The Socioeconomic Intergenerational Mobility of Post-1965 Black Immigrants and Second Generation

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Paper proposed for presentation at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, March 31 - April 2, 2011 in Washington, DC.

ABSTRACT (up to 150 words)

The children of post-1965 black immigrants grew up during a time of mass immigration and the post-civil rights era. Some argue that African Americans have made substantial socioeconomic strides, while others maintain a black/non-black divide in which blacks anchor the bottom. The socioeconomic context in which African Americans are coming of age is the same faced by second-generation blacks. This paper examines the socioeconomic trajectories of second-generation blacks and whether they follow the path of or diverge from African Americans.

The second generation are observed in 2005 and compared to their parents in 1980 at similar ages. Intergenerational mobility is measured across generations, and is relative to the mobility of the black mainstream. Immigrants had higher attainment levels than the black mainstream in 1980. The second-generation blacks experienced only modest mobility while the black mainstream experienced marked mobility. Gender differences emerged, as second-generation women outpaced men's educational and occupational attainment.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Between 1960 and 2005, the number of foreign-born blacks in the United States increased from about 125,000 to about 2.8 million (Kent 2007). About 25 percent of the growth of the black population in the U.S. between 1990 and 2000 was attributed to the inflow of immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean (Logan and Deane 2003). Prior to 1990 most black immigrants hailed from the Caribbean, whereas in 2000 the number of black immigrants from Africa outnumbered those emigrating from the Caribbean (Kent 2007). The increasing black immigrant population is largely due to immigration reforms of 1965 and the U.S. Diversity Visa Program of 1990 (Konadu-Agyemang and Takyi 2006, Lobo 2001). Scholars have noticed these changes and have affirmed the increasing significance of black immigration in the U.S. (Konadu-Agyemang and Takyi 2006; Knight 1994; Ricketts 1987). However, the immigration literature remains almost solely focused on the socioeconomic attainment of Asian and Latino immigrants, most likely due to their larger numbers (Glick 2007; Driscoll 1999; Hernandez and Charney 1998).

The gap in the immigration literature on black immigrant socioeconomic attainment is striking given the history of race relations in the U.S. Examining the socioeconomic advancement of the contrasting theories about the socioeconomic advancement of black immigrants is especially relevant because of the contrasting theories about the socioeconomic achievements of blacks more generally in the post-civil rights era. Some scholars argue that native mainsteam blacks[1] have had improved socioeconomic success in recent decades (Kasinitz et al. 2001; Waldinger and Perlmann 1999). Other scholars, however, maintain that blacks remain at the bottom of the class structure fostering a black/non-black divide in which blacks continue to anchor the bottom of the social hierarchy while other racial groups continue to advance (Gans 2007; Lee and Bean 2007).

Black immigrants moving into the United States are a unique group of people who face a different set of obstacles compared to other immigrant groups. Generally, immigrants are typically part of the majority in their countries of origin, but upon their arrival in the U.S. they become minorities through immigrant status. For black immigrants, there is even more to consider beyond just their immigrant status. Post-1965 immigrants enter the U.S. during and after the civil rights era, and this has meant a great deal of change in the lives of mainstream blacks (Marsh et al. 2007).

The long-established system of racial stratification in America categorizes people based on skin color alone (Neckerman et al. 1999; Cornell and Hartmann 1998; Alba and Nee1997; Bashi and McDaniel 1997; Zhou 1997; Harris 1964) and minorities must learn how to navigate the American system of race relations and hierarchies (Landale and Oropesa 2002; Waters 1999; Duany 1998). Therefore, what does this mean for black immigrants who enter the country as both "black" and an "immigrant" at the bottom of the social hierarchy? The racial structure gives black immigrants very few identity options (Almaguer 2003; Waters 1999), perhaps causing their trajectory of assimilation to become aligned with the mainstream black racial minority (Waters 1999). It is assumed with the national narrative of the U.S. that immigrants experience progress upon arrival (Warner and Srole 1945), but what is the fate of black immigrants and their children when they also simultaneously occupy a racial category in which any progress is questionable?

The question of what groups black immigrants are assimilating into becomes more complex as one looks from generation to generation. As immigrants and their children assimilate into the American mainstream, this may or may not have positive effects on their socioeconomic mobility. Theories of second-generation decline (Gans 1997) and segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993) explain how the second generation may not experience upward mobility in relation to their parents' generation.

[1] "Mainstream blacks" does not refer to African Americans who are first- or second-generation immigrants, but rather to blacks who are likely descendants of slaves and will be used as such throughout the paper.

Beyond issues of identity and culture, socioeconomic mobility of the second generation of black immigrants is the focus of this paper. Specifically, attainment levels of adult children of post-1965 black immigrants will be compared to that of their parents. The "new" second generation is defined as the U.S.-born children of immigrants who came to the U.S. after 1965 to distinguish them from the children of immigrants who came to the U.S. at the turn of the 20th century (Rumbaut 1997; Massey 1995; Portes and Zhou 1993).

