (Table 1). Forty-four percent of parents, the largest subgroup, who moved to Miami cited political reasons (i.e., the Cuban Revolution). In San Diego, only 19 percent of immigrants moved for political reasons and were instead mainly characterized by immigrants seeking to improve their economic situation or for educational purposes. Almost half of the immigrants to San Diego were of this type compared to a little over a third in Florida. Lastly, the proportion of immigrants moving for reunification was twice as much in San Diego at 24 percent compared to Florida's 12 percent. These differences between immigrants to Florida and California are important to highlight. The acculturation options available to a migrant may vary according to the circumstances surrounding her or his migration (Schwartz et al., 2010). They can broadly be divided into forced migrants and voluntary migrants. It is significantly more challenging for the former to assimilate as their circumstance means coming unprepared to deal with the new language and differing cultures and values.

3.2 Ethnic Differences

Within the CILS sample in San Diego, two-thirds of the children have geographic origins in Asia, and the remaining third are from Latin America. At the national level, the largest share of immigrants in the sample, 33 percent, are of Filipino origin, followed by Mexico at 30 percent, and Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia at 15, 6, and 4 percent, respectively. On the other hand, in Florida, 78 percent are from Latin America, with over half being from Cuba and the remainder mainly

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Table 1
Differences Between California and Florida (%)

	California	Florida
Reason for moving to the United States		
Economic improvement / educational	35	45
Political reasons	44	19
Reunite / family reason	12	24
Personal problems	4	1
Other	5	11
Geographic Origin		
Central/South America	33	80
Asia	66	2
Caribbean	1	16
Middle East/Africa	0	2
<i>N</i>	2420	2842

represented by Nicaragua, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic. The next largest migrant group in Florida, at 15 percent, are from Caribbean countries, primarily in Jamaica and Haiti. Only 2 percent of immigrants to Florida are of Asian origin. Having a diverse group of migrants such as this enables us to explore how their acculturation process is affected depending on their reception by Americans.

We begin with the treatment of Asians. Reception of Asian immigrants took a turn in the 1960s when they began being heralded as "model minorities" after a century of being thought of as the "yellow peril," a morally wayward people stealing American jobs. This shift was not due to Asians' supposedly "unique" cultural features, such as obedience, hard work, and family values paying off. Many scholars moved away from that narrative and now argue that Asians only became "equal" to Americans once discrimination against them began to lessen – which happened to be a politically convenient strategy for American politicians in the mid-20th century (Guo, 2016). This change in attitude towards Asian Americans began with repealing Chinese exclusion in the 1940s to maintain American alliance with China in the war against Japan. In the 1960s, during the civil rights movement, Asians were exploited as a contrast to other minority groups like Blacks and Hispanics, who were challenging the system. This exploitation highlighted the United States as a racial democracy – especially during the Cold War, acceptance of Asian Americans allowed the U.S. to project themselves as the ideal global leader of a democratic world. Indeed, during the 1970s, when the Vietnam War ended, the media took on a sympathetic angle in highlighting the narratives of Southeast Asian refugees, often portraying them as "vulnerable victims" who required

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solidarity and support from the United States. Asians, understandably, did not push back against the model minority stereotype but embraced it – they were finally being accepted and recognized as human beings. An added reinforcing mechanism to lessened Asian discrimination was the 1965 Immigration Act’s preference clause, as it prioritized skilled immigrants. Filipino skilled immigration, for instance, skyrocketed via trained nurses. Consequently, stories of highly skilled Asians were prolific and solidified the model minority stereotype. The wage gap between Asian Americans and white Americans eventually disappeared and even flipped; the U.S. Department of Labor reports with data from 2017-2019 that the average Asian-Pacific Islander makes \$1.12 for every white dollar.

By comparison, Latinos were as a whole underpaid a jarring total of 288 billion dollars for the year 2021. Additionally, although the percentage of Latinos in skilled and well-paying professions has risen over the past ten years, they continue to be overrepresented in lower-wage jobs. Conversely, they are underrepresented in higher-paying occupations and, overall, typically earn lower average wages compared to their White counterparts within similar fields. (Perez, Sichel, Chui, and Calvo 2021). America’s racist narrative of Latinos as “illegal criminals” or “lazy and undeserving” perpetuated throughout the 20th century and did not undergo the same transformation the Asian American story did. American politicians simply did not have the incentive in the late 20th century to include them and recognize their acculturation efforts.

Of course, lumping Latinos into a singular monolith would be naive. In the context of this sample, it is important to distinguish between the experience of Mexicans and other Latinos in California compared to Cubans and Caribbeans in Florida. Cubans, in particular, stand out in how varied their visibility as a minority can be, with their phenotype rooted either in white Spanish descent, black West African descent, or Latin American descent. This can be traced back to the Spanish colonization in the 1500s when around 8,000 Africans were brought to Cuba as slaves by the Spaniards to labor on the sugar plantations. These racial dynamics are reflected in immigration patterns from Cuba. Before the Mariel boatlift, 95 percent of the Cubans who entered the U.S. between 1959 and 1979 identified as White (García, 1996). The boatlift arrivals, however, better reflected the sizeable Cuban population of people of African descent. Immigration records suggest that the terms “Black” or “Mulato” could be applied to at least 30 percent of Mariel arrivals (Stephens, 2021). The U.S. government prioritized the resettlement of people who had family

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members ready to care for them in the Miami area; in other words, white Cubans were prioritized, leaving the vast majority of black Cubans in homeless camps and excluded from their own Cuban enclave. Black Cubans faced abhorrent racism and were labeled, as one news anchor conveyed, as "murderers, thieves, perverts, prostitutes, the retarded, crippled, [and] the winos" (Roig-Franzia, 2015). Benson and Cleland (2020) found that due to this racism, black Cubans are less likely to own homes, build savings, and have a lower net worth when compared to white Cubans. On the other hand, white Cubans were eventually recognized as model minority immigrants, even complicit in marginalizing their darker co-ethnics. Notably, within the CILS, 38 percent of Cubans self-report as white, 1 percent as black, 12 percent as multiracial, 40 percent as Hispanic (i.e., Latin American), and 6 percent as Cuban.

The last relevant migrant group in the CILS is those from the Caribbeans. Forty percent of them are from Haiti, 35 percent are from Jamaica, and 25 percent are from other countries in the West Indies. Countries from this region have a long and profoundly tumultuous history of colonization and slavery. Notably, this study separates Cuba from this migrant group despite the country being a Caribbean island for two reasons. First is because Cuba experiences preferential treatment compared to other Caribbean countries regarding immigration law (Lorenzi and Batalova 2022.) Second is due to differences in racial makeup that lead to more favorable treatment of Cubans by Americans. Indeed, in the CILS sample, 73 percent of Caribbeans identify as black and 12 percent as multiracial, while 38 percent of Cubans identify as white and less than 1 percent as black. Most of these black immigrants are phenotypically similar to black Americans and face discrimination based on their racial designation. Indeed, "black Caribbeans have been historically treated in a manner largely indistinguishable from their African American counterparts, including being the targets of discrimination in employment, housing, education, and health care" (Taylor et al., 2019). The second reason is that the sheer number of Cubans represented in the sample implies that any heterogeneous effect of Caribbean acculturation would likely be missed. Notably, Caribbeans in the CILS sample have high scores in English fluency and may use this to their advantage in acculturation. Jamaica, in particular, has strong ties with the language as it, like the U.S., was once a British colony. With English as its official language, it is no surprise that 94 percent of Jamaicans in the CILS sample score in the highest bracket of English fluency. From a language perspective, Haitians have significantly weaker ties to English than Jamaica. Ninety

percent of Haitians speak only Haitian Creole (Hebblethwaite, 2021). The CILS, therefore, seems to oversample Haitians fluent in English; Haitians surprisingly have a similar proportion of fluent English speakers within their migrant group as Jamaica.

This overview can only capture so much nuance of racial dynamics in the U.S. Nonetheless; these dynamics motivate us to include the migrant background as a control and provide a framework for a nuanced interpretation of the results in the models.

4 Data

The CILS, a longitudinal survey from 1992-2002, enables studying the acculturation process among the immigrant second generation, a population broadly defined as either 1) children born in the U.S. with at least one foreign-born parent, or 2) individuals born abroad but brought to the United States at a young age. The latter is sometimes referred to in immigration academia as the "1.5" generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). In 1992, researchers administered the first survey to second (and 1.5) generation children in the eighth and ninth grades in the American high school system. CILS participants were thus an average of 15 years old at the beginning of the study. The samples were drawn from public and private schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami and Fort Lauderdale in Florida and San Diego, California.

4.1 The Four CILS Surveys

The study involved 5,262 students in the eighth and ninth grades of high school. This sample was evenly divided by sex and birth status (foreign-born and U.S.-born). Although 77 different nationalities were represented, the sample was strategically designed to mirror the largest immigrant nationalities in each. Florida is slightly overrepresented in the sample, with 54 percent of the study taking place in Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, and the remaining 46 percent in San Diego.

The first survey conducted in 1992 collected details about children's demographics, language usage, self-identities, and academic achievements, as well as information about their immigrant families, such as household size, wealth, parental occupations, and motivations for immigrants. Three years later, students participated in the first follow-up survey, coinciding with their graduation from high school. This survey assessed the evolution of the same acculturation outcomes covered

in the first survey and garnered responses from 4,288 students, roughly 82 percent of the original sample. The 18 percent loss indicates the proportion of youths who left high school prematurely. While this led to a slight over-representation of children from higher-status families, empirical tests conducted by the researchers indicated that this did not significantly bias the findings of the original survey. Alongside this follow-up survey, a parental survey was conducted to explore parents' aspirations and plans for their children, providing valuable insights into the family dynamics within the study.

