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The dimensions and degree of second-generation incorporation in US and European cities: A comparative study of inclusion and exclusion

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Abstract

This research compares cities between and within the United States and Europe with respect to their dimensionality and degree of immigrant incorporation. Based on theoretical perspectives about immigrant incorporation, structural differentiation and national incorporation regimes, we hypothesize that more inclusionary (MI) cities will show more dimensions of incorporation and more favorable incorporation outcomes than less inclusionary (LI) places, especially in regard to labor market and spatial variables. We use data from recent major surveys of young adult second-generation groups carried out in Los Angeles, New York, and 11 European cities to assess these ideas. The findings indicate that second-generation immigrants in New York (MI) and in European MI places (i.e. cities in the Netherlands, Sweden and France) show greater dimensionality of incorporation (and thus by implication more pathways of advancement) respectively than is the case in Los Angeles (LI) or in European LI places (i.e. cities in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland). We discuss the significance of these results for understanding how the structures of opportunity confronting immigrants and their children in various places make a difference for the nature and extent of their integration.

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How well immigrant groups are integrating has become the touchstone issue in public debates about immigration in post-industrial countries over the past two decades (Caldwell, 2009; Higley and Nieuwenhuysen, 2009; Meissner et al., 2006). Not surprisingly, this has also become a major topic for social science research. Since what happens as the children of immigrants grow up is pivotal for immigrant group incorporation, large-scale research efforts have sought to assess how they are faring (Bean et al., 2006; Crul and Heering, 2008; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). First-round results find some but not all second-generation groups integrating along many dimensions. However, outcomes vary not only across groups (Heath et al., 2008; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Liebig, 2009), but also across countries and urban locales (Crul and Schneider, 2010; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Heath et al., 2008; Koopmans, 2010; Liebig, 2009; Van Tubergen et al., 2004). Learning more about the factors accounting for these differences can benefit from comparative urban research, including cultural, multi-method and multi-level analyses (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2009; Fleischmann and Dronkers, 2010; Foner, 2005; Koopmans, 2010; Lee and Bean, 2010; Rustenbach, 2010; Skrentny, 2008; Van Hook and Bean, 2009).

Except for agricultural workers, most immigrants settle in cities, often the largest urban centers in their destination countries (Price and Benton-Short, 2007, 2008; Sassen, 1999). Yet relatively little prior research has systematically compared how different urban contexts affect immigrants, in large part because of a lack of data (Waldinger, 2001). Comparisons exist for a few key cities like New York and Los Angeles (Halle, 2003; Waldinger, 1996) and for emerging gateway cities (Singer et al., 2008). And some studies have contrasted single cities like New York or London over time (Foner, 2000; Kershen, 1997). Still others have based analyses on large data sets for a handful of places across two time periods (Waldinger, 2001). But for the most part, scholars have assessed the importance of urban context for the incorporation of immigrants and their descendants through case studies, many of which, while superb, lack a basis for gauging degrees of difference.

This study has three objectives. First, we review the literature on theoretical perspectives about immigrant incorporation, seeking to discern how key aspects of incorporation might fall into different dimensions and how loosely or tightly such bundles might align with one another. Second, we note the theoretical reasons why greater looseness among the different dimensions of incorporation might be related to the mobility opportunities and the 'warmth of welcomes' cities provide to immigrants (Reitz, 1998). We label favorable urban contexts of reception inclusionary and note why these are generally characterized by more multi-dimensional structures and more rapid immigrant group advancement, while less inclusionary places are marked by more uni-dimensional structures and slower progress. Third, we examine immigrant second-generation survey data to see if evidence emerges consistent with these notions. At the broadest level, we expect cities in the United States will show greater dimensionality and more immigrant incorporation than cities in Europe. In contrast to most European countries, the United States is a 'nation of immigrants' expressly settled by newcomers and one that actively recruited settlers for much of its history, often providing tangible resources (e.g. land) to new arrivals in the process (Martin, 2011; Zolberg, 2006). We also undertake intra-continental comparisons, which we anticipate will reveal that less inclusionary cities exhibit fewer dimensions and less incorporation than more inclusionary cities.

Theoretical considerations

Incorporation dimensions among immigrants

We begin by distinguishing four broad domains of individual-level immigrant incorporation: economic, sociocultural, spatial, and political. These, of course, have a certain face validity, corresponding roughly to the kinds of factors emphasized in the academic disciplines of economics, sociology/anthropology, geography and political science. The fact that researchers often draw a sharp distinction between economic and sociocultural incorporation (Bean and Stevens, 2003; Waters, 1990) suggests their various aspects (e.g. human capital and labor market outcomes in the former case and group identity, linguistic patterns, family and religious orientations and behaviors in the latter) often vary independently (i.e. that they can occur separately and not necessarily together). While this seems reasonable, it is less clear that economic and sociocultural incorporation may occur independently from spatial and political incorporation. Spatial assimilation is typically thought to be a direct function of sociocultural adaptation and economic mobility (Massey, 1985). Yet recent studies question this connection (Logan et al., 2002; Murdie and Ghosh, 2010). Several new Asian groups to the United States (Chinese, Koreans and to a lesser extent Filipinos) contain many highly educated immigrants; some settle in co-ethnic communities when they arrive, but many do not (Logan et al., 2002). The extent to which economically successful members of a group continue to live in its enclaves suggests a looser association between spatial and economic incorporation. The formation of suburban middle-class enclaves would also suggest that spatial incorporation occurs to some extent separately from economic incorporation.

Life-course factors may also weaken linkages between spatial and economic incorporation. In particular, people often move when they marry and have children and then settle down once they hit middle age (Courgeau, 1985; Kulu and Milewski, 2007; Michielin and Mulder, 2008; Rabe and Taylor, 2009). Spatial mobility thus levels off at an age when incomes may continue to rise. Further, while income certainly constrains the kinds of neighborhoods and dwellings one can choose, poor and working-class immigrant groups may face claims on their income and time from extended family, so they may not be able to translate income gains into better neighborhoods (Agius Vallejo and Lee, 2009; Brown, 2007; De Haas, 2006; Maloutas, 2004; Mansoor and Quillin, 2006; Van Dalen et al., 2005). Also, basic housing tenure patterns regarding how much owner-occupied housing is available, and the degree to which the affluent native majority occupies it, may keep spatial mobility separate from other dimensions of incorporation (Bolt et al., 2010).

The picture is equally complicated in the case of political incorporation, which constitutes an especially broad integration domain (Andersen and Cohen, 2005; Hero and Wolbrecht, 2005; Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008). It can encompass everything from the mere presence of international migrants within a polity to their participation in voting. A common research focus often involves gauging active involvement in electoral politics and coalitions (Bloemraad et al., 2008; Browning et al., 1984; Jones-Correa, 2005). Also, the nature and form of immigrant political engagement in destination countries can clearly change over time, across the life course, and across generations (Haller and Landolt, 2005; Hollifield, 2004; Portes et al., 2008). Political incorporation thus may often connect ambiguously with other dimensions of incorporation. Both economically successful and economically marginal immigrant groups may see political mobilization as important to their futures – or not. And political engagement is sometimes cause and sometimes effect of trends in other dimensions in the incorporation process (Bean et al., 2011; Bloemraad et al., 2008).

Various aspects of incorporation thus often tend *not* to occur together. In particular, they may *not* be fixed across time and space. Hirschman (2001: 318) criticizes the incorporation literature for

'lack of a clear specification showing how the various dimensions are related to one another'. But perhaps aspects of incorporation tend *not* to relate consistently with one another, especially under certain circumstances. That is, the children of immigrants who are faring relatively well in the labor market (or in educational attainment) may not show relatively high levels of integration on other aspects of incorporation. This is certainly implied by non-assimilation theoretical perspectives on incorporation, particularly those that emerged in recent years.

