Hidden Incorporation?
Mexican-American Fertility

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Abstract:

The possibility of incomplete fertility incorporation among "third-plus" generation Mexican-American women has been noted for over a decade (Bean, Swicegood et al. 2000; Frank and Heuveline 2005). However, recent questions about the way the "third-plus" generation is measured, especially precisely who is in the group has led to speculation that the category is imprecise and negatively biased (Duncan and Trejo 2007; Alba and Islam 2009; Alba, Abdel-Hady et al. 2011; Duncan and Trejo 2011). The present paper seeks to contribute to research on fertility incorporation by (1) examining the childbearing of Mexican-origin women using data that allow the isolation of a third-only generation, (2) estimating Mexican-origin/Anglo women's differentials based on these data, and (3) assessing whether "replenishment" effects stemming from recent increases in Mexican immigration may be raising overall fertility of Mexican-origin women. Using data from the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) survey, the General Social Survey (GSS) as well as the Current Population Survey (CPS) for Los Angeles and the nation as a whole, we find that, after isolating a third-only generation group, fertility incorporation among the Mexican origin is taking place, and indeed, progressing even faster.

Introduction:

The incorporation of Mexican immigrants in the United States constitutes a critical issue for public policy and an important question for social science research. Fertility incorporation, due to both immediate and long-term fiscal and social consequences, is particularly significant. Because both immigration and immigrant group fertility are major determinants of U.S. population growth (Preston and Hartnett 2010), their magnitude carries implications both for the financial health of public programs and for the likely emergence of hostile U.S. intergroup relations stemming from "demography is destiny" fears. Fertility has replaced immigration as the primary source of increase among the Mexican origin population (Taylor, Lopez et al. 2011), and with the report that Mexican migration has dropped to around equilibrium between 2005 to 2010 (Passel, Cohn et al. 2012), the centrality of fertility will only increase.

While many analysts have observed that relatively "high" fertility among Mexican-origin women exerts positive effects on future Social Security funding in the U.S. (Jonsson and Rendall 2004), others, including the media, have often invoked negative images and crisis metaphors about levels of fertility and unauthorized Mexican migration (see Chavez' [2008] documentation of examples). Whether positive or negative, such claims about fertility and population growth underscore the importance of ascertaining the true overall level of childbearing among Mexican-Americans. They also point to the need to gauge the extent to which fertility across Mexican-American generations may be changing the longer the members of the group live in the United States.

In 2006, the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) estimated a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) for the U.S. Mexican origin population of 3.1, roughly a child greater relative to non-Hispanic whites and blacks (Martin et al. 2009). When used in population projections, a rate of this magnitude results in quite large population totals for Hispanics by the year 2050, for whom Mexicans who make up a substantial majority of Hispanics (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2008). Similarly, declining but still relatively high period fertility rates for both foreign-born and native-born Hispanics have been assumed to hold in the future population projections developed by government, public-policy think tank, and scientific communities (Jonsson and Rendall 2004; Passel and Cohn 2008; Parrado 2011). The fertility behavior of Mexican origin women coupled with their recent geographic diversification has led to nativist discussions vis-à-vis the Mexican origin population that has included how a communities resources should be used and even debate around repelling the fourteenth amendment guaranteeing citizenship to those born in the U.S (Preston 2011).

The Mexican-origin population have long been considered to be pro-family and pro-natalist due to the historical context found within Mexico (Vega 1995). Despite one of the most precipitous declines in total fertility rate found worldwide, those in Mexico retain larger families and earlier family formation than non-Hispanic native-born whites in the United States(Parrado and Morgan 2008; Parrado 2011). The classic assimilation theory would expect that with acculturation, and structural and marital assimilation, these differences would be mitigated with time spent in the U.S. Recent research, though, has shown that the "third-plus" Mexican-origin generation has more children as well as earlier family formation than their second-generation brethren (Bean, Swicegood et al.

2000; Frank and Heuveline 2005; Telles and Ortiz 2008). This falls out of line with assimilation expectations and has led to pessimistic speculation, mainly centered on racial/ethnic discrimination and blocked mobility, why this incongruent pattern has emerged (Frank and Heuveline 2005; Telles and Ortiz 2008).

Despite widespread public concerns over the number of children Mexican-origin women are having (Alba, Rumbaut et al. 2005), there are reasons to think that the incorporation of later-generation Mexican-Americans are not being fully realized. The method of identifying later generation Mexican-Americans gives reason to think that their fertility is also overestimated. Specifically, questions on respondent and parental nativity, which allow for precise measure of a first and second generation, have been available for a variety of data sources for some time. However, there exists only a nebulous and imprecise "third-plus" generation category for anyone who reports both they and their parents' were born in the U.S., but still identify as Mexican. To provide some clarity, Table 1 displays the commonly used generation definitions, as well as how a more precise measure of the third generation would look.

Table 1: Mexican-origin generation status defined

Generation Status	Defined
1st Generation….....	Born in Mexico and arrived in U.S.
2nd Generation.....	Born in the U.S. with 1 or 2 Mexican born parents
"3rd Plus" Generation……..	Born in U.S. with U.S. born parents; Identifies as Mexican-Origin
Precise Measure	
3rd Generation….....	Born in U.S. with U.S. born parents; At least 1 Mexican born grandparent

Using such data makes assessing incorporation of the nebulous "third-plus" generation imprecise and, as Trejo and Duncan (2007; 2010) have shown, potentially

biased due to out-selection. They identify intermarriage as the primary vehicle for this out selection, and since, generally, much of the intermarriage has occurred between higher achieving Mexicans and native-born whites (Lee and Bean 2010), it is those who are better off among the "third-plus" generation who cease to identify as Mexican (Duncan and Trejo 2007; Duncan and Trejo 2011).

The paper is laid out as follows. We will introduce what we dub "the measurement problem" in immigration research as well as various incorporation theories and the past findings on Mexican group fertility incorporation. To view whether such a measurement problem, I will draw from two unique data sources that ask about grandparent nativity, the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) and the General Social Survey (GSS). This will allow me to look at whether fertility incorporation differs when the measurement problem is addressed and a precise third generation category is available.

Because the results could be unique to either the L.A. metro area or to the data sets themselves, I draw on the Current Population Survey (CPS) June Fertility Supplement to assess the representativeness of IIMMLA and the GSS. This is an appropriate comparison as it is frequently used for fertility studies and has in the past found incomplete fertility incorporation at the national level (Bean, Swicegood et al. 2000; Frank and Heuveline 2005) as well as in the state of California (Hill and Johnson 2004). Such test will gauge whether any further incorporation gained is due to correcting for the measurement problem or some other factors.

Theory:

The Measurement Problem:

Many surveys now collect information on respondent and parental nativity that allow for constructing both a first and second-generation, if not more nuanced groups based on age of arrival into the host country (1.5 generation) or having one native-born and one foreign-born parent (2.5 generation). However, nearly all of these very same surveys use self-identification to create a "third-plus" generation. That is, rather than asking nativity of ancestors, surveys such as the CPS construct a "third-plus" generation as those who respond that they and both their parents' were born in the U.S., but still identify as Mexican. Such an eclectic generation group is problematic due to the diverse historical experiences each generation would have faced. Further, that it requires individuals to identify themselves as Mexican is a further complication and leads one to wonder who exactly continues to identify as such and what identifying as a later-generation Mexican-American means. Such a nebulous and imprecise category might be forgivable if it was a small group, but the "third-plus" generation is hardly that. Instead, within the weighted CPS sample, the "third-plus" generation makes up nearly thirty percent of the Mexican-origin women, just three percentage points behind the second generation for whom so much scholarly focused has been centered.

Time and Place of Migration

Two particular issues are at the center of the use of a "third- plus" generation. The first of these is the effect of using a mixed generation category that is comprised of people whose ancestors entered under different historical periods. The settlers of each generation faced their own set of unique circumstances, such as historically very high levels of discrimination in Texas (Grebler, Moore et al. 1970), and to view them as one group may be hiding meaningful differences.

Although granted U.S. citizenship following the end of the U.S.-Mexico war with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 (Jaffe, Cullen and Boswell 1980), Mexicans had their lands removed, were politically disenfranchised and were relegated to the bottom of the economic order, though the degree of exclusion varied by time and place (Camarillo 1995; Gutierre 1995; Gomez 2007). Into the twentieth century, Mexicans came to replace the Chinese and Japanese as the choice for cheap labor. Despite a growing reliance on this cheap Mexican labor (Massey, Durand et al. 2002), Mexicans were still generally treated quite poorly, as they continued to live in segregation, attend underfunded and poor schools and had limited access to any social, political or economic mobility, and in some areas, lived under Jim-Crow like segregation rules.

With the Great Depression, widespread nativist sentiment against Mexicans increased. Instead of overlooking Mexicans, as they had before the depression, authorities began to actively repatriating not only Mexican immigrants, but also U.S. citizens of Mexican descent (Balderrama and Rodriguez 1995). The start of World War II did spell some relief from widespread nativist sentiment, and the shortage of agricultural workers led to the Emergency Farm Labor Program, alternatively known as the "Bracero" program, which allowed employers to hire Mexican immigrant farm hands (Calvita 1992). Despite some signs of upward mobility with a small but growing Mexican-American middle class (Garcia 1989) and the presence of decorated World War II veterans (Rivas-Rodriguez 1999), Mexican-Americans continued to receive unequal treatment after the war's end (Avila 1997).

In sum, the oldest of Mexican immigrants encountered something more akin to colonialism with their rights and land stripped from them. Further, those cohorts who

arrived prior to the 1930's would have encountered both The Great Depression as well as the most strictly enforced social caste systems with Mexicans at or near the bottom of the social hierarchy. The descendants of those who came around the time of World War II and later, conversely, did not have endure the degree of exclusion or the Great Depression as the earlier arrivers did. They also had the benefit that a limited number of settled immigrants or later generation co-ethnics had made some progress into American society, opening up previously shut doors, though parity with whites remained far off (Grebler, Moore et al. 1970).