The third survey (the second follow-up) occurred when the respondents had entered early adulthood, at an average age of 24. By then, most respondents had moved elsewhere. The nationwide tracking effort was somewhat successful, with a total collection of 3,613 individual responses, constituting 69 percent of the original sample and 84 percent of the participants from the first follow-up. The researchers identified evidence of sampling bias in the second follow-up, which they corrected through statistical methods. This survey extracted pertinent labor market outcomes, including monthly earnings, job satisfaction rates, and the prestige scores of their desired and current employment positions, all of which are relevant to this study.

4.2 Descriptive Statistics

The CILS sample can be divided into seven migrant groups: Cubans, Mexicans, other Latinos, Filipinos, Southeast Asian refugees, other Asians, and Caribbeans. These groups are the most represented in the sample and, considering the research outlined above, are likely to have the most different acculturation experiences (*Table 2*) and reception by Americans.

Caribbeans, Filipinos, and Cubans (in that order) have the highest proportion of their respective groups that are most likely to always prefer the American way of life. However, Caribbeans were in the bottom three when considering the average response. On the other end of the spectrum, Mexicans and Latinos have the largest proportion of their groups, at 10 percent and 6 percent, respectively, that were the most likely to *never* prefer the American way of life. Again, Caribbeans, Filipinos, and Cubans also have the largest proportions within their groups that speak English fluently; 87 of Caribbeans and about 80 percent of Filipinos and Cubans rank in the highest tier of fluency. This pattern holds up when looking at the average English fluency scores by migrant group. On the opposite end of the spectrum, only 38 percent of Southeast Asians are in this tier.

4. DATA

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics: Key Assimilation Questions by Migrant Group (%)

	<i>Cubans</i>	<i>Mexicans</i>	<i>Other Latinos</i>	<i>Filipinos</i>	<i>Southeast Asian Refugees</i>	<i>Other Asians</i>	<i>Caribbeans</i>
How often do you prefer American way of doing things?							
Always = 4	6.69	5.08	6.01	7.21	2.40	3.92	7.29
Most Times = 3	33.05	18.64	27.98	46.46	35.89	44.61	34.35
Sometimes = 2	56.38	65.59	59.75	45.35	59.89	50.49	50.15
Never = 1	3.87	10.68	6.26	0.97	2.22	0.98	8.21
<i>Mean</i>	<i>2.43</i>	<i>2.18</i>	<i>2.34</i>	<i>2.59</i>	<i>2.38</i>	<i>2.51</i>	<i>2.41</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>956</i>	<i>590</i>	<i>815</i>	<i>721</i>	<i>541</i>	<i>204</i>	<i>329</i>
How well do you speak, read, write, and understand English?							
Very well = 4	80.83	54.42	72.80	79.14	37.75	58.05	87.50
Well = 3	18.86	39.07	26.34	20.17	48.25	33.17	12.50
Not well = 2	0.31	6.01	0.85	0.69	13.44	8.78	0
Not at all = 1	0	0.50	0	0	0.55	0	0
<i>Mean</i>	<i>3.90</i>	<i>3.62</i>	<i>3.84</i>	<i>3.87</i>	<i>3.39</i>	<i>3.62</i>	<i>3.91</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>965</i>	<i>599</i>	<i>820</i>	<i>724</i>	<i>543</i>	<i>205</i>	<i>336</i>
How do you self-identify?							
American = 2	5.53	1.18	3.43	1.52	0.37	3.43	1.53
Home country and U.S. = 1	46.72	29.12	12.25	36.38	24.91	26.96	51.07
Home country = 0	47.76	69.70	84.31	62.10	74.72	69.61	47.40
<i>Mean</i>	<i>0.58</i>	<i>0.31</i>	<i>0.19</i>	<i>0.39</i>	<i>0.26</i>	<i>0.33</i>	<i>0.54</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>959</i>	<i>594</i>	<i>816</i>	<i>723</i>	<i>538</i>	<i>204</i>	<i>327</i>
How many of your close friends have parents who come from foreign countries?							
Many/most = 3	75.00	42.55	69.24	60.68	67.18	44.90	48.87
Some = 2	21.07	47.52	27.03	32.05	28.19	45.92	44.83
None = 1	3.93	9.93	3.73	7.26	4.63	9.18	6.90
<i>Mean</i>	<i>1.29</i>	<i>1.67</i>	<i>1.35</i>	<i>1.46</i>	<i>1.38</i>	<i>1.64</i>	<i>1.60</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>916</i>	<i>564</i>	<i>777</i>	<i>702</i>	<i>518</i>	<i>196</i>	<i>309</i>

Notes:

1. Statistics in *italics* (averages and the total population) are read as whole numbers, not percentages.
2. Southeast Asian refugees refer to CILS children from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Caribbeans refer to CILS children from Jamaica, Haiti, and other countries in the West Indies.
3. Immigrants from the Middle East and Africa are dropped due to very low representation (less than 1% of the entire sample). White Europeans and Canadians (1.67% of the sample) are excluded as well for that reason as well as irrelevance to the study (non-visible minority).
4. English fluency scores are calculated as an average of the four skills: reading, speaking, listening, and writing.

Indeed, 13 percent of them do not speak English well, similar to the remaining Asians (9 percent) and Mexicans (6 percent). These three groups are juxtaposed sharply with the other migrant groups, which have exactly or close to zero percent of their group that cannot speak English well or at all.

Regarding self-identification, 74 percent of Southeast Asian refugees and 70 percent of remaining Asians identify solely with their home country. In contrast, Caribbeans, Cubans, and Filipinos again had the largest portion of their groups identify bi-culturally (ex: Filipino-American or Haitian-American). Cubans, notably, had the highest share of those who identified as American at about 6 percent. In terms of close friends, despite demonstrating high levels of acculturation in the other three survey questions, Cubans were the migrant group with the largest proportion of children – three-fourths of them – with many/most of their friends having an immigrant background. This likely indicates the strength of Miami’s Cuban enclave, as mentioned earlier. Otherwise, in terms of averages, Mexicans, Asians (excluding Filipinos and Southeast Asian refugees), and Caribbeans had the most friends with a non-immigrant background.

5 Defining Variables

5.1 Labor Market Outcome Variables

The three relevant outcome variables this paper examines are monthly earnings, career goal achievement capability, and job satisfaction. To measure how "close" a respondent gets to obtaining their desired job, a variable that matches a student's desired job at the end of high school to its corresponding Treiman prestige (SEI) score is exploited. According to Ganzeboom and Treiman (2003), socioeconomic index (SEI) scores – which in the CILS sample range from 0 to 120 – are created by computing a weighted sum of socioeconomic characteristics of individuals under each occupation, usually education and income, but occasionally other characteristics, e.g., father's socioeconomic characteristics and wealth. The desired SEI score of a respondent is subtracted from the SEI score of their current job. Since, the resulting value is the distance between their desired and realized prestige scores, a resulting value of zero indicates that they achieved their goal prestige. Positive values indicate a child could reach a prestige score above what they wanted. Negative values indicate they could not meet their desired job prestige level. The range for this variable among CILS respondents is between -64 and +32. In the context of this model, take, for instance, a regression returning a coefficient of 12; if you are more attached to the U.S. than your home country, you should expect to have a job as a young adult that is, on average, 12 points above your desired job's prestige score.

Job satisfaction is constructed by combining responses from two survey questions: 1) How satisfied are you with this job as a whole? and 2) How satisfied are you with your present income? These two questions were ranked on a scale of 1-5, ranging from very dissatisfied to very satisfied. Income is measured by monthly earnings from all sources. The log of both job satisfaction and monthly earnings is taken.

5.2 Treatment: *Attachment* as an Acculturation Measure

This study's measure of acculturation, *attachment*, can take on two values: 0 if the child is more attached to their native country than the United States (negative acculturation), and 1 if the child is more attached to the United States (positive acculturation). To create this variable, a

5. DEFINING VARIABLES

selection of survey questions (*Table 3*), of which the responses indicate either attachment to either the U.S. or a respondent’s native country, is utilized. The selection of survey questions is based on Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik (2010), who argue that the AIMS model should consider acculturation in three separate dimensions — in practices, values, and identity; the CILS allows extraction of data from directly asking how much a child aligns with American values, how well they know and actively use English or a second language, who they socialize with, the way a child culturally identifies, and how important that identity is to them.