By contrast, the classic assimilation perspective and its two major variants – ethnic disadvantage (or racialization) and segmented assimilation (Bean and Stevens, 2003; Jiménez, 2009; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Telles and Ortiz, 2008) – share the idea that the different aspects of incorporation tend to progress together over time (Alba and Nee, 2003), although the two corollary perspectives envision incomplete assimilation. The racialization perspective sees such incompleteness as resulting from racial discrimination and attendant structural barriers to advancement for *most* of the members of some non-white groups (e.g. African and Mexican Americans), while the segmented assimilation perspective sees partial assimilation as a consequence of such discrimination and barriers facing primarily a particular segment of certain groups (Brown and Bean, 2006). One notable sub-hypothesis of the segmented assimilation perspective, that of *selective acculturation*, foreshadows multi-dimensionality, noting that some immigrants strive to maintain traditional ethnic values in order to enhance the likelihood of achievement, especially in the second generation (Portes and Zhou, 1993). This sub-variant of segmented assimilation theory explicitly draws attention to the looseness of incorporation outcomes, thus moving away from the uni-dimensionality of assimilation processes, although the perspective does not explicitly invoke the idea of dimensions. Even while acknowledging this modification, we note that the racialization and segmented assimilation perspectives generally envision relatively uni-dimensional processes as characteristic of most groups and immigrants, if not all, thus roughly embracing the idea of a single general pathway to incorporation.

Other incorporation perspectives – multicultural and post-industrial frameworks – while sometimes as prescriptive as analytical, emphasize that various aspects of integration (economic, sociocultural, spatial, political) can and do occur at different times and in different ways (Fokkema and de Haas, 2011; Kymlicka, 1995; Montserrat and Rex, 2010). In particular, multicultural perspectives postulate that the retention of specific ethnic values, customs, and practices is not necessarily inimical to other kinds of incorporation. Post-industrial perspectives, in their emphases on the fluidity and contingency of sociocultural identities, processes and outcomes, imply the greatest multidimensionality of all. This follows from their notions that advanced societies increasingly do *not* require that given ethnoracial identities, sexual orientations, marital statuses, religious preferences and family behaviors bundle closely together (Kymlicka, 1995; Parekh, 2006; Soysal, 1994). Thus, in places where mainstream society tolerates and respects ethnic identity and culture, there is less reason to think it will operate to thwart economic or political incorporation (Modood, 2007; Reitz et al., 2009; Wright and Bloemraad, 2012).

Overall, then, theory is mixed. Multicultural and post-industrial perspectives imply that incorporation structures are more multidimensional and, from a policy point of view, that integration policies should focus on economic opportunities and the labor market rather than on sociocultural orientations, except for those involving lack of tolerance and respect for ethnic diversity (Koopmans, 2010). Classic assimilation theoretical perspectives highlight a relatively uni-dimensional process, while other theoretical perspectives implicitly or explicitly postulate that incorporation involves not only different domains (broadly those involving labor market, political, sociocultural and spatial processes and outcomes), but also varying degrees of advancement across places and groups.

Comparative contexts and the dimensionality and degree of incorporation

What do these theoretical perspectives imply about the kinds of places that enhance integration? The emergence over the past 30 years of theoretical alternatives to the classical assimilation perspective suggest a growing recognition of multiple aspects of incorporation and the possibility that these may not co-vary together. Stated differently, the perspectives imply that the occurrence of one aspect may not necessarily reflect the occurrence of another. Are more inclusionary kinds of places more likely to show this tendency? Are the places that are most welcoming and receptive of newcomers also places that are more likely to offer immigrants multiple pathways for mobility? If so, do these qualities also foster easier and more frequent occurrence of some kinds of incorporation than others, with this in turn leading to greater independence among different kinds of incorporation (i.e. to greater dimensionality)? And if more welcoming places are characterized by more mobility pathways, do these generate greater incorporation?

Researchers have widely examined whether various contexts (as indicated by country or city characteristics) foster or limit immigrant group integration (Brettell, 2003; Crul and Schneider, 2010; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2009; Foner, 2007; Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009; Goodwin-White, 2009; Kalter and Kogan, 2006; Keogan, 2002; Koopmans, 2010; Mollenkopf, 1999; Reitz, 1998; Waldinger, 1996, 2001). Such studies in the aggregate emphasize a wide variety of historical, cultural, policy and institutional factors that may enhance or diminish various aspects of immigrant incorporation (see Table 1). Because of the unavailability of data across numerous places, limited information about various kinds of incorporation, and often the inclusion of only one or two groups, research has tended to emphasize only one or two places at a time or only one aspect of incorporation. Thus, New York and Los Angeles have often been examined (Halle, 2003; Waldinger, 1996), but generally compared only with respect to one kind of incorporation (Mollenkopf, 1999), with some notable exceptions (e.g. Sabagh and Bozorgmehr, 2003). In sum, the field of comparative urban incorporation research currently suffers a relative lack of data on multiple aspects of incorporation for multiple immigrant groups across many cities or countries (see Benton-Short et al., 2005, for a recent effort to compile a data set that begins to rectify this). How then to move forward on comparative urban incorporation research?

At the moment, one way to start would be to focus on cities, noting as a first approximation that cities exist within countries, and that the emphases and tendencies of countries in regard to immigrants are likely to affect how the cities within those countries relate to immigrants, even if only imperfectly. Because many policies that affect immigrants are set at the national level (Hollifield, 2000; Zolberg, 1999), it may be fruitful to ask, as a first-order question, how countries influence the kind and degree of incorporation. Here we can take as a guide the work of a number of scholars who have sought to delineate types of incorporation regimes based on particular factors, or distillations of several factors into types (Brubaker, 1992; Castles and Miller, 2003; Hein, 1993; Koopmans and Statham, 1999; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Soysal, 1994), that affect integration. What most of these share in common is their focus on national (usually state-level) policies and practices that are thought to influence immigrant incorporation and that vary across types. In a critique preliminary to the reformulation of such types, Freeman (2004) says:

> States possess . . . ramshackle, multifaceted, loosely connected sets of regulatory rules, institutions, and practices in various domains of society that together make up the frameworks within which migrants and natives work out their differences. The partly deliberate, partly accidental character of incorporation frameworks defeats efforts to identify national models or to construct typologies of incorporation regimes. (p. 946)

Table 1. Studies postulating relationships between urban or national contextual factors and aspects of incorporation

Study	Examples of factors	Relation to incorporation
Waldinger (1996, 2001)	Union concentration	+
	Historical immigrant presence	
	Racial/ethnic diversity	
Reitz (1998)	Skill selectivity	+
	Inequality in labor markets	–
Mollenkopf (1999)	Political segmentation	+
Keogan (2002)	Symbols of receptivity	+
Brettell (2003)	Historical immigrant presence	+
	Diversity	
	Intergroup relations	
Bloemraad et al. (2008)	Multicultural policies	+
Portes and Rumbaut (2006)	Government policies	+/–
	Conditions of host labor market	
	Co-ethnic communities	
Foner (2007)	Historical immigrant presence	+
	Intergroup relations	
Castles and Miller (2009)	Integration/multicultural regime	+
Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2009)	Disinvestment caused by restructuring	–
	Urban position in power continuum	+
Goodwin-White (2009)	Unionization rates	+
	Educational opportunities	
Crul and Schneider (2010)	Institutional features of labor markets, housing, religion and legislation	+ –
Koopmans (2010)	Generosity of welfare state and multicultural policies together	–

Emphasizing instead institutional incentive structures across multiple integration domains (within state, market, welfare, and cultural sectors), Freeman alternatively argues that '. . . we should expect different [incorporation] modes in particular domains – state, market, welfare and culture – within individual states; the overall outcome being a mixed bag not fully assimilationist, pluralist, or multicultural' (p. 960). In other words, while incorporation patterns and practices may vary across states, they also may vary within states and urban areas, depending on domain. That is, aspects of incorporation can often be loosely interconnected. Different places pursue different kinds of policies and engage in different kinds of practices in support of different kinds of incorporation. This strongly implies that place matters for immigrant incorporation, and that some kinds of places are more conducive to certain kinds of incorporation than others. In short, national contexts may encourage multi-dimensionality of incorporation outcomes. Cities operate within these contexts and to some extent undoubtedly reflect national tendencies, while also perhaps reflecting policies, practices and structures of their own. What kinds of national and urban contexts are most likely to foster multi-dimensionality of incorporation? Stated differently, what kinds of states – and thus cities within states – are most likely to provide different kinds of opportunity for mobility among immigrants and their children? The work of both Castles and Miller (2003) and Freeman (2004) provides a suggestion.

