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The Influence of Religion on Immigrant Structural Assimilation  
in the Greater Los Angeles Area

Jason D. Simons

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
Brigham Young University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

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Tim B. Heaton  
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## ABSTRACT

### Stratification as Displayed by Religion and Assimilation

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By operationalizing Gordon's definition of structural assimilation, I examine occupational prestige, income, and educational attainment across four immigrant groups: 1.5 generation, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, and 4<sup>th</sup> generation. Additionally, I analyze the effect of religious affiliation, frequency of attendance, religious conversion, context of reception, and selective acculturation on each of the three measures of structural assimilation. Ethnic origin, gender, and age are implemented as control variables. Results provide evidence that religion does affect measures of structural assimilation. While impacts on occupational prestige and income seem minimal to non-existent, the effect of religion on educational attainment is more substantial. Religion indirectly affects occupational prestige and income outcomes due to their strong relationship to educational attainment.

Keywords: immigrant, structural assimilation, religion, generational cohort, occupational prestige, income, educational attainment

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## **Introduction**

Immigration and assimilation are key elements to understanding the social stratification of immigrants in American society. What factors determine whether or not immigrants gain access to resources needed for assimilation, and why do these factors exist? Various studies have revealed the numerous obstacles that immigrants face when entering American society and detail their indefatigable attempts to overcome them (Handlin, 1941, 1951; Wittke, 1952; Child, 1943; Vecoli, 1977). Immigrants generally enter a new host society with limited resources. Successful assimilation accounts follow a similar pattern that begin with economic hardship and discrimination and eventually result in increased economic mobility and acceptance by the host society, which is thought to be related to a growing knowledge of American culture (Warner and Srole, 1945; Gordon, 1964; Sowell, 1981).

Such accounts suggest that the degree to which an immigrant seeks to assimilate will greatly determine their ability to acquire additional resources, especially when resources are scarce. Moreover, mobility through social class hierarchies is facilitated through the shedding of characteristics that are viewed as objectionable to the host society and the acceptance of new characteristics that the host society views as acceptable (Eisenstadt, 1970). A particularly important characteristic is the religion of the immigrant. The reluctance to shed a religion viewed as unacceptable to the host society can be debilitating to upward mobility. Conversely, immigrants who join conventional religions can increase their ability to navigate social hierarchies. In other words, religious assimilation makes resource acquisition possible as it reduces the thickness of boundaries



between the immigrant and host society. Such being the case, there may be no greater lens for viewing stratification than through immigrant assimilation.

Religion has played a central role in the analysis of cultural assimilation in several studies (Cadge & Ecklund, 2006; Espinosa, 2007; Hagan & Ebaugh, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo, Gaudinez, Lara, & Ortiz, 2004). However, how religious factors may directly affect the structural assimilation of immigrants has been vastly overlooked. As such, this study seeks to address the relative effect of immigrant participation in a religious organization on structural assimilation. Drawing from the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA), 2004, this study examines how religious affiliation and attendance affect occupational prestige, income, and education, while accounting for immigrant demographic characteristics and cultural factors typically included in cultural assimilation models. Respondents are mostly 1.5 and second-generation immigrants, however, there are a number of third- or later-generation immigrants comprised of whites, blacks, and Mexican Americans included as a reference group.

### **Purpose Statement**

The purpose of this study is to explore the role that religion plays in the structural assimilation process. Whether or not a person assimilates is, in part, determined by the definition of assimilation. Gordon (1964) developed a practical and much used sociological definition of assimilation that breaks the concept down into several aspects: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioral receptional, and civic assimilation. For the purposes of this study, structural assimilation will be the indicator of successful immigrant assimilation. Gordon defines structural assimilation as gaining

membership and entering into the organizations of the host society. Such organizations are primarily described as educational or occupational. Penetration into said organizations denotes the breakdown of assimilation barriers and greater acceptance by the host society.

Durkheim, in his work *Elementary Forms*, defines religion as follows: "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them (p. 47)." This definition seems consistent with the assertion that individuals unite with religions that provide cultural continuity, which in turn provides them with a refuge and access to a stronger social network (Hirschman, 2004). Immigrants are no exception to the theory. Most immigrants seek out religious affiliations in their new homes that will help them maintain cultural aspects of their motherland while simultaneously providing refuge from racism and discrimination (Hirschman, 2004). As such, religious affiliations affect the immigrants' cultural assimilation process into the host society, be it facilitating or debilitating. This study will look in greater detail at how religious affiliation may also affect structural assimilation.

### **Significance**

The ever-increasing immigrant population in the United States highlights the importance of determining how to assist the immigrant in the assimilation process. Divisions between immigrant populations and the American citizen majority will continue to occur or be reinforced if immigrants fail to assimilate into the mainstream culture. A number of studies have looked into the effect of religion on assimilation (Herberg, 1960; Mol, 1971; Smith, 1978 Fischer and Hout, 2006; Hirschman, 2004; Cadge and Ecklund,

2006; Warner 2001; George 2005; Ebaugh and Chaffetz, 2000; Hagan and Ebaugh, 2003; Cadge & Ecklund, 2006; Espinosa, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo, Gaudinez, Lara, & Ortiz, 2004), the results of which are further discussed in the literature review. Many of these studies have either been based on a sample of the national population or small groups based in dense immigration populations. Other studies have focused on aspects of immigrant assimilation in areas where particular religious groups dominate the majority culture. However, there is little research focusing on how belonging to the dominant religion compared to minority religious groups of the new host country affects the structural assimilation process of immigrants, particularly in the United States. Immigrants belonging to non-Christian religions may encounter greater difficulty in successfully navigating social hierarchies.

Furthermore, research on religion and assimilation has often included the premise that immigrants' cultural assimilation would affect their structural assimilation. This premise is based on the common linear assimilation interpretation of Gordon's (1964) work, which assumes that cultural assimilation must occur prior to structural assimilation. As a result, while making mention of cultural effects on structural outcomes, studies on religion and assimilation have not included structural outcome measures in their analyses. My study differs from previous studies in that it seeks to close this gap by directly testing the effect of religion on structural assimilation variables.

Additional evidence of the need to perform such a study is demonstrated by the current immigration trends in United States. In research conducted by the Center for Immigration studies, Camarota (2007) found that 1.6 million immigrants come to the

country each year. At the same time, only 350,000 immigrants leave each year, resulting in net immigration of 1.25 million. Expectations are, given that the current trend remains consistent, the U.S. population will increase from roughly over 300 million today to 468 million by 2060. Such an increase matches expected increases of Great Britain, Spain, and France combined.

As immigrant populations continue to increase within the United States, the debate on how to approach immigration will remain at the forefront of policy makers' agendas. Recent senate bills in Oklahoma, Arizona, Utah, etc. have evidenced such concerns. At the same time, many U.S. citizens are concerned about how the lack of assimilation will affect U.S. culture and society. The purpose of this study is two-fold. First, the study of the role of religion in structural assimilation within United States will assist policymakers in knowing the necessary steps to take in improving the immigrant assimilation process within the country. Conducting this research now can provide vital information that is needed even as our country is currently faced with ever increasing numbers of new immigrants. The second purpose, and perhaps the most important, is the discovery of how religious affiliation and frequency of attendance are helping and/or hindering the immigrants' transition into American society. This study may provide immigrants with information about structural obstacles they can expect to face upon entering the United States. Additionally, religious leaders can likewise benefit, as they will be able to determine if their current approach to reaching out to immigrants is working. It will also provide them with direction about the obstacles they should be targeting to improve the immigrant experience.

## **Literature Review**

Herberg (1960) found that Americans use religion to establish their position in society, as well as gave them a context to understand it. Although immigrants are expected to assimilate, they almost always maintained their original religion. Later studies on religion and immigrant assimilation approached the topic from a functionalist perspective, asserting that religion assisted in overcoming the various difficulties encountered while immigrating (Mol, 1971; Smith, 1978). Their studies found that religion helps immigrants to slowly peel off the layers of their original ethnic identity. The layer peeling process works as a bridge that ultimately makes possible the transition from immigrant to middle-class American. The functionalist approach became the basis upon which further research would build, and this approach continues to shape research, although with slight modifications, to this day.