Table 3
Survey Questions Used to Create Attachment Variable

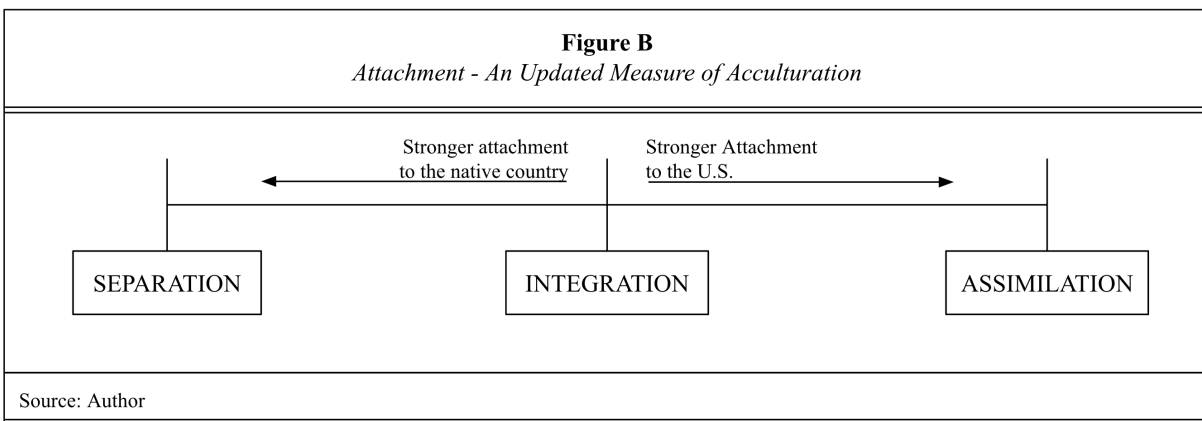
Variable	Question	Coding
		*0 = attachment to home 1 = attachment to new country 2 = equal attachment
<i>Amway</i>	How often do you prefer American way of doing things?	Never/Sometimes = 0. Most times/Always = 1.
<i>Amfam</i>	The American way of life weakens the family.	I agree a lot/ I agree a little = 0. I disagree a lot/I disagree a little = 1.
<i>Usabest</i>	There is no better country than the US.	I disagree a lot/I disagree a little = 0. I agree a lot/ I agree a little = 1.
<i>Lng</i>	How well do you speak English/2 nd language? How well do you understand English/2 nd language? How well do you read English/2 nd language? How well do you write in English/2 nd language?	2 nd language better than English = 0; English better than 2 nd language = 1; 2 nd language equal to English = 2
<i>Lngfrnd</i>	Talking with your friends at school, do you sometimes use a language other than English?	Yes, we speak it frequently or always = 0; Yes, we speak it but only seldom or sometimes /No, not at all = 1.
<i>Lnghome</i>	Do people in your home speak a language other than English?	Yes, we speak it frequently or always = 0; Yes, we speak it but only seldom or sometimes /No, not at all = 1.
<i>Frnd</i>	How many of your close friends come from foreign countries?	Many/most = 0. None/some = 1.
<i>Selfval</i>	How do you identify, that is what do you call yourself? And how important is that identity to you?	Home country = 0. American = 1. <u>Both</u> = 2. Observations that important identity as unimportant do not get matched

These particular survey questions are asked twice – at the beginning and end of high school. The questions used in constructing *attachment* are pulled from the second survey in 1996, at the end of high school. Although Cheung, Chudek, and Heine (2010), among other studies, find that acculturation is most successful when a child is relatively young as it is easier for them to adapt to the host, this study reports estimates at an older age to investigate where the upper threshold lies.

To create *attachment*, first, a variable, *host*, is created. It is equal to the number of questions answered in a way that indicates attachment to the U.S. Similarly, another variable, *native*, is created, which is equal to the number of questions answered that are coded as attachment to the home country. These two variables are used to create the acculturation measure, *attachment*, which depends on whether *host* is larger or less than *native*.

Thus, this approach addresses one criticism of the AIMS models – that the threshold determining

when one's actions cross from rejection to acceptance is arbitrary. It does this by establishing *attachment* in *relative* terms as opposed to in *absolute* terms. A second critique of the AIMS model this measure addresses relates to the unlikelihood of marginalization – rejecting both the host culture and the native culture – as an identification strategy. By excluding marginalization from this definition of acculturation, the fourfold model becomes a threefold one. The remaining strategies – assimilation, separation, and integration – are combined into a single scale represented by a binary variable (*Figure B*). An assimilation strategy is represented on the right side of the scale and separation on the left. Integration is valued closer to the middle. To reiterate, it is not relevant where on the scale assimilation or separation becomes integration, but rather, which direction a respondent's acculturation strategy sways towards.



Notably, *attachment* can sometimes be coded as "perfect" integration in which the number of responses that indicate attachment to the U.S. is equal to the number that indicates attachment to the native culture. This is because even though an odd number of survey questions is used (which ideally would "force" a respondent to land on one side of the scale rather than being balanced), there are cases of students who only answer an even number of questions and thus cannot break the tie. *Table 4* highlights this missing data issue.

Despite the missing data that arise from excluding respondents coded as "perfectly bicultural" from the sample, excluding them is essential as we cannot necessarily say that their labor market outcomes will land in between those of those who are more attached to their native country and those who are more attached to the United States. As some of the literature above highlights, it could very well be that "perfectly bicultural" individuals in the sample have the best labor market outcomes.

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Table 4
Missing Data Concerns

	Income	Prestige Score Current Job	Job Satisfaction
Total valid responses in sample out of 3,613 successfully recalled respondents in Survey III (CILS researchers do correct for sampling bias)	2603	2,394	2,807
Number of “perfectly bicultural” respondents:	176	165	194
Percent missing valid responses (first row)	6.7%	6.9%	11.8%
Percent missing of total sample (3,613) in Survey III	32.8%	38.3%	27.7%
Percent missing of original sample (5,282) in first survey	53.9%	57.6%	50.3%

Notes: Perfectly bicultural are respondents who have the same number of questions coded as attachment to the U.S. as ones coded as attachment to their home country.

5.3 Control Variables

Individual and group socioeconomic and cultural characteristics can strongly influence the channel from stronger attachment to the U.S. to labor market outcomes. For this reason, controls for a respondent’s parental socioeconomic status, migrant group, sex, and quality of schooling are included. Citizenship at birth is also included as a control in the OLS approach but is excluded from the primary 2SLS model due to its high correlation with the instrument – the duration of stay. (The validity of the instrumental variable method itself will be discussed at length in the following section.)

CILS researchers construct parental socioeconomic status to reflect a parent’s education, home ownership, and occupation status. Scores were computed for cases with valid measures in three or more component variables. The reasoning behind this variable’s inclusion is evident – affluent and well-educated families are more likely to afford the expensive investments into their children’s human capital from after-school tutors, private school tuition fees, expensive supplementary extracurricular activities, and, most importantly, a college degree. They are also more likely to have access to relatively larger networks to help them secure jobs for their children. This control is selected carefully due to its potential correlation with this study’s primary instrument, a child’s duration of stay in the U.S. Previous review of California and Florida’s immigration history revealed that earlier migrants (therefore those in the U.S. longer) were more affluent. Adding controls correlated with the instrument can sometimes exacerbate issues related to the exclusion restriction, which, as will be discussed further below, are prolific in this study. However, the actual correlation between

duration of stay in the sample is relatively low at 0.22 and is therefore not excluded from the model.

Migrant groups are defined by how largely represented they are in the CILS and by how different their acculturation experiences are. To reiterate some key points: Asian immigrants are much better received by Americans, and most of them are already high-capital individuals compared to, for instance, their Latino counterparts. Southeast Asian immigrants in this sample are refugees with low assets and English fluency. Those from the Caribbean are largely black immigrants and thus more prone to discrimination by Americans. At the same time, most Cubans are white and will likely have a much easier time acculturating. These may all translate into completely different labor market outcomes, regardless of how actively they acculturate into American culture.

Sex is a similarly important control. The gender gap in the labor market continues to persist (Blau & Kahn, 2017) due to women's workforce interruptions and shorter hours remaining significant in high-skilled occupations, differences in gender roles and the gender division of labor remain important, and discrimination that continues to persist. Suppose it is the case that the relationship between acculturation is not causal and men systematically get higher incomes. In that case, we may falsely attribute this effect to acculturation without controlling for sex.

Controlling for school quality is an attempt to capture differences in educational achievement that may affect labor market outcomes. Although it would be more accurate to use a student's school grades or standardized exam scores, using these may result in a bad control issue; test scores may very well be affected by how well-acculturated a student is in the U.S. For instance, greater fluency in English can massively improve a child's comprehension of the teacher, thus improving their performance across all subjects. It can also encourage the child to be more confident in joining extracurricular activities that supplement their educational experience. The control itself is based on self-reported questions, so care is taken not to select questions related to acculturation or discrimination. For instance, a question dealing with fights between racial/ethnic groups is excluded, but an assessment of whether the child thinks the teaching is good is included.

U.S. citizenship is the final control. In their U.S.-based 2002 study, Bratsberg et al. employed fixed effects analysis using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth to investigate wage determinants of young immigrants. Their findings indicated that citizenship had a notably significant impact on wages and wage growth. This effect was attributed to the increased access to a wider array of higher-paying jobs, primarily through opportunities in the public sector that immigrants

would not have had access to as non-citizens. Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Ward (2019), a study that exploits the quasi-random assignment of citizenship in Swiss municipalities, find that obtaining Swiss citizenship led to an average increase of about 5,000 U.S. dollars in annual earnings over the subsequent 15 years. Different from the Bratsberg et al. (2002), these researchers find that the primary mechanism for this is that citizenship may lead to higher earnings by reducing the discrimination that non-citizens face in the labor market.

It must be flagged, however, that the control used in this study is U.S. citizenship *at birth*. A more precise method for measuring this control would additionally incorporate naturalized citizens. In fact, by doing so, the correlation between this paper’s main instrument, the child’s duration of stay, and citizenship would be rendered insignificant, allowing us to incorporate this control into the primary 2SLS model. However, including naturalized citizens reintroduces the bad control issue; students with a stronger attachment to the U.S. are more likely to naturalize as citizens, potentially skewing the results. Given that citizenship at birth is not subject to the respondent’s choices and is therefore exogenous, it is ultimately chosen as the control measure. Consequently, as previously mentioned, this control is omitted from the primary 2SLS model due to its high correlation (roughly 0.75) with the duration of stay. Instead, it is included in the secondary 2SLS model, which uses parental attachment as the instrument.