Tracking the socioeconomic mobility of the second generation is especially critical given the U.S. societal changes that have occurred in the decades after 1965. For instance, immigrants from this era are more racially and ethnically diverse, making a compelling study on black immigrants possible. This era is also a time in which African Americans were expected to prosper after the passing of civil rights legislation. In addition to these things, the economy has also undergone its own changes during this time, squeezing the middle class as the economy continues to become increasingly bifurcated. This economic divergence has impacted opportunity for all U.S. laborers, native- and foreign-born alike (Portes and Zhou 1993, Gans 1992).

In order to better assess the intergenerational mobility of second-generation blacks relative to their parents' generation, this paper uses the immigrant generation cohort method developed by Park and Myers (2010). Specifically, this paper looks at black immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean and their children to address these questions: 1) Do second-generation blacks experience upward mobility relative to their immigrant parents? 2) How does this compare to the mobility patterns for mainstream blacks? 3) Are there significant differences by gender?

Returns on Education: An Advantage over the Mainstream?

Black immigrants also seem to have a difficult time gaining a strong footing in education even though many are already relatively advantaged. Black immigrants have higher levels of education than African Americans (Butcher 1994); however, despite their higher levels of education, compared to native-born whites and white immigrants, they have fewer returns to their education. In 1980 the education returns were lowest for black African immigrants. Surprisingly, the country where the degree was granted has no bearing on success. Dodoo and Takyi (2002) find that black immigrants who earn their degrees in the U.S. compared to those who earn them in their native country have little, if any, earnings advantage.

Both black immigrants and native-born blacks are more likely than comparable whites to go to college net of socioeconomic characteristics (Bennet and Lutz 2009). African Americans have an advantage in college attendance over whites with similar socioeconomic backgrounds, while black immigrants' only advantage is in attendance of very selective colleges. Also, compared to African Americans, immigrant black students are more likely to come from two-parent households as well as private schools (Bennet and Lutz 2009). Household characteristics were significant in Thomas' study (2009) where he found that immigrant children who grew up in two-parent households had an educational advantage over those who grew up in a one-parent household. Interestingly, in both one- and two-parent households, children born to black immigrants are less likely to fall behind in school compared to native-born blacks. Children born into wealthy immigrant families tend to have greater success than their parents' generation; however the opposite is true of children born into poorer immigrant families.

The paths of the black second generation also seem to be similar to those of native-born blacks in other ways, particularly at the university level. About one-fifth of immigrant black college students enroll in Historically Black Colleges and Universities, indicating that they are, in fact, accessing existing African American institutions and translating them into personal means of economic mobility (Bennet and Lutz 2009). Alternatively, the paths of native-born blacks do not seem to be aligning educationally with the immigrant blacks in the same way, as disproportionately fewer African Americans attend selective

colleges compared to black immigrants (Bennet and Lutz 2009). It seems that second generation black immigrants have the ability to tap into prevailing resources used by native-born blacks because they are of the same race. Because elite colleges are not as accessible to native-born blacks as they are to the children of black immigrants, second generation black immigrants have an education advantage.

Employment and Earnings: Disagreement on the Incomes of Black Immigrants

Black immigrants have had difficulty translating their educational achievements into gains in employment. In 1979, the employment rate of black immigrant men was only slightly higher than that of native-born black men (Model 1995, Butcher 1994). When only looking at less-educated men, immigrant blacks had higher rates of employment than native-born blacks. However among men with high levels of education, employment rates were higher for the native-born black population (Butcher 1994). Among all black immigrants, Africans had higher labor force participation rates than Caribbeans, which Dodoo (1997) attributes to demand-side factors in the U.S.

There is disagreement on whether black immigrants earn more than native-born blacks. Using the 1970 Census, Sowell (1978) and Chiswick (1979) found that first- and second-generation Caribbean blacks had higher family incomes than native-born blacks. Chiswick (1979) found that ten years after their arrival, foreign-born blacks continued to have higher annual earnings than native-born blacks. In an analysis of the 1980 census, Caribbean immigrants were more likely to be employed than native-born blacks; however, after controlling for employment they did not have higher earnings than native-born blacks (Butcher 1994). Butcher (1994) finds that Jamaican immigrants have higher earnings than native-born blacks, while Model (1991) finds no evidence for the "Caribbean success" theory as no group from the West Indies had higher earnings than native-born blacks. Furthermore, Daneshvary and Schwer (1994) find that black Americans earned 8.7% more than black immigrants. Other studies suggest that there is no difference at all in the hourly earnings between black African Americans and black Africans (Kollehlon and Eule 2003).