Further, they and/or their immediate descendants would have been better positioned to take advantage of the Civil Rights Movement. While there may be some structural conditions that have been altered, and in some ways, worsened, the context of reception for low-skilled immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), the Civil Rights Act began to legally mandate access to schools, neighborhoods and jobs which should increase the prospect of incorporation (Alba and Nee 2003). The Mexican-origin population certainly still encounter ethnic discrimination (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Massey and Sanchez 2011), but their treatment as second-class citizens is no longer so formal and legal. That the settler and the descendants of the more recent "third-plus" generations have had greater exposure to a United States under the Civil Rights Act is meaningful since they would have a greater reason to express and reach for the optimism that is associated with the early stages of immigrating (Kao and Tienda 2005).

Identity Out Selection

The "third-plus" generation is comprised of those who identify themselves as being of Mexican descent despite being born in the U.S. with U.S. born parents'. Ethnic

identity is fluid, and becomes increasingly so the further one is removed from the immigrant generation (Alba 1990; Waters 1990) and among Mexicans is particularly complicated. To begin, they are a racially diverse group and span the phenotype spectrum from "indigenous" to European characteristics (Murguia and Forman 2003). That many non-Hispanics have a much more narrow imagination of a Hispanic "look" (Jiménez 2004) gives many Hispanics and Mexicans flexibility and allows for situational identity.

Further, intermarriage can influence the extent that identity out-selection occurs. The previously described long history of migration has given ample opportunity for intermarriage between non-Hispanic whites and those of Mexican descent (Bean and Tienda 1987; Bean and Stevens 2003; Lee and Bean 2010). Mexicans are an immigrant group with a long history of out-marriage, particularly among women and the highest status members of the group (Cazares, Murguia and Frisbie 1985; Mittelbach and Moore 1968).

Brian Duncan and Steven Trejo (2007; 2011) have been looking at the effect of intermarriage and out selection among the Mexican-origin population and have found that, when someone of Mexican descent is married to either a non-Mexican husband or wife, they identify their children as Mexican only 64 and 71 percent of the time, respectively. This out-selection of Mexican-American identity occurs more among those who would be considered more incorporated with higher levels of education and better English proficiency (Duncan and Trejo 2007). The progeny of the intermarried are much less likely to be self-identified as Mexican than those of co-ethnic relationships, and given the importance of parental education in affecting children's education (Haveman and Wolfe 1994; Mulligan 1997), such an out selection could make it appear that

progress has stalled among the following generations. From these reasons, we develop our first hypothesis related to the measurement problem in immigration research:

1. Data permitting, a member of an isolated third generation will be more acculturated and structurally assimilated than their "fourth-plus" generation peers.

Mexican Incorporation & Fertility

The "canon" of incorporation theory, as outlined by Milton Gordon in *Assimilation in American Life* (1964) involves passing through a series of stages by which immigrants could be said to move from being "newcomers" to "entering the mainstream" of society. The first is through acculturation, which can be broadly characterized as adopting the social norms and values of the host society. The second is structural assimilation whereupon immigrants and their descendants enter into the organizations and other legitimized means of economic, political and social mobility. The final stage is marital assimilation. Marital assimilation implies that, for native members of society to accept their sons and daughters to freely intermarry with immigrant groups, it is a sign of a diminished stigma, as well as requisite opportunities for interaction that would lead to marriage.

When held against the final stage of European incorporation, rather than the process, contemporary immigrants, especially those of Mexican background, were and continue to be seen as problematic. The "straight-line" assimilation model appeared to be inadequate to explain the experiences of the Mexican-origin population, and so began the investigation for alternatives. Scholars have reported that Mexicans or Hispanics are creating the "balkinization" of America (Frey 1996) or "ethnic ghettos" (Borjas 1998) and that they are becoming a racialized minority (Telles and Ortiz 2008). For the

purposes of this dissertation in focusing on fertility, I will consider three theoretical variants on immigrant incorporation as applied to the Mexican-origin population: the segmented assimilation and ethnic disadvantage hypotheses (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Frank and Heuveline 2005; Telles and Ortiz 2008), modern assimilation (Alba and Nee 1997; Alba and Nee 2003; Parrado and Morgan 2008), and delayed incorporation (Bean and Brown 2006; Brown 2006; Bean, Brown et al. 2010).

Segmented Assimilation & Ethnic Disadvantage

Portes and colleages have developed the segmented assimilation hypothesis in response to the changing experiences of the post-1960s immigrant groups. That the post-1965 immigrant groups have very different individual and country of origin backgrounds has led Portes and colleagues to consider the possibility of multi-trajectory, or segmented, incorporation process (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). They argue that the trajectories different immigrant groups take depends on whether people from a particular country come with low or high levels of human, economic and social capital. This in turn interacts with the context of reception that produces classic incorporation, upward incorporation with retained bi-culturalism or downward incorporation. In contrast to classic incorporation, these scholars focus on how, despite increasing knowledge and interaction with the host country, native-born descendants of immigrants do not show evidence of upward mobility. In contrast, it is by retaining certain cultural elements, most notably the focus on the collective, that best protects them from adverse effects of Americanization (Portes and Zhou 1993). Further, the bifurcating economy and resulting structural limitations that immigrants with low human capital face also hinder their prospects for upward mobility.

Portes and Rumbaut say that Mexicans are "*the* textbook example of theoretically anticipated effects of low immigrant human capital combined with the negative context of reception (2001, 277, italics theirs). In sum, they find that relative to other immigrant groups, those of Mexican-origin are at an economic disadvantage, even after controlling for their notably low levels of human capital, receive low economic returns on time spent in U.S. and improved English language skill, have low levels of community support and self-esteem. This leads to a shift towards a "Mexican" identity and signs of reactive ethnicity in response to nativist sentiment, and have both low education aspirations and performance (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Such a context leaves them at exceptional risk for downward assimilation into a disadvantaged "native underclass".

Finding themselves in a disadvantaged native underclass could impact the childbearing practices of Mexican-origin women. Brewster (1994) found that teens with blocked opportunities are more likely to engage in early family formation. Anderson (1999) discusses how young black women in Philadelphia with few career prospects bear children in the desire for something meaningful. Likewise, Edin and Kefalas (2005) point to how disadvantaged women place a high value on children and face relatively lower opportunity costs to childbearing because they are forgoing low-wage jobs. Similarly, Portes and colleages (2006) have identified early childbearing (before age 25), along with dropping out of school and having been incarcerated, as indicators for downward assimilation for those entering early adulthood. Within the third wave of CILS, over forty percent of 1.5 and second generation Mexicans have an "early-birth", while only around twenty-four to twenty-five percent of the next closest groups, Laotians, Jamaicans and Haitians report an "early-birth", in spite of similar levels of income and education

(Portes, Kelley & Haller 2009). So, although reactive ethnicity may lead to greater childbearing, the timing of family formation may be just as important in indicating and/or reproducing inequality.

Fertility incorporation across the Mexican-origin generation, when using cross-sectional data, produces results inline with segmented assimilation or ethnic disadvantage rather than assimilation. Both Bean et al. (2000) and Frank and Heuveline (2005) found that the "third-plus" generation had more children than the second-generation using the CPS. Frank and Heuveline found that this was largely due to the younger respondents in the "third-plus" generation having earlier first births. In their conclusion, they write that this was due to the declining returns on education and opportunities among later generation Mexican women, leading to reduced costs of childbirth that then result in earlier childbearing. Hill and Johnson (2004) using CPS data restricted to Californian, similarly find that the "third-plus" generation has more children than the second generation. In one of the few studies that uses at an isolated third generation, Telles and Ortiz (2008) note that the third generation in L.A. and San Antonio have slightly higher *completed* fertility than the second and "fourth-plus" generations. I set forth the following hypothesis drawing from the segmented assimilation and ethnic disadvantage perspectives:

2. Fertility incorporation (both in total children and having an early birth) will stagnate and/or reverse among later generation Mexican-origin women as a result of blocked upward mobility and a potential return to ethnic childbearing patterns.

Contemporary Assimilation

Richard Alba and Victor Nee (2003) revise and defend classic incorporation in their book *Remaking the Mainstream*. Rather than something that "happens" to

immigrants, they write, assimilation becomes more an interactive process whereby immigrants make day-to-day decisions that best serve the individual actors interest. The sum of these day-to-day decisions produces assimilation-like effects as immigrants cross or blur boundaries from being outsiders to become part of the "mainstream".

Assimilation theory would hypothesize that with time and generation, immigrant groups will acculturate and structurally assimilate, both of which would have the effect of lowering and delaying childbearing. Though modern acculturation is less one-way than classically formulated, they nonetheless expect a *convergence* of social values and norms between immigrant and host cultures. Structural assimilation among the post-1965 immigrant groups is aided due to the inclusion of Asians and Latinos in the Civil Rights Movement, creating, in theory, expanded opportunities for structural assimilation.

Assimilation hypotheses would expect high Mexican immigrant fertility to gradually decline as both acculturation and structural incorporation occur. Higher fertility levels among Mexican-Americans are often characterized as being influenced by historically pro-natalist family orientations (Flores et al. 2004). This higher fertility is attributable to the overriding emphasis placed on family, as well as a focus on the collective rather than the individual (Bean et al. 1977; Bean and Tienda 1987). Research also suggests that Mexican-Americans are more oriented to family formation than whites and even other Hispanic groups (Vega 1995). This family orientation, Landale and Oropese (2007) say, has led the Mexican-origin population to have the highest marriage rates of those 20-24 years old. Acculturation would predict that, with time in the U.S., a normative shift towards delayed formation and reduced ideal family sizes, in connection

with greater autonomy and individualism, will occur and produce assimilation-like effects.