Despite Freeman's reservations about typologies of state policies and practices, he nonetheless concludes it is possible to discern loose groupings of integration domains, formulating what he terms a 'typology of syndromes', by which he means combinations within states of loosely bound integration tendencies across the four state-level integration domains. He then distinguishes four types of countries, three of which are relevant to our endeavors. One (exemplified by the United States, Canada, and Australia) consists of countries with open immigration and citizenship practices, liberal political economies and welfare states, and laissez-faire or formal multiculturalism. A second (exemplified by Sweden and the Netherlands) entails countries with moderately open immigration and citizenship regimes, coordinated market economies, social democratic or corporatist welfare states and formal settlement policies uneasily embracing multiculturalism. A third (exemplified by Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) consists of countries that are open to labor migration and have coordinated market economies and corporatist welfare systems, even though they tend to discourage permanent settlement and naturalization and at times appear to resist multiculturalism and assimilation. Although derived on the basis of a different logic than other typologies, Freeman's final grouping overlaps considerably with that of Castles and Miller's (2003), who after an extensive review of state policy patterns and practices, distinguish three major groups of orientations toward ethnic minorities: differential exclusion (Germany, Austria, and Switzerland), assimilationist (France, Britain, and the Netherlands), and multicultural/integrationist (the United States, Canada, Australia, and Sweden).

In both the Freeman and the Castles and Miller classifications, the fit between countries and the categories is rough and imperfect. To note just one example, Freeman's groupings do not yield an altogether comfortable fit for France, whose strongly prescribed universalist values imply both equal treatment of newcomers and an unyielding insistence that newcomers adhere to those beliefs. Moreover, it increasingly appears that some of the features of states that have led to the development of such groupings may recently be waning in their distinctiveness, even converging 'toward a middling form of incorporation – call it integration – that rejects permanent exclusion but neither demands assimilation nor embraces formal multiculturalism' (Freeman, 2004: 945). Indeed, Castles and Miller (2009) recently note that the differential exclusionary citizenship policies that underlay some of their types may have now changed enough that it makes little sense to draw sharp distinctions among countries on the basis of them. This notwithstanding, the effects of these differences in national policies and practices toward immigrants are likely to linger.

Despite such problems with typologies, it is striking that both the Freeman and the Castles and Miller groupings share *one* conspicuous feature; they both classify Austria, Germany, and Switzerland as places that have long excluded immigrants from full participation in their societies. While scholars may perceive differences among remaining Western countries in their general integrationist tendencies or in their preferences for supporting certain kinds of incorporation more than others, they tend to agree about which countries have embraced the most pronounced exclusionary policies and practices. If such countries are harsher and less generous in their dealings with immigrant groups, it is likely that the cities within them will be as well, especially compared to cities in other more inclusionary countries, although clearly there will be some cities that are individual exceptions. For research purposes, then, and as a heuristic, we first focus on European cities in these three countries, grouping them together into a category we term 'less inclusionary' (LI); we group European cities from all *other* countries into a category we call 'more inclusionary' (MI). Despite the constancy of social change, differences between these two general kinds of cities appear to have remained surprisingly stable over time (Entzinger, 2000; Hammar, 1985; Koopmans et al., 2005; Meuleman, 2009; Mitchell and Russell, 1996; Penninx et al., 2004; Rex, 1997; Soysal, 1994).

More inclusionary contexts are likely to show more dimensions of incorporation. Conversely, exclusionary places should show tighter incorporation structures than inclusionary places, and thus *fewer* separate dimensions of incorporation. Tighter incorporation structures discourage (or even prohibit) certain kinds of immigrant advancement *unless* other kinds are also occurring. A key example involves citizenship, which exclusionary countries until recently had made impossible or very difficult (Hansen, 2008). This formally limited other kinds of advancement, because citizenship was often required for access to many services and labor market opportunities. In contrast, inclusionary places foster economic advancement without requiring political or sociocultural conformity (Goodman, 2010; Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003). Cities in less inclusionary countries should therefore display fewer independent incorporation dimensions (thus exhibiting greater uni-dimensionality of incorporation) than those in more inclusionary places, which should show more varied and separate dimensions of incorporation. Inclusionary tendencies are also likely to be more characteristic of global cities and other very large cities, which tend to exhibit more differentiated structures and more opportunities for immigrants, of both formal and informal varieties (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Portes and Sassen-Koob, 1987; Sassen, 1991, 2000). Such cities also tend to attract greater numbers (absolutely and relatively) of *both* high- and less-skilled immigrants (Price and Benton-Short, 2008). In contrast to inclusionary places with their more differentiated opportunity structures and diverse pathways of mobility, non-inclusionary places are characterized by more consolidated structures (Simmel, 1923 [1908]). That is, they are likely to show fewer independent dimensions of differentiation with their structures allowing fewer separate paths to opportunity and mobility (Blau, 1977, 1994; Blau and Schwartz, 1984).

Finally, different immigrant groups in inclusionary cities may fare well in different ways because each group can more readily find and take advantage of the particular activities and niches most suited to its strengths. Similarly, a given group might fare differently in different cities. By contrast, in exclusionary places all immigrant groups might be expected to fare poorly, and a given group to fare equally poorly across cities. Freeman (2004) indicates that Austria, Germany, and Switzerland have often displayed immigrant-restrictive (or exclusive) orientations in almost all domains (state, market and culture) of integration, with generosity only in welfare, and then mostly because the state initially expected such support to be temporary. By contrast, the domains of integration for more inclusive places involve different kinds of support for immigrants (i.e. more inclusionary places show different ways of being favorable towards immigrants).

Research hypotheses

Our research centers on comparisons between cities within the United States and Europe. As noted above, many researchers in recent years have argued that the key to assessing the extent of immigrant group incorporation involves examining the children of immigrants more so than immigrants themselves (e.g. Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). The major reason is that most immigrants arrive as adults and thus, unlike their children, lack sufficient exposure (and perhaps malleability) to experience the full extent of integration in their new destinations. So it is important to focus on the children of immigrants, or more specifically on the young-adult children of immigrants who are old enough to have 'come of age' in their new places of residence. We limit attention to young adults because the arrival of some groups of immigrants in many places is so recent that older second-generation adults are not yet very numerous in those places. Also, because many aspects of incorporation (e.g. finding a job) take place at the local rather than the national level (even though these may be influenced by national-level forces),

we also need to examine incorporation outcomes for second-generation young adults at the city level in order best to ascertain differences in incorporation dimensionality across places. Hence, we focus on second-generation young adults living in cities in both Europe and the United States.

We seek to make comparisons between more and less inclusionary major immigrant cities. As we note below, the only European cities available to us with data on second-generation young adults were cities in Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland. The only US cities were New York (MI) and Los Angeles (LI). In the case of the European cities, for the reasons outlined above, we classify those in the Netherlands, France, and Sweden as more inclusionary (MI), and those in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland as less inclusionary (LI). Because the United States has a longer history of being an 'immigration nation' involving the expectation that migrant settlers will become citizens (Castles and Miller, 2009; Motomura, 2006), we hypothesize that the United States in general is more inclusionary than Europe. Within Europe, the MI cities we study include Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Paris, Strasbourg, and Stockholm; the LI ones are Vienna, Linz, Berlin, Frankfurt, Basel, and Zurich. For purposes of intra-continental comparison, we also treat Los Angeles as less inclusionary than New York because the latter has a longer history of immigration, more familiarity with immigrant diversity, and more institutional supports for immigrants (Foner, 2007; Mollenkopf, 1999; Waldinger, 2001) (see Table 2). However, we do this mostly for purposes of facilitating statistical comparison. In no way do we mean to suggest that Los Angeles maintains similar exclusionary policies and practices toward immigrants as have some cities in Austria, Germany, or Switzerland in the recent past, although some observers might disagree, noting that Los Angeles has historically embraced quite exclusionary practices and orientations toward Mexicans (Deverell, 2004).