Scholars have argued that race is key in explaining differences in earnings across groups rather than nativity status or country of origin (Dodoo 1997). One study found that white African immigrants and immigrants who come from English-speaking countries have higher hourly earnings than African immigrants who are not white and do not speak English (Kollehlon and Eule 2003). White South African men have the highest earnings of any male immigrants from Africa, although this earnings advantage does not translate for female South Africans. This is found after controlling for college completion, years of schooling, years of work experience, and English proficiency (Kollehlon and Eule 2003). Black African immigrants have hourly wages that are 19% less than white African immigrants (Dodoo and Takyi 2002). Dodoo and Takyi's 2002 study also found that 53% of the difference between races was unexplained after considering education, occupation, and hours worked and 90% of the gap in logged wages remained unexplained (Dodoo and Takyi 2002). This conclusion leads one to believe that race, not country of origin or immigrant status, is a key determinant of socioeconomic attainment (Dodoo 1997).

Within the black immigrant group there are differences in earnings patterns. For instance, among Jamaicans, less-educated immigrant men had higher rates of employment and higher earnings than native-born black men. However among men with high levels of education, employment rates and earnings were higher for the native-born black population (Butcher 1994). Similarly, Dodoo (1997) finds that earnings of Africans and African Americans are equal while Caribbean immigrants earn about 8% more. Model (1995) also finds that native-born West Indians have higher earnings than native-born blacks. It is clear that there is a great deal of disagreement on the income of black immigrants. This study will also contribute to this body of knowledge.

Gender: Diverging Trends for Men and Women

Though there is evidence that mobility patterns may differ by gender (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Waldinger and Feliciano 2004), much of the immigrant literature on occupation and earnings is limited to men (Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan 1972; Borjas 1985; Smith 2003; Card 2005). Studies show substantial differences between men and women in occupation, earnings, and education. Scholars note that education is particularly intriguing as second generation women tend to be more highly educated than second generation men (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Kao and Tienda 1995). The occupation and earnings of female immigrants, on the other hand, gets very little attention in the literature (Card 2005; Smith 2003; Borjas 1985, 1995; Duleep 1997).

Gender is also an important consideration when looking at black immigrants given the different ways gender roles are viewed in the Caribbean and in Africa. Immigrants from the Caribbean and from Africa differ in their norms and beliefs surrounding gender roles in their countries of origin (Corra and Kimuna 2009; Dodoo 1997; Kalmijn 1996; Model 1991). For example, family life in the Caribbean is matrifocal, meaning the relationship between mothers and daughters often forms the core of the household (Kerns 1997). Female members of a household are also the ones who handle family economic endeavors (Quinlan 2001). This matrifocality can often leave Caribbean men marginalized, leading to increased levels of alcoholism and lower likelihood of attending high school compared to Caribbean women (Quinlan 2006).

In Africa, things are very different. There is a high rate of occupational sex segregation, as certain jobs are deemed appropriate for only men and others are only appropriate for women (Sudarkasa 1975). While this is not meant to indicate the superiority of African men, there is a preference for dealing with men in the business community and in the government sector, largely leaving women out of the paid labor force (Sudarkasa 1973). African girls are also less likely to go to primary school. In 1969 girls only made up 8 to 25 percent of the student body in African secondary schools (UNECA 1975).

Language along with gender also plays a large part in immigrants' wage differentials. For instance, British Caribbean immigrants are doing better socioeconomically than African immigrants (Kalmijn 1996, Model 1991), while Corra and Kimuna (2009) find that among females the earnings of native-born blacks were equal to those from the English Caribbean. There are also differences in earnings when considering education. In 1990, the women from all Caribbean groups with a college degree had an earnings disadvantage compared to native-born blacks. Things improved for Caribbean immigrants in 2000 as this disadvantage disappeared, although it remained for African immigrants (Corra and Kimuna 2009). There are signs of immigrant assimilation, however, when looking across generations as Caribbean immigrants have lower earnings than U.S.-born black Caribbeans, but the U.S.-born black Caribbeans have an earnings advantage over native-born blacks (Kalmijn 1996).

Among the native-born population, earnings differences between men and women are also apparent. Within the black mainstream, Greenman and Xie (2008) find that black native-born women earn about 79% of the annual income of black native-born men using the 2000 Census. This raises the question of what the earnings trajectory of the mainstream looked like from the previous generation. Was there intergenerational earnings improvement, decline, or stagnation among mainstream women?

Data and Methods

Data

Two datasets are used in this analysis to examine the mobility experienced by black immigrant generation. One dataset tracks the attainment level of the parents' generation and another for that of the

second generation. The 1980 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) are used to measure the first generation of post-1965 black immigrants. Data from the 2003, 2005, 2007, and 2009 CPS are pooled to get a large enough sample size of second-generation blacks. These pooled data are referred to as "2003-2009". The CPS is a monthly survey of about 50,000 households and is used in this study because the second-generation can be observed. After 1990, the decennial Census no longer asked questions on parental nativity, and thus cannot be used to access the second generation.