6 Empirical Methodology

6.1 OLS Approach

The most straightforward approach for estimating the effect of positive acculturation, measured as a stronger attachment to the U.S. compared to one’s native country, would be to regress the dependent variable – the four labor market outcomes – on *attachment*. The following OLS equation is thus estimated:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_{IV} Attachment_i + u_i \quad (1)$$

This would give an unbiased estimate of the effect of acculturation on labor market outcomes if the acculturation was unrelated to unobserved factors of the children. Hence, the identifying

assumption is that conditional on the observed characteristics, acculturation – level of attachment to the U.S. – is random. However, if some children have a stronger attachment to the U.S. than others due to unobserved factors correlated with labor market outcomes, the estimates will suffer from omitted variable bias. The least-squares estimator will be positively biased due to the omission of the unavailable and thus omitted explanatory variables such as ability or networking strength, which will be positively correlated with *attachment* while positively affecting labor market outcomes. Reverse causality is also a concern if an individual unsuccessful in the host country's labor market might form groups with people from their country of origin. Finally, selection bias threatens OLS estimates; the child themselves determines whether and the extent to which they are attached to their native country or the United States, and this choice is often heavily influenced by external factors. In other words, the researchers cannot randomize whether or not the child of an immigrant will be willing to adapt. These problems are addressed by instrumenting for attachment with a child's duration of stay.

6.2 Instrumental Variable Approach

This paper's primary instrument is the child's duration of stay in the United States. The CILS survey does not ask the child for the exact number of years but instead asks them to select one of the following four options: their entire life (which is, on average, fifteen years), ten years or more, five to nine years, and less than five years.

6.2.1 Empirical Evidence for the Instrument of Choice

The intuition for choosing this instrument is simple: the longer a child is in America, the more likely they are to be attached to the U.S. than their native country and, ultimately, achieve better labor market outcomes. Additionally, children who were in the U.S. for longer likely have parents who were there longer than other parents who may be new to the country. Newly immigrated parents were raised and educated in an environment completely different from the host country, internalizing certain behaviors and social norms that may make it more challenging for them and, thus, their children to integrate.

Indeed, research shows that immigrants arriving in the host country at a younger age are more

6. EMPIRICAL METHODOLOGY

likely to assimilate easily than their older counterparts. Tsai, Ying, and Lee (2000) find evidence that Chinese immigrants who arrived in the United States before the age of 12 exhibited a stronger identification with American ways of life than those who immigrated after age 12. Cheung, Chudek, and Heine (2010) observe that among 232 Hong Kong immigrants to Canada, a prolonged exposure period was linked to a stronger affiliation with Canadian culture, specifically for those who immigrated at a younger age. Notably, attachment to their native Chinese culture remained unaffected regardless of the age of immigration or the length of exposure to Canadian culture. On the other hand, among those who immigrated later in life, identification with Canadian culture was no longer impacted by the duration of exposure. Put plainly, immigrants tend to connect more with the culture of the country they move to, especially if they experience it from a young age. Research suggests that this is because young migrants do not experience the problems older migrants may face in acculturation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Adult migrants likely have had the most direct contact with their countries of origin, leaving intact recognizably foreign accents or the inability to speak the receiving country's language. Being more easily identifiable as a migrant may invite discrimination (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik 2010), further hindering their ability to acculturate.

6.2.2 The Instrument and the CILS

Table 5
Distribution of Sample by IV Level and Migrant Group (%)

	Cubans	Mexicans	Other Latinos	Filipinos	Southeast Asian Refugees	Other Asians	Caribbeans	IV Level %	IV Level N
≈ Fifteen years	16.26	8.14	6.56	7.52	1.31	1.87	3.84	45.50	2336
Ten years or more	5.47	2.38	5.86	3.84	5.51	1.27	2.36	26.68	1370
Five to nine years	2.14	2.30	7.48	2.90	3.47	0.76	2.42	21.46	1102
Less than five years	0.00	1.89	0.35	1.69	1.79	0.49	0.14	6.45	326
Migrant Group %	23.88	14.71	20.26	15.95	12.08	4.38	8.75	(100)	-
Migrant Group N	1226	755	1040	819	620	225	449	-	(5134)

Notes:

1. The highest level of the IV (duration of stay in the U.S.) is labeled in the survey as "my entire life", which for the sample is about fifteen years.
2. Southeast Asian refugees refer to CILS children from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Caribbeans refer to CILS children from Jamaica, Haiti, and other countries in the West Indies.
3. Immigrants from the Middle East and Africa are dropped due to very low representation (less than 1% of the entire sample). White Europeans and Canadians (1.67% of the sample) are similarly excluded in addition to irrelevance to the study (non-visible minority).

Table 5 breaks down the sample distribution across migrant groups and by each level of the instrument. An advantageous asset of this instrument is that only 2 data points out of 5,134 are

missing. Additionally, this variable has just enough variation to be exploited as an instrument; at the time of the first survey in 1992, 46 percent of the sample had lived in the U.S. their whole lives, 27 percent for ten or more years, 21 percent for five to nine years, and 6 percent for less than five years. The concentration of the sample in the highest level of the instrument, one's entire life, is primarily explained by the fact that half of the sample is US-born. Second, among foreign-born children, their duration of stay is highly correlated to the parent's year of arrival ² – an immigrant couple's family planning may mean timing their arrival in a new country a few years before or after having children and starting a family. Consequently, since the CILS sample is restricted to children around the same age, most of them will have arrived around the same time and will have been in the U.S. their entire lives. Indeed, 43 percent of foreign-born children arrive between 1973-1980 alone. As a consequence of these two factors, the chances of a child in this sample being in the U.S. for a shorter and shorter amount of time decreases. The vast differences in sample sizes make it particularly difficult to conduct balancing tests to check the validity of the identification strategy.

Cubans also drive much of the variation among children in the U.S. for their entire lives. As for those in the U.S. for 10+ years, this variation is equally driven by Cubans, other Latinos (excluding Mexicans), and Southeast Asians. In the five-to-nine year category, Mexicans and other Latinos drive over half of the variation. Finally, for the relatively few children in the U.S. for less than five years, this is mainly driven by Mexicans, Filipinos, and Southeast Asian refugees. Interestingly, no Cuban children in the CILS sample have lived in the States for fewer than five years. In other words, no Cuban child who migrated after 1987 participated in the CILS study.

6.2.3 Identification

The following four assumptions of the instrumental variable method must be met in order for us to be able to produce reliable, causal results.

Meaningful First Stage

To examine whether a positive relationship exists between duration of stay in the U.S. and attachment to the U.S., the same four questions used in *Table 2* are used to calculate the average response in each instrument level by migrant group. As hypothesized and across all migrant groups,

²This was initially considered as an instrument was dropped due to over 50 percent of the data missing for this variable and unreliable imputation strategies.

6. EMPIRICAL METHODOLOGY

the relationship holds. Level by level in the instrument, those who have lived in America longer are more likely to prefer the American way, have higher average scores in English fluency, self-identify as bicultural, and have fewer friends with an immigrant background (i.e., more American friends). The patterns between migrant groups established earlier also continue to hold up. Cuban, Filipino, and Caribbean youth are the strongest acculturating individuals, with Mexicans, other Latinos, Southeast Asian Refugees, and remaining Asians being the least. Asians in particular (excluding Filipinos) in America for less than five years could not speak English well, on average, and had the highest average for having immigrant friends. Mexicans and other Latinos, comparatively, had relatively high fluency in English across all levels of the instrument but, by fifteen years in the U.S., were least likely to prefer the American way and had the most friends with an immigrant background.

Table 6
Meaningful First Stage: Means Stratified by Duration of Stay in the U.S. and Migrant Group

	<i>Cubans</i>	<i>Mexicans</i>	<i>Other Latinos</i>	<i>Filipinos</i>	<i>Southeast Asian Refugees</i>	<i>Other Asians</i>	<i>Caribbeans</i>
How often do you prefer American way of doing things?							
<i>4 = Always, 3 = Most times, 2 = Sometimes, 1 = Never</i>							
≈ Fifteen years	2.47	2.22	2.46	2.67	2.62	2.69	2.49
Ten years or more	2.35	2.13	2.31	2.61	2.35	2.44	2.34
Five to nine years	2.28	2.17	2.25	2.53	2.39	2.28	2.36
Less than five years	-	2.10	2.45	2.36	2.29	2.40	2.00
How well do you speak, read, write, and understand English?							
<i>4 = Very well, 3 = Well, 2 = Not well, 1 = Not at all</i>							
≈ Fifteen years	3.92	3.77	3.91	3.91	3.81	3.89	3.94
Ten years or more	3.86	3.63	3.86	3.92	3.58	3.56	3.90
Five to nine years	3.80	3.44	3.78	3.86	3.27	3.45	3.90
Less than five years	-	3.07	3.66	3.53	2.73	2.69	3.55
How do you self-identify?							
<i>2 = American, 1 = Both home country and U.S. (ex: Cuban-American), 0 = Home country</i>							
≈ Fifteen years	0.69	0.44	0.31	0.50	0.59	0.57	0.73
Ten years or more	0.36	0.19	0.18	0.41	0.22	0.25	0.39
Five to nine years	0.30	0.11	0.10	0.22	0.24	0.08	0.37
Less than five years	-	0.15	0.18	0.13	0.13	0.05	0.60
How many of your close friends have parents who come from foreign countries?							
<i>1 = Many/most, 2 = Some, 3 = None</i>							
≈ Fifteen years	1.29	1.71	1.47	1.55	1.54	1.81	1.64
Ten years or more	1.32	1.70	1.28	1.42	1.33	1.56	1.57
Five to nine years	1.19	1.56	1.27	1.37	1.32	1.50	1.54
Less than five years	-	1.60	1.70	1.33	1.51	1.30	2.2
<i>Total in Migrant Group</i>	<i>1126</i>	<i>755</i>	<i>1040</i>	<i>819</i>	<i>620</i>	<i>225</i>	<i>449</i>

Notes:

1. The highest level of the IV (duration of stay in the U.S.) is labeled in the survey as “my entire life”, which for the sample is about fifteen years.
2. Southeast Asian refugees refer to CILS children from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Caribbeans refer to CILS children from Jamaica, Haiti, and other countries in the West Indies.
3. Immigrants from the Middle East and Africa are dropped due to very low representation (less than 1% of the entire sample). White Europeans and Canadians (1.67% of the sample) are similarly excluded in addition to irrelevance to the study (non-visible minority).
4. English fluency scores are calculated as an average of the four skills: reading, speaking, listening, and writing.