In any event, we hypothesize that New York will reveal more dimensions of incorporation than will Los Angeles, and we expect among the cities in Europe those classified as MI places will show a greater number of incorporation dimensions than the LI cities. Finally, within the United States, we expect second-generation young adults in New York to surpass those in Los Angeles in the degree of incorporation, and within Europe we expect the second-generation young adults to fare better in regard to incorporation in the MI cities as compared to the LI places. We also hypothesize that these tendencies will be stronger for the more tangible aspects of incorporation (economic and spatial), which Freeman (2004) suggests the various incorporation typologies better predict.

Table 2. More inclusionary (MI) and less inclusionary (LI) cities included in this study, from the United States and Europe

Group	More inclusionary (MI)		Less inclusionary (LI)	
	City	Country	City	Country
United States	New York		Los Angeles	
Europe	Amsterdam	The Netherlands	Basel	Switzerland
	Paris	France	Berlin	Germany
	Rotterdam	The Netherlands	Frankfurt	Germany
	Stockholm	Sweden	Linz	Austria
	Strasbourg	France	Vienna	Austria
			Zurich	Switzerland

Data, methods and measures

When we began this research, the only data of which we were aware on second-generation young adults from both the United States and Europe came from three sources. The first was the Survey of the Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York (ISGMNY) (Kasinitz et al., 2008), a telephone survey conducted between 1998 and 2000 with respondents aged 18 to 32. ISGMNY focused on the adult children of the largest immigrant groups – West Indians, Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadorans, and Peruvians, and Russian Jews – in 10 counties in the New York–New Jersey metropolitan area, and compared them with third-plus generation white and black and second-generation Puerto Ricans. The analyses here include 2419 1.5/second-generation respondents weighted so that each group is proportional to its share of the total New York population.[1]

The second source was the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) survey (Rumbaut et al., 2004). Beginning in 2004, IIMMLA surveyed 1.5 and second-generation persons between the ages of 20 and 40 residing in the five-county region of the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area.[2] IIMMLA collected data on members of the six national-origin groups – Mexican, Salvadoran/Guatemalan, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Filipino – that comprise the bulk of the immigrant population in Los Angeles. IIMMLA also includes a residual group of 'non-white' 1.5/second-generation adults with other national origins as well as a non-Latino whites with other national backgrounds. IIMMLA compared these groups with third-plus generation non-Latino whites and blacks. This article focuses exclusively on the 1.5/second-generation respondents (N = 3440) weighted to their share of the overall Los Angeles metro population aged 20 to 40.

The third source was The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) project in Europe.[3] The TIES surveys, carried out between 2006 and 2008, covered 15 European cities in eight countries.[4] The study targeted adult children, aged 18 to 35, born in the survey country to immigrant parents (i.e. the target sample consists exclusively of the second generation), focusing on second-generation young adults from Turkish, Moroccan, and former Yugoslavian backgrounds, mostly children of labor migrants, depending on which group was present in a given city.[5] The targeted sample size was 250 respondents per group per city. Each city includes a comparison sample of individuals with parents born in the survey country. Our analyses of the European cases do not include the comparison groups, nor the surveys from Spain and Belgium (which were not available), yielding 3539 observations across 11 cities in six countries. Samples were weighted using post-stratification weights that take into account the age-sex distribution of the groups (second generation and reference group alike) at the city level.

We merged the New York and Los Angeles samples into one data set and the samples from the European cities into another. We had only separate access to the US and the European data sets and thus were unable to combine the two into a single overall data set. As a result, we cannot ascertain directly how New York and Los Angeles compare with certain European cities in their in degrees of integration. But we can compare their dimensionality within sets of cities. Although the US and European surveys asked slightly different kinds of questions, they all elicited information on aspects of the four underlying dimensions of incorporation. We compared the questionnaires in order to derive indicators that were similar in content if not always in scale across the cities within each data file.

The total set of American and European indicators across the four conceptual dimensions of immigrant incorporation are shown in Appendix Table 1. The American data include items on educational attainment, employer-provided health insurance, and personal income as indicators of economic incorporation. The corresponding European measures include educational attainment, perceived difficulties with current income, and the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of

occupational status (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996). American indicators of linguistic/cultural assimilation include attitudes toward racial/ethnic exogamy, mother-tongue proficiency, home language preference, ethnic media consumption and frequency of religious attendance. The European measures were similar, except for the attitudinal measure, and include self-measured proficiency in the parents' native language, use of the parental native language in the respondent's household, consumption of ethnic media, and religious attendance.

We measured the spatial aspects of incorporation in both the US and Europe with two indicators of respondents' neighborhood, one measuring its ethno/racial composition and the other its socioeconomic status. In the US these are based on tract-level data from the 2000 US Census, while the European indicators are respondents' perceptions of their current neighborhood of residence. Finally, we used three indicators to measure political incorporation in the United States: a scale measuring the extent to which respondents favor federal intervention to ensure that citizens have a good standard of living, a scale of political engagement (registering to vote, participating in political organizations), and a variable on whether an individual voted in the last election. Political indicators in Europe included voting behavior at the most recent local election and engagement in political organizations. Appendix Table 2 reports the means and standard deviations of all indicators used in the analyses.

As noted above, we classify New York and Los Angeles respectively as MI and LI cities and examine them separately. We also examine the MI and LI European cities separately. We use the statistical tool Principal Components Analysis (PCA) to assess the multi-dimensionality of incorporation structures within each of the US and European MI and LI groups. PCA helps to reveal both the number of dimensions of incorporation within the four sets of cases and the extent to which these dimensions take on similar or different structures in accordance with the ideas introduced earlier. PCA shows which indicators constitute a particular dimension, thus helping to define the dimensions of incorporation in a given type of city. Of course, no absolute criterion exists for determining whether a structure is uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional. The answers yielded by our approach depend as much on theoretical as empirical considerations. They do, however, apply uniform criteria to the two city types (MI and LI within each continent) and ask whether the results conform to the theoretical expectation that more immigrant-inclusionary contexts reveal a greater number of dimensions of incorporation.

PCA also yields a score for each respondent in each city type on a given dimension.[6] After standardizing these to mean 'zero' and standard deviation 'one', we use them as independent variables in multivariate regression models to determine whether city types show a net difference on a given incorporation dimension, and if so, whether these differences support the hypotheses articulated above. To ascertain whether a component (or dimension) was meaningful, we required it to show an eigenvalue greater than 1.10 (implying that the amount of variation explained by its components exceeded chance by 10% or more) *and* that this occur 'above the elbow' of a scree plot of the eigenvalues for all components (see Brown, 2006). Because we have relatively few indicators and many are not continuous, we did not employ confirmatory factor analyses to assess the structure of the components.

Because LI places should show more aspects of incorporation bundling together (and thus fewer separate dimensions) than MI places, this must be taken into account when comparing any given kind of incorporation across kinds of cities. To do so, we used the component coefficients or weights for each indicator as estimated for the most favorable city context in the US or Europe, depending on the location of the city, to calculate incorporation scores for less immigrant-favorable cities. For example, we take the loadings for the various New York indicators and apply them in combination with the means on Los Angeles' indicators to generate scores for Los Angeles on the dimensions. In essence, this enables us to ask what Los Angeles' overall incorporation score would

be if it had the same incorporation structure as New York, but its own levels (indicator means) on the various aspects of incorporation. We then compare scores of the two cities (or, in Europe, the two types of cities) with respect to any particular dimension of incorporation, controlling first for the age and gender differences in the respondents across the types of cities. These results yield a baseline model against which we can compare the results of subsequent models.