### *Religion as a Facilitator*

A more recent approach advocates the idea that immigration is facilitated by the development of social capital in the forms of refuge, respectability, and resources (Fischer and Hout, 2006; Hirschman, 2004). Immigrants find refuge within churches as they seek a sense of belonging. Religion provides a universal system of belief, as well as a safe environment where immigrants can assemble and create social networks that provide mutual support. Further, churches and temples offer opportunities for fellowship and friendship in familiar cultural environments that are not otherwise easy to find. As such, religion becomes an avenue for discovering refuge from the physical and emotional strains, hindrances, and struggles that accompany the complexities of living in a new country (Cadge and Ecklund, 2006).

Respectability is attained as immigrants are given opportunities to gain religious status within the church. As immigrants develop a greater level of respectability, they simultaneously gain access to an abundance of networking resources that aid in the process of adaptation, such as housing, food, and other necessities of life (Bankston & Zhou, 1996; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Hurh & Kim, 1990; Min, 1992). Indeed, religion provides refuge, respectability, and resources, but to varying extents depending on the denomination.

### *Religion as a Hindrance*

Critics of the functionalist approach argue that not all aspects of immigrant religious participation may be conducive to assimilation. As mentioned before, immigrants use religion as a source of refuge from the host society. Refuge is sought as immigrants make use of churches and temples to replicate and incorporate various ethnic practices from their homelands. By so doing, immigrants have services that integrate the language, rituals, music and festivals of their motherland (Ebaugh and Chaffetz, 2000). Such practices enable immigrants to nurture and strengthen their original ethnic identity as well as pass it on to future generations (Foner and Alba, 2008). Refuge denotes a sense of division or separation. The perpetuation of the original ethnicity through religion has been shown to be a “buffer” to some immigrant groups, which handicaps their process of cultural assimilation and operates as what might be termed a “mobility trap” (Greeley, 1972).

### *Religion and Socio-Economic Status*

Not to be overlooked is the influence that the immigrant’s religion may have on their ability to gain social status in society. The cultural norms associated with an individual’s

religion will affect how life choices regarding fertility, marriage, and divorce impact economic attainment (Keister, 2003). Decisions regarding the aforementioned life choices can greatly support or even limit access to one's opportunities for education and employment. Educational opportunities can be further limited if immigrants adopt values central to secular education that prioritize rational solutions over the supernatural, an approach that may clash with the teachings of an traditional religions (Sherkat and Darnell 1999). In such cases, parents have been found to be reluctant to invest in their child's education (Lehrer, 2004). The result is a disparity in educational attainment based on religious affiliation. Heaton et al (2009) discuss such a disparity in the Ghanaian context. Christians were shown to have a significant educational advantage over non-Christians (particularly Muslims). A substantial portion of the advantage is due to disparities in enrollment rates. In the context of the United States, the prospects for educational attainment and status mobility are likely to vary by religion as well.

### *Selective Acculturation and Religion*

Portes and Rumbaut (2006) introduced several concepts relevant to understanding immigrant assimilation. For example, one is the idea that the children of immigrants did not have to completely assimilate into American culture to be successful in terms of socioeconomic status; rather they can selectively acculturate to the new society—adopting only some aspects of the new host society which may facilitate structural assimilation. Children that maintain their parents' language and cultural elements facilitate familial ties that offer support when confronting external threats and barriers. Such support has been linked to optimal outcomes in adaptation and academic achievement.

Children who successfully retain their parents' language and cultural elements often belong to a community that promotes doing so. Religion is a common basis on which to establish such a community that reaffirms immigrant cultures and language. Moreover, religious groups and organizations give immigrants access to information and resources needed to adapt to a new place (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Because parents and children share a system of norms and beliefs, parents are better equipped to guide their children. When children choose to leave their parents' religion, they are less connected and more prone to downward assimilation. The benefits of selective acculturation have been shown to be cultural and structural. Thus, selective acculturation processes suggest that the effect of religion may be to hinder structural assimilation or it may support it.

### *Context of Reception*

A number of contextual factors shape immigrant incorporation in the United States. The interaction of governmental policies, the conditions of the host labor market, and the resources and support of the existing ethnic community define an immigrant group's context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Each of these factors will regulate, to some extent, the probability of successful immigration. Governmental policies dictate economic opportunities through immediately determining immigration status upon entry. Restrictions on specific statuses (e.g. student, tourist, worker, undocumented, etc.) determine access to occupational and educational opportunities. The condition of the labor market will further regulate which kinds of occupational opportunities are available. Finally, ethnic communities, or the lack thereof, determine the amount of human capital and networking capabilities available to immigrant groups upon entry. Each of these



external factors shapes access to structural opportunities for immigrants and consequently affects successful structural assimilation.

### *The Importance of Religion for Structural Assimilation*

While cultural assimilation typically has been seen as necessary for structural assimilation, the introduction of selective acculturation theory (Portes and Rumbaut 2006) has suggested weaker links between cultural and structural assimilation. Subsequently, studies often addressed religion as it relates to cultural assimilation (Herberg, 1960; Mol, 1971; Smith, 1978 Fischer and Hout, 2006; Hirschman, 2004; Cadge and Ecklund, 2006; Warner 2001; George 2005; Ebaugh and Chaffetz, 2000; Hagan and Ebaugh, 2003; Cadge & Ecklund, 2006; Espinosa, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo, Gaudinez, Lara, & Ortiz, 2004). In contrast, the study of structural assimilation has rarely included religion as an independent variable. However, an argument can be made to include religion because of the level of influence that religion plays in the complete immigration experience. For example, religious affiliation determines how immigrants choose to approach or access important institutions of society. Hagan and Ebaugh (2003), in research done on the role of religion in the migration process, concluded that religion is used by migrants throughout the entire migration process, which includes the following stages: decision-making, preparation for the journey, the journey itself, arrival, the role that the ethnic church plays in helping immigrants settle, and developing an international network. If religion plays such a significant role in all of these facets, its impact cannot be omitted from the study of structural assimilation.

Furthermore, the research suggests that immigrants of similar cultural and religious origins initially settle in communities comprised of people of similar ethnicity, nationality, and religious affiliation (Fischer and Hout, 2006; Hirschman, 2004). As such, these immigrants would be less likely to be exposed to mainstream American ideals, ways of life, and culture. Subsequently, immigrants in ethnic enclaves or communities who maintain ties to their native culture (including religion) may experience little cultural assimilation. This theory is supported by findings that have illustrated the negative relationship between immigrant integration and higher levels of religious attendance (Cadge & Ecklund, 2006). The ethnic enclave may hinder cultural assimilation as well as structural assimilation. Lower cultural integration levels are just as likely to affect the successful navigation of the structural aspects of American society, especially education. On the other hand, selective acculturation may provide the avenue for socioeconomic gains. Thus, two competing views of the role of religion need to be examined. Major results of research on the role of religion in cultural assimilation are summarized in Figure 1.

(FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE)

### **Research Question**

The role of religion in the cultural assimilation process is apparent to many sociology and religion scholars, as evidenced by the numerous studies conducted. Consequently, such scholars have analyzed the role of religion in cultural assimilation using samples of the national population or high-density immigrant populations across the United States (Cadge & Ecklund, 2006; Espinosa, 2007; Hagan & Ebaugh, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo, Gaudinez, Lara, & Ortiz, 2004). The results of these studies have shown various

outcomes, some indicating positive effects and others negative. This study seeks to discover how religious factors may directly affect the structural assimilation of immigrants. Such research is essential to a discussion of how religion might affect the assimilation process considering that the United States is a religious nation. Furthermore, the CIA World Fact Book reports that 79% of the United States belongs to a Christian denomination. Whether belonging to a non-Christian religion (compared to a Christian religion) is likely to impede access to essential resources for status acquisition, not to mention willingness to adopt the norms and practices of the new host society, is an empirical question for this study. More specifically, the question that this study seeks to address concerns the relative effect of immigrant participation in a religious organization on structural assimilation in the United States. This study will seek to determine what differences and/or similarities exist in the structural assimilation experiences of immigrants and subsequent generational cohorts based on their religious framework and dedication to it. Central elements of the proposed study of the relationship of religion to structural assimilation are summarized in Figure 2.

(FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE)

### *Hypotheses*

A series of hypotheses emerge from the literature discussed above. First, religion provides an opportunity for immigrants and their progeny to gain the support they need to facilitate structural assimilation, however, this should vary by denomination. Second, children of immigrants who convert to a religion other than their parents' are more

susceptible to lower outcomes. Third, holding on to their parents' native language will increase chances of successful upward assimilation.

## **Data and Methods**

### *Sample*

This study draws its sample from the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA), 2004. I selected IIMMLA as it is one of the most current, complete, and relevant data sources containing fundamental variables for this study. IMMLA was supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, which has consistently supported research since 1991 gauging how successfully the children of immigrants navigate through the United States educational system and transition into the labor force. This survey was built upon the foundation of two previous prominent studies (also funded by the Russell Sage Foundation): The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), and the Immigrant Second Generation in New York study (ISGNY).

IIMMLA is comprised of 4,780 respondents ages 20-39 that elected to participate in a 35-minute structured telephone interview. Respondents were selected by means of multi-stage random sampling and targeted young adult children of immigrants in the greater Los Angeles area. The vast majority of immigrant respondents are 1.5 and second-generation immigrants, however, there are a number of third- or later-generation immigrants comprised of whites, blacks, and Mexican Americans included as a reference group. Children who immigrate before they reach age 14 are considered 1.5 generation. Children born to parents who have immigrated to the U.S. prior to birth are identified as second-generation immigrants and so on.

The data were collected with the purpose of comparing six foreign-born (1.5-generation) and foreign-parentage (second-generation) groups (Mexicans, Vietnamese, Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, and Central Americans from Guatemala and El Salvador) with three native-born and native-parentage comparison groups (third- or later-generation Mexican Americans, and non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks). Noting that the five-county Los Angeles metropolitan area (Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, Riverside and San Bernardino counties) contains the largest concentrations of Mexicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Filipinos, Chinese, Vietnamese, Koreans, and other nationalities in the United States, the data will provide an ideal sample of diverse immigrants with a variety of religious affiliations for analysis. Moreover, the sample represents a several immigrant cohorts and a range of statuses related to immigration to the United States, while providing strong measures of structural assimilation among contemporary immigrants.

### *Measures*

Based on Gordon's definition of structural assimilation, I have created three individual linear regression models to measure educational and occupational achievement among immigrant groups. The models will use occupational prestige scores, income, and education as outcome variables. Occupational prestige and education are the most important structural measures. Income will serve as an additional occupational achievement measure.

*Occupational Prestige Scores:* I have used Duncan's (1961) occupational prestige scores as the dependent variable in the first model. Duncan created individual occupational scores based on public perception of occupational prestige derived from

surveys results coupled with information from the Census of Population. For this study, respondents' current occupations are translated into the detailed codes for occupation developed by the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) in 1990. Once translated, occupations are assigned a prestige score based on Duncan's Socioeconomic Index.

*Income:* The respondents' gross total income is used as the dependent variable in the second model. Respondents were asked to give an estimate of their total gross income for 2003. I have elected to maintain the predetermined income breakdown as designed in the interview with slight recoding for a few reasons<sup>1</sup>. The manner in which the data was collected (varying size categories) is not conducive to a proper linear recoding. I acknowledge that the non-linear nature of the variable violates an assumption of linear regression. Nonetheless, if significant, the crude measure is still a reliable measure of structural assimilation. As income is the least important of the outcome variables, I utilize this variable as a crude secondary measure of occupational attainment. Income is coded into 8 groups: 0=None; 1=Less than \$12,000; 2=\$12,000 - \$19,999; 3=\$20,000 - \$29,999; 4=\$30,000 - \$49,999; 5=\$50,000 - \$69,999; 6=\$70,000 - \$99,999; and 7=\$100,000 or more. Given that respondents were asked to estimate their total gross income, some error may have occurred in the respondents' reports. Nonetheless, the variable should still prove to be a fairly accurate measurement. An analysis of income distribution will provide a clearer picture of income differences among immigrant groups.

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<sup>1</sup> Given the non-linear nature of the variable, I also created a linear income variable using midpoint values for each category. In the case of the open-end interval category of \$100,000 or more, I calculated a mean value using the Pareto curve formula (Shryock, et. al, 1973). However, the regression results identified the same relationships with no notable differences in coefficient outcomes.

*Education:* The third and final model will use education as the dependent variable. Education is measured as the highest level of education the respondent has completed. The variable is continuous and the scale ranges from 1-20 years. I have determined that the variable will be most useful as it is currently coded. Immigrant groups that have more successfully assimilated (structurally) are anticipated to have achieved higher levels of education.

*Religion:* The purpose of this study is to discover how religious affiliation and participation affect structural assimilation. I have elected to use three variables to measure the effects of religion. First, I identify the religious affiliation of the respondent, which I categorize into one of eleven groups: No religion ( $n=663$ ), Catholic ( $n=1631$ ), Protestant, not evangelical/born-again ( $n=179$ ), Protestant, evangelical/ born-again ( $n=456$ ), Christian, not evangelical/ born-again ( $n=387$ ), Christian, evangelical/born-again, Mormon ( $n=50$ ), Jewish ( $n=48$ ), Muslim ( $n=34$ ), Buddhist ( $n=284$ ), and Other, non-Christian ( $n=268$ ), each created as a new dummy variable. The second measure is how often the respondent attends a religious service, with responses ranging from 1 (never) to 8 (more often than once a week). The inclusion of frequency of attendance offers the ability to discover how such effects can differ depending on the respondents' level of involvement with their religion. For the final variable, I calculated a conversion variable to test Portes and Rumbaut's (2006) notion that immigrants and/or children of immigrants who remain in the same religion are more likely to successfully assimilate. The combination of variables provides an opportunity to see how religious affiliation affects structural assimilation.

*Generational Cohort:* As this study seeks to ascertain the level of structural assimilation among different immigrant groups, the generational cohort that one belongs to is likely to have an impact. Therefore, I use generational cohort to compare and contrast structural assimilation between groups. I have recoded the variable into 4 individual dummy variables: 1.5 generation ( $n=1,622$ ); 2<sup>nd</sup> generation ( $n=1,818$ ); 3<sup>rd</sup> generation ( $n=356$ ); 4<sup>th</sup> generation and beyond ( $n=859$ ). The inclusion of 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> generation and beyond immigrants will provide a reference group, as well as, the opportunity to compare immigrant groups' progress or change in status over time.

*Region of Origin:* The respondent's region of origin or ethnicity is also included as an independent variable as it can be an additional barrier for immigrants to overcome. Receptivity for immigrants in the same religious denomination and generational cohort can vary depending on the respondents' national origin and race. I recoded ethnicity into ten dummy variables: White Non-Hispanic ( $n=704$ ); Black Non-Hispanic ( $n=445$ ); Mexican ( $n=1,244$ ); Salvadoran/Guatemalan ( $n=376$ ); Other Latino ( $n=188$ ); Chinese ( $n=400$ ); Korean ( $n=401$ ); Vietnamese ( $n=401$ ); Filipino ( $n=401$ ); Other Asian ( $n=95$ ).