In addition to these sociocultural elements, structural assimilation would be expected to depress fertility. Low levels of education, which characterize the Mexican-origin population (Bean and Stevens 2003; Bean, Leach et al. 2011), are associated with earlier and higher fertility (Anderson 1999; Edin and England 2005; Rindfuss et al. 1988; Rindfuss et al. 1996; Rindfuss and Sweet 1977). While some argue that education has a lesser effect on fertility for Hispanics than for whites (Forste and Tienda 1992; Glick et al. 2005), the role of education has repeatedly been found to lead to substantial reductions in fertility among women of Mexican origin (Hill and Johnson, 2004; Parrado and Morgan 2008; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Parrado and Morgan (2008) go as far as to say the relationship between years of education and fertility is actually greater for Mexican-American women than it is for white women. A structural incorporation/social characteristics hypothesis consistent with assimilation ideas is that socioeconomic status will be largely responsible for fertility differences between whites and Mexican-Americans, and that with structural assimilation, much of the differences should diminish.

Delaying entry into childbearing and reducing the number of children one has can be a byproduct of both acculturation and structural incorporation. First, with such pro-natalist (Flores et al. 2004) and pro-family (Bean et al. 1977; Bean and Tienda 1987) norms, a shift towards greater emphasis on the individualism within the U.S. is expected to be accompanied by decreased fertility (Lesthaeghe and Neidert 2006). Second, in pursuit of structural incorporation through education and/or a career, delaying and

reducing fertility may be necessary (Rindfuss et al. 1988; Rindfuss et al. 1996; Rindfuss and Sweet 1977). Pursuing education has an even greater delaying effect among those coming from disadvantage (Brand and Davis 2011), which, given their background, broadly characterizes the Mexican-origin population. The modern assimilation theory gives us two hypotheses that contrast with the segmented assimilation and disadvantage theory:

3. Fertility incorporation will continue apace between generations as a result of acculturating family behavior and structural assimilation.

Delayed Incorporation:

A recent alternative theoretical perspective applied to the Mexican-origin group is that of delayed incorporation (Bean, Stevens and Wierzbicki 2003). This perspective views the labor migration and working-class experiences of many Mexican migrants, especially the undocumented status of as many as half of Mexican immigrants (Passel 2006), as constraining the incorporation process among the first and second generation, and thus delaying the inter- and intra-generational incorporation. Further treatments are given by Brown (2007; Brown and Bean 2006, and Bean et al 2011), which note the negative impact of obligations that those in the first, 1.5 and second generations have to kin both in the United States and in Mexico. Those who themselves, family and/or friends who have lived with undocumented status are likely to have experienced some negative effect, even if now a legal resident or citizen. It is not until the third generation when, by definition, an individual must have two U.S.-born parents, that the constraints from the legacy of undocumented status begin to loosen, with individuals incurring fewer family obligations and the pace of incorporation thus accelerating. Delayed incorporation in the third generation can result from either cultural or structural factors creating a disjuncture

between the second and third generations. An example is the second generation's maintenance of working-class norms and/or values that constrain the use of resources to attain otherwise available upward mobility before the third generation (Brown 2007). This would lead to unexpectedly low opportunity costs of childbearing notably among the 1.5 and second generations. This perspective provides the following hypothesis

4. Fertility incorporation will be delayed through the second generation and experience a dramatic decline into the third generation resulting from the otherwise unexpectedly low opportunity costs of childbearing among the second generation

Ameliorating Contexts:

While the fertility within Mexico remains higher than that in the U.S., it is necessary to consider fertility decline within Mexico. Mexico has entered into the demographic transition and the fertility level has fallen from a high of 7.2 as recently as the 1970's to 2.4 in the early 2000's (Tuiran, Partida, Mojarro and Zuniga, 2003). In contrast to European immigrants entering the U.S. at the turn of the century, fertility differences today occur within a context of nearly worldwide drops in childbearing. At the nation-state level, fertility has been found to decline in less developed countries after nearby advanced countries began their fertility decline (Bongaarts and Watkins 1996), indicating the importance of proximity to developed countries. Further, Rindfuss et al. (2004) show that knowing just a handful of people who have different family or childbearing norms can positively impact personal attitudes towards non-traditional family and childbearing practices. Given the history of return migration between Mexico and the United States, people probably have been exchanging ideas about ideal family sizes for decades. Barber and Axinn (2004) show that media can influence fertility and family values and norms. So, exposure to U.S. fertility norms, return migration by those

who have spent time in the United States, as well as access to American media, could also affect fertility norms, potentially starting the process of acculturation even before migrants depart for the United States. That the Mexican fertility decline has been among the most dramatic in the world would support this (Tuiran, Partida, Mojarro and Zuniga 2003). Some have suggested that this current total fertility is lower than that of Mexican immigrants within the United States (Frank and Heuveline 2005), leading to questions about the selectivity of the Mexico-U.S. immigration stream as well as the discrimination that Mexicans encounter in the United States.

Data and Methods:

Data:

IIMMLA

Data for this project come from the 2004 Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) survey, the General Social Survey (GSS), the Current Population Survey-June Fertility Supplement and the U.S. Census. Los Angeles is a major U.S. immigration hub and has been the main receiving center for generations of Mexicans (Grebler, Moore et al. 1970). With a population of nearly 6 million, those of Mexican background account for over one-third of the Los Angeles population and give the city, outside of Mexico City, the largest urban Mexican-origin conglomeration in the world (Bean, Brown et al. 2006). With a large number of Mexican immigrants across multiple generations, Los Angeles provides an important location for studying the Mexican-origin population. For all Mexican-origin and white and black groups in the five-county LA metropolitan area (Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino and Ventura counties), the IIMMLA survey drew a random sample of adult

respondents for telephone interviews. The survey sampled all generations of Mexican origin, so a first, second, third and "fourth-plus" generation respondents are included.

To identify national origin, IIMMLA asked respondents about their country of birth as well as their parents' and grandparents' countries of birth. Of those initially contacted who were born in the U.S. the survey also asked whether they had any ancestors from non-U.S. locations, in this case Mexico. Because the survey obtained information about age of arrival to the United States among the foreign-born respondents, we can define a first generation group distinguished a "1.0" generation group from a "1.5" group. The former are those who came from Mexico and arrived at age thirteen or older, while the latter is defined as those arriving before age thirteen. The second generation is defined as those who were born in the U.S. with at least one parent born in Mexico. The third generation is defined as those who have two native-born parents and at least one grandparent born in Mexico. Even though this is a large improvement over the "plus" method, it should be acknowledged that there remains a risk that people are ignorant of their family origins and, despite Mexican heritage, do not identify as such. The fourth-plus generation consists of those with all U.S. born parents and grandparents, but also acknowledge Mexican ancestry. Persons who do not identify as Hispanic and for whom both they and their parents' are native born, and who identify as white or black, are included in third-plus non-Hispanic white and black comparison groups, respectively. Table 2 is provided to clarify how the generation groups in IIMMLA and the GSS are defined compared to the CPS, which will be introduced shortly.

Table 2: Mexican-origin generation status

Panel A: IIMMLA & GSS

Generation Status	Defined
1st Generation….	Born in Mexico and arrived in U.S. after age 13

1.5 Generation….	Born in Mexico and arrived in U.S. before or at age 12
2nd Generation…	Born in the U.S. with 1 or 2 Mexican born Parents
3rd Generation….	Born in U.S. with U.S. born parents; at least 1 Mexican born grand-parent
"4th-Plus" Generation……..	Born in U.S. with U.S. born parents; all 4 grand-parents U.S. born; self-identifies as Mexican
"3rd +" Generation……..	Group composed of 3rd and "4th-Plus" generations

Panel B: CPS

Generation Status	Defined
1st Generation….	Born in Mexico and arrived in U.S. after age 13
1.5 Generation….	Born in Mexico and arrived in U.S. before or at age 12
2nd Generation…	Born in the U.S. with 1 or 2 Mexican born Parents
"3rd+" Generation……..	Born in U.S. with U.S. born parents; self-identifies as Mexican-origin

The IIMMLA sample consists of young adults aged 20 to 40 years old, as based on the "most recent birthday" method of determining the age of respondents. The survey was administered either in English or Spanish using a computer assisted telephone interview system (Bean, Brown et al. 2006; Rumbaut, Massey et al. 2006; Bean, Brown et al. 2010). The full survey includes 4,780 respondents, with 3,448 from the 1.5 and second generation and 1,215 in third and later generations. In addition to Mexicans, whites and blacks, the sample included 1.5 and 2.0 generation Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino and other birth/ancestries. These groups are not included in the present analyses.

The IIMMLA survey involved a random-digit-dialing (RDD) approach with targets for the sizes of various immigrant sub-groups groups and for certain Mexican-American generational groups, as well as for comparison groups of Anglos and blacks. This means that the Mexican generational groups we examine are randomly selected but the total sample does not reflect the Mexican-American generational composition in the metropolitan area because the target sizes for the generations varied (125 for the first

generation, 800 for the second generation, 200 for the third generation and 200 for the fourth-plus generation).

GSS Data:

The GSS, conducted annually from 1977-1994 and biennially after that, is a nationally representative survey of the English speaking population in the U.S. ages eighteen and older (Davis, Smith and Marsden 2001). To capture more contemporary trends, we restrict the timeline to the biennially collected samples from 1994-2010. While this might limit and bias those in the first generation, later generation Mexican-origin have been very efficient in developing English proficiency (Rumbaut 2009). Along with a host of socioeconomic and socio-cultural information, it, like IIMMLA, collects information on respondent, parent and grand-parent nativity. Although the survey contains those aged between 18 and 90, we restrict the sample to 18-44 to match the shortly discussed CPS sample. The sub-sample we use are of women aged 18-44 of Mexican background or who are non-Hispanic white or black. This will allows me to expand the scope of study from the Los Angeles metro area to the nation.