Findings

As expected, New York shows the most differentiated structure, with four separate incorporation dimensions emerging (economic, sociocultural, spatial, and political) (Figure 1). New York, long considered the premier immigrant gateway in a 'nation of immigrants' (Kasinitz et al., 2008), thus reveals the most complex and differentiated structure of all of the cities examined. Stated differently, New York's pattern is most consistent with the idea that it contains multiple separate pathways for mobility. Los Angeles and the European MI cities show slightly less differentiated (i.e. more consolidated) structures than New York. In their cases, three dimensions emerge, with political and economic aspects of incorporation bundling more closely together than in New York (see Table 3). Of the European cities the LI ones show the least differentiated structures. Only two dimensions emerge (with greater bundling among materialist and behavioral aspects in one dimension and more sociocultural and subjective indicators in the other). In short, the incorporation configurations in cities in European countries that have been the least welcoming of recent immigrants come closest to displaying a uni-dimensional structure. In these places, second-generation incorporation patterns tend to reveal similar levels of integration on *all* aspects of incorporation at once (a pattern that subsequent analysis will show is associated with *lower* levels of immigrant integration), reflecting the influence of the exclusionary dynamics noted above. In terms of structural differentiation theory, these places show the least differentiation and the most consolidation among aspects of incorporation.

It is also worth highlighting the dimensions that emerge in the New York case (and to a lesser degree in the others cases as well). No overall sociocultural dimension emerges except one largely defined by linguistic indicators. This does *not* mean sociocultural aspects of incorporation are unimportant, only that various factors such as ethnic identity, religious behavior, and intermarriage do not

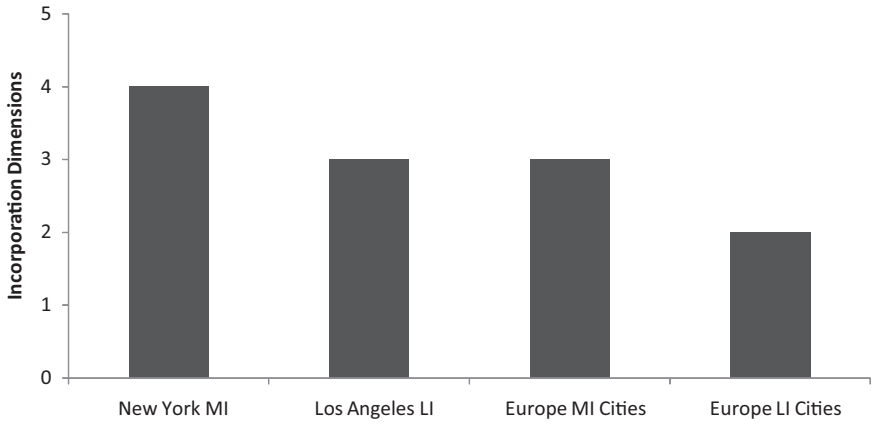

Figure 1. Number of incorporation dimensions observed in various inclusionary contexts.

Table 3. Dimensions of incorporation and their components among second-generation young adults in different types of urban reception contexts in the United States and Europe[a]

New York MI (four dimensions)	Los Angeles LI (three dimensions)
1. Economic	**1.** Economic
Education	Education
Health insurance	Health insurance
Income	Income
2. Political	Political engagement
Political engagement	Voting
Voting	**2.** Spatial
Non-religious	Neighborhood socioeconomic status
3. Spatial	Percentage white in neighborhood
Neighborhood socioeconomic status	**3.** Sociocultural/linguistic
Percentage white in neighborhood	Loss of mother tongue
4. Sociocultural/linguistic	English usage at home
Loss of mother tongue	Non-ethnic media
English usage at home	
Non-ethnic media	
Europe MI (three dimensions)	Europe LI (two dimensions)
1. Economic/political	**1.** Economic/political/spatial
Education	Education
Health insurance	Health insurance
Income	Income
Voting	Neighborhood socioeconomic status
2. Spatial	Diverse neighborhood
Neighborhood socioeconomic status	Voting
Diverse neighborhood	**2.** Sociocultural/linguistic
3. Sociocultural/linguistic	Loss of mother tongue
Loss of mother tongue	Host language at home
Non-ethnic media	Non-ethnic media
Non-religious	Non-religious

[a]Summary of PCA of incorporation indicators within each type of urban context. Factor loadings are reported in Appendix Table 4.

bundle or co-vary strongly with each other or with linguistic indicators. This reflects the tendency for immigrants everywhere to learn the host country language, irrespective of their other characteristics, especially when that language is English (Esser, 2006; Rumbaut et al., 2006). But the sociocultural aspects of incorporation may not 'hang together' among themselves to the same degree as aspects of the other major dimensions. This merely suggests that we can less readily predict one aspect of sociocultural incorporation from another, a result in keeping with post-industrial theoretical perspectives on incorporation, which view sociocultural phenomena as independent, 'optional', and situationally fluid. Within Europe, this tendency is particularly characteristic of the inclusionary cities, in that such cities reveal greater numbers of incorporation dimensions.

Next we examine whether second-generation immigrants from New York and MI places fare better compared respectively to Los Angeles and LI cities. As hypothesized, New York shows higher overall levels of second-generation immigrant incorporation than Los Angeles (Figure 2, first set of bars). This difference among kinds of cities is largest for economic incorporation, but it

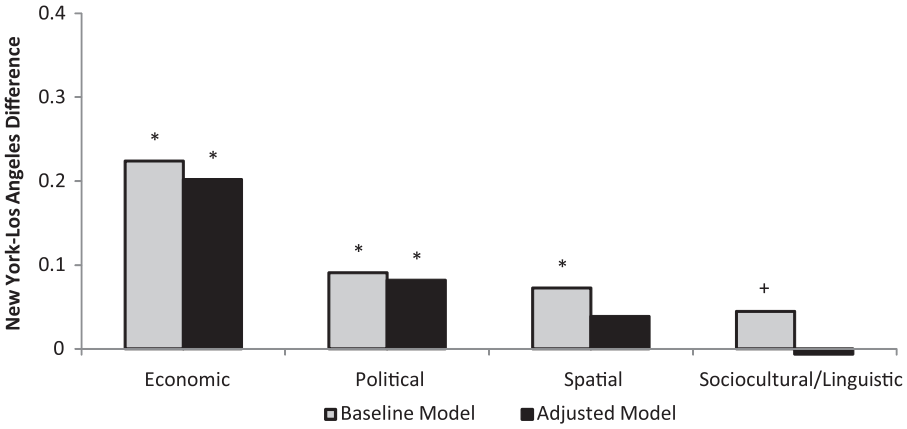

Figure 2. New York–Los Angeles differences on four incorporation dimensions among second-generation young adults.
* $p < .05$; + $p < .10$ (two-tailed test).
Notes: Differences are based on regression models of factor scores on a New York dummy variable.
Baseline model includes only a New York dummy, and age and sex controls. Adjusted model adds parental and family background factors to baseline (see Appendix Table 5).

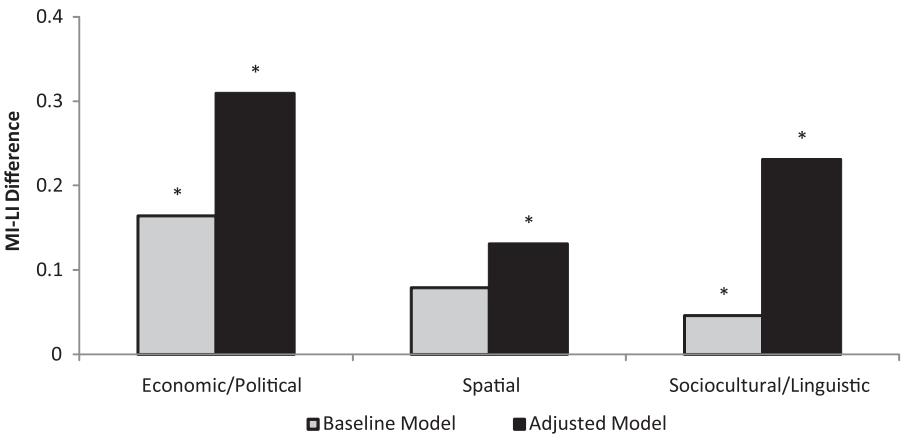

Figure 3. European MI–LI city differences on three incorporation dimensions among second-generation young adults.
* $p < .05$; + $p < .10$ (two-tailed test).
Notes: Differences are based on regression models of factor scores on an MI dummy variable.
Baseline model includes only an MI dummy, and age and sex controls. Adjusted model adds parental and family background factors to baseline (see Appendix Table 6).

also appears to a lesser degree for political and spatial incorporation. In the European case, second-generation immigrants show higher levels of economic/political incorporation in more inclusionary cities, confirming expectations. The same is true at lesser magnitudes for spatial and linguistic/ethno-cultural incorporation, just as in the US cases. Further analyses introduce controls for parents' education and family structure, providing an indication of the tendency for certain kinds of immigrants to locate in cities providing more favorable incorporation contexts. The second bars in each pair in Figures 2 and 3 show the remaining differences by city type that still exist after these

controls (see also Appendix Tables 5 and 6). For the second generation in the US cities, controls for such background factors reduce the advantage New York shows in economic and political incorporation over Los Angeles by about 10–12 percent, but they do not eliminate it (nor do they eliminate the advantage in spatial incorporation).