*Language:* In order to test Portes and Rumbaut's model that selective acculturation leads to greater assimilation success; I employ two language variables, whether or not the respondent spoke a language other than English growing up and the respondent's current language preference in the home. Both variables are coded in dummy variables. Other language spoken as a child is coded as 1=yes and 0=no. Current language preference is coded as 1=English and 0=other.



*Other Characteristics:* Based on the research literature and theory, I control for several factors that are known to affect structural barriers for immigrants. Due to respondents' ages within the sample range from 20-39, I determined age to be a necessary control. There is a fair possibility that respondents in their early twenties may still be pursuing a higher education.

The context of reception for the parents of the respondent is included in the model to account for variation based on entrance status. The variable includes the following categories, each of which were recoded into dummy variables: border card, student or tourist visa, work visa, refugee, green card, undocumented, citizens, and don't know.

Finally, gender will be included to account for any differences that may result due to sex of the respondent. As was the case with race, gender in many instances can be an additional obstacle for immigrants to overcome. I have coded gender as female=0 and male=1 to facilitate analysis.

### *Data Analysis*

Data analysis is a two step process. First, I calculate descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analysis. Second, I utilize regression techniques to analyze effects of religious variables on occupational prestige, income, and education outcomes. I run five models for occupational prestige and income while running four models for education. The first four models are identical for each of the outcome variables, with the exception of the outcome variable itself. The first model accounts for demographic characteristics. The second model adds religious variables to assess their impact on structural outcomes. The third and fourth models introduce context of reception and language variables respectively.

The fifth models for occupational prestige and income add educational attainment to the analysis, due to the influence of educational outcomes and these two outcome variables. Given that missing cases for all variables included in the models are minimal, I utilize listwise deletion for the handling of all missing data.

## **Results**

### *Descriptive Statistics*

Summary statistics reported in Table 1 indicate that the average occupational prestige score for respondents in the sample resides in the middle at 49.71. The mean for income, however, is relatively low at 2.62, registering in between the \$12,000 - \$19,999 and \$20,000 - \$29,99 categories. Low income is likely related to educational achievement. The average respondent achieves two years of formal education beyond high school. The gender distribution in the sample has a fairly even balance with a slightly larger population of females. The mean age is 28.52.

The majority of the sample is 1.5 and second generation immigrants. As such, almost half of respondents' parents entered the US as legal permanent residents (green card). Over one quarter of respondents are third or fourth generation immigrants and their parents have been US citizens for the respondents' entire lives. The other context of reception categories are much less common but still well represented in the sample. The sole exception is undocumented status, which is likely underreported as this information was only recorded if the respondent voluntarily offered it. The region of origin/ethnic groups are evenly distributed in the data with the exception of Mexican, which is to be expected given the sheer population of Mexicans in the United States.

As far as religious affiliation is concerned, Catholicism is by far the dominant religion.

Christian-Evangelical/Born-Again and no religion follow as the next two dominant responses. Mormon, Jewish, and Muslim all have the smallest representation in the sample. Almost one-third of respondents report having converted to a different religion than the one they were brought up in during their childhood. The mean for frequency of church attendance lies between several times a year and once or twice a month, indicating that the average respondent is moderately engaged in their religion.

(TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE)

Summary statistics in Table 2 show the characteristics of religious affiliations. Great variation in occupational prestige exists across religious affiliations. Jewish, both Protestant affiliations, and Buddhists have the highest prestige scores. Likewise, these groups have higher income and educational achievement than other affiliations, with the exception of Buddhists. While Buddhists have higher occupational prestige and educational outcomes, they have lower income. The difference in income is likely explained by differences in age. Buddhists are the youngest of all affiliations.

There are a number of differences in context of reception between affiliations. The most notable figures belong to Buddhists. Green cards account for 74% of all respondents who self-identify as Buddhist, while a mere 4% are citizens. These results are greatly due to Buddhists having the highest concentration of the youngest generational cohort. Another notable figure relates to the percentage of Christian evangelical, born-again that are citizens. Nearly half of these respondents are citizens (48%). Again, this is related to the concentration of generational cohorts. Christian evangelical, born-again have the highest proportion of respondents in later generational cohorts.

Ethnic diversity varies by religious affiliations. Most affiliations appear diverse and

do not seem to have an overwhelmingly dominant ethnicity. However, a few religions are exceptions to this pattern. Respondents who identified as Jewish were mostly White (75%), Buddhists were predominantly Vietnamese (54%) and Chinese (26%), and Catholics were greatly Mexican (46%).

The preference to speak English at home ranged from 23-46% across the various affiliations. The data reveal a number of interesting relationships. Affiliations with higher percentages of respondents who prefer to speak English (Catholic 41%, Other, non-Christian 40%) have lower outcomes for occupational prestige, income, and education. On the contrary, the affiliation with the lowest percentage of respondents who prefer English (Jewish 23%) has the highest outcomes for occupational prestige, income, and education. Results may be explained by the lack of a control for how well the respondents speak English. A preference to speak English does not necessarily denote proficiency in speaking the language.

Religious conversion varies significantly across the various religious affiliations. Conversion is most prevalent among Other, non-Christian (66%) and No religion (70%) groups. Conversion is least prevalent with Catholics (5%), Jewish (15%), and Buddhist (18%). The remaining affiliations' conversion rates range from 25-42%.

(TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE)

### *Occupational Prestige*

Linear regression was used to predict occupational prestige. Results are presented in Table 2. The coefficients represent the change in expected occupational prestige with each one unit increase in an explanatory variable. Model 1 indicates that among children of immigrants, females generally have higher occupational prestige than males. As expected,

occupational prestige increases with age. Interestingly, second and third generation immigrants generally have more occupational prestige than fourth generation. Generation 1.5 members have slightly higher scores, however, the difference between the scores of 1.5 and fourth generation immigrants is not significant. Mexicans, Blacks, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans all report lower scores than whites while Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Filipino significantly higher prestige scores than whites. The demographic characteristics included in the model explain 11.6% of the variance in occupational prestige scores.

Model 2 introduces religious affiliation, convert status, and frequency of religious attendance, which are hypothesized to influence occupational prestige. Gender and age remain significant predictors of prestige, as does ethnicity and third generation immigrant status. Catholic, Christian-Not Evangelical/Born-Again, Christian-Evangelical/Born-Again, and Buddhist negatively affected prestige scores compared to respondents with no religion. Jewish respondents had significantly higher scores. Respondents that had converted to a new religion since their childhood had lower prestige scores than those who did not. Frequency of religious attendance is not significant.

Model 3 accounts for the context of reception for the respondents. Remarkably, none of the coefficients for immigrant reception are significant. The addition of the new variables slightly modified the coefficients in the model. However, the same variables found to be significant in model 2 maintained their significance in model 3.

In Model 4, I introduce measures of selective acculturation, namely language variables. The preference of speaking English in the home is accompanied by an increase in occupational prestige. Conversely, speaking a language other than English in the home

while growing up significantly decreased prestige scores. All previous significant variables maintained their effect on prestige scores with the exception of the Buddhist religion.

Model 5 accounts for the influence of education on occupational prestige. Gender and age continue to influence prestige scores. A number of ethnic groups that were significant in previous models are no longer significant. Chinese and Korean still register significantly higher scores than do whites, while blacks continue to have lower scores. Of the religious affiliations, all previous influences are no longer significant. However, with the inclusion of education, the religious affiliation protestant- evangelical/ born-again significantly reduces prestige scores. The highest year of education greatly affects occupational prestige. Each one year increase in education is associated with a 3.812 increase in occupational prestige. Education accounts for an additional 13% of the variance in occupational prestige.

(TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE)

### *Income*

Linear regression was also used to predict income. The results of the regression are offered in Table 3. Again, the coefficients roughly represent the change in expected income with each one unit increase in an explanatory variable. Interestingly, Model 1 reveals that females not only have higher occupational prestige, but also generally have higher incomes than males. As anticipated, income likewise increases with age. Second generation immigrants have higher incomes than fourth generation and beyond. Mexicans, Blacks, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans all report lower incomes than whites while Chinese

immigrants earn significantly more than whites. The demographic characteristics included in the model explain 23.2% of the variance in income.