In addition to the descriptive evidence supporting a meaningful relationship between the in-

strument and second-generation immigrants' acculturation outlined above, estimates for the first stage equation are reported in *Appendix I*. Estimates are positive and statistically significant at the 1 percent level, validating the relevance assumption. Third, the F-Stat was calculated for each 2SLS regression *Table 9* to empirically check this assumption. For all four outcomes, the log of monthly income, the distance between prestige scores of a child's desired and current jobs, and the log of job satisfaction, the F-Stat is large and significant, ranging from 93 to 98. ⁶

Exogeneity

This assumption maintains that the child's length of stay must be randomly assigned. This is plausibly true since the child likely does not have a meaningful say in family planning matters and, more obviously, cannot choose whether they will be born into a family already established in the U.S. or to one that would eventually move to the U.S. Regardless, it is tested whether the sample is balanced on certain characteristics across the different levels of the instrument and the treatment (*Table 7*) such that children who have spent more time in the U.S. should be no different from those who have just arrived other than their duration of stay in the U.S. If the IV behaves in an as-if random fashion, then baseline covariates should not differ significantly across instrument levels (Branson & Keele, 2019). In addition to available demographic variables, pre-treatment covariates included are those potentially related to stronger attachment to the U.S. and future labor market outcomes, such as citizenship status, parental identification with America, and school quality.

Table 7
Balancing Tests: Means of Baseline Covariates Across Different IV Levels

	Whole life (1)	Ten years or more (2)	Five years or more (3)	Less than five years (4)
Sex	1.50	1.51	1.52	1.50
Birth Year	77.28	77.04	77.00	76.82
Site*	1.40	1.48	1.42	1.98
1 = Florida				
2 = California				
Region of Origin*	1.43	1.59	1.58	1.67
1 = Latin America				
2 = Asia				
3 = Caribbean				
4 = Middle East/Africa				
Born a US Citizen*	0.96	0.12	0.10	0.05
Parental Socioeconomic Status*	.108	-0.16	-0.19	-0.48
School Quality	21.97	22.24	21.50	21.01
N	2420	1387	1127	326

Notes:

- * Marks variables that are imbalanced across different levels of the instrument.
- Parental Socioeconomic Status is constructed by CILS researchers to reflect a parent's education, home ownership, and occupation status.
- The range of school quality is between 15 and 44.

The results from the balancing test show that sex, year of birth, and school quality are balanced.

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The rest, however, are not despite their means being quite comparable, at least on a descriptive level. The imbalance is likely caused by the drastic sample size changes across the four levels of the instrument, leading to highly unequal distributions of the variables. The study proceeds with this instrument but cautiously; relevant covariates will be used as controls³.

Exclusion Restriction

To meet the exclusion restriction, a child's duration of stay must be relevant for explaining the variation in a child's acculturation but is not itself a determinant of the labor market outcomes, in this case, income, job satisfaction, and job prestige. This assumption is unlikely to be met as there are several plausible mechanisms in which a child's duration of stay can directly impact labor market outcomes.

Natural ability is one such mechanism; hypothetically, the longer a child has been in America, they are better adapted to the American academic environment and more likely to have greater fluency in English. Both likely enhance their school performance and ultimately improve their potential in the labor market – especially if performing well in high school facilitates a college education.

A second mechanism arises from the fact that a child's duration of stay is primarily determined by when their parents arrived – so much so that the duration of stay and year of arrival captures the same variation. Therefore, could the parent's year of arrival itself be related to a child's future income? Previous analysis of the historical context of immigration to Florida and California revealed that immigrants who were in the U.S. longer were more affluent ones, especially those who came before 1965 – they did not need the Immigration Act of 1965 to be allowed in nor did they arrive as refugees from the end of the Vietnam War (in 1975) or the Mariel Boatlift (in 1980). Consequently, on top of already ample financial resources as a safety net, this cohort of early arrivals would have likely faced less discrimination and had more time to look for suitable jobs and establish themselves economically. Consequently, if a longer duration of stay translates to higher household income and better economic stability, it may be this that improves their children's labor market outcomes as opposed to a relatively strong attachment to the host. Similarly, a third mechanism is that the longer a child (and the parent) is in America, the more likely they are to have developed relatively strong social networks, which can lead to easier access to employment opportunities in the future.

³Despite its imbalance, *site* is excluded as a control as migrant group background captures the same variation.

A fourth mechanism relates to the fact that a longer duration of stay may fuel the desire for citizenship acquisition. Although half of the CILS were already born U.S. citizens, 63 percent of foreign-born respondents⁴ naturalized as citizens by age 24. Although acquiring U.S. citizenship can indeed translate into further attachment to the U.S., which would support the instrument of choice, citizenship itself can also directly channel into better labor market opportunities. In addition to broader access to jobs and less discrimination, this mechanism also reflects workers' unobserved productivity-related characteristics; desiring citizenship can push immigrants to develop additional skills valued by the U.S. labor market, which thus translates into higher incomes.

These exclusion restriction violations can reduce the estimator's efficiency, leading to larger standard errors and wider confidence intervals. This can make it more difficult to detect statistically significant effects. Notably, we can have random assignment of the instrument but failure of the exclusion restriction. In this case, the econometrics literature advises us to focus on the reduced form, which estimates the total effect of the instrument on the outcome variable, including both the direct and indirect effects through the endogenous variable. Although it is not the same as the specific causal effect identified with the IV approach, this effect may still be of interest.

These are the remaining foreign-born respondents by the third survey in 2002. Here, estimated coefficients on attachment give the total effect of differences in attachment across people, not the marginal effect of attachment for a given person (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2005).

To address violations of the exclusion restriction, estimates are reported for an additional instrument, the level of parental attachment to the U.S., as a robustness check. In that section, the results of this additional 2SLS model and the reduced forms of both instruments are reported. This instrument, albeit having weaker F-Stats between 26-30, more reliably satisfies the exclusion restriction.

Monotonicity This assumption requires that people staying longer in the U.S. are always more likely to be more attached to the U.S. In other words, we assume there are no defiers of the instrument and only compliers. In the context of the AIMS model, this means we ignore those who marginalize or separate – those who do not positively acculturate to the U.S. regardless of duration of stay. Considering that this aspect of the AIMS model is critiqued for being a negligible portion of immigrants, this is not considered a problematic violation of the assumption. If there are no defiers,

⁴These are the remaining foreign-born respondents by the third survey in 2002

then the child's duration of stay identifies a local average treatment effect (LATE): the effect for respondents whose treatment participation decision is changed by the instrument's value.

Notably, monotonicity may suffer due to the instrument not being of a binary nature; continuous instruments result in weighted estimates such that individuals most responsive to the instrument are given greater weights. This suggests that the estimate would be skewed towards individuals most responsive to a change in duration of stay. For instance, South Asian refugees would have more to benefit from a longer stay in the U.S. than migrant groups with an already high fluency in English.

6.2.4 IV Model Specifications

The first stage regression (2) establishes the instrument; in this case, how the child's duration of stay in the U.S., $STAY_i$, influences whether or not an immigrant child is more attached to the U.S. or the native country, $Attachment_i$:

$$Attachment_i = \pi_0 + \pi_1 Stay_i + u_i \quad (2)$$

Our population model of interest, or the second stage (3), which is labor market outcomes, Y_i , regressed on the attachment dummy:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_{IV} Attachment_i + u_i \quad (3)$$

The reduced form (4) is obtained by plugging the first stage into the second stage. After doing so:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_{IV} \pi_1 (\beta_0 + \beta_{IV} Stay_i + u_i) + e_i$$

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_{IV} \pi_1 Stay_i + v_i \quad (4)$$

where $\beta^*_0 = \beta_0 + \beta_{IV} \pi_0$ and $v_i = \beta_{IV} \pi_1 u_i + e_i$

The IV-estimate of the parameter β_{IV} can be interpreted as the causal effect of whether or not a child acculturates on the three labor market outcomes: the extent to which a child exceeds or fails to meet their desired job score, increases their job satisfaction, and increases their monthly income.