The first generation observed in 1980 is defined as being between the ages of 25-44 with a native-born, second-generation child in the household aged 0-16. By limiting the sample to first-generation immigrants with a U.S.-born child in the household, this ensures that the first-generation in 1980 are actual parents of the second-generation. The first-generation cohort is compared then 23-29 years later to the second generation as they have entered adulthood between the ages of 25-44.

The mainstream comparison group is defined as the native-born black population of the same age in both years. Ideally, the mainstream comparison group would be third-generation and higher African Americans, however data limitations do not allow for this. The mainstream black population in 1980 may include some second-generation since questions about parents' nativity in the 1980 Census were omitted. This possibility is remote because these would have to be adult children, and most of the black immigration to the U.S. occurred after 1980 (Logan and Deane 2003). The mainstream in 2006 is defined as the native-born black population of native-born parents. This ensures that the black mainstream is third generation or higher. Using a black mainstream comparison group is important as this study aims to disentangle intergenerational mobility from mobility experienced generally by blacks in the post-civil rights era (Brown and Bean 2006).

Outcome variables to measure socioeconomic attainment include occupational attainment, earnings, and homeownership. Educational attainment is measured by those whose highest degree earned is less than a high school degree, a high school degree and some college, or a bachelors degree or higher. Occupational attainment is measured by workers in upper white-collar occupations. Upper white-collar occupations used in this study are management and professional occupations. Earnings are measured by the yearly gross wages of the previous year with negative earnings coded as missing. Earnings in 1980 are adjusted for inflation to 2006 dollars. Both head of household and spouse are considered to be homeowners if they are living in an owner-occupied home. This is beneficial, as it does not exclude women from being homeowners if they are not head of household. Marital status and children present are also analyzed to determine how marriage affects male and female black immigrants differently, if at all.

Methodology

The prevailing method to measure across generations is to take a cross-section of the population and analyze two generations at the same time (Grogger and Trejo 2002; Zsembik and Llanes 1996; Kao and Tienda 1995; Bean et al. 1994). As discussed earlier, this method is problematic because it does not truly compare the progress of one generation to another, as first and second generations across all ages will all be compared to one another at once. Again, this cross-sectional method also cannot account for the changes in the U.S. economy and labor market for the first generation and later for the second generation. If we are to truly measure the mobility across generations, the use of generations at two different points in time are essential.

It is also important to look at immigrants and their children when they are both at the same age to accurately capture what they have achieved at the same point in the life course. This is especially true with earnings and occupational attainment and homeownership, as these often increase with age. Now that the second generation is well into their adulthood and national-level generational data is available, it is possible to precisely track intergenerational mobility.

Another consideration is the progress made by the mainstream between 1980 and 2003-2009. By accounting for observed changes in the U.S. mainstream that have occurred from the 1980s to the present, the mobility of the second generation is contextualized and allows for the comparison between the native-born population and the immigrant generations. Tracking the progress made by the mainstream gives the economic and social mobility of immigrants a point of reference, to see to what or from what are immigrants converging or diverging.

This paper utilizes the "immigrant generation cohort" method developed by Park and Myers (2010). The benefit of using this lagged generation method is its ability to more accurately compare generations across time when they are observed at approximately the same age.

The equation used by Park and Myers (2010) with the addition of the Generation and Education interaction term is:

$$(O) = \text{Year} + \text{Generation} + (\text{Year}*G) + \text{Age} + X$$

where:

(O) = outcome variable of interest;

Year = observation year (1980 = 0 and "2003-2009" = 1), capturing period effects for the "mainstream" reference group;

Generation = represented by the first generation in 1980 and by the second generation in 2003-2009, compared to the "mainstream" reference group;

Year*Generation = the differential effect of the passing of time between generations net of the changes of the "mainstream" reference group;

Age = ages 25-44 for first generation, 25-44 for second generation, center coded to age 35; and

X = covariate, marital status

"Year" represents the period change in outcomes for the mainstream reference group between 1980 where year=0 and "2003-2009" where year=1. "Generation" represents four pooled groups: 1) first-generation parents from the 1980 Census, 2) second-generation children from the 2003-2009 CPS, 3) the native-born "mainstream" from 1980, and 4) the native-born "mainstream" from 2003-2009. The first- and second-generations are coded as G=1 while the native-born mainstream groups are coded as G=0. "Year*Generation" is the interaction between period change and generation. "Year*Generation" =0 for first generation parents in the 1980 PUMS and "Year*Generation" =1 for the second generation in "2003-2009."