Model 2 introduces religious affiliation, convert status, and frequency of religious attendance, which are hypothesized to influence income. Gender and age remain significant predictors of income. Ethnicity and second generation immigrant status also maintain their effect. Religious affiliation is not significant in the model. However, frequency of religious attendance is. Each one unit increase within frequency of attendance is associated with a -0.037 unit decrease in income.

Model 3 accounts for the context of reception for respondents. As was the case with occupational prestige, none of the coefficients for immigrant reception are significantly related to income prediction. Context of reception does, however, remove the effect of Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Chinese ethnicities.

Model 4 again presents measures of selective acculturation, namely language variables. Respondents who prefer to speak English at home are expected to earn .216 units higher in income than those who do not. All previous significant variables maintained their effect on income.

Model 5 introduces the influence of education on income. Gender and age continue to positively influence prestige scores. Mexican and Black ethnicities are no longer significant. Conversely, Korean and Vietnamese are both linked to significantly lower income. The inclusion of education was accompanied by a positive influence with protestant-evangelical/ born-again affiliation. Increased religious attendance continues to negatively affect income. As predicted, education greatly affects income. Each one year

increase in education is associated with a 0.233 increase in income. Education accounts for an additional 6% of the variance in occupational prestige.

(TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE)

### *Education*

Linear regression was again implemented to predict years of education. The outcome for this set of models can be seen in Table 4. As stated previously, the coefficients characterize the change in expected years of education with each one unit increase in an explanatory variable. Model 1 follows suit with the other two incomes, favoring females over males with more years of education. Similarly, increases in age continue to result in higher educational attainment. Second and third generation immigrants generally attend more years of school than fourth generation and beyond. Generation 1.5 again reports lower outcomes, but it is not significant. The three Latino categories and Blacks are all associated with lower educational outcomes than Whites. The opposite is the case with Asian groups who all, minus other Asian, record higher rates of educational attainment than Whites. The model explains 21.6% of the variance in years of education.

Model 2 again introduces religious affiliation, convert status, and frequency of religious attendance, which are hypothesized to influence education as well. Gender and age remain significant predictors of education. Ethnicity, second and third generation immigrant status also preserve their effects. Protestant and Jewish religious affiliations are all related to positive educational increases over respondents with no religion. Catholic and Christian affiliations are all associated with less years of education than respondents



with no religion. Frequency of religious attendance is not significant. Religion accounts for an additional 2% of the variance in education.

Model 3 again accounts for the context of reception for respondents. Respondents whose parents entered with the statuses of student, tourist, and work visas all had more years of education than those whose parents were citizens.

Model 4 again presents measures of selective acculturation, namely language variables. Neither of the two language variables was significant in relation to predicting years of education.

(TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE)

## **Discussion**

The first hypothesis of this thesis explores the extent to which religious affiliation impacts the ability of the immigrant to structurally assimilate. The results vary for the three outcome measures, occupational prestige, income, and education. In the case of occupational prestige, multiple religious affiliations negatively affected prestige in early models. The addition of education resulted in protestant-evangelical born again being the sole religious affiliation to have a significant negative effect on prestige scores. This outcome suggests that education mediates the relationship between religious affiliation and occupational prestige. These results are somewhat perplexing considering that protestant-evangelical born again also has a significant positive effect on educational outcomes. Additional research needs to be conducted to determine the cause for higher educational outcomes transferring into lower occupational prestige for this group of immigrants.

None of the religious affiliations affected income outcomes in early models although attendance negatively affected income. While education mediated the relationship between religious affiliation and occupational prestige, it did not mediate the relationship between religious affiliation and income. Here the addition of education revealed protestant-not evangelical as the sole religious affiliation to have a significant positive effect on income levels. Education also positively affected income levels.

At face value these results appear to suggest that religious affiliation has little to no effect on these two structural measures. However, the addition of variables with each model indicates that religious affiliation has an indirect effect on both occupational prestige and income. An individual's level of education can greatly determine the types of jobs that they are able to secure as well as their earning potential. Education proved to be a strong predictor for both occupational prestige and income.

A variety of religious affiliations had impacts on educational outcomes. Support for these findings is found in the work of Portes and Rumbaut (2006), but only in regards to particular sects. Significant effects were limited solely to Christian groups. Not one of the non-Christian religious affiliations had any significant influence on education. Conversely, each of the individual Christian affiliation groups, excluding Mormons, predicted educational outcomes, but with varying results. Positive religious impacts were limited to protestant groups. Other Christian sects, including Catholic, had negative outcomes.

Frequency of attendance was included in the analysis in an attempt to gauge how the level of devotion by the respondent contributed to structural outcomes. Results indicate that increased attendance significantly impacts respondent income. Increased church attendance is associated with lower income. Explanations for such an occurrence are likely

related to the amount of time the individual has to dedicate to different aspects of their lives. The more a person works, the less time they have to dedicate to religion and vice versa.

Concurring with my second hypothesis, there is evidence in the models to support previous findings in the literature in regards to religious conversion. Comparable to findings with religious affiliation, conversion appears to be associated with outcomes in early models predicting occupational prestige. Here again, the addition of education in the final model mediates the direct impact of religious conversion on occupational prestige. Conversely, religious conversion remains a significant predictor of educational outcomes in each of the models in the analysis. Children of immigrants who convert to a different religion than their parents are expected to have fewer years of education, though not considerably less. These findings are congruent with those of Portes and Rumbaut (2006), but the impact is not as substantial as anticipated.

There is some evidence to support my third hypothesis, however, the findings are inconsistent. Based on the selective acculturation literature, the children of immigrants that elect to retain their native tongue are more likely to have the support needed to confront the structural factors of society (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). While this notion is supported in relation to income, the expected outcomes for occupational prestige and education are not supported by the analysis. The effect that language has on income is only meaningful in the circumstance of the respondents' current language use at home. That being said, it is also worth noting that while this variable is statistically significant, the overall effect on income is quite small.

Despite the anticipated outcomes, the influence of generational cohort was minimal at

best. There were no significant differences in occupational prestige and income levels for the different cohorts. In the case of education, the sole significant predictor was a slight advantage to third generation immigrants over fourth generation and beyond. These results indicate that more recent generational cohorts may not be any more upwardly mobile than earlier cohorts.

Likewise, the effect of context of reception was, for the most part, negligible. None of the statuses had any bearing on outcomes for occupational prestige or income. Respondents whose parents entered the country by means of student/tourist and work visas, however, did have better educational outcomes as a higher degree of education and skills are the requirements to be granted visas of this nature.

Finally, a discussion of region of origin/ethnic groups contributes to a better illustration of what is influencing these outcomes. Multiple ethnic groups are significant for structural assimilation as represented by the three dependent variables, education again being the most pronounced. Chinese and Korean immigrants have higher occupational prestige than whites, whereas blacks have substantially less. Ironically, though Korean immigrants have greater occupational prestige they have significantly lower incomes than whites. While these findings are intriguing, ethnicity has a more substantial impact on education. Mexicans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans all have fewer years of education than whites. Conversely, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Filipino all have more years of education than whites.

My findings provide evidence that religion does affect measures of structural assimilation. While impacts on occupational prestige and income seem minimal to non-existent, the effect of religion on educational attainment is more substantial. Given the

mediating relationship between education and the other outcome variables, education should precede occupational prestige and income conceptually. As such, I have altered the conceptual model for the analysis of religious affiliation on structural assimilation to reflect these relationships.

(FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE)

As future research on religious affiliation and structural assimilation is conducted, the minimal impact of religion on occupational prestige and income is an area that demands further explanation and exploration. I was unable to account for quality of education due to limitations in the data. Differences in quality of education have been shown to directly impact occupational achievement (Mehta, 2000). This may, in part, explain why religion strongly affects educational outcomes and much less occupational and income outcomes. The implementation of a quality of education variable could more clearly identify relationships between religion, occupational prestige, income and education.

