

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

**Educational Attainment of Mexican American Immigrants:
A Longitudinal Analysis in Six Texas Gateways***

Ana Mariscal

The University of Texas at Arlington

May 2022

*Ana Mariscal can be reached at ana.mariscal@mavs.uta.edu. Ana would like to express her appreciation for mentorship from Dr. Robert Kunovich, Dr. Kelly Bergstrand, and Dr. Christian Zolniski

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series to examine trends in educational attainment from 2000 to 2018 in six Texas gateway cities: El Paso, San Antonio, McAllen, Dallas Fort Worth, Houston, and Austin. Multilevel analyses explore three variables: generational cohort, citizenship status, and English proficiency and how they relate to years of education. Results demonstrate an overall increase in education, placing the 1.75 generation at the top of attainment along with the 2nd generation, and sometimes surpassing the latter in almost every gateway, while the 1.25 generation is achieving the lowest levels. Results also show that naturalized citizens attain higher levels of education than non-citizens. Lastly, English language proficiency shows the strongest connection to educational attainment, linking much higher levels of attainment with the best speaking abilities, while dual-language speakers attain the highest levels in most cities. The different types of gateways account for some differences in the gaps between attainment, which could explain the inequity in some cities across the analyzed years.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW	3
Importance of Education	3
Mexican Immigration	4
Gateway Communities	8
PURPOSE	9
METHODOLOGY.....	14
Data	14
RESULTS.....	18
Hypothesis 1 Graphs.....	18
Generations	19
Hypothesis 2 Graphs.....	21
Citizenship Status	22
Hypothesis 3 Graphs.....	25
Language Proficiency.....	26
Gateway Patterns.....	28
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	29
REFERENCES	35
APPENDIX A: REGRESSION RESULTS.....	42

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Educational Attainment of Mexican American Immigrants: A Longitudinal Analysis in Six Texas Gateways

INTRODUCTION

Achieving higher levels of education continues to be an important concern for Mexican Americans. High school dropout rates for this group have decreased, but college retention and college degrees are still at the lowest levels compared to other nationalities, particularly for the 2nd and later generations of Mexican Americans (Turner and Thiede 2018). Only 15% of all Latinx groups had a bachelor's degree in 2014 compared to 63% of Asians, 41% of Whites, and 22% of Blacks (Krogstad 2016), and the percentage of Mexican immigrants with a bachelor's degree in 2016 was only 6.2% (Krogstad and Radford 2018). Although Mexican Americans are the largest and fastest-growing group of all Latinx in the U.S., they have the lowest level of academic attainment among all Latinx (Zambrana et al. 2017). This issue is a major policy concern because Latinxs constitute a significant portion of the entire population (18.1%), and of those 58.8 million people who identified as Hispanic, 62% are categorized as being of Mexican descent (US Census Bureau 2017). Although affirmative action policies were intended to promote equity in education for racial and ethnic minorities throughout the educational pipeline, including attainment of post-graduate degrees, very few remedies have been realized (Espino 2015).

In this study, I analyze data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS USA) to examine trends in educational attainment from 2000 to 2018 in six

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Texas gateway cities. The purpose of this research is to identify different factors that affect educational attainment and how it shapes the process of assimilation and acculturation into American society. Specifically, I seek to understand how the educational attainment of Mexican American Immigrants in the state of Texas is changing, how it compares across different immigrant generations, and how some factors could be affecting these changes, such as citizenship status, English language ability, and the type of gateway community in which immigrants are choosing to settle.

This research can work to identify solutions or strategies to help Mexican Americans succeed academically and increase the number of higher education degrees received by this group. Latinx in the United States are expected to make up 29% of the population by the year 2060 (Colby and Ortman 2015), which makes their educational progress and success integral to the future of the country. According to the 2017 Census, immigrants from Mexico accounted for approximately 25% of all immigrants in the United States, making them by far the largest foreign-born group (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). In 2018, there were 4.9 million immigrants in Texas, with 51% of them being from Mexico. With a total population of 29.1 million, 16% of the state's population (approximately 4.5 million people) were native-born Americans who had at least one immigrant parent (American Immigration Council 2020). The significant size of this population and the neighboring proximity of Mexico and its culture make it an integral aspect of our society.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

LITERATURE REVIEW

Importance of Education

Educational attainment is a vital ingredient in determining one's place in society, such as occupation and income life earnings (Liebersen 1980). In addition, schools in the United States act as a categorizing force that influences social class, and social mobility and they play a major role in the acculturation of young immigrants (Domina, Penner and Penner 2017; Liebersen 1980).