The second generation is defined as children born in the U.S. with two foreign-born parents. It is important to note that children with one native-born and one foreign born parent (who are also referred to as the 2.5 generation by Ramakrishnan), will not be included in this study. Ramakrishnan (2004) provides evidence that indicates sizeable socioeconomic differences between the second generation and the 2.5

generation. The first generation is defined as the foreign-born in 1980 who are living with a U.S.-born child in their household. This definition for the first generation helps to truly select parents of the U.S.-born second generation. Although this is not a longitudinal study, selecting the sample in this way helps to make this analysis as powerful as possible. This method is not a synthetic cohort analysis, however, because it does not follow cohorts over time. Rather, this method studies two cohorts at two different points in time and tracks the change between these different cohorts. Another limitation of this method is the selectivity of the immigrants from Africa in 1980. Because African immigrants did not begin coming to the U.S. in large numbers until around 2000 (Kent 2007), the African immigrants who were here in 1980 were quite possible highly-selected immigrants. This is not so much a problem for Caribbean immigrants as they had been coming to the U.S. in substantial numbers before the 1980s (Kent 2007).

Results

Figure 1 shows the Intergenerational Mobility Profile Chart for both the black immigrant generations and the black mainstream. In every instance except homeownership, the black mainstream had lower attainment levels than black immigrants in 1980. Among the men, the second-generation experienced modest educational and occupational attainment gains while the mainstream men experienced greater mobility. In homeownership, the second-generation men had greater mobility but did not close the gap with the mainstream. With respect to earnings, immigrant men had greater earnings than the mainstream and the second-generation men really pulled away from the mainstream.

Among the women, we see relatively similar results with a couple of notable exceptions. Occupational attainment for second-generation and mainstream women is virtually identical. This suggests that they may have similar experiences in the labor market. In attaining the human capital for preparation to enter the labor market, the second-generation women are much more likely to attain a college degree (38%) than their mainstream counterparts or the men. This is even higher than that observed for white mainstream women. However, it should be noted that these second-generation women are children from very select immigrant parents. Nonetheless, they are graduating from college at a much higher rate than the second-generation men. This strongly suggests that there are gendered paths of intergenerational mobility beyond just racial or ethnic paths.

Multivariate Results

The descriptive results showed the absolute attainment levels or both the black immigrant generations and the black mainstream. However, some of these observed attainment levels may be skewed by the differing age composition of each group. Secondly, the observed differences between groups may seem large, but the descriptive statistics did not test whether these observed differences are statistically significant. In addition, it may also prove useful to examine the returns on education in the occupational and earnings attainment for the black immigrant generation relative to the black mainstream. This section reviews the highlights of the multivariate analyses to further examine the intergenerational mobility of black immigrant generations beyond what was already observed in the descriptive analyses.

Table 3 presents the logistic regression results for educational attainment including a control for age composition. Men in the mainstream experienced gains in high school completion from 1980 to 2003-2009 (coefficient of 0.531). The first generation of immigrant men in 1980 had a higher rate of high school completion than mainstream men in 1980. However, the black second-generation did not experience significantly more mobility than that which was observed for mainstream blacks in 2003-2009. For women, the mainstream also experienced higher rates of high school completion from 1980 to 2003-2009 (0.782). More first generation women in 1980, like first generation men, had finished high

school compared to mainstream women (0.423), but this is not significant. However, the second generation did not see greater gains in high school completion relative to their mainstream peers.

[insert Table 3 about here]

For college completion, mainstream men in 2003-2009 experienced considerable gains relative to mainstream men in 1980 (1.504). More first generation men in 1980 had completed college than mainstream men in 1980, however black second-generation men did not experience significantly more mobility than mobility experienced by mainstream black men in 2003-2009. Across this time period, mainstream women also experienced gains in college completion (1.372). More first generation immigrant women had completed college than mainstream women in the 1980s, again, second-generation females did not experience significantly more mobility than mainstream women in 2003-2009. However, mainstream women experienced dramatic gains in college degree attainment while the second-generation women did not experience as much mobility once age was controlled. The educational attainment models reveal that some of the higher levels of college degree attainment for the second-generation can be explained by their younger age distribution. When age is controlled, the observed differences between immigrant generations and the mainstream from the descriptive results are not statistically significant.

Table 4 shows the regression results for occupational attainment. Model 1 shows that more mainstream men had upper white-collar jobs than the mainstream in 1980. First generation immigrant men in 1980 had significantly more upper white-collar jobs than the mainstream cohort in 1980, however the second generation experienced very little additional improvement (0.1422) in upper white-collar employment relative to the mainstream. Model 2 tests the returns to education in occupational attainment. As expected, high school and especially college completion are strongly associated with upper white-collar employment. From this model the interaction terms between generation and educational attainment show that the higher attainment of first generation immigrant men in 1980 relative to the mainstream is largely explained by their educational attainment. The interaction coefficients themselves are not significant; however they indicate that high school and college completion are strong predictors of occupational attainment.