Nonetheless, the results of this study indicate religion indirectly affects occupational prestige and income outcomes due to their strong relationship to educational attainment. Educational institutions are the first structural barrier that immigrants must overcome to achieve success in income and occupational spheres. If they fail to successfully engage the educational sphere their ability to achieve and access higher occupational prestige and income levels is severely hindered. Moreover, the quality of the education they receive could also affect their ability to succeed in these areas. As long as differences tend to exist

in structural outcomes for immigrant based on religious factors, religion must continue to be a part of the structural assimilation discourse.

The findings of this thesis have important implications for assimilation and religious scholars, policy makers, immigrants, as well as religious denominations. In examining variations in structural assimilation, researchers should include the role of religion. Affiliation, conversion, and frequency of attendance can have significant bearing on how successfully an immigrant can navigate the structural factors in the new host society. Religious denominations should recognize the essential role that their congregations can play in the successful adaptation of immigrants into society. Providing a place that fosters selective acculturation can improve outcomes for their congregational members.

The research design and findings of this thesis have been based on relevant literature on immigrants and assimilation. However, there are inevitably a number of limitations to this research. Future research could consider more measures for the proper assessment of childhood socioeconomic status, namely parents' occupation and education. Such measures for respondents in this data were absent. Additionally, the inclusion of language variables that more accurately assess the proficiency of the respondent in English and native languages would be an essential tool for exploring the relationship between selective acculturation and structural assimilation.

Finally, the study of religion and structural assimilation could greatly benefit from a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology in a broader geographical study. Many of the variables that were insignificant in this context could likely be more important in a different setting. For example, Los Angeles is one of the largest immigrant hubs in the

US with a diverse distribution of immigrants. How might the factors contained in this study affect outcomes for immigrants in other parts of the country that are not as diverse?

Despite the limitations listed above, the findings of this thesis provide valuable information to scholars, policy makers, immigrants, and religious leaders about the relationship between religious factors, selective acculturation, and predicting structural assimilation among diverse groups of immigrants.

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**FIGURE 1: Overview of Previous Studies of Religion and Assimilation**

- Immigrants initially settle in communities comprised of people with similar culture and religious affiliation.
- Religion provides increased social capital to immigrants in the forms refuge, respectability, and resources.
- Immigrants use religion to perpetuate their original ethnicity by replicating and incorporating the language, rituals, music, and festivals of their motherland.
- Religion is a means of passing on original ethnicity to future generations.
- Higher levels of religious attendance are negatively correlated with immigrant cultural integration.
- Selective cultural acculturation (e.g. maintaining ethnic religion) may facilitate structural assimilation.

FIGURE 2: Conceptual Model for the Analysis of Religion and Structural Assimilation

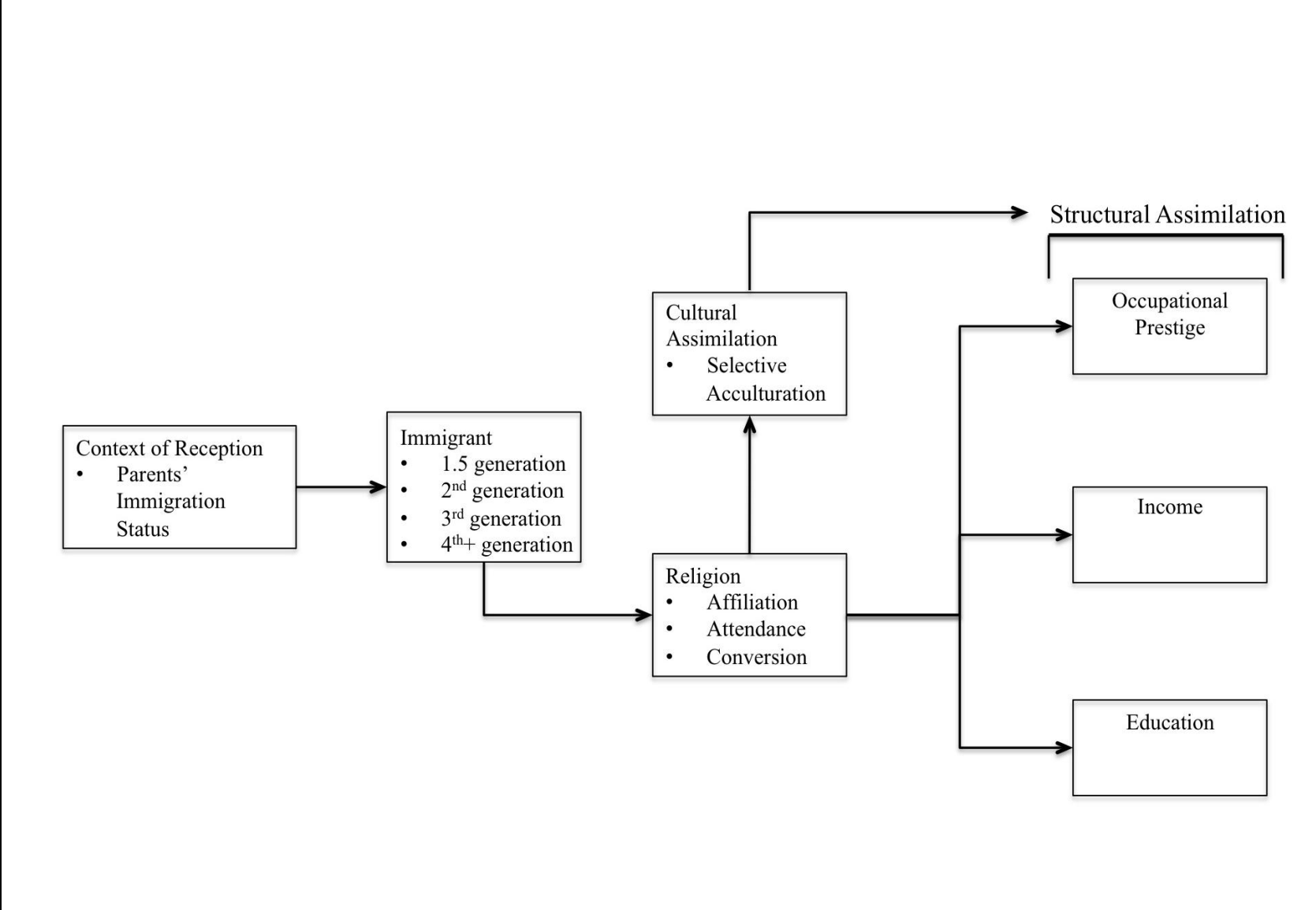
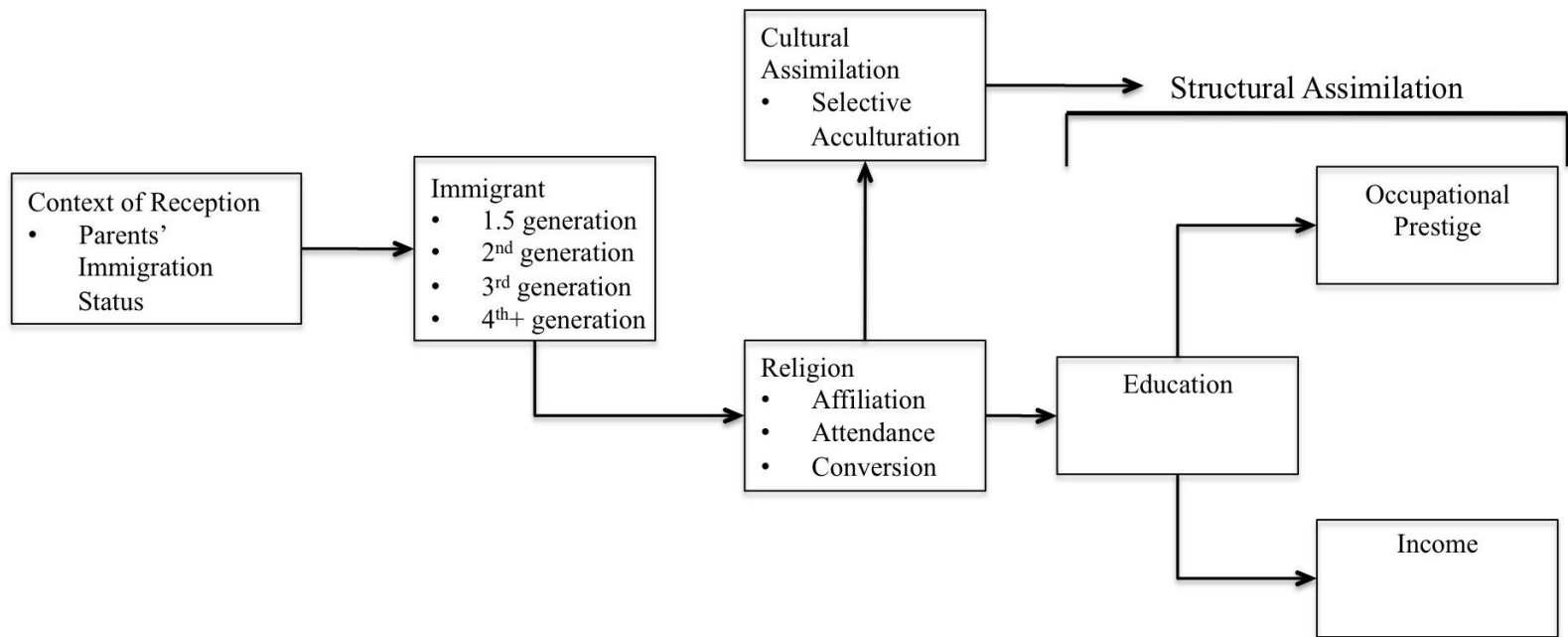