Finally, a vector of controls (Section 5.3), X_i , is added to the model to account for additional factors that may influence the dependent variable:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_{IV}\pi_1 Stay_i + X_i + v_i \quad (5)$$

7 Main Results

7.1 OLS Results

Table 8
OLS Estimates - Host vs Native Attachment on Labor Market Outcomes

	(1) Ln (Monthly Income)	(2) Current vs Desired Job Difference	(3) Ln (Job Satisfaction)
Attachment (<i>Treatment</i>)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.67 (0.90)	-0.00 (0.02)
U.S. Citizenship Dummy	-0.08** (0.03)	-1.96** (0.79)	-0.01 (0.01)
Parental Socioeconomic Score	0.02 (0.02)	0.63 (0.57)	0.00 (0.01)
Sex	-0.10*** (0.03)	-1.30* (0.75)	-0.00 (0.01)
School Quality	-0.00 (0.00)	0.19** (0.09)	0.00*** (0.00)
<i>Migrant Group Dummy</i>			
Cubans (Ref. Category)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Mexicans	-0.10* (0.05)	-3.48*** (1.34)	-0.09*** (0.03)
Other Latinos	-0.06 (0.04)	-1.09 (1.08)	-0.04** (0.02)
Filipinos	-0.21*** (0.05)	-3.75*** (1.04)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Southeast Asian Refugees	-0.12* (0.06)	-3.80*** (1.47)	-0.11*** (0.03)
Other Asians	-0.09 (0.09)	-1.33 (1.94)	-0.07** (0.03)
Caribbeans	-0.24*** (0.07)	-4.11** (1.61)	-0.13*** (0.03)
Constant	7.61*** (0.14)	-20.23*** (3.33)	1.81*** (0.06)
F	4.027	14.20	4.871
<i>Observations</i>	2069	1891	2219

Notes:

1. *Attachment* takes on the value 1 if the respondent is more attached to the U.S. and 0 if the respondent is more attached to their native country.
2. *Parental Socioeconomic score* is a unit-weighted standardized scale that ranges between 1.66 and 2.09. It varies by 0.01. Therefore, estimates on this control are interpreted as a result of a 0.01 change in the socioeconomic score.
3. *School Quality* ranges from 15 to 44 and varies by 1. Estimates are thus interpreted as a result of a 1 unit change in the school quality index.
4. The outcome in Column 2 measures whether and to what extent a respondent achieved their career goals. It is equal to the difference between the prestige score of their desired job and prestige score of their current job.
5. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$

The results are initially surprising as the results go against this paper's hypothesis. In the OLS model, those more attached to the U.S. than their native country have, on average, a 1 percent

lower monthly income and a lower job satisfaction rate (by less than one percent). However, those attached to the U.S. are more likely to exceed their career goals. Notably, none of the estimates on *attachment* are significant. Even if they were, the coefficients across all three outcomes are relatively small. U.S. citizenship surprisingly has a negative significant impact, implying that compared to foreign-born individuals, U.S.-born citizens have an 8 percent lower monthly income and fall short of their career goals – on average, there is a gap of 2 prestige points in their current job than their desired job. Sex is also important; women have a 10 percent lower monthly income and fall short of their career goals compared to men. Broadly, one’s migrant group matters at the 1 percent level across all outcomes, and it seems that comparatively speaking, Cubans are the ideal migrant group to be a part of. Ultimately, however, these OLS results are prone to bias, and we thus move to interpretation of the 2SLS regressions.

7.2 Main 2SLS Results

The coefficients on *attachment* continue to be negative, small, and insignificant. Regarding monthly income, what matters instead seems to be sex and migrant group. Specifically, at the 1 percent level, women make 11 percent less monthly income compared to men, and Filipinos and Caribbeans make 17 percent and 21 percent less than Cubans. These results are in line with the literature.

Regarding the extent to which a respondent can meet their career goals, one’s migrant group is the most important contributing factor and negatively impacts this outcome. The negative coefficients across all migrant groups indicate that, comparatively, Cubans are affected the least by their migrant group status. School quality matters at the 5 percent level such that a unit increase in school quality measure leads to exceeding their desired job by 0.21 points. The last significant factor is sex, at the 10 percent level. Again, women fall short of their goals relative to men, with a gap of 1.41 between their desired job prestige score and that of their current job.

As for job satisfaction, one’s migrant group again plays a significant role, and Cubans are the best-off among the different migrant groups. School quality has a significantly positive impact, but the coefficient is close to zero and renders this effect negligible.

Before analyzing the implications of these results, robustness and sensitivity tests will test their strength and validity in the following section. Only the patterns and estimates that remain standing

Table 9
2SLS Estimates - Host vs Native Attachment on Labor Market Outcomes (Instrument – Duration of Stay)

	(1) Ln (Monthly Income)	(2) Current vs Desired Job Difference	(3) Ln (Job Satisfaction)
<i>Attachment (Treatment)</i>	-0.17 (0.17)	-5.20 (3.97)	-0.01 (0.08)
Parental Socioeconomic Score	0.03 (0.03)	0.83 (0.67)	0.01 (0.01)
Sex (0 = male, 1 = female)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-1.41* (0.74)	-0.00 (0.01)
School Quality	-0.00 (0.00)	0.21** (0.09)	0.00*** (0.00)
<i>Migrant Group Dummy</i>			
Cubans (Ref. Category)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Mexicans	-0.13** (0.06)	-5.40*** (1.49)	-0.08*** (0.03)
Other Latinos	-0.05 (0.04)	-1.37 (1.05)	-0.04* (0.02)
Filipinos	-0.17*** (0.05)	-2.93*** (1.10)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Southeast Asian Refugees	-0.10* (0.06)	-3.54*** (1.35)	-0.10*** (0.02)
Other Asians	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.07 (1.89)	-0.05* (0.03)
Caribbeans	-0.21*** (0.06)	-4.73*** (1.58)	-0.14*** (0.03)
Constant	7.68*** (0.18)	-17.40*** (4.26)	1.83*** (0.08)
F-Statistic	96.89	92.56	98.23
Observations	2242	2051	2408

Notes:

1. *Attachment* takes on the value 1 if the respondent is more attached to the U.S. and 0 if the respondent is more attached to their native country.
2. *Parental Socioeconomic score* is a unit-weighted standardized scale that ranges between 1.66 and 2.09. It varies by 0.01. Therefore, estimates on this control are interpreted as a result of a 0.01 change in the socioeconomic score.
3. *School Quality* ranges from 15 to 44 and varies by 1. Estimates are thus interpreted as a result of a 1 unit change in the school quality index.
4. The outcome in Column 2 measures whether and to what extent a respondent achieved their career goals. It is equal to the difference between the prestige score of their desired job and prestige score of their current job.
5. The U.S. citizenship dummy is excluded as a control from this model due to high correlation (0.75) with the instrument.
6. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$

will be considered in the study's final analysis.

8 Robustness and Sensitivity Analyses

8.1 A Secondary IV: Addressing Threats to the Exclusion Restriction

Despite its powerful first stage, duration of stay is severely threatened by the exclusion restriction. As a robustness check, results are drawn by a secondary instrument: parental attachment to the U.S. This variable is constructed using three questions from the survey: Does your mother/father identify as American? To what extent does your parent prefer the American way of life? And how often do you get in trouble because your way of doing things differs from that of your parents? The resulting proxy thus takes on a range between 4-12, with 12 indicating the most attached to the U.S. The

following will briefly discuss how well this new instrument meets the four identifying assumptions.

First-stage regression estimates show that parental attachment positively affects their child's attachment to the U.S. at the 1 percent level. Specifically, a one-unit increase in parental attachment (measured on a 4 to 12 scale) is associated with an increase in the log-odds⁵ of the child being more attached to the U.S. by 0.04 units. This change in log-odds is then used to calculate the change in the odds ratio, which represents the change in the likelihood of the child being more attached to the U.S. than their home country. The odds ratio is calculated as $\exp(0.04)$, or approximately 1.04. For every one-unit increase in parental attachment, a child's odds of being more attached to the U.S. are approximately 1.04 times higher. In other words, higher parental attachment is associated with an increased likelihood that the child is more attached to the U.S. compared to the home country, and the odds of this happening increase by about 4 percent for each one-unit increase in parental attachment. These statistics are bolstered by F-statistics ranging between 26 and 30.

Exogeneity is a bit trickier to defend than the duration of stay, as a respondent can undoubtedly influence how attached their parents are to the U.S. This can come in the form of discussing the merits of American values, getting them to celebrate American holidays, or asking them to engage with parents of their American friends. Consequently, there may be a reverse causality issue in which a child's attachment to the U.S. influences that of their parents. This violation is why this instrument is not presented as the main instrument of choice.

The strength of this instrument, however, lies in the exclusion restriction. A child's attachment to the U.S. is likely the only channel through which a parent's attachment to the U.S. can influence a child's labor market outcomes. There are other theoretical channels, but its relevance will likely be much weaker. Take, for instance, the argument that a stronger attachment to the U.S. may increase the likelihood of parents encouraging their children to pursue higher education, leading to improved career prospects. The correlation between parental attachment and one that measures the highest level of education one's parents want them to get is low at 0.03 and even negative. The regression of this relationship mirrors this correlation, and the adjusted R-squared value is 0.0013.

Regarding monotonicity, this assumption is met so long as parental attachment does not induce respondents to be more attached to their native country. This, too, seems unlikely, and the assumption

⁵Due to the binary nature of the outcome variable, it is typically interpreted in the context of odds ratios rather than the raw coefficient.

generally holds. Of course, the same caveat as before holds that a continuous instrument implies estimates are skewed towards individuals most responsive to a change in parental attachment. This may be those who have, for instance, a closer bond with their parent that can, therefore, more strongly influence their values.