For women, Model 1 shows that more first-generation immigrant women had upper white-collar jobs than the mainstream in 1980. In 1980, first generation immigrant women had significantly more upper white-collar jobs than the mainstream cohort in 1980, however the second-generation experienced moderate improvement (0.5260) in upper white-collar employment relative to the mainstream, although this is not significant. Model 2 tests the returns to education in occupational attainment. Again, as expected, high school and especially college completion are strongly associated with upper white-collar employment. The interaction terms between generation and education show that the higher attainment of first-generation immigrant women in 1980 relative to the mainstream is not explained by their educational attainment. The interaction coefficients themselves are not significant, but they indicate that high school and college completion are not strong predictors of occupational attainment for second-generation women.

[insert Table 4 about here]

Table 5 shows the OLS regression results for mean annual earnings. In this table, we see that from 1980 to 2003-2009, the earnings for mainstream men increased after adjusting for inflation. Compared to the mainstream in 1980, first generation immigrant men earned slightly more per year. Second generation men experienced even greater increases in earnings than the increases experienced by the mainstream. Model 2 shows that higher educational attainment is associated with higher earnings. Once educational attainment is controlled, the increase in earnings for second-generation men is even greater. The results reveal that educational attainment has a different impact on mainstream men than it does for the second

generation. Controlling for education, the increase in earnings for mainstream men becomes more modest while the increase for the second generation becomes greater.

For women, Model 1 shows that from 1980 to 2003-2009 the earnings for mainstream women increased after adjusting for inflation. First-generation immigrant women earned more per year than mainstream women in 1980. Second-generation women experienced increases in earnings compared to the mainstream in 2003-2009, though this is not significant. Model 2 shows that higher educational attainment is associated with higher earnings for women. Once educational attainment is controlled, the earnings for second-generation females go down relative to the mainstream in 2003-2009. Mean earnings for mainstream women in 2003-2009 relative to mainstream women 1980 also declines once educational attainment is controlled. This indicates that educational attainment explains more of women's mean annual earnings for both mainstream women and second-generation women.

[insert Table 5 about here]

Discussion and Conclusion

The method used in this paper put forth by Park and Myers (2010) provides a more comprehensive means of gauging intergenerational socioeconomic mobility compared to cross-sectional intergenerational analyses. Considering the dimensions of time and age cohort adds greater precision when comparing across generations and mainstream populations. As this analysis compares cohorts of parents and children, it does not trace actual families and should not be mistaken for longitudinal analysis.

This paper also aimed to bring gender into greater focus in the immigrant literature as men have been privileged in this regard (Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan 1972; Borjas 1985; Smith 2003; Card 2005; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005). It was especially necessary to look at these differences given the gendered experiences in Africa and the West Indies (Sudarkasa 1973, Sudarkasa 1975, Kerns 1997, Quinlan 2001, Quinlan 2006).

From the models, it is clear that males and females in the black mainstream in 2003-2009 experienced mobility relative to the mainstream in 1980 in education, occupation, homeownership, and poverty status. First generation immigrants in 1980 had modest advantages over the mainstream in education. First generation immigrant men and women had an advantage in white collar occupational attainment over the mainstream; although for women the advantage was smaller. In white collar occupational attainment, second generation men actually fared worse than their parents and the mainstream and second generation women only did slightly better. The second generation in 2003-2009 did see marked (albeit not significant) improvement over their parents in regard to homeownership. Second generation immigrant men were less likely to live in poverty compared to their parents' generation, as were women although moderately so.

To answer the questions posed at the beginning of this paper, the second generation experienced upward mobility relative to their parents' generation and the mainstream in homeownership and poverty status. Educationally and occupationally, there was very little improvement, and even some downward mobility in high school completion for men, college completion for women, and upper white collar occupation attainment for men. Many of the coefficients were not significant, but were modestly strong. The small sample size of black immigrants may be deflating these coefficients, and with a more robust sample size significance would have been detected. The second question this paper hoped to address were the mobility trends for the mainstream black population. Both males and females of the native-born black population saw great improvements in each measure relative to their parents' cohort. These great improvements may have eroded the modest gains experienced by the second generation. The last question asked how did second generational mobility differed by gender given the differences in gender norms in

the Caribbean and Africa (Corra and Kimuna 2009; Dodoo 1997; Kalmijn 1996; Model 1991). Second generation men had some declines in high school completion relative to their parents' generation and the mainstream population while women experienced very slight declines in college completion. The number of second generation men in white collar jobs also declined, while this changed very little for women. Second generation men also had improvements over women in homeownership and poverty status.