CPS Data

To assess representativeness of the previous surveys, we draw from the frequently used CPS-June Fertility Supplement. To increase sample size and limit the effect of yearly fluctuations, we pool the samples from 1998 to 2010. As discussed in the theoretical section ad nauseum, while capable of identifying those of Mexican background by a first, 1.5 and second generation, it is only able to identify a self-identified "third-plus" generation. However, it has the greatest coverage for the Mexican

origin population on the topic of fertility. We also use non-Hispanic whites and blacks to provide a native-born reference group.

To assess representativeness of the previous surveys, we will use two samples from the CPS. The first is restricted to the same five-county L.A. area that the IIMMLA covers, which I call the CPS-LA sample, by using geographic identifiers provided in the CPS. Although we have seen that fertility incorporation stagnates using the CPS at the national and California levels, it needs establishing whether this is indeed the trend specifically in L.A. The second, which is the national sample, will be referred to as the CPS-U.S. sample and will be used to compare against the GSS. By comparing these surveys, we can see the effect of having a third generation versus a "third-plus" generation as well as whether the surveys are biased in any manner that might cloud our analysis.

Measures:

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables of focus here are cumulative children ever born and whether the respondent has a child by age 25 (yes/no). The number of children is similar across all three samples, focusing on the number of biological children the woman report. However, some variation is question type exists. The GSS, for instance, truncates all those who report "7 or more" births. As such, the CPS is similarly constrained when making comparisons between data. Also, IIMMLA asks whether the respondent is the parent of child/children under the age 18 living in the household, and if so, how many. It also asks whether the respondent is the parent of a child under 18 who does not live in the household, and if so, how many. By combining these, we obtain an ordinal total number

of children the respondent has that are under 18 years of age. By limiting it to children under 18, there is a chance some number of children will not be reported, some older women may have had children at a young age who are now over 18. To correct for this, we added an additional child to the fertility count for the 37 cases whose current age and age at first birth indicate a child could be over 18 years old (e.g., as in the case of a 40 year old woman who reports a first birth when she is 20). This does not resolve the situation completely, since it is possible respondents had twin births or additional children who are over 18; however, only 10 of the cases have more than a two year window of what could be considered censored information, limiting the degree of this kind of bias. It should also be noted that each generation group has roughly the same frequency of respondents for whom this adjustment was needed[1].

The second dependent variable is whether the respondent has a child by age 25. Within IIMMLA and GSS, information on age at first birth is collected. This means that we have data on whether the respondent has a birth by age 25 regardless of present age. The CPS, though, only asks about the timing of the most recent birth. This means we can only be sure whether the respondent had a birth before age 25 among those actually younger than age 25. Unfortunately, due to the exceedingly small sample sizes of women under age 25 in both IIMMLA and GSS, such comparisons become very thin.

Independent Variables:

[1] The first generation has 5 such respondents, the 1.5 generation 7 such respondents, the second generation 8 such respondents, and the third generation 4 such respondents. Whites have 6 such respondents. Overall fertility in the IIMMLA sample also appears to be slightly upwardly biased, but only statistically significantly so for second generation women ages 25-29. Given that this significance remains even after controlling for education, marital status and other characteristics associated with increased childbearing among the second generation, the childbearing measure for this group is adjusted using the comparable CPS estimate.

Differences also exist in what each survey additionally collects that will included as independent variables. All three surveys collect information on age, marital status and education attainment. Since the survey samples are of women during their reproductive years, controlling for age is a necessity. Marital status is included based on a question with responses that include never married, married, divorced, separated, and widowed. These last three are aggregated into one category. Female education is included to adjust for differences in social structural standing. The variable is based on degree attainment, which consists of less than high school, high school graduate, vocational training, some college, having an Associate Degree, College degree, M.A or PhD. These have been aggregated into less than high school, high school/vocational, some college/Associates degree and higher education degree. There appears to be a non-linear effect of these different thresholds on fertility (Brand and Davis 2011) and is why we use this instead of a linear years of education term.

While these are the main cultural and structural independent variables available from CPS, additional measures are available in both the GSS and IIMMLA. The number of respondent siblings is available in both data sources as a measure of parental fertility. IIMMLA provides additional information on the nativity and ethnicity of a spouse, when present, thus allowing us a measure intermarriage. Additionally, IIMMLA asks about the frequency that people send remittances, or a portion of their income, back to Mexico among the first, 1.5 and second generations. It was not asked of the third or "fourth-plus" since they have so few ties remaining in Mexico and the remittance rate, already dwindling in the second generation, would likely be very small in subsequent generations. Among those it asks, it captures the financial and social obligations that a

family has to Mexico. These measures are aimed to capture additional cultural or structural incorporation remains between the Mexican-origin generation groups and non-Hispanic whites and blacks.

Methods:

Measurement & Incorporation Analysis:

The first aim of the project is to assess the potential for bias in the measurement issue in immigration research. We first compare results of the "third-plus" generation to the third and "fourth-plus" generations in IIMMLA and GSS. With these results in mind, we next look at the incorporation pattern of the Mexican-origin in IIMMLA and the GSS with the improved third versus "third-plus" generation. We will look at how fertility behavior, both in totality and timing, as well as other covariates look across generations and relative to non-Hispanic whites and blacks. Do the incorporation patterns in IIMMLA and GSS remain consistent whether we aggregate a "third-plus" generation versus a precise third generation? And do these patterns follow a segmented assimilation, modern assimilation, delayed incorporation or some other pattern? We will do this both descriptively and through regression models that would allow for varying degrees of cultural and structural incorporation. Having ascertained the fertility incorporation pattern for Mexican-origin women in IIMMLA and the GSS using an isolated third generation, I will next compare them to the CPS for representativeness.

In order to assess the representativeness of IIMMLA and the GSS, I will compare key demographic variables by race and generation status between those in the CPS samples and IIMMLA and GSS samples. While one might expect that the "third-plus" generation in the CPS-LA sample to show the same stagnation on incorporation, most

notably on fertility and education, found at both the national (Bean, Chapa et al. 1994; Bean, Swicegood et al. 2000) and state level (Hill and Johnson 2004), we must establish whether this is indeed the case in the L.A metro area rather than L.A. being a distinct geographic case. I will then do the same comparisons using the CPS-U.S. sample and the GSS. Such comparisons are important as we might otherwise be over-estimating the usefulness of a clean third generation. Measures to be compared across data sources include the number of children ever born, marital status, age structure and education attainment.

Additionally, I will pool the responses of IIMMLA and the CPS-LA sample as well as the GSS and CPS-US samples, respectively, into a Los Angeles and national sample. I can then use dummy variables for IIMMLA and the GSS and see whether the samples are significantly different from each other by generation. This will provide a test for whether the groups in each sample are significantly different from each other.

I will next complete a series of count-regression models (either Poisson or negative binomial regressions) for each sample, with the number of children ever born as the dependent variable by generation and compute a predicted fertility at age 30, which is around the mean age of the sample. By constructing these predicted scores and plotting them, we can see how fertility incorporation looks between surveys.

While the number of children is very important, the timing of when one begins having children is likewise consequential. Indeed, it is the earlier births that have garnered more attention from the segmented assimilationist and ethnic disadvantage scholars (Portes et al. 2006; Frank and Heuvaline 2005). As a result, it is important to investigate whether there are timing differences across generation groups, even if the

total number of children converges. I will then look at whether delayed family formation undergoes a segmented assimilation, contemporary assimilation or delayed incorporation pattern in a logistic regression and will include the same marital and education controls as discussed above to see whether the third generation is indeed having more early births than their second generation brethren. By looking at both the number and the timing of fertility, I will be able to assess whether having a third generation compared to a "third-plus" generation among changes our outlook on the incorporation among Mexican-origin women and whether it is inline with incorporation, segmented assimilation and/or ethnic disadvantaged or delayed incorporation.

Results & Analysis:

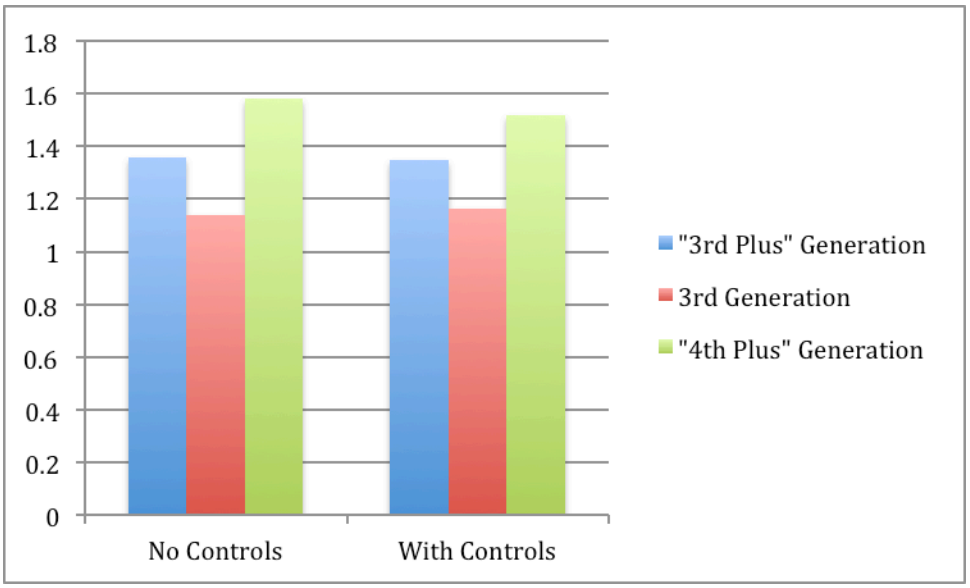
Measurement & Incorporation Analysis:

Table 1 presents predicted fertility at age 30 for the aggregated "third-plus" generation as well as the disaggregated third and "fourth-plus" generations from IIMMLA and GSS. These graphs give a picture of the potential bias that comes from using a "third-plus" rather than more precise third generation measure. In both the IIMMLA and GSS, when using no control other than age, the third generation is significantly lower than that of the "fourth-plus" generation at the five and ten-percent levels, respectively. Even adding controls for education and family characteristics, a significant difference at the ten-percent level remains in the IIMMLA sample, although in the GSS, this explains much of the differences. Although unable to assess whether this bias is the result of using a mixed generation category or out selection, it does appear our first hypothesis, that the third generation is different on the topic of fertility than their

"fourth-plus" generation peers, is confirmed. The next question is how this might affect our understanding of Mexican-origin women fertility incorporation.