Studies show that academic achievement is strongly linked to higher lifelong incomes and socioeconomic status in the United States (Turcios-Coto and Milan 2012). Researchers must focus on the barriers that may be holding back the educational attainment of this group to better understand the policies that may help these individuals reach higher levels of education. Previous research shows that some of the racial and economic barriers that block their academic progress start as early as primary school and continue through secondary school. These include initial disadvantages due to the immigration status of parents, low socioeconomic status, and little to no knowledge of the U.S. education system (Schneider, Martinez, and Ownes 2006). Still, the issue of education is important to Mexican American families, with 83% citing education as an important factor in the 2016 election (Krogstad 2016). Because immigration status and generations are important factors affecting educational attainment, it is important to understand the basics of immigration patterns from Mexico.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Mexican Immigration

Immigration in the United States has been described as a force that transforms and produces deep and unpredicted social changes in both sending and receiving societies, rendering our country a “permanently unfinished society” (Portes and Rumbaut 2014:25). Although immigration continues to be at the forefront of political debate and public opinion, it is not the same phenomenon that the United States experienced almost 100 years ago. In the period between 1880 and 1920, America absorbed 24 million immigrants mostly from Southern and Eastern Europe (Waters and Jimenez 2005). However, the post-1964 era became a turning point for the types of immigrants that the United States received. The new wave of immigrants represents mostly non-European cultures with a variety of backgrounds and differing forms of social organization (Lieberson 1980). As of 2017, the United States' foreign-born population has reached 44.5 million, which is roughly 13.7 percent of the overall U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau 2017).

According to Portes and Rumbaut (2014), the history of immigration can be roughly divided into three important eras that mark significant changes to the population of the United States. These three phases include (a) the Great European Waves of 1880 to 1930 – which is accompanied by the American Industrial Revolution, (b) the Period of Retrenchment from 1930 to 1970 – which is defined by a reduction of immigration due to the Great Depression and the aftermath of World War II, and (c) the Period of Rebound from 1970 to the present – which included an era of economic restructuring and a sharp increase in migration from several groups (Portes and Rumbaut 2014).

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

However, Mexican American migration is unique in its history in that it spans and predates all three phases. Since the US-Mexican War ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, there has been a complex pattern of migration between Mexico and the United States which has become a factor affecting public attitudes towards Mexicans and could be affecting their educational attainment and other assimilation characteristics (Gutierrez 2019; Mitchell and Tienda 2006). I argue that to understand the impact that immigration, deportation, and educational policies can have on this group, it is important to first review a brief historical timeline of their migration patterns.

When the US-Mexican War ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Mexico was paid \$18 million for what became known as New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and the majority of present-day Texas (Gutierrez 2019). Although census numbers are not exact, it is estimated that at least 75,000 native Mexicans resided throughout these lands and stayed even after the war ended (Mitchell and Tienda 2006). That means that many established Mexican families could tie their ancestry to generations of natives inhabiting this large previously Mexican-owned territory. This point in time marks the beginning of a racially discriminatory period for Mexicans in which light-skinned or elite Mexicans were labeled as “white” in the US Census and given the rights of a “free white person”, while simultaneously labeling poor, dark-skinned Mexicans as “Indian” and denied these same rights (Fox and Guglielmo 2012). Shortly after, within the same year of 1848, the discovery of gold in California caused thousands of Mexican men with extensive mining experience to immigrate from Mexico, causing the population of California to nearly double from 6,500 to 14,000

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

(Gutierrez 2019). According to the historical timeline provided by Gutierrez (2019), this gold rush became known as the First wave of Mexican immigration, and would not be surpassed until 1910, when the Mexican Revolution caused refugees to immigrate in waves at a time of intense labor demand. Mexicans quickly became the preferred source of cheap and mobile labor for the rapid expansion of railroads, agriculture, and mining in the United States (Mitchell and Tienda 2006; Gutierrez 2019). All seemed well for Mexican Americans until the Great Depression took over the nation.