FIGURE 3: Revised Conceptual Model for the Analysis of Religion and Structural Assimilation





**TABLE 1**Descriptive Statistics for Structural Assimilation Variables, IIMMLA 2004 (*N* = 4,655)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
<i>Dependent variables</i>				
Occupational Prestige	49.71	21.32	6	96
Income <sup>a</sup>	2.62	1.86	0	7
Education	14.27	2.30	1	20
<i>Respondent characteristics</i>				
Gender (Male)	0.49	0.50	0	1
Age	28.52	6.15	20	40
<i>Religious characteristics</i>				
Catholic	0.35	0.48	0	1
Protestant, not evangelical/born-again	0.04	0.19	0	1
Protestant, evangelical/ born-again	0.10	0.30	0	1
Christian, not evangelical/ born-again	0.08	0.28	0	1
Christian, evangelical/born-again	0.14	0.35	0	1
Mormon	0.01	0.10	0	1
Jewish	0.01	0.10	0	1
Muslim	0.01	0.09	0	1
Buddhist	0.06	0.24	0	1
Other, non-Christian	0.06	0.23	0	1
No religion	0.14	0.35	0	1
Convert	0.31	0.46	0	1
Frequency of attendance <sup>b</sup>	3.37	2.41	0	7
<i>Context of reception (parents' status)</i>				
Border card	0.01	0.10	0	1
Student or tourist visa	0.04	0.19	0	1
Work visa	0.04	0.20	0	1
Refugee	0.04	0.20	0	1
Green card	0.46	0.50	0	1
Undocumented	0.02	0.13	0	1
Citizens	0.27	0.44	0	1
Don't know	0.12	0.33	0	1
<i>Language</i>				
Grew up speaking other language	0.64	0.48	0	1
Speak English at home	0.38	0.48	0	1
<i>Generational cohort</i>				
1 <sup>st</sup>	0.35	0.48	0	1
2 <sup>nd</sup>	0.39	0.49	0	1
3 <sup>rd</sup>	0.08	0.27	0	1
4 <sup>th</sup> +	0.18	0.39	0	1
<i>Ethnicity</i>				
Mexican	0.27	0.44	0	1
Salvadoran/Guatemalan	0.08	0.27	0	1
Other Latino	0.04	0.20	0	1
Chinese	0.09	0.28	0	1
Korean	0.09	0.28	0	1
Vietnamese	0.09	0.28	0	1
Filipino	0.09	0.28	0	1
Other Asian	0.02	0.14	0	1
White	0.15	0.36	0	1
Black	0.10	0.29	0	1

<sup>a</sup> Coded 0 = none, 1 = less than \$12,000, 2 = \$12,000 - \$19,999, 3 = \$20,000 - \$29,999, 4 = \$30,000 - \$49,999, 5 = \$50,000 - \$69,999, 6 = \$70,000 - \$99,999, 7 = \$100,000 or more.

<sup>b</sup> Coded 0 = never, 1 = less than once a year, 2 = once or twice a year, 3 = several times a year, 4 = once or twice a month, 5 = nearly every week, 6 = every week, 7 = more than once a week.

**TABLE 2**

Descriptive Statistics for Religious Affiliation and Structural Assimilation Variables, IIMMLA 2004 (N = 4,655)

<i>Religious Affiliation</i>	<i>Occupational Prestige</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Green Card</i>	<i>Citizen</i>	<i>Other Contexts</i>	<i>Generational Cohort</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Speak English at Home</i>	<i>Convert</i>
Catholic	47.57	\$26,900	13.81	46%	28.47	47%	18%	36%	1.90	46% Mexican 16% Filipino	41%	5%
Protestant, not evangelical/born-again	55.11	\$34,602	15.51	54%	29.25	41%	38%	21%	2.39	31% White 18% Korean	30%	26%
Protestant, evangelical/born-again	54.27	\$31,080	15.39	51%	29.48	52%	24%	24%	2.01	29% Korean 17% White	46%	33%
Christian, not evangelical/ born-again	46.70	\$25,034	13.87	46%	28.58	35%	42%	23%	2.50	25% Mexican 22% White	34%	38%
Christian, evangelical/born-again	46.49	\$26,151	13.61	42%	28.84	33%	48%	20%	2.59	30% Black 23% Mexican	30%	42%
Mormon	46.94	\$25,933	13.92	50%	29.08	34%	38%	28%	2.40	38% White 18% Mexican	28%	34%
Jewish	61.46	\$38,346	15.83	56%	31.92	27%	42%	31%	2.21	75% White 8% Black	23%	15%
Muslim	44.52	\$27,850	14.15	47%	29.35	47%	35%	18%	2.27	38% Black 21% White	29%	29%
Buddhist	53.91	\$28,373	15.13	48%	26.85	74%	4%	22%	1.38	54% Vietnamese 26% Chinese	39%	18%
Other, non-Christian	51.41	\$27,644	14.57	53%	28.14	43%	35%	22%	2.27	27% White 16% Mexican	40%	66%
No religion	52.49	\$28,979	14.63	61%	27.98	52%	24%	25%	2.02	19% White 18% Chinese	37%	70%