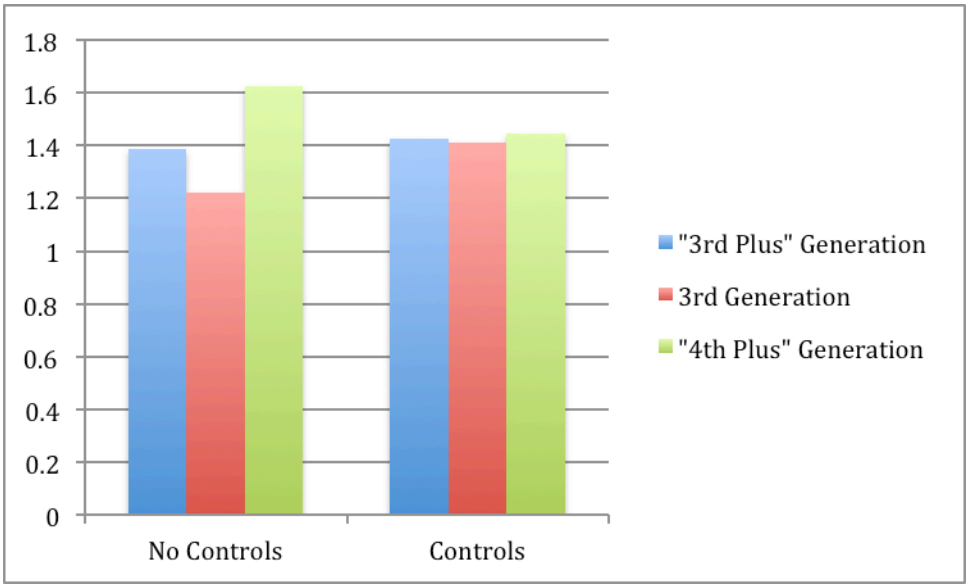
Figure 1: Predicted fertility among "3rd Plus", 3rd and "4th Plus" generation Mexican woman aged 30 without and with controls [2]

Panel A: IIMMLA



Source: IIMMLA, 2004

Panel B: GSS



Source: GSS, 1994-2010

[2] For IIMMLA, controls include education, marital status, white partnership & sibling
For GSS, controls include education, marital status & siblings

In looking at how this might effect our understandings of fertility incorporation, Table 4 provides descriptive demographic, education and family background characteristics by Mexican-origin generation and for a native-born white and black group in IIMMLA and the GSS. The descriptive information shows continued structural assimilation and acculturation from the second to third generation on education and family characteristics. Although slightly larger in the IIMMLA than GSS, the difference between the third and "fourth-plus" generations shows itself, again, on fertility as well as education and family backgrounds. Within both surveys, the third generation is much more likely to begin college than either the second or the "fourth-plus" generations, a very important threshold for delaying family formation (Brand and Davis 2011). Further, on nearly every measure, the precise third generation is doing better than the second generation while those who identify as "fourth-plus" are either on par or lag behind the second generation. These results, at least through the third generation, point towards continued assimilation rather than segmented assimilation or ethnic disadvantage. Although there is continued assimilation into the third generation, a convergence with whites is not realized.

Next, we will present results from negative binomial regressions. The aim is twofold; first to see whether the continued fertility assimilation among the third generation is due to acculturation, structural assimilation or something separate. Second, to see whether incomplete fertility incorporation with whites is due to incomplete acculturation or structural assimilation.

Table 4: Descriptive information of Mexican origin, black and white women in IIMMLA and GSS with fertility and other independent variables using disaggregated 3rd & "4th +" generations

Panel A: IIMLA, women aged 20-40

	1st Gen	1.5 Gen	2nd Gen	3rd Gen	4th + Gen	Black	White
Demographic							
Fertility……..	2.3	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.0
Age…….	31.4	29.3	27.6	30.2	28.3	31.0	3.6
Education							
Years of Education.	8.5	12.4	13.4	13.6	13.3	13.7	14.8
Less than HS……..	82%	27%	11%	10%	13%	11%	4%
HS……..	7%	27%	28%	23%	33%	17%	15%
Some College…….	-	30%	39%	43%	33%	43%	31%
Bachelor or more....	11%	16%	23%	24%	23%	29%	51%
Marital							
Marriage…….	59%	44%	35%	38%	44%	22%	34%
Divorce……..	9%	11%	14%	10%	13%	15%	12%
Cohabit……..	14%	14%	8%	10%	12%	6%	8%
Never Married……	14%	30%	38%	36%	32%	54%	38%
Family							
Siblings……..	7.4	4.9	4.3	4	3.6	5.1	3.1
White Partner…….,	-	3%	4%	18%	9%	2%	36%
Sent Remittances....	77%	42%	25%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Early Birth……..	68%	52%	53%	34%	48%	47%	26%
Observation	56	132	302	87	95	196	224

Source: IIMMLA, 2004

Panel B: GSS, 1994-2010, women aged 18-44

	1st Gen	1.5 Gen	2nd Gen	3rd Gen	4th + Gen	Black	White
Demographic							
Fertility……..	2.5	2.0	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.4
Age…….	33.6	3.6	29.2	31.1	30.4	31.9	32.6
Education							
Years of Education.	9.5	11.5	12.9	13.2	13.1	13.1	14.0
Less than HS……..	57%	35%	20%	9%	11%	16%	7%
HS……..	25%	35%	36%	24%	38%	33%	30%
Some college……..	13%	24%	27%	53%	38%	36%	32%
Bachelor or more…	5%	5%	15%	15%	13%	14%	30%
Family							
Married……..	59%	48%	41%	42%	49%	22%	51%
Divorced…….	18%	20%	19%	41%	27%	17%	18%
Never Married……	23%	32%	40%	17%	24%	60%	31%
Siblings……..	5.9	5.1	4.2	4.8	5.6	4.5	3.2
Early Birth……..	72%	72%	53%	47%	56%	58%	37%
Observations	100	66	128	82	56	845	2804

Source: GSS, 1994-2010

Table 5 presents the incidence rate ratio coefficients from a series of negative binomial regression on fertility incorporation for IIMMLA and GSS. Each panel shows models when a "third-plus" generation group is used and when the third and "fourth-plus" generation groups are used. Although some small variations exists between models due to an extra degree of freedom being used, all remaining coefficients and the pseudo-R square come from the model using the third and "fourth-plus" generation.

Panel A presents results from IIMMLA and we see in the base model a pattern of incorporation in line with continued assimilation regardless of whether we use a "third-plus" or third and "fourth-plus" category. However, disaggregating those generation categories shows how, if not misunderstood, at least how imprecise our incorporation understandings would be with only a "third-plus" generation. The difference between the third generation and whites is fifty-percent less than that of the second generation. The "fourth-plus" generation difference with whites, meanwhile, is greater than that of the second generation and much higher than that of the third generation. This, again, conveys how imprecise our understanding of incorporation would be with such an imprecise category. In the subsequent models controlling for education and family differences, we see that incomplete incorporation on these topics make up the bulk of the remaining differences with whites from the fist, 1.5, and third generations.

We see similar, though subtler, pattern when we move to Panel B that looks at the GSS results. When we disaggregate the third and "fourth-plus" generations, we again see how imprecise our understanding of the incorporation process would otherwise be. Controlling only for education, we see a non-significant difference between the third generation and whites, though this reappears when we control for family characteristics.

Looking at the full model with the GSS, greater differences with whites remain than in IIMMLA, and that with equal levels of structural assimilation and acculturation, all generation groups would be roughly twenty-percent higher than whites. Also, the second generation fertility does not show the same resilience to structural assimilation or acculturation.

In both results, we see how imprecise our incorporation understanding would be with only a "third-plus" generation. Although both the third and "third-plus" generations show an incorporation pattern in line with assimilation, the degree of assimilation is hidden when using the "third-plus" category. Within IIMMLA, this dramatic decline between second and third generations, coupled with the significant difference between second generation and whites, even after controlling for incomplete structural and cultural incorporation, would point towards something closer to delayed incorporation, hypothesis 4. The GSS, on the other hand, shows something more in line with contemporary assimilation, hypothesis 3. Though significant differences with whites when only controlling for age remain across all Mexican-origin generations, having a third generation greatly alters and improves our outlook on the progress that those of Mexican origin are making on fertility incorporation.