For the second generation in Europe, these controls actually increase the advantage of the MI cities over the LI cities. In other words, this implies that in Europe immigrants from *more* disadvantaged backgrounds tend disproportionately to migrate to the more inclusionary cities. That is, they are more likely to go to cities that one would expect to provide the *most* favorable contexts for incorporation. Conversely, those with backgrounds seemingly more favorable for success locate in places with fewer pathways of opportunity, a pattern just the opposite of what we would expect were favorable contexts positively selecting second-generation immigrants. Thus, controlling for second-generation antecedent factors in Europe results in an even more positive effect associated with living in a MI city. In general, irrespective of background, the children of immigrants fare better in New York than in Los Angeles and in more inclusionary European contexts than exclusionary ones.

What can we say about these patterns in more concrete terms? Is the extent of incorporation occurring in some places greater than that in others? And do such conclusions depend on particular aspects of incorporation? For the moment, it is worth noting that one key contribution of the theoretical and empirical analyses in this article is the documentation that the dimensionality of incorporation (i.e. the looseness with which various dimensions interrelate) appears greater in inclusionary cities. This implies something about the mechanisms through which exclusion takes place. It suggests that exclusion involves forces that mutually reinforce one another, thus leading to the emergence of a cumulative effect that is perhaps larger than the sum of the parts comprising it. In exclusionary places, immigrants and their children who cannot succeed in one way (e.g. because of constraints on obtaining citizenship) are also less likely to succeed in other ways as well. Immigrants in such places thus tend to exhibit *one* predominant dimension of incorporation, which consists of education, labor market position, and political aspects of incorporation all strongly co-varying together. In other words, those who do poorly on any one of these *also* do poorly on the others. Of course, some immigrants and their children may do well, but given that the level of overall immigrant advancement in exclusionary places is lower, it is clear that relatively few second-generation immigrants are faring well in exclusionary places. This uni-dimensionality is distinctively different from the multiple dimensions in more inclusionary cities. In short, exclusion appears to operate more monolithically than does inclusion.

This conclusion pertains to cities in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The pattern of differences observed for the US cities, while consistent with our hypothesis that Los Angeles is less inclusionary than New York, also suggests that Los Angeles and New York resemble the more inclusive European cities in overall outcomes more than they differ from each other. This is evident not only in the statistically based results presented above, but also in recent research by writings arguing that New York and Los Angeles are more like Stockholm, Amsterdam, Paris, and Brussels than they are like Berlin and Vienna (Crul and Mollenkopf, 2012). Among eight key cities examined here (the six large European capitals plus the two US traditional gateway cities), and focusing on the critical disadvantaged group in each place (Turks in Europe, Dominicans in New York, and Mexicans in Los Angeles), Berlin and Vienna, the two least inclusionary cities show distinctive educational and labor market outcomes compared with the others. Specifically, second-generation Turks show decidedly worse levels of education and notably lower labor market positions in Berlin and Vienna than do Turks, Dominicans, or Mexicans in more inclusionary cities. It has already been noted above that the policies and practices that created exclusion in the countries where these cities are found may have waned over the past decade, so these disadvantages may diminish. They

appear, however, to have remained strong enough up through the mid-2000s to result in lower levels of incorporation in these cities in the data analyzed here.

Alternative explanations of results

To assess the robustness of our results, we checked whether New York's observed higher economic incorporation might stem from Los Angeles' large concentration of Mexicans, an especially low-income and low-education group. We deleted the Mexicans from the Los Angeles data and re-ran the analyses, but this did not change the outcome. We also checked whether New York's higher cost of living might account for its more favorable economic results compared to those of Los Angeles. However, New York's observed incorporation advantage is more than 20 percent higher than Los Angeles', while its cost of living runs only about 6 percent greater (US Bureau of Labor, 2009). Finally, we considered whether differential in- or out-migration across the two cities (e.g. especially greater out-migration of less successful second-generation persons) might explain the differences, but if anything, taking this into account increased them. The incorporation advantage enjoyed by the immigrant second generation in New York thus appears to hold up to further scrutiny.

In the case of the European cities, we also checked whether including the French cities in the MI or LI categories might affect the results. As noted above, some observers view these cities as only partially fitting the classification. While France embraces universal values that emphasize equal treatment of persons regardless of origin, it also is strongly assimilationist (Castles and Miller, 2009; Silberman and Fournier, 2007; Simon, 2003). In this sense, French cities could be construed as LI places. However, adding the two French cities to the LI category does not change the findings, showing no change in structure and only a slight decrease in the difference in economic/political incorporation between MI and LI places. The small differences suggest that the French cities are in fact more similar to MI cities than to LI cities.

We also conducted two additional kinds of analyses to check the robustness of the dimensionality structures emerging from the Principal Components Analyses. First, in the case of the European cities, we ran such analyses separately for each city and found that the results tended to confirm the overall PCA results. That is, MI cities examined separately showed more multi-dimensional structures (generally three dimensions), while LI cities examined separately showed less dimensionality (generally two dimensions). To illustrate this substantively on the key matter of how tightly the dimensions of incorporation bundle together, we use the amount of variation explained by the first component from the Principal Components Analyses. A relatively small amount of variation explained indicates a relative *lack* of bundling and greater dimensionality. The first principal component should explain *less* variation in more inclusionary (MI) cities as a result of such places having more differentiated structures and a larger number of mobility pathways, thus providing more independent ways for the second generation to progress. In the case of the European cities, the individual city analyses strongly conform to this expectation. Thus, Berlin, a large LI capital city, shows the *most* variation explained by the first principal component (30.5%), indicating a relatively strong tendency toward bundling. In contrast, Amsterdam, a large MI capital city, shows the *least* variation explained (16.7%). This suggests that Amsterdam is the better place for immigrant and second-generation mobility because it provides more *separate* (i.e. non-bundled) ways for newcomers to succeed. Overall, the results of the city-specific analyses do not appear to be driven by idiosyncratic results within either of the two groupings.

Second, it is possible that the differences in the structures for New York and Los Angeles compared to the European cities (i.e. the tendency toward more dimensions in the US cities than the European ones) could result either in part or altogether from the fact that the US analyses contain three more indicators than the European ones. However, when we re-ran the US analyses without

these three indicators, we obtained virtually identical results to those in which we included them, suggesting that the difference originally observed in dimensionality between New York and Los Angeles does not owe to differences in the number of items. Thus, New York, which we hypothesized would be characterized by the most inclusionary context of all of the cities examined here and thus would show greatest number of independent dimensions, does indeed reveal the least variation explained by its first principal component among all of the MI cities (15.4%). It is also the only city that manifests a four-dimensional incorporation structure. Its historic position as a gateway city in the major immigrant-settler nation seems to undergird its status as an especially favorable context of reception for second-generation advancement.

Discussion and conclusions

The logic and results presented here indicate that not only do more inclusionary places foster more immigrant-group incorporation, they also foster more variety in the kinds of incorporation that take place. That is, inclusionary incorporation tends to involve unrelated kinds of success. One pathway to advancement may appear to be occurring without others necessarily taking place, or taking place to the same degree. This is implied by the greater number of dimensions that emerge in the statistical analyses for the more inclusionary compared with the less inclusionary European cities and for New York compared with Los Angeles.