Table 10
2SLS Estimates - Host vs Native Attachment on Labor Market Outcomes (Instrument: Parental Attachment)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Ln (Monthly Income)	Current vs Desired Job Difference	Ln (Job Satisfaction)
Attachment (<i>Treatment</i>)	-0.72* (0.38)	-0.93 (8.12)	0.42** (0.19)
U.S. Citizenship at Birth	0.00 (0.06)	-1.58 (1.24)	-0.07** (0.03)
Parental Socioeconomic Score	0.08** (0.04)	0.74 (0.87)	-0.03 (0.02)
Sex	-0.13*** (0.03)	-1.16 (0.80)	0.01 (0.02)
School Quality	-0.00 (0.00)	0.20** (0.09)	0.00 (0.00)
<i>Migrant Group Dummy</i>			
Cubans (Ref. Category)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Mexicans	-0.23** (0.10)	-4.22** (2.07)	0.02 (0.05)
Other Latinos	-0.09* (0.05)	-1.49 (1.06)	-0.02 (0.02)
Filipinos	-0.11 (0.07)	-3.52** (1.51)	-0.13*** (0.03)
Southeast Asian Refugees	-0.12* (0.07)	-3.94*** (1.45)	-0.12*** (0.03)
Other Asians	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.57 (2.10)	-0.09** (0.04)
Caribbeans	-0.26*** (0.08)	-4.25** (1.67)	-0.11*** (0.04)
Constant	8.13*** (0.28)	-19.77*** (6.14)	1.58*** (0.13)
F-Statistic	25.89	28.00	26.94
Observations	2186	2002	2349

Notes:

1. *Attachment* takes on the value 1 if the respondent is more attached to the U.S. and 0 if the respondent is more attached to their native country.
2. *Parental Socioeconomic score* is a unit-weighted standardized scale that ranges between 1.66 and 2.09. It varies by 0.01. Therefore, estimates on this control are interpreted as a result of a 0.01 change in the socioeconomic score.
3. *School Quality* ranges from 15 to 44 and varies by 1. Estimates are thus interpreted as a result of a 1 unit change in the school quality index.
4. The outcome in Column 2 measures whether and to what extent a respondent achieved their career goals. It is equal to the difference between the prestige score of their desired job and prestige score of their current job.
5. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$

With this new second instrument, stronger attachment to the U.S. over one's native country continues to hurt monthly income at the 10 percent level and career goal achievement (not significantly) but flips to positively affect job satisfaction at the 5 percent level. Specifically, respondents more attached to the U.S. have, on average, 72 percent lower monthly income than those more attached to their native country. This is significant at the 10 percent level – a shocking statistic, especially compared to the insignificant estimates of 17 percent in the 2SLS regression and 1 percent in the OLS regression. Regarding job satisfaction, those more attached to the U.S. have job satisfaction

that is 42 percent higher on the natural log scale.

To interpret Column 1 further, the parental socioeconomic score positively impacts monthly income at the 5 percent level, such that a 0.01 increase in the measure increases monthly income by 8 percent. As before, women have, on average, lower income than men, but this time at 13 percent lower (instead of 11 percent as with the previous instrument). This continues to be an effect significant at the 1 percent level. Additionally, migrant group continues to negatively impact income, with Cubans' migrant group status affecting them the least and Caribbeans the most.

Regarding Column 2, migrant group and school quality matter for meeting career goals. Specifically, a unit increase in school quality measure leads to exceeding their desired job by 0.20 points, a result almost identical to the first instrument. Migrant group continues to matter in the same ways as it impacts income but at a much stronger significance level across each migrant group.

In Column 3, other than *attachment*, citizenship at birth also plays a negative role; those with U.S. citizenship are less likely to be satisfied with their job at the 5 percent level. For the first time, we see a positive impact of migrant group (for Mexicans), but this is insignificant. Migrant group, on the whole, continues to play a significant and negative role.

8.2 Reduced Form

In light of violations of the exclusion restriction, a conservative analysis would focus on the reduced form: regressions of the outcomes on the instrument itself. Comparing estimates to the 2SLS models can serve as a tool to reconcile conflicting results in the two main 2SLS models. Results are reported in Appendix II. Estimates indicate that duration of stay and parental attachment negatively affect all labor market outcomes in an insignificant way. The sole exception is that parental attachment is positively associated with job satisfaction at the 10 percent level, but this coefficient is small at 0.01.

Interestingly, parental socioeconomic status matters negatively and at the 1 percent significance level for monthly income when parental attachment is the explanatory variable. In the main 2SLS models, this estimate was insignificant and positive. Parental socioeconomic status is positive and insignificant for all other outcomes, so this negative effect is taken with a grain of salt. Similarly, school quality has mixed results. It matters particularly for meeting career goals and job satisfaction, but estimates across the six regressions switch from negative to positive to even rounding out to

zero. Thus, estimates relating to school quality in these regressions are disregarded.

Notably, women consistently perform worse than men across all outcomes, and this is effect significant at the 1 percent level concerning monthly income for both instruments. Migrant group also continues to negatively impact labor market outcomes in a significant way. The patterns in the 2SLS models still hold up.

8.3 No Controls

This sensitivity check reports 2SLS estimates resulting from the regression of the three labor market outcomes on attachment, instrumented either by duration of stay or parental attachment. All controls are excluded from the model. Results are reported in *Appendix III*. Regarding the log of monthly income, attachment consistently has a negative coefficient. However, the magnitude of the estimate changes drastically depending on the instrument. *Attachment* takes the value -0.02 when the duration of stay is the instrument and -0.32 when parental attachment is the instrument. This signals the instability of the model without controls. -0.02 is likely the more reliable estimate as it has been consistently reported in both reduced form models, the OLS model, and the main 2SLS model with duration of stay as the instrument. Using parental attachment as the instrument seems to inflate the negative (albeit insignificant) effect of *attachment*.

For the first time and for both instruments, a positive impact is observed on career goal achievement. This effect, however, is minimal and insignificant. The effect of *attachment* on job satisfaction is also positive regardless of the instrument. Notably, it is significant at the 1 percent level for the model where parental attachment serves as the instrument.

9 Analysis of Results and Implications

In summary, for three different labor market outcomes, we have seven specifications for each labor market outcome: a general OLS model with controls, two 2SLS models that vary by instrument on *attachment*, reduced form models for each instrument, and the aforementioned two 2SLS models but excluding controls. The results can be synthesized as follows: Regarding our first labor market outcome, the log of monthly income, migrant group, and sex were significant predictors in all the specifications they were present in. Regarding whether career goals were met, migrant group and

9. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS

sex again consistently were significant predictors at the 1 percent level. School quality was also a significant predictor at the 5 percent level, playing a generally positive but overall small role. Finally, in terms of job satisfaction, one's migrant group was the only factor that remained significant across all specifications. Notably, job satisfaction was the only outcome that *attachment* was significant for, but this was only the case for the 2SLS model (with and without controls) and the reduced form model in which parental attachment served as the instrument.

Thus, all in all, sex and migrant group stand out as the two most consistent factors across all labor market outcomes and all five models. Women consistently performed worse than men regarding monthly income and career goal achievement. In particular, depending on the model, women made between 10 to 13 percent less than men, an effect consistently significant at the 1 percent level. Women underachieved their career goals by 1.12 to 5.91 prestige points, but this effect varied in significance across different models. Notably, the difference between the prestige score of one's current job and desired job can be as large as 62 points. Thus, the impact of sex on career goal achievement, albeit significant in most specifications, is minuscule in relative terms. Regarding which migrant groups mattered, Cubans were consistently the least affected by their race, as indicated by negative estimates on all other migrant groups with Cuba as the reference group. This aligns with most Cubans in this sample identifying as white and thus less prone to discrimination in the U.S. labor market. Caribbeans were almost always in the bottom category, likely indicative of the repercussions of being coded as black by the American eye. Asians and Latinos were consistently in between but varied in terms of whether they were closer to being treated like Cubans or Caribbeans.

Analysis of the results would be incomplete without meaningfully addressing the importance (or lack thereof) of acculturation. Across most specifications, *attachment* returns a negative coefficient such that positive acculturation (a relatively strong attachment to the U.S.) is worse for labor market outcomes than negative acculturation (a relatively strong attachment to the native country). Although this effect is consistently insignificant, explaining potential mechanisms for this is still relevant. One mechanism could be the power of connections within one's migrant group. The literature above pointed to the importance of strong ethnic enclaves in which immigrants could depend on one another within their own communities (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2005; Piracha et al., 2021). Another viable mechanism could be that those who acculturate more systematically earn less due to external factors.

For instance, although, historically, black immigrants arguably made the most concerted efforts to assimilate into American culture compared to Asian and Latino immigrants, their labor market outcomes were ultimately still negatively impacted by deeply ingrained racism and discrimination (Guo, 2016). This indeed aligns with Caribbeans in our models consistently being the worst-off migrant group despite having the strongest acculturation rates (Table 2). An explanation for the insignificance of acculturation may come from imputing *attachment* with questions from the second survey instead of the first survey. Doing so may have included respondents who, although positively acculturated, may have done so too late. This conclusion, in turn, provides an answer to what the upper threshold may be for successful acculturation – certainly not as old as 17 or 18. Additionally, the insignificance may simply point to the fact that there are much more relevant factors – gender and migrant group background - that must be addressed first to optimize an individual’s labor market outcomes. This is, therefore, the most critical policy implication to be taken away from this study: to effectively support the adjustment of immigrants to the labor markets in America, it is more relevant to focus on anti-discrimination policies than on immigrant integration policies.