The Great Depression was a severe economic crisis in which Mexican Americans were especially vulnerable. From 1930 to 1942, Mexican “repatriation” propaganda was used to mask the unconstitutional deportation of millions of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Due to racism and discrimination, anyone that was perceived to be Mexican was deported, which resulted in 1.2 million Mexican American citizens being deported without due process, all to rid the country of those that were not considered “real” Americans (Valenciana 2006). The US Census Bureau even created a new racial classification known as “Mexican” or “Mex” that placed all first and second-generation Mexican immigrants into a racial group, and then in 1940 resumed classifying Mexicans as white, unless “definitely Indian” or some other “nonwhite race” (Fox and Guglielmo 2012). During this period, the political rhetoric of the “Mexican problem” portrayed all Mexican immigrants as lazy, excessively dependent, diseased, delinquent, illiterate, and unassimilable (Gutierrez 2019). The repatriation period in the 1930s highlighted a painful time in the Mexican American community that has long been forgotten, and sadly, is now

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

being repeated. However, the United States was not yet finished with the damaging pattern of migration and deportation of Mexican Americans.

Beginning in 1942 and lasting until 1965, Mexicans were again pulled with migration visas into agricultural labor markets known as the Braceros Program to minimize the disruption of farming during World War II (Gutierrez 2019). Again, Mexicans became the perfect source of cheap labor, easily deemed as criminal and illegal, exploited and deportable whenever desired. The highly-publicized INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) campaign, known as “Operation Wetback,” deported 1.2 million Mexican illegal aliens that had overstayed their visas and created a life and a home in the United States (Gutierrez 2019; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2013).

Although the history of immigration is much more complex, I have attempted to roughly highlight a pattern of migration and deportation within the Mexican American community that has existed for a long time. The Braceros movement in Texas may have determined deportation practices today – migrants haunted by the possibility of deportation and separation from their families at any moment simply because they are subordinate labor force (Anderson 2011). How much of an impact does this have on the educational attainment of this group?

Attitudes toward immigration continue to be at the center of intense debate in the United States. It is important to provide insight into immigrant groups because it could help us understand their role in Texan workplaces, schools, politics, and healthcare. The

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

diverse composition of American communities is important to know because it directly affects the way people think and behave towards each other, and it even shapes which public policies they support (Kunovich 2016). It could also give us insight into the Texas economy. For example, in the South and Midwest, the growth of Latinx populations outside of metropolitan areas is also accompanied by growth in food processing industries, service construction, and manufacturing sectors (Rodriguez, Saenz, and Menjivar 2008). Creating and supporting policies that help with the successful education of all groups reflects the effectiveness with which we integrate immigrants and nurture a cohesive society with a vibrant economy and productive workforce (Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell 2008).

Gateway Communities

Prior to 1990, Mexican immigrants tended to be heavily concentrated in a few gateway states and cities; however, studies have shown an increase of recently arrived immigrants settling into new destinations (Lichter and Johnson 2009). New immigration gateways, also named *twenty-first-century gateways* by Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell (2008), have recently emerged or re-emerged as major immigrant destinations. Their typology includes six different immigrant gateway types: 1) former gateways attracted significant numbers of immigrants in the early 1900s but no longer do, 2) continuous gateways are and have been established destinations with an influx of immigrants, 3) Post-World War II gateways attracted large numbers of immigrants only during the 50 years after the war or less, 4) Emerging gateways refer to places that have been rapidly growing due to immigrant populations in the last 35 years, 5) Re-emerging gateways

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

were strong at the beginning of the twentieth century, waned during the middle of the century, and are now reemerging as immigrant gateways, and lastly 6) Pre-emerging gateways are places where immigrant populations have grown as immigrant destinations since the 1990s and will continue to grow.