Table 5: Negative binomial regression on fertility among Mexican origin, white and black women in IIMMLA and GSS using a disaggregated 3rd and "4th +" generation

Panel A: IIMMLA, Fertility incorporation regression among Mexican origin, black & white women aged 20-40 using an aggregated "3rd +" & disaggregated 3rd & "4th +" generation

	Base Model	Education Model	Family Model	Full Model	Full + Remit
Race/Gen Status					
1st Generation…….....	2.23** (.29)	1.28+ (.18)	1.47** (.20)	1.03 (.14)	.97 (.14)
1.5 Generation…….....	1.88** (.21)	1.35** (.15)	1.42** (.16)	1.19 (.13)	1.15 (.13)
2nd Generation……..	1.75** (.17)	1.41** (.13)	1.42** (.14)	1.30** (.13)	1.28* (.12)
"3rd Plus" Generation……	1.52** (.16)	1.22+ (.12)	1.26* (.13)	1.12 (.11)	1.13 (.11)
3rd Generation……..	1.26+ (.17)	1.03 (.13)	1.09 (.14)	.97 (.12)	.97 (.12)
"4th Plus" Generation.....	1.80** (.22)	1.41** (.17)	1.46** (.18)	1.31* (.15)	1.31* (.15)
Black……	1.46** (.29)	1.28+ (.18)	1.47** (.20)	1.03 (.14)	1.03 (.14)
White…….	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age					
Age of respondent…….	1.07** (.01)	1.07** (.01)	1.05** (.01)	1.05** (.01)	1.05** (.01)
Education					
Less than high school……	-	1.58** (.13)	-	1.56** (.12)	1.55** (.12)
HS/Vocational…….....	-	1.19* (.09)	-	1.12+ (.08)	1.12+ (.08)
Some College……	-	Ref.	-	Ref.	Ref.
College degree or more….	-	.56** (.05)	-	.62** (.05)	.62** (.05)
Family					
Married……	-	-	Ref	Ref.	Ref.
Never Married…….....	-	-	.39** (.03)	.42** (.03)	.42** (.03)

Divorced……...	-	-	.82* (.06)	.83* (.06)	.83* (.06)
Siblings…….	-	-	1.03** (.01)	1.02* (.01)	1.02* (.01)
White Partner……	-	-	.76 (.09)	.91 (.10)	.91 (.10)
Sent Remittances…….....	-	-	-	-	1.08 (.09)
Observations	1,085	1,085	1,085	1,085	1,085
Pseudo R-squared	.09	.13	.10	.14	.14

Source: IIMMLA 2004
Reporting Incidence Rate Ratios
+ p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01

Panel B: GSS Fertility incorporation regression among Mexican origin, black & white women aged 20-40 using an aggregated "3rd +" & disaggregated 3rd & "4th +" generation				
	Base Model	Education Model	Family Model	Full Model
Race/Gen Status				
1st Generation…….....	1.66** (0.12)	1.20** (0.09)	1.47** (0.10)	1.09 (0.08)
1.5 Generation…….....	1.58** (0.15)	1.25* (0.12)	1.43** (0.13)	1.17+ (0.11)
2nd Generation……..	1.39** (0.11)	1.25** (0.09)	1.31** (0.10)	1.20* (0.09)
"3rd Plus" Generation……	1.29** (.10)	1.20* (.09)	1.25** (.10)	1.21* (.09)
3rd Generation……..	1.21+ (0.13)	1.15 (0.12)	1.21+ (0.12)	1.19+ (0.12)
4th Plus Generation……..	1.41** (0.17)	1.28* (0.15)	1.31* (0.15)	1.19 (0.13)
Black…….	1.35** (0.04)	1.22** (0.04)	1.50** (0.05)	1.42** (0.05)
White…….	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age				
Age of respondent…….	1.06** (0.00)	1.06** (0.00)	1.04** (0.00)	1.05** (0.00)
Age Squared……..	1.00** (0.00)	0.99** (0.00)	1.00** (0.00)	1.00** (0.00)
Education				
Less than high school…….	-	1.51** (0.06)	-	1.58** (0.07)
HS/Vocational…….....	-	1.10** (0.04)	-	1.09** (0.03)
Some College…….	-	Ref.	-	Ref.
College degree or more…..	-	0.66** (0.03)	-	0.68** (0.03)
Family				
Married…….....	-	-	Ref.	Ref.
Never Married…….....	-	-	0.53** (0.02)	0.52** (0.02)
Divorced……..			0.96	0.89**

	-	-	(0.03)	(0.03)
Siblings……	-	-	1.04** (0.01)	1.03** (0.01)
Observations	4,051	4,051	4,051	4,051
Pseudo R-squared	.07	.10	.10	.14

Source: GSS, 1994-2010
Reporting Incidence Rate Ratios
+ p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01

As mentioned in the theoretical discussion, an increasing focus is being paid not only to total childbearing but also the timing of childbearing. Results from a logistic regression on whether the respondent has a child by age 25 are presented in Table 6. Many of the trends from the previous negative binomial regression models on children ever born remain. When we look at results using a "third-plus" generation, both surveys show an incorporation pattern in line with assimilation. However, disaggregating them shows the "third-plus" generation is again hiding greater incorporation in the third generation. The third generation is much less likely to have an early birth than either their co-ethnic peers or the native born black group in both IIMMLA and GSS, though still more likely than whites. Though there are fears of Mexican-Americans coming to form an "urban-underclass" along with African-Americans where early childbearing is common, the Mexican-origin women appear to be assimilating and seem to be internalizing the social norm for delayed family formation.

Controlling for incomplete incorporation on education and family background produces similar effects as in Table 5. In the full model, differences with whites across the Mexican-origin generations are non-significant except for the second generation in IIMMLA. Again, that the third generation is much less likely to have an early birth than the second generation, coupled with the second generations retained likeliness of an early birth even after controlling for incomplete education and family incorporation, leads us to

speculate a process of delayed incorporation. The results from the GSS are again more understated. Though many of the Table 5 trends remain, the likeliness of having an early birth seems more resistant to the effect of controlling on the incomplete assimilation on education and family background within the first and 1.5 generations. However, that the odds of this falls precipitously from the 1.5 into the second generation and even further into the third leads us to conclude that, into the third generation, Mexican-origin women are assimilating on delaying having an early child.

Table 7: Logistic regression on early birth incorporation from IIMMLA and GSS by Mexican generation and race status using an aggregated "3rd+" and disaggregated 3rd and "4th+" generation

Logistic regression on birth before age 25 by Mexican origin generation status and race using an aggregated "3rd " and disaggregated 3rd and "4th+" generations along with additional controls, IIMMLA 2004					
	Base Model	Education Model	Family Model	Full Model	Full + Remit
Race/Gen Status					
1st Generation……..	6.43** (2.12)	2.48* (0.95)	2.96** (1.09)	1.55 (0.63)	1.48 (0.65)
1.5 Generation…….....	3.44** (0.82)	1.89* (0.49)	2.02** (0.55)	1.37 (0.39)	1.34 (0.40)
2nd Generation…….	3.59** (0.73)	2.49** (0.54)	2.37** (0.54)	1.96** (0.47)	1.93** (0.48)
"3rd Plus" Generation….	2.21** (0.49)	1.46 (0.35)	1.55+ (0.37)	1.17 (0.30)	1.17 (0.30)
3rd Generation……	1.59+ (0.44)	1.06 (0.31)	1.21 (0.36)	0.90 (0.28)	0.90 (0.28)
"4th Plus" Generation….	2.99** (0.79)	1.96* (0.55)	1.95* (0.56)	1.50 (0.45)	1.50 (0.45)
Black……..	2.66** (0.56)	2.05** (0.46)	2.41** (0.58)	2.21** (0.57)	2.21** (0.57)
White……...	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age					
Age of respondent……..	1.02 (0.01)	1.02 (0.01)	0.97* (0.01)	0.98+ (0.01)	0.98+ (0.01)
Education					
Less than High School…	-	2.14** (0.47)	-	2.16** (0.51)	2.16** (0.51)
HS/Vocational…….	-	1.56** (0.27)	-	1.44* (0.26)	1.44* (0.26)
Some College……..	-	Ref.	-	Ref.	Ref.
College degree or more...	-	0.24** (0.04)	-	0.27** (0.05)	0.27** (0.05)
Family					

Married……	-	-	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Never Married…….	-	-	0.21** (0.04)	0.23** (0.04)	0.23** (0.04)
Divorced……..	-	-	0.88 (0.18)	0.88 (0.20)	0.89 (0.20)
Siblings……...	-	-	1.05* (0.02)	1.01 (0.02)	1.01 (0.02)
White Partner……..	-	-	0.40** (0.10)	0.53* (0.14)	0.53* (0.14)
Sent Remittances…….	-	-	-	-	1.07 (0.24)
Observations	1085	1085	1085	1085	1085
Pseudo R-squared	.04	.13	.12	.18	.18

Source: IIMMLA 2004
Reporting Odds Ratios
+ p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01

Logistic regression on birth before age 25 by Mexican origin generation status and race using an aggregated "3rd " and disaggregated 3rd and "4th+" generations along with additional controls, GSS 1994-2010

	Base Model	Education Model	Family Model	Full Model
Race/Gen Status				
1st Generation……....	4.41** (1.00)	2.23** (0.54)	4.61** (1.08)	2.45** (0.61)
1.5 Generation…….....	4.72** (1.32)	2.93** (0.85)	4.85** (1.40)	3.27** (0.98)
2nd Generation……	2.03** (0.37)	1.62* (0.31)	2.04** (0.38)	1.74** (0.35)
"3rd Plus" Generation…	1.83** (0.35)	1.58* (0.32)	1.79** (0.35)	1.58* (0.33)
3rd Generation….....	1.61+ (0.39)	1.43 (0.37)	1.72* (0.43)	1.55+ (0.41)
"4th Plus" Generation….	2.21** (0.67)	1.84+ (0.59)	1.92* (0.60)	1.63 (0.54)
Black……	2.41** (0.19)	1.95** (0.17)	3.26** (0.29)	2.92** (0.28)
White…….....	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age				
Age of respondent……	1.01* (0.00)	1.03** (0.00)	0.98** (0.01)	0.99 (0.01)
Education				
Less than High School..	-	2.55** (0.32)	-	2.88** (0.37)
HS/Vocational……..….	-	1.47** (0.12)	-	1.48** (0.12)
Some College……	-	Ref.	-	
College degree or more.	-	0.20** (0.02)	-	0.20** (0.02)
Family				
Married……..	-	-	Ref.	Ref.
Never Married……...	-	-	0.42** (0.04)	0.36** (0.03)