Thus, different kinds of success among the children of immigrants are occurring in different places, whereas exclusionary places show a tendency to all be more alike. This sort of pattern emerges also in other research with respect to sociocultural factors. For example, the preservation of parental language in the second generation along with the learning of the host-country language may be especially valuable, particularly among the more highly educated, in the kinds of places that are more inclusionary and more differentiated. Schneider et al. (2012: 169) note: '. . . cultural diversification in all kinds of directions and an increased influx of cultural stimuli from all over the world into the cultural production of ''world cites'' creates more room and acceptance for the preservation of cultural influences from one's own family'. Thus, sociocultural diversification, or what we here refer to as sociocultural/linguistic multi-dimensionality, is likely to occur in increasingly multiple ways and to be increasingly valuable in larger and more economically dynamic places. This is consistent with the statistical results from our analyses, which find that sociocultural indicators do *not* tend to be bundled together into a single incorporation dimension. Sociocultural diversification at all levels – within the individual, within the family, within the neighborhood, and within the city – may be emerging as hallmarks of both more economically successful second-generation immigrants and of more dynamic, prosperous cities.

Also, the city effects do not appear appreciably to be explained away by selectivity effects among migrants. Statistical controls for background and parental characteristics do not eliminate the differences observed between MI and LI places. Although one might expect parents of higher-status backgrounds to be more likely to settle in inclusionary cities, in fact, just the opposite seems to be occurring, especially in Europe. Thus, the patterns of difference that remain after statistical controls would seem to derive more from the benefits of differentiated opportunity structures for the second generation in MI urban contexts than from selectivity. These same results (i.e. after introducing statistical controls) also imply the city differences we observe do *not* owe to the presence of different groups (with different background characteristics) in the cities. If the results were a function of such immigrant group differences, the MI city effects should disappear with the introduction of background controls. Finally, it is worth noting that a large remaining portion of the observed variation in the data is individual variation,

which suggests that considerable second-generation advancement takes place within places, national origin groups, and classes independently of differences across cities.

In summary, we might say that all cities unfavorable to immigrants tend to resemble one another in their unfavorability, but each city favorable to immigrants is favorable in its own way. With apologies to Tolstoy (see Shapiro, 2006), this observation serves as the crux of this research. Here we turn Tolstoy's proposition on its head and apply it to contexts of immigrant reception. We assess how certain characteristics of place relate to the incorporation of the children of immigrants. More specifically, we show that the myriad aspects of immigrant integration bundle together into different dimensions generally corresponding to sociocultural, economic, political, and spatial incorporation, with the looseness of the bundles varying by city. The fewer bundles a city has, the more tightly organized are the aspects of incorporation; the more bundles a city has, the more loosely they are organized. Where the aspects closely align (i.e. where tendencies toward uni-dimensionality occur), it is harder for immigrants to advance, and incorporation bogs down. But when the aspects are more loosely aligned, niches and pathways for immigrant mobility open up and incorporation proceeds more easily. Such findings highlight the importance of local contexts of reception for immigrant and second-generation incorporation.

The pattern of results emerging here also suggests that *both* the form and content of urban contexts matter in shaping how 'place' influences incorporation. Stated differently, analyses of only one or the other (i.e. of content without structure, or structure without content) miss an important part of the picture. City-specific structural differentiation (as reflected here in the dimensionality of incorporation) makes a difference, as does content – the institutions, history, cultural practices, and the policies of countries and cities. Research focusing on only one or two cities, or on only one or two dimensions of incorporation, or on only one or two aspects of content cannot discern that both structure and content are important for immigrant integration. Portes and Vickstrom (2011) make this point in analyzing the determinants of social cohesion. They note that both 'a complex division of labor and the strength of institutions' are required to hold modern societies together (p. 476), an observation consonant with the theoretical emphases and empirical findings of this research. The implication is that future urban comparative research on immigrant integration, which is very much needed, needs to move toward studying both the structure and content of immigrant and second-generation integration.

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Appendix

Appendix Table 1. Indicators of incorporation along four dimensions among second-generation young adults in the United States and Europe

		United States	Europe
Economic	Education	Years of completed schooling	Five-level categorical variable
	Health insurance	Has job-related health insurance (dummy-coded)	N/A
	Income	Natural log of annual individual income	Income hardship scale (low = great hardship, high = secure)
	Occupational prestige	N/A	Continuous ISEI score
Sociocultural/ linguistic	Pro-exogamy	Does not believe in importance of marrying within racial/ ethnic group (dummy-coded)	N/A
	Language loss	Does not speak parents' native language well (dummy-coded)	Five-category indicators of proficiency of parents' native language (high = poor, low = excellent)
	Host language at home	Prefers to speak English at home (dummy-coded)	Frequency of usage of host language with family members (higher scores = more frequent use of host tongue)
	Low ethnic media usage	Does not consume ethnic-specific media on a weekly basis (dummy-coded)	Four-category indicator of ethnic media exposure (high = never, low = weekly)
	Non-religious	Attends services fewer than two times annually (dummy-coded)	Five-category indicator of service attendance (high = never, low = weekly)
Spatial	Ethno-racial composition of neighborhood	Percent US-born, non-Latino white in census tract, 2000	Five-category indicator of perceived ethnic composition (high = almost nobody of same ethnic background, low = almost everyone same background)
	Socioeconomic status of neighborhood	Median household income of census tract, 2000	Three-category indicator of perceived SES of neighborhood (lower-class, middle-class, upper-class)
Political	Pro-government intervention	Scale (low = unfavorable toward federal interventions, high = favorable)	N/A
	Political engagement	*Z*-score (low = low engagement, high = high engagement)	Participation in political parties/groups (dummy-coded)
	Voting	Voted in recent election (dummy-coded)	Voted in last municipal elections (dummy-coded)

Appendix Table 2. Means and standard deviations for indicators of incorporation among second-generation young adults in the US and Europe, by urban reception context[a]

	LI		MI	
	Los Angeles (*N* = 3440)		New York (*N* = 2419)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Economic				
Education	13.7	2.4	13.2	2.1
Health insurance	0.53	0.50	0.41	0.49
Income	8.2	3.8	8.4	3.5
Sociocultural/linguistic				
Pro-exogamy	0.83	0.38	0.86	0.35
Language loss	0.33	0.47	0.48	0.50
Host language at home	0.69	0.43	0.72	0.45
No ethnic media usage	0.52	0.50	0.37	0.48
Non-religious	0.36	0.48	0.66	0.47
Spatial				
Non-Hispanic whites in neighborhood	0.27	0.21	0.20	0.25
Socioeconomic status of neighborhood	43,975	16,985	34,002	15,001
Political				
Pro-government intervention	4.4	1.2	4.4	1.4
Political engagement	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
Voted	0.38	0.48	0.35	0.48
	LI European cities[b] (*N* = 2562)		MI European cities[c] (*N* = 977)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Economic				
Education	3.4	1.1	3.7	1.3
Occupational prestige	41.0	11.1	42.7	10.7
Income	2.7	1.0	2.6	1.1
Sociocultural/linguistic				
Language loss	2.4	1.2	2.7	1.2
Host language at home	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.2
No ethnic media usage	2.3	1.0	2.5	0.8
Non-religious	2.6	1.4	2.5	1.4
Spatial				
Socioeconomic status of neighborhood	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6
Ethnicity of neighborhood	2.9	1.0	2.7	1.0
Political				
Voted	0.43	0.50	0.67	0.47
Political engagement	0.03	0.17	0.04	0.21

[a]See Appendix Table 1 for variable definitions.
[b]Cities in LI nations: Vienna and Linz (Austria), Basel and Zurich (Switzerland), Berlin and Frankfurt (Germany).
[c]Cities in MI nations: Stockholm (Sweden), Paris and Strasbourg (France), Amsterdam and Rotterdam (The Netherlands).