The last three types of gateways are referred to as the *twenty-first-century gateways*, and in some of them, the Mexican immigrant population is the largest origin group among foreign-born populations. This is particularly in Texas cities such as Austin and the Dallas/Fort Worth metropolitan area (Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell 2008). The type of gateway destination and the educational attainment of Latinx populations are connected. For example, in a recent study using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS USA), Lichter and Johnson (2009) found that the least highly educated Hispanics were overrepresented in established Hispanic areas, and the most educated groups were found in “other” areas. However, there was no specific breakdown of generational differences and/or Latinx groups. My research could help compare educational attainment between immigrant generations and different gateways as it pertains to Mexican immigrants specifically.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this quantitative study is to explore how some factors may or may not be contributing to the educational attainment of Mexican American individuals. I analyze available data to measure the level of education attained by Mexican Americans (dependent variable) and how it may be impacted by independent variables such as their

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

ability to speak the English language, their citizenship status, and their generation cohort (determined by their age during immigration). The study is also descriptive, establishing differences in education by the independent variables, but also differences across six metropolitan areas and three different types of gateways, including trends over time from 2000 to 2018.

I will attempt to test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1 – The 1.5 generation of immigrants are receiving higher levels of educational attainment than the 1st and 2nd generation of Mexican immigrants in all major gateways.

Hypothesis 2 – Naturalized citizens from Mexico are attaining higher levels of education than natural-born citizens of Mexican descent in all major gateways.

Hypothesis 3 - The educational level of attainment is higher for those that speak English with the best ability, regardless of generation cohort, citizenship status, or gateway city.

New settlement destinations for immigrant Latinx groups have shifted in recent decades (Rodriguez, Saenz, and Menjivar 2008). Most of the Latinx immigrants settling in non-metropolitan areas are Mexican. From 1990 to 2000, Texas saw a decline in Mexican immigrants from 22.1% to 19.0% (Rodriguez, Saenz, and Menjivar 2008). The reason why I focus on the main immigration gateways in Texas is that educational attainment by this group could be affected by the geographical location in which they choose to settle. Austin, for example, is the only emerging gateway in Texas and it is

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

known as a high-ranked “creative center” – internationally recognized as a fast-growing, tech-based, economy, and tolerance (Singer et al 2008). Do these city attributes make a difference in the educational success of immigrants? Austin’s reputation attracts immigrants with varying educational levels, English proficiency, and socioeconomic status; however, Mexican immigrants continue to fill the lowest and less desirable jobs, while immigrants from India or China arrive with much higher levels of education (Singer et al 2008).

What might we expect in already established gateways? Ethnic service institutions and resources are stronger in already established gateways, and Mexican immigration did become mostly urban bound with new arrivals going to metropolitan areas in the year 2000 (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). On the other hand, there has been a lot of Latinx spatial deconcentration throughout the United States in the last few decades, so there is a need to explore immigration processes and outcomes at regional, state, and country levels (Rodriguez, Saenz, and Menjivar 2008). All three hypotheses will have a breakdown of educational attainment by the gateway and by year to track changes from 2000 to 2018 to see which type of gateways could be contributing to higher levels of educational attainment and fewer inequalities by language.

Hypothesis 1 will break down the generational cohorts of Mexican immigrants and measure the educational attainment of each. Portes and Rumbaut (2014) break down the generational cohorts and talk about the differences in generation in regard to language learning and assimilation as it pertains to all types of immigrants. However, there is not enough information about Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants and their levels

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

of education, especially in Texas, broken down by generation. I would like to analyze the educational attainment of these cohorts separately, and I predict that the 1.5 generation may have higher outcomes. (Portes and Rumbaut 2014, Portes and Zhou 1993). First-generation immigrants and the native-born tend to be divided by strong cultural fault lines. Because the 1.5 generation immigrates at such an important developmental stage (6-12 years old) – not too young, and not too old, they can retain their Mexican roots and Spanish as their first language, while simultaneously having a high aptitude for English language acquisition and degree of socialization (Rojas-Garcia 2013). I predict that their ability to maintain both cultures and both languages at the forefront of their identity can help them reach higher levels of educational attainment. Based on that logic, the 1.75 generation may be too young (0-5 years old) and may act more like the 2nd generation and those that come after, while the 1.25 generation (13-17 years old) may be too old to fully assimilate with the American educational system. Therefore, based on my prediction, those generations may be seeing expected levels of education, but not as high as the 1.5 cohort.