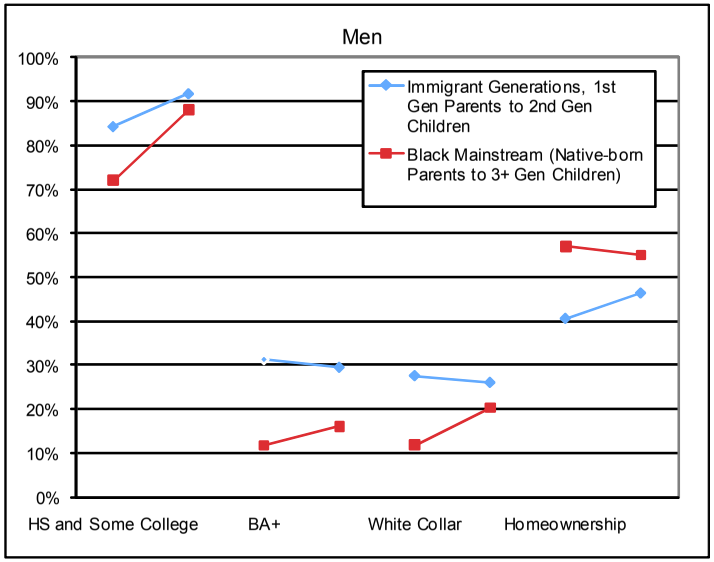
Overall, there is some indication of intergenerational mobility from the cohort of immigrant parents in 1980 to their children's cohort in 2003-2009. Though many of the results for the second generation were not significant, some modest improvements were still shown. The lack of significance may be due to the great improvements experienced by the mainstream population, and it may also be due to the small sample size of black immigrants. Despite this limitation in the data, there is some evidence that the black second generation lost some ground in upper white-collar occupational attainment.

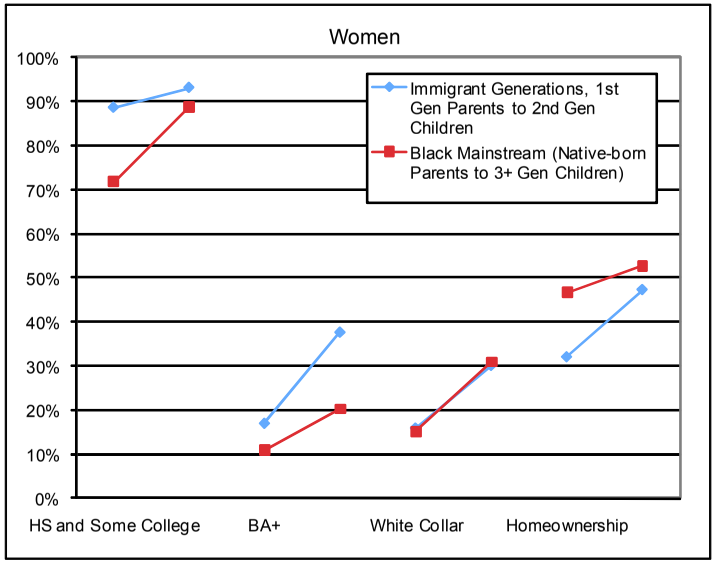
A key finding is that native-born mainstream blacks have experienced substantial socioeconomic mobility over the past few decades. If Waters' (1999) findings are correct and the black second generation assimilates into the black mainstream (although this study provides very little evidence for this), it seems that this is much better for recent immigrants given the mainstream's marked improvements.

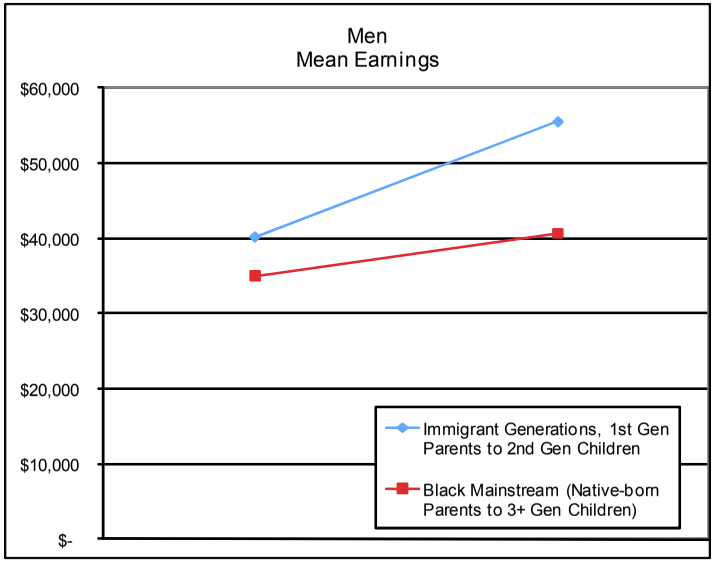
Because the focus of this study was black immigrants and their children, the definition of "black" included both Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic blacks to better capture some immigrants from the West Indies. However, because race may play a more dominant and lasting role as these immigrants begin to assimilate and lose their "immigrant" title (Foner 1985), grouping Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic blacks together is not ideal, but it is reasonable. Combining immigrants from the West Indies and Africa is also problematic, however sample size limitations prevented further analysis between these groups.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to determine if, despite their advancements, black immigrants and native-born mainstream black population are being "racialized" (Brown and Bean 2006). Future research should consider including a white reference group to investigate this claim. However, given the improvements experienced by the mainstream and the immigrant generations, it seems as though a great deal of progress has been made even in light of our racial society.