Divorce……..	-	-	1.94**	1.54**
			(0.18)	(0.15)
Siblings……..	-	-	1.00	0.95**
			(0.01)	(0.01)
Observations	4,057	4,057	4,057	4,057
Pseudo R-squared	.04	.13	.08	.16

Source: GSS, 1994-2010
Reporting Odds Ratios
+ p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01

Based on the previous results on children ever born and the likeliness of having an early birth, Mexican-origin women are, if not fully assimilated, at least making much progress. This progress is further evidenced when we can disaggregate a third generation from the "fourth-plus" generation. Though this "fourth-plus" generation is admittedly not as assimilated, I hesitate to draw conclusions on their incorporation due to previously discussed issues. Although the results may reflect the demographic reality of the "fourth-plus" generation, just as, if not more, likely it represents the ethnic-identity of such a select-group who, though they are unlikely to have met, or at least recall such a meeting, their family ties to Mexico, still identify as such. That these surveys cover the major hub for Mexican migration in L.A., as well as the nation indicates the results are not a trivial localized event, but questions as to the representativeness of these surveys remain, as well as what the nationally representative pattern of fertility incorporation among Mexicans in L.A. is exactly. To address these questions, we introduce the CPS-June Fertility Supplement and compare the surveys by generation status and race for both the dependent and independent variables available.

Table 7 presents the descriptive information comparing the CPS-LA subsample and IIMMLA and the CPS-US and GSS surveys. Provided are indicators when a significant difference exists between surveys by generation. Due to the aforementioned

data limitations in surveys such as the CPS, we aggregated a "third-plus" generation in IIMMLA and GSS to compare to the equivalent category in the CPS. Comparing the CPS-LA subsample to IIMMLA, the first thing that is notable is the significantly higher fertility of the second generation in IIMMLA, even after controlling for differences in marital status. Making this difference more complicated is that IIMMLA seems to have captured a higher educated population, with significantly lower rates of high school/high school or less and higher rates of people graduating from college. However, that all groups are biased upward, as opposed to only one or two, allows for equally biased comparisons within IIMMLA. Although some differences in marital status exist, these do not operate in any systematic way or drive any differences in the other dependent or independent variables. Instead the most disconcerting element, particularly given this is investigating fertility incorporation and one that requires further investigation, is why the second generation in IIMMLA, for reasons exogenous to marital status and seemingly in spite of better education, have significantly higher fertility than the second generation in the CPS-LA. Optimistically, though, despite being an artificial aggregation of the third and "fourth-plus" generation, the "third-plus" generation in IIMMLA is representative, save for the systematic bias towards a higher educated sample.

Panel B presents the same comparisons between the GSS and CPS-US samples. Perhaps not unsurprising given the national scope of both surveys, there are many more random differences in this comparison than the previous. Within fertility, after controlling for age, the 1.5, second as well as black and whites have significantly higher fertility within the GSS. These differences are not driven by age or, in the case of the second generation, a decreased likelihood of being single. Again, further investigation is

required into the sources of these differences as this is a study on fertility incorporation. The "third-plus" generation in the GSS is significantly more educated than the CPS, though this does not seem to impact the fertility differences between surveys. Again, that these are national surveys, one might expect greater variation and potential for random bias than in the localized L.A. samples.

Although differences occur between the surveys, that many dependent and independent variables are not different is promising. Further, where random differences in the independent variables exist, these have little to no effect on fertility between surveys, which suggests robustness to our fertility analysis. However, the elevated fertility among the second generation in both the IIMMLA and the GSS as well as the 1.5 generation in the GSS is cause for concern for our fertility incorporation conclusions. To get a better sense of how fertility incorporation occurs between surveys, we conduct negative binomial regressions and plot predicted counts both without controls for women by generation status and race.

Table 7: Comparing descriptive information for the dependent and independent variables among Mexican origin, black and white women in IIMMLA with the CPS-LA and the GSS with the CPS-US (where significant difference between surveys exist by group, denoted).

Panel A: IIMMLA & CPS-LA Mexican origin, black and white women, aged 20-40

		1st Gen	1.5 Gen	2nd Gen	3rd + Gen	Black	White
Demographic							
Fertility[3]	IIMMLA…	2.3	1.7	**1.4*[4]**	1.4	1.5	1.0
	CPS-LA….	2.1	1.6	**1.1**	1.4	1.5	1.0
Age	IIMMLA…	31.4	29.3	27.6	29.1	3.8	3.7
	CPS-LA….	31.8	29.9	27.3	29.9	3.1	3.9
Education							
Years of Education	IIMMLA…	**8.4***	12.4	13.4	13.5	13.7	**14.9***
	CPS-LA….	**9.6**	11.8	13.0	13.2	13.6	**14.5**
Less HS	IIMMLA…	**82%***	27%	**11%+**	12%	11%	4%
	CPS-LA….	**63%**	33%	**15%**	14%	11%	5%
HS	IIMMLA…	**7%****	**27%+**	27%	**27%+**	**18%****	**14%****
	CPS-LA….	**24%**	**36%**	32%	**35%**	**28%**	**20%**
Some College	IIMMLA…	-	30%	39%	37%	43%	31%
	CPS-LA….	10%	22%	39%	36%	39%	36%
Higher Ed	IIMMLA…	**11%****	**16%***	**23%***	**24%***	**29%***	**51%****
	CPS-LA….	**3%**	**9%**	**13%**	**15%**	**22%**	**39%**
Family							
Married	IIMMLA…	63%	**46%+**	40%	44%	26%	44%
	CPS-LA….	70%	**56%**	38%	46%	26%	47%
Divorced	IIMMLA…	9%	11%	**14%+**	11%	15%	12%
	CPS-LA….	8%	9%	**9%**	11%	13%	11%
Single	IIMMLA…	29%	43%	**46%+**	45%	60%	44%
	CPS-LA….	22%	35%	**53%**	43%	61%	43%
Observations	IIMMLA…	56	132	302	175	215	205
	CPS-LA….	829	278	528	358	321	1,256

Source: IIMMLA 2004
CPS-LA June Fertility Supplement, 1998-2010
+ p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01

[3] Comparisons between surveys includes control for age
[4] Remains significant even when controlling for differences in marital status

Panel B: GSS & CPS-US Comparing Mexican origin, black & white women aged 18-44

		1st Gen	1.5 Gen	2nd Gen	3rd + Gen	Black	White
Demographic							
Fertility[5]	GSS….....	2.5	**2.1+**	**1.6*[6]**	1.6	**1.8***	**1.4***
	CPS-US...	2.1	**1.6**	**1.2**	1.6	**1.5**	**1.3**
Age	GSS…….	33.6	**30.6***	**29.2****	30.8	**31.9***	**32.6****
	CPS-US...	32.4	**28.7**	**27.3**	30.1	**31.3**	**31.9**
Education							
Years of Education	GSS…….	9.5	11.5	12.9	**13.2***	13.1	**14.0***
	CPS-US...	9.5	11.5	12.8	**12.7**	13.1	**13.9**
Less than HS	GSS…….	57%	35%	20%	**10%***	16%	**7%***
	CPS-US...	62%	39%	22%	**21%**	15%	**8%**
High School	GSS…….	25%	35%	36%	29%	**33%***	30%
	CPS-US..	24%	33%	33%	36%	**36%**	29%
Some College	GSS…….	13%	26%	30%	**46%***	**38%***	34%
	CPS-US...	9%	21%	33%	**31%**	**34%**	34%
Higher Ed	GSS…….	5%	5%	15%	14%	14%	30%
	CPS-US...	5%	7%	12%	12%	16%	29%
Family							
Married	GSS…….	**59%****	48%	41%	45%	**22%***	**51%****
	CPS-US...	**72%**	55%	41%	45%	**26%**	**55%**
Divorced	GSS…….	18%	20%	19%	21%	17%	18%**
	CPS-US...	10%	9%	10%	15%	15%	12%
Single	GSS…….	23%	32%	**40%+**	34%	60%	**31%***
	CPS-US...	18%	35%	**48%**	40%	58%	**33%**
Observations	GSS……	100	66	128	113	845	2,804
	CPS-US	5,907	1,551	2,876	3,866	17,138	109,361

Sources: GSS, 1994-2010
CPS June Fertility Supplement, 1998-2010
+ p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01

[5] Comparisons between surveys includes control for age
[6] Remains significant even when controlling for differences in marital status