**TABLE 3**Linear Regression Coefficients, Occupational Prestige, IIMMLA 2004 (*N* = 4,655)

<i>Explanatory Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>
<i>Respondent characteristics</i>					
Gender (Male)	-3.782***	-4.038***	-4.014***	-4.003***	-3.069***
Age	0.654***	0.653**	0.646***	0.629***	0.411***
<i>Generational cohort</i>					
1.5	0.197	-0.018	-1.579	-0.848	1.045
2 <sup>nd</sup>	2.281*	1.984	0.398	0.641	1.281
3 <sup>rd</sup>	3.311*	2.961*	2.893*	2.794*	1.625
4 <sup>th</sup>	----	----	----	----	----
<i>Ethnicity</i>					
White	----	----	----	----	----
Mexican	-8.237***	-6.989***	-6.775***	-6.475***	-1.443
Salvadoran/Guatemalan	-4.116**	-2.970*	-2.453	-2.009	0.987
Other Latino	-2.421	-1.408	-1.398	-1.212	-0.117
Chinese	8.905***	9.266***	8.916***	9.362***	4.316**
Korean	7.968***	8.155***	7.756***	7.998***	4.262**
Vietnamese	4.809***	5.520***	5.728***	6.009***	2.309
Filipino	3.137*	4.327**	4.046**	3.759**	1.833
Other Asian	1.629	2.306	2.164	2.076	1.137
Black	-8.056***	-6.844***	-6.823***	-6.778***	-4.144***
<i>Religious characteristics</i>					
No religion		----	----	----	----
Catholic		-3.478**	-3.375*	-3.391**	-2.108
Protestant, not evangelical/born-again		0.545	0.730	0.597	-1.798
Protestant, evangelical/ born-again		-1.188	-1.131	-1.425	-2.920*
Christian, not evangelical/ born-again		-4.094**	-3.954**	-4.117**	-1.343
Christian, evangelical/born-again		-4.502**	-4.392**	-4.501**	-2.544
Mormon		-4.789	-5.024	-5.198	-3.043
Jewish		6.949*	6.964*	6.761*	2.626
Muslim		-7.026	-7.135	-7.036	-5.392
Buddhist		-3.436*	-3.373*	-3.096	-2.446
Other, non-Christian		-0.656	-0.657	-0.890	-0.810
Convert		-1.802*	-1.774*	-1.781*	-1.031
Frequency of attendance		0.031	0.026	0.051	-0.026
<i>Context of reception (parents' status)</i>					
Citizen			----	----	----
Border card			-3.530	-2.900	-2.656
Student or tourist visa			4.044	4.136	-0.323
Work visa			3.724	3.741	0.864
Refugee			-1.210	-0.959	-1.898
Green card			1.978	2.034	0.485
Undocumented			-0.871	-0.390	-2.516
Don't know			0.675	0.833	0.387
<i>Language</i>					
Grew up speaking other language				2.445*	1.154
Speak English at home				-2.393**	-1.673
<i>Education</i>					
Constant	32.862	35.437	35.502	35.981	-13.873
R2	0.116	0.121	0.123	0.124	0.250

\**p*<.05; \*\**p*<.01; \*\*\**p*<.001

**TABLE 4**

Linear Regression Coefficients, Income, IIMMLA 2004 (N = 4,655)

<i>Explanatory Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>
<i>Respondent characteristics</i>					
Gender (Male)	0.674***	0.666***	0.665***	0.666***	0.713***
Age	0.135***	0.135***	0.135***	0.134***	0.120***
<i>Generational cohort</i>					
1.5	0.066	0.082	-0.288	-0.280	-0.040
2nd	0.223*	0.232*	-0.138	-0.158	0.008
3rd	0.171	0.171	0.167	0.158	0.082
4th	----	----	----	----	----
<i>Ethnicity</i>					
White	----	----	----	----	----
Mexican	-0.288***	-0.281***	-0.266**	-0.272**	0.028
Salvadoran/Guatemalan	-0.264*	-0.260*	-0.225	-0.225	-0.066
Other Latino	-0.162	-0.158	-0.155	-0.173	-0.118
Chinese	0.265*	0.248*	0.220	0.224	-0.093
Korean	-0.101	-0.099	-0.132	-0.142	-0.371***
Vietnamese	-0.166	-0.182	-0.191	-0.200	-0.420***
Filipino	0.077	0.085	0.078	0.056	-0.066
Other Asian	-0.076	-0.012	-0.018	-0.045	-0.120
Black	-0.319**	-0.271*	-0.268*	-0.266*	-0.117
<i>Religious characteristics</i>					
No religion		----	----	----	----
Catholic		0.075	0.082	0.081	0.165
Protestant, not evangelical/born-again		0.163	0.180	0.177	0.048
Protestant, evangelical/ born-again		0.110	0.122	0.100	0.013**
Christian, not evangelical/ born-again		0.120	0.134	0.125	0.295
Christian, evangelical/born-again		-0.025	-0.013	-0.023	0.093
Mormon		-0.022	-0.018	-0.014	0.104
Jewish		0.114	0.104	0.101	-0.105
Muslim		-0.508	-0.526	-0.522	-0.416
Buddhist		0.085	0.088	0.105	0.135
Other, non-Christian		-0.060	-0.060	-0.078	-0.069
Convert		-0.048	-0.048	-0.049	-0.004
Frequency of attendance		-0.037**	-0.038**	-0.036**	-0.039**
<i>Context of reception (parents' status)</i>					
Citizen			----	----	----
Border card			0.215	0.259	0.100
Student or tourist visa			0.634	0.629	0.241
Work visa			0.511	0.500	0.191
Refugee			0.371	0.374	0.214
Green card			0.404	0.397	0.169
Undocumented			0.066	0.084	-0.109
Don't know			0.233	0.239	0.078
<i>Language</i>					
Grew up speaking other language				0.216	0.128
Speak English at home				-0.097***	-0.048*
<i>Education</i>					
Constant	-1.564	-1.499	-1.506	-1.473	-4.500
R2	0.232	0.232	0.234	0.235	0.297

\* p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

**TABLE 5**Linear Regression Coefficients, Education, IIMMLA 2004 (*N* = 4,655)

<i>Explanatory Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
<i>Respondent characteristics</i>				
Gender (Male)	-0.177**	-0.221***	-0.220***	-0.219***
Age	0.065***	0.063***	0.062***	0.060***
<i>Generational cohort</i>				
1.5	-0.122	-0.146	-0.574	-0.561
2nd	0.291**	0.247*	-0.179	-0.215
3rd	0.391**	0.348*	0.342*	0.325*
4th	-----	-----	-----	-----
<i>Ethnicity</i>				
White	-----	-----	-----	-----
Mexican	-1.584***	-1.367***	-1.344***	-1.348***
Salvadoran/Guatemalan	-0.977***	-0.805***	-0.769***	-0.763***
Other Latino	-0.410*	-0.241	-0.241	-0.269
Chinese	1.343***	1.351***	1.291***	1.300***
Korean	1.125***	1.036***	0.974***	0.960***
Vietnamese	0.826***	0.891***	0.917***	0.905***
Filipino	0.395**	0.569***	0.550***	0.510***
Other Asian	0.294	0.327	0.301	0.248
Black	-0.962***	-0.718***	-0.718***	-0.714***
<i>Religious characteristics</i>				
No religion		-----	-----	-----
Catholic		-0.407**	-0.392**	-0.396**
Protestant, not evangelical/born-again		0.581***	0.616***	0.604***
Protestant, evangelical/ born-again		0.379*	0.394**	0.350*
Christian, not evangelical/ born-again		-0.750***	-0.718***	-0.738***
Christian, evangelical/born-again		-0.541***	-0.519***	-0.540***
Mormon		-0.526	-0.562	-0.571
Jewish		0.986**	0.964**	0.956**
Muslim		-0.478	-0.513	-0.504
Buddhist		-0.238	-0.225	-0.196
Other, non-Christian		-0.012	-0.014	-0.047
Convert		-0.199**	-0.195**	-0.196**
Frequency of attendance		0.017	0.015	0.018
<i>Context of reception (parents' status)</i>				
Citizen			-----	-----
Border card			-0.138	-0.055
Student or tourist visa			1.183**	1.183**
Work visa			0.800*	0.786*
Refugee			0.188	0.201
Green card			0.468	0.464
Undocumented			0.377	0.424
Don't know			0.159	0.175
<i>Language</i>				
Grew up speaking other language				0.369
Speak English at home				-0.180
Constant	12.690	12.940	12.941	12.996
R2	0.216	0.238	0.245	0.249

\* p&lt;.05; \*\*p&lt;.01; \*\*\*p&lt;.001