Appendix Table 3. Summary results for principal components analyses of indicators of incorporation among second-generation young adults in the United States and Europe

	Expected rank-order on openness of incorporation structure	Number of incorporation dimensions	Percent of variance explained by first factor	
			Total	As share of variance explained by retained factors
New York MI	1	4	15.4	32.0
European MI cities	2	3	15.6	40.0
Los Angeles LI	3	3	18.5	45.1
European LI cities	4	2	20.1	58.7

Appendix Table 4. Varimax-rotated factor loadings for principal components analyses of indicators of incorporation among second-generation young adults in the United States and Europe

	Los Angeles LI			New York MI			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Education	**0.618**	0.344	0.075	0.012	0.318	**0.498**	0.310
Health insurance	**0.499**	0.027	0.018	–0.087	0.101	**0.681**	0.207
Income	**0.526**	–0.042	0.085	–0.041	–0.007	**0.725**	–0.006
Pro-exogamy	0.087	–0.122	0.364	0.196	–0.167	0.209	–0.213
Language loss	–0.201	–0.006	**0.637**	**0.783**	–0.058	–0.077	0.041
English at home	0.223	0.161	**0.601**	**0.756**	–0.065	–0.022	0.071
Low ethnic media usage	0.074	0.200	**0.746**	**0.582**	0.260	0.060	–0.067
Non-religious	0.013	0.096	0.329	0.101	0.032	0.202	**–0.428**
Non-Hispanic whites in neighborhood	0.059	**0.865**	0.102	–0.115	**0.852**	0.025	–0.016
SES of neighborhood	0.016	**0.874**	0.061	0.097	**0.829**	0.058	–0.006
Pro-government intervention	–0.017	–0.024	0.171	0.181	–0.001	0.270	–0.385
Political engagement	**0.708**	–0.008	–0.019	0.094	0.023	0.094	**0.697**
Voted	**0.689**	0.012	0.034	0.083	–0.081	0.366	**0.645**

	European LI cities		European MI cities		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Education	**0.665**	0.091	**0.729**	0.210	0.025
Occupational prestige	**0.599**	–0.039	0.381	**0.414**	0.152
Income	**0.540**	0.042	**0.606**	–0.033	0.016
Language loss	–0.128	**0.604**	0.046	–0.154	**0.673**
Host language at home	0.134	**0.721**	–0.172	0.108	–0.225
Low ethnic media usage	0.018	**0.705**	0.199	–0.094	**0.612**
Non-religious	0.161	**0.605**	–0.201	0.248	**0.617**
Ethnicity of neighborhood	**0.523**	0.174	0.157	**0.706**	0.016
SES of neighborhood	**0.522**	0.079	–0.033	**0.768**	–0.072
Political engagement	0.225	–0.174	0.149	–0.035	–0.147
Voted	**0.435**	0.095	**0.548**	–0.169	–0.030

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

Appendix Table 5. OLS coefficients for PCA factor scores regressed on city, demographic characteristics, and parental and family background variables, second-generation young adults in Los Angeles and New York

	Economic			Political		
Constant	–0.004	–1.441***	–1.629***	–0.001	–0.668***	–1.098***
New York (MI)	0.008	0.224***	0.202***	–0.016	0.091***	0.082***
Age		0.048***	0.050***		0.026***	0.026***
Male		0.179***	0.161***		–0.132***	–0.149***
Parents' education[a]			0.015***			0.017***
At least one citizen parent			0.085**			0.210***
Two-parent HH growing up			0.028			0.130***
Lived abroad growing up[b]			0.038			–0.004
Number of siblings			–0.031***			–0.001
R-squared	0.000	0.115***	0.136***	0.000	0.039***	0.064***
	Spatial			Sociocultural/linguistic		
Constant	0.007	–0.488***	–1.072***	–0.004	–0.302***	–0.954***
New York (MI)	–0.002	0.073**	0.039+	0.002	0.045+	–0.006
Age		0.016***	0.020***		0.009***	0.009***
Male		0.079***	0.033		0.096***	0.069**
Parents' education[a]			0.041***			0.048***
At least one citizen parent			0.111***			0.272***
Two-parent HH growing up			0.183***			–0.083***
Lived abroad growing up[b]			0.021			–0.115**
Number of siblings			–0.044***			–0.006
R-squared	0.000	0.012	0.098	0.000	0.006	0.086

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

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

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

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

Appendix Table 6. OLS coefficients for PCA factor scores regressed on immigration regime, demographic characteristics, and parental and family background variables, second-generation young adults in Europe

	Economic/political			Sociocultural/linguistic			Spatial		
	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Constant	–0.076*	–0.830***	–0.981***	–0.063*	–0.392***	–0.579***	–0.025	–0.035	0.078
MI city	0.125*	0.164**	0.309***	0.060	0.079+	0.131*	0.043	0.046	0.231***
Age		0.032***	0.041***		0.016***	0.023***		0.003	0.010*
Male		–0.110*	–0.089+		–0.168***	–0.138**		–0.153**	–0.141**
Parents' education[a]									
Primary level			–0.390***			–0.420***			–0.513***
Tertiary level			0.619***			0.086			0.671***
Missing			–0.745***			0.296**			–0.595***
Parents' citizenship[b]									
At least one citizen parent			0.261***			0.229***			–0.095+
Missing			–0.126			0.231+			–0.350*
Parents' marital status[c]									
Divorced before R's 18th birthday			–0.190*			0.559***			0.029
Divorced after R's 18th birthday			0.052			0.333*			0.239
Missing			–0.477*			0.120			–0.222
Residence in youth[d]									
Lived in parental country of birth			–0.503**			–0.438**			–0.159
Missing			0.172			0.263			–0.192
Number of siblings			–0.043**			–0.029*			–0.055***
R-squared	0.001	0.014	0.087	0.000	0.009	0.081	0.000	0.003	0.078

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

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

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

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

[c]Reference category is parents still married.

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

Notes

1. The New York and Los Angeles samples include foreign-born children of immigrants because of the relative recency of large-scale migration flows. The foreign-born respondents (so-called 1.5 generation persons) were quite young when their parents immigrated and grew up mostly in the United States, like second-generation respondents. As a robustness check, we re-ran all analyses, the results of which we show below, to ascertain if deleting the 1.5 generation respondents affected the patterns. It did not.
2. Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino and Ventura Counties. Random-digit dialing was used to obtain telephone interviews, supplemented by targeted geographic sampling and by surname lists for the Asian ethnic groups.
3. The TIES survey was carried out by survey bureaus under supervision of the nine national TIES partner institutes: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) and Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands; the Institute for Social and Political Opinion Research (ISPO); University of Leuven in Belgium, the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) in France; the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies (SFM) of the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland; the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO) of the University of Stockholm in Sweden; the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) of the University of Osnabrück in Germany; the Institute for the Study of Migration (IEM) of the Pontifical Comillas University of Madrid in Spain; and the Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Austria. See www.tiesproject.eu for country documentation.
4. The eight countries are: France (Paris and Strasbourg); Germany (Berlin and Frankfurt); Spain (Madrid and Barcelona); Austria (Vienna and Linz); the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam); Belgium (Brussels and Antwerp); Switzerland (Basel and Zurich); and Sweden (Stockholm).
5. Turks and Moroccans were the target groups in France, the Netherlands, and Belgium; Turks and ex-Yugoslavians the target groups in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland; Turks the target group in Sweden; and Moroccans the target group in Spain. In the Netherlands and Sweden, sampling was achieved by using information from register data at the municipal (NL) and national (SE) level, as it allowed the identification of the second generation without further information being required. In Austria, Switzerland, and Germany, a mixture of the use of municipal registers along with onomastic analysis of surnames (Humpert and Schneiderheinze, 2009) was used to identify the potential target audiences. In France, given the difficulties in getting access to a suitable sampling frame for selection, telephone directories in Paris and Strasbourg were used to identify the target audience, along with onomastic sampling (Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips, 2012).
6. The results of the PCA analyses are presented in Appendix Tables 3 and 4. The first component extracted in the PCA explains the lowest percentage of variance in New York (Appendix Table 3). This is notable because by definition the first component always explains the most variance and invariably involves the most indicators (Brown, 2006). Moreover, the more variance the first factor explains the more the pattern would show consolidation toward a uni-dimensional general assimilation pattern. It is notable that New York does *not* show this pattern.

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