These results prompt further exploration of this data set in future work through heterogeneity analyses to separate the interconnected mechanisms that affect how an immigrant acculturates. This could mean comparing specifications between men and women, visible minorities and non-visible minorities, and U.S.-born and foreign-born. Another meaningful avenue to explore would be to see how estimates change if *attachment* were constructed using the same questions but from the first survey when students were at the beginning of high school rather than at the end of high school.

10 Limitations

The most glaring empirical issue with the CILS is the missing data. By the third survey in 2002, over 50 percent of the original sample was missing. Researchers adjust the data for the resulting bias, but our models lose significant statistical power. Second, the two instruments are imperfect. Although both are relevant for a child’s attachment to the U.S., unequal sample distribution in each level of the two instruments, violations of the exclusion restriction, and caveats of monotonicity cannot be ignored. A third empirical limitation of this paper is that fixed effects cannot be used to improve the causality of the model. Although acculturation is measured twice (at the beginning

and end of high school), the CILS only measures labor market outcome variables once (at age 24). Within comparisons, therefore, cannot be leveraged.

A limitation to this paper's external validity arises from the way acculturation is defined. By collapsing behaviors, value systems, and identity into two acculturation strategies, much nuance is lost in the way acculturation may work in reality. For instance, among respondents who are positively acculturated, some do so in an extreme way (i.e., by reporting attachment to the U.S. for all relevant survey questions), and those who might just barely classify (i.e., with only one or two questions tipping them over into positive acculturation). The same logic applies to negative acculturation. It may very well be that the effect of *attachment* is only significant for those in the extreme ranges, such as in Battu & Zenou (2010), and that adding other moderately balanced respondents in their acculturation strategies may hide this effect.

Despite these limitations, the results of this paper are remarkably well-aligned with one of the more empirically robust papers in the literature review, Islam and Raschky (2015). By using genetic distance as an instrument, they, too, find that immigrants' identity does not strongly influence their labor market outcomes and that differences in racial background dominate any effects. This lends credibility to the results of this study and its consequential policy implications.

11 Conclusion

This study sought to understand whether the acculturation strategy taken by an immigrant child – which, for our purposes, either came in the form of a relatively strong attachment to the U.S. or a relatively strong attachment to the native country – mattered for their labor market outcomes in the future, namely monthly income, the extent to which one's career goals are met, and job satisfaction. In the context of immigration to Florida and California between the '60s-90s, it was essential to consider the push and pull factors of each migrant group, characteristics that influenced their capability of successfully acculturating, and their reception by the U.S. government and people.

This study exploits two instruments, parental attachment to the U.S. and the child's duration of stay, to draw causality and mitigate endogeneity concerns. This facilitates the comparison of two different 2SLS models (each reported with and without controls) and reduced form specifications in addition to OLS estimates. By identifying patterns across these specifications, we can draw more

reliable conclusions. Gender and migrant background were the most significant predictors across all three labor outcomes such that women and those migrant groups classified as visible minorities were left behind in the labor market. This effect is likely due to the effects of discrimination overpowering acculturation. Thus, we reject the hypothesis that positively acculturated immigrant children will have better labor market outcomes than those who are negatively acculturated. Instead, we find that positive acculturation has a small negative but insignificant impact on labor market outcomes. These results suggest that to best support immigrants in the labor market, policymakers should shift away from integration policies and instead implement meaningful anti discrimination policies, especially those that tackle racial and gender gaps.

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13 Appendix

Appendix I

First Stage Estimates: Regressing Attachment on Duration of Stay and Parental Attachment

	(1) Main Instrument: Duration of Stay	(2) Main Instrument + Controls	(3) Secondary Instrument: Parental Attachment	(4) Secondary Instrument + Controls
Duration of Stay	0.12*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	-	-
Parental Attachment	-	-	0.04*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
U.S. Citizenship Dummy	-	-	-	0.141*** (0.02)
Parental Socioeconomic Score	-	0.07*** (0.01)	-	0.07*** (0.01)
Sex	-	-0.04*** (0.01)	-	-0.03** (0.01)
School Quality	-	0.01*** (0.00)	-	0.00* (0.00)
<i>Migrant Group Dummy</i>				
Cubans (Ref. Category)	-	(.)	-	(.)
Mexicans	-	-0.20*** (0.03)	-	-0.23*** (0.02)
Other Latinos	-	-0.02 (0.02)	-	-0.05** (0.02)
Filipinos	-	0.14*** (0.02)	-	0.10*** (0.02)
Southeast Asian Refugees	-	0.02 (0.03)	-	0.01 (0.03)
Other Asians	-	0.07** (0.03)	-	0.05 (0.03)
Caribbeans	-	0.01 (0.03)	-	-0.02 (0.03)
Constant	-	0.29 (0.03)	-	0.43*** (0.07)
F	243.92	76.68	83.3	48.3
Observations	3,974	3,751	3,841	3,629

Notes:

1. The outcome variable for all four columns is *attachment* – a dummy variable indicating whether a child is more attached to the U.S. or their home country.
2. *Parental Socioeconomic score* is a unit-weighted standardized scale that ranges between 1.66 and 2.09. It varies by 0.01. Therefore, estimates on this control are interpreted as a result of a 0.01 change in the socioeconomic score.
3. *School Quality* ranges from 15 to 44 and varies by 1. Estimates are thus interpreted as a result of a 1 unit change in the school quality index.
4. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$

Appendix II
Reduced Form Equations

	IV1: Duration of Stay			IV2: Parental Attachment		
	(1) Ln (Monthly Income)	(2) Current vs Desired Job Difference	(3) Ln (Job Satisfaction)	(1) Ln (Monthly Income)	(2) Current vs Desired Job Difference	(3) Ln (Job Satisfaction)
Duration of Stay (IV1)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.33 (0.40)	-0.00 (0.01)	-	-	-
Parental Attachment (IV2)	-	-	-	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.03 (0.25)	0.01** (0.00)
U.S. Citizenship at Birth	-	-	-	-0.08** (0.03)	-1.68** (0.77)	-0.02 (0.01)
Parental Socioeconomic Score	0.02 (0.02)	-2.70*** (0.53)	0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.67 (0.55)	0.01 (0.01)
Sex	-0.10*** (0.03)	-5.91*** (0.73)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-1.12 (0.74)	-0.00 (0.01)
School Quality	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.24*** (0.09)	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.20** (0.09)	0.00** (0.00)
<i>Migrant Group Dummy</i> Cubans (Ref. Category)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Mexicans	-0.09* (0.05)	2.37* (1.28)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.08 (0.05)	-4.04*** (1.30)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Other Latinos	-0.05 (0.04)	0.49 (1.05)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.07 (0.04)	-1.48 (1.04)	-0.04* (0.02)
Filipinos	-0.20*** (0.04)	-2.01* (1.04)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.20*** (0.04)	-3.65*** (1.03)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Southeast Asian Refugees	-0.11* (0.06)	-2.86* (1.46)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.13** (0.06)	-3.98*** (1.41)	-0.11*** (0.03)
Other Asians	-0.05 (0.08)	-1.35 (1.87)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.66 (1.90)	-0.06** (0.03)
Caribbeans	-0.20*** (0.06)	-2.07 (1.35)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.21*** (0.06)	-4.20*** (1.56)	-0.14*** (0.03)
Constant	7.62*** (0.14)	-7.29** (3.44)	1.82*** (0.06)	7.81*** (0.15)	-20.13*** (3.63)	1.75*** (0.06)
F	4.027	14.20	4.871	4.662	3.186	5.175
Observations	2243	2106	2409	2187	2003	2350

Notes:

1. *U.S. Citizenship at Birth* is added as a control in the reduced form equation for parental attachment but, due to collinearity, is excluded from the reduced form equation for duration of stay.
2. *Attachment* takes on the value 1 if the respondent is more attached to the U.S. and 0 if the respondent is more attached to their native country.
3. *Parental Socioeconomic score* is a standardized scale that varies by 0.01. Its estimates are thus interpreted as a result of a 0.01 change in the score.
4. *School Quality* ranges from 15 to 44 and varies by 1. Estimates are thus interpreted as a result of a 1 unit change in the school quality index.
5. The outcome in Column 2 measures whether and to what extent a respondent achieved their career goals. It is equal to the difference between the prestige score of their desired job and prestige score of their current job.
6. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$.

Appendix III

No Controls - 2SLS Estimates of Host vs Native Attachment on Labor Market Outcomes

	IV1: Duration of Stay			IV2: Parental Attachment		
	(1) Ln (Monthly Income)	(2) Current vs Desired Job Difference	(3) Ln (Job Satisfaction)	(1) Ln (Monthly Income)	(2) Current vs Desired Job Difference	(3) Ln (Job Satisfaction)
Attachment (IV1)	-0.02 0.14	0.71 3.47	0.08 0.07	-	-	-
Attachment (IV2)	-	-	-	-0.32 (0.20)	0.40 (4.74)	0.27*** (0.10)
Constant	7.32*** 0.11	-18.89*** 2.57	1.84*** 0.05	7.54*** (0.15)	-18.67*** (3.51)	1.71*** (0.07)
F	115.32	112.09	122.34	78.05	79.74	83.27
Observations	2,361	2,162	2,541	2,297	2,107	2,473

Notes:

1. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$.