Figure 1: Intergenerational Mobility Profile Charts for Native and Immigrant Black Men and Women, from First Generation Parents to Second Generation Parents compared to Third Generation and Higher Black Men and Women







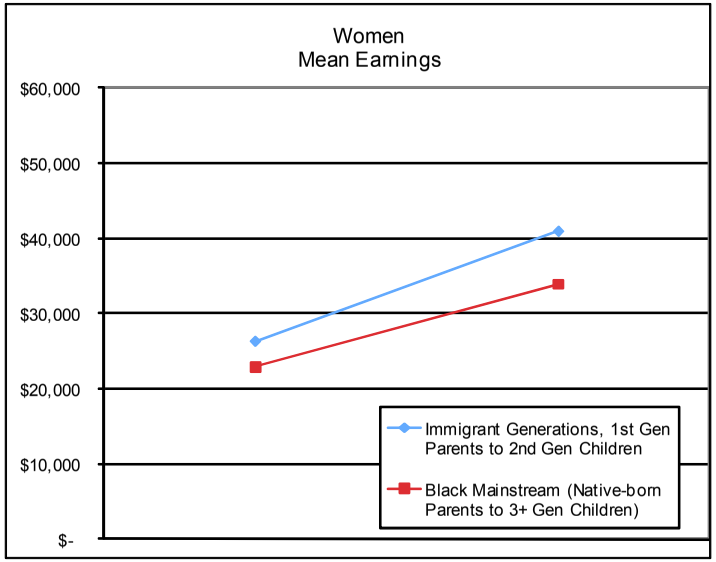


Table 3. Logistic Regression Results for Educational Attainment, 1980 and 2003-2009

	High School Completion		College Completion	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Intercept	-1.8053 ***	-1.9322 ***	0.9817 ***	1.0451 ***
Year (reference=1980)				
2003-2009	0.5305 ***	0.7817 ***	1.5040 ***	1.3721 ***
Generation				
Parents of Second Generation	1.1672 ***	0.4225	0.7467	0.8867 *
Year*Generation				
2003-2009*Second Generation	-0.3808	0.5365	0.0272	-0.0709
Age				
Age 36=0	0.0016	-0.0018	-0.0552 ***	-0.0472 ***
Obs.	13783	18074	13783	18074
-2 Log Likelihood	12602.176	16779.314	11984.113	15003.144

*** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1

Table 4. Logistic Regression Results for Upper White Collar Occupation Attainment, 1980 and 2003-2009

	Men		Women	
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 1**	**Model 2**
Intercept	-1.8522 ***	-3.5886 ***	-1.5472 ***	-3.2179 ***
Year (reference=1980)				
2003-2009	0.7607 ***	0.5496 ***	0.8880 ***	0.5898 ***
Generation				
Parents of Second Generation	0.8892 **	-9.6201	-0.0663	0.4230
Year*Generation				
2003-2009*Second Generation	0.1422	0.4392	0.5260	0.3943
Age				
Age 36=0	0.0008	0.0046	0.0178 ***	0.0293 ***
Education (reference=Less than High School)				
High School		1.2765 ***		1.3628 ***
College		3.7179 ***		3.8615 ***
Generation*High School				
2003-2009*High School		10.1957		-0.7720
Generation*College				
2003-2009*College		9.8046		-1.0474
Obs.	13,783	18,074	13,783	18,074
-2 Log Likelihood	12,887	19,611	10,162	15,489

*** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1

Table 5. OLS Regression Results for Earnings, 1980 and 2003-2009

	Men		Women	
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 1**	**Model 2**
Intercept	84.090 ***	33.450 ***	69.040 ***	23.150 ***
Year (reference=1980)				
2003-2009	12.620 ***	6.510 ***	28.520 ***	19.750 ***
Generation				
Parents of Second Generation	0.430	0.220	0.240	-0.510
Year*Generation				
2003-2009*Second Generation	1.770 *	2.190 **	1.090	0.530
Age				
Age 36=0	12.150 ***	14.240 ***	11.430 ***	13.830 ***
Education (reference=Less than High School)				
High School		15.200 ***		16.820 ***
College		32.250 ***		42.820 ***
Generation*High School				
2003-2009*High School		-1.130		0.400
Generation*College				
2003-2009*College		0.500		0.430
Obs.	13,783	18,074	13,783	18,074
Adj. R-Squared	0.0284	0.0582	0.1021	0.1564

*** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1

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