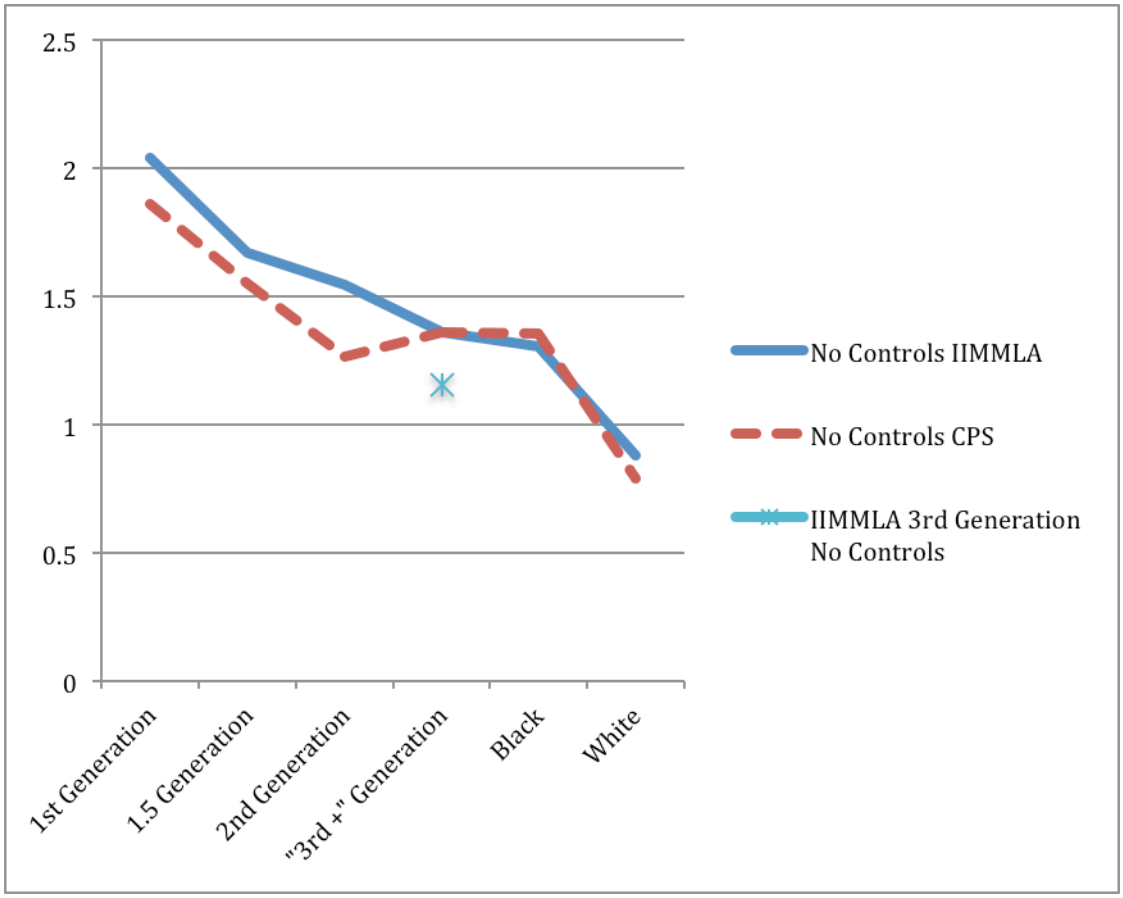
Figure 2 presents the predicted children ever born for a 30-year-old woman by generation and race without controls beyond age between the CPS-LA and IIMMLA as well as the CPS-US and GSS. We also include the plotted predicted fertility for the IIMMLA and GSS precise third generation to give an idea of where they stand relative to the CPS second and "third-plus" generations. Looking at the incorporation pattern between generations, some differences emerge. As was seen in the descriptive information, the first, 1.5 and second generations in IIMMLA and GSS are slightly or significantly higher than those in the CPS samples. However, in both the L.A. and national CPS samples, the "third-plus" generation has a higher predicted fertility than that of the second generation. For L.A. this is an important result since it shows that, when using nationally representative data, fertility incorporation stagnates and reverses as the previous studies have shown. It also suggests that if we were able to locate the sources of fertility bias among the second and, in the GSS, 1.5 generations, we could replicate such a stagnation in IIMMLA and GSS when using the "third-plus" generation.

To gleam some idea of how fertility incorporation could look in the CPS, if precise measures were available, we also plot the predicted fertility for the precise third generation from IIMMLA and GSS. That the "third-plus" generations match so well between surveys, this is not such a leap of faith. Though our delayed incorporation results are tempered, there is, in the very least, not the fertility incorporation reversal others have found (Bean, Swicegood et al. 2000; Hill and Johnson 2004; Frank and Heuveline 2005). Though it is questionable whether the .1 child decline in predicted fertility at age 30 between the second generation in the CPS and the precise third generation in both the

IIMMLA and GSS constitutes assimilation, it at least draws into question the pessimistic conclusions from the segmented assimilation and ethnic disadvantage hypotheses.

Figure 2: Predicted fertility incorporation comparing surveys without & with controls

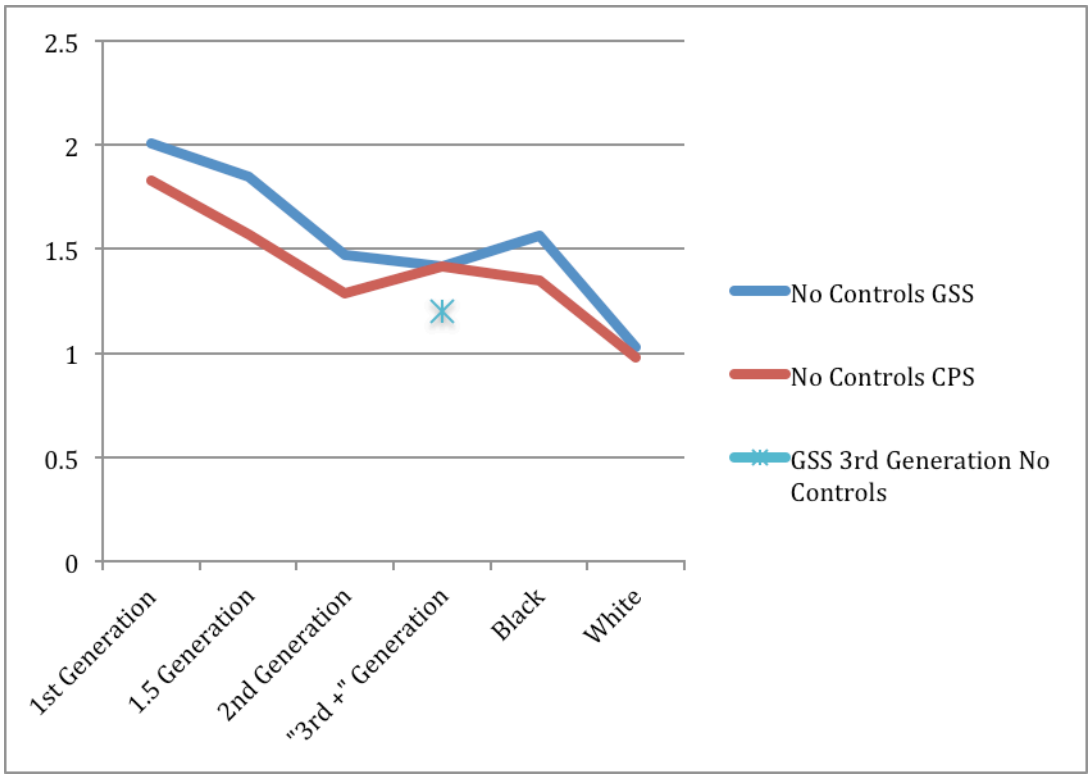
Panel A: Comparing predicted[7] fertility incorporation between IIMMLA and CPS



Sources: IIMMLA, 2004
CPS, 1998-2010

[7] Predicted values set to a 30 year old married woman with "Some College"

Panel B: Comparing predicted fertility incorporation between GSS and CPS



Source: GSS, 1994-2010
CPS, 1998-2010

Summary:

The first hypothesis in this paper is whether having an improved third generation measure reveals otherwise hidden fertility incorporation among Mexican-origin women. Drawing from the IIMMLA and GSS, two of the very few surveys that offer a precise third generation, the answer seems to be a resounding yes. The precise third generation had significantly reduced their fertility relative to a "fourth-plus" generation. Though we can speculate on why this is, namely an eclectic generation group with mixed experiences and out selection, we cannot adjudicate between these theories.

The next hypotheses drew from the incorporation literature, specifically the segmented assimilation and ethnic disadvantage, contemporary assimilation and delayed incorporation hypotheses. Although some might point to the incomplete incorporation in the third generation as signs of segmented assimilation and ethnic disadvantage, it ignores the progress that is made across the generation. In looking at both children ever born and having an early birth, using the precise third generation reveals substantial continued incorporation, so much so that the IIMMLA results can be interpreted as signs of delayed incorporation while the GSS looks typical of what one would expect under context of assimilation. This continued trajectory, even if not complete, would argue against the segmented assimilation and ethnic disadvantage hypotheses (hypothesis #2) and for either the contemporary assimilation and/or delayed incorporation (hypotheses #3 & #4).

In comparing the IIMMLA and GSS to the CPS equivalents, we find the surveys match fairly well with a few notable exceptions. The fertility levels in the second generation are significantly higher in both the IIMMLA and GSS. Although the degree of fertility incorporation when looking only at the IIMMLA and GSS is tempered when we compare surveys, it does not mean it is withdrawn. When we plot the precise third generation from IIMMLA and GSS, there is minimal continued fertility incorporation. However, relative to the stagnated and reversed fertility incorporation pattern if only a "third-plus" generation were available, our understanding of fertility incorporation is greatly improved. When using the imprecise "third-plus" generation category and viewing them vis-à-vis the CPS samples, the results would lead us towards pessimistic conclusions just as others have found (Bean, Swicegood et al. 2000; Hill and Johnson

2004; Frank and Heuveline 2005). However, the precise third generation, because of their otherwise hidden incorporation forces us to revisit understandings of the fertility incorporation among Mexican-origin women. That our understandings of their fertility incorporation are so impacted by using a precise third generation points to a deficit in the manner of data collection as well as our theoretical understanding of the incorporation process for a sizeable minority of those with Mexican heritage.

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