Hypothesis 2 focuses on the importance of citizenship status. De Leon (2009) states that in 1975, Texas legislature required students in grade school to prove their citizenship to receive public schooling. School districts throughout the state were prohibited from using tax-payer funds to educate immigrant children, and so non-citizen students were expected to pay for basic education. In 1977, *Plyer vs. Doe* (which began in Tyler, Texas, and eventually made its way up to the Supreme Court) determined that immigrant children had a right to public education, guaranteed by the Fourteenth

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Amendment (De Leon 2009). Could citizenship status still have any effects on the educational attainment of Mexican Immigrants? Although immigrants that are considered illegal have a harder time navigating the system, and many live with the fear of deportation, some Mexican immigrants practice *social citizenship*, a term described by Del Castillo (2002) that refers to social rights, such as basic education, right to work, housing, and some healthcare regardless of their national citizenship status. These social rights are sensitive to political and economic changes and provide new possibilities for noncitizens as well (Del Castillo 2002). However, I still believe that achieving full citizenship makes it easier for immigrants to reach higher levels of education. My hypothesis will test if becoming a naturalized citizen makes a difference in their educational attainment.

IPUMS makes a distinction between US Born Citizens and Citizens born abroad from American parents. However, the latter is a very small number, but it was left as a category during the analyses. Very little research has been done on this particular group, so analyzing their educational attainment patterns could prove beneficial.

Hypothesis 3 focuses on English speaking ability and its connection to educational attainment. There have been negative sentiments toward the largely Mexican immigrant population that question their genuine desire to learn English and acclimate to the dominant American culture (Dowling, Ellison, and Leal 2012). Leo Chavez (2014) argues that the “Latino Threat Narrative” is a set of beliefs that paints Hispanics as harmful to the United States because they fail to assimilate by refusing to learn the English language. However, a study about attitudes from the Survey of Texas Adults

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

determined that Spanish-speaking immigrants are most likely to stress the importance of speaking English. This same study, done by Dowling, Ellison, and Leal (2012), determined that Mexican immigrants are aware that speaking English provides many benefits and opens doors for them in education and work.

Texas has struggled with policies regarding bilingual programs in education since the mid-1970s, and although a reform was mandated in 1981, bilingual programs still face issues today with funding and support throughout Texas schools (De Leon 2009). Strong opposition to bilingual education comes from non-Hispanic Whites and is most pronounced in areas with high growth rates and an already established Hispanic population (Hempel et al 2012). Although I support the preservation of native languages, I believe that being able to speak English is important in continuing education for Mexican immigrants and their children and achieving higher levels of educational attainment.

METHODOLOGY

Data

Data are from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series IPUMS USA, which is a database that includes harmonized U.S. census data for social, economic, and health research (Ruggles et al 2021). Only participants that identify Mexico as their country of origin, for them or their ancestors, were included, which provided 2,169,540 valid cases in all six gateways for the years of focus. The benefit of using IPUMS is that it allowed for a large sample size of individuals of self-identified Mexican American descent.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Six major metropolitan areas within the state of Texas were used to compare communities from the different types of gateways as established by Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell (2008). These metro areas of residence are identified using metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) from the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and standards from the 2010 census data. The MET2013 variable from IPUMS includes data from 2000 and later years for all of the following metropolitan areas: San Antonio-New Braunfels, El Paso, and McAllen-Edinburg-Mission – all minor-continuous gateways with a long history of immigration; Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land and Dallas-Fort Worth- Arlington area (DFW) – both post WWII gateways with immigration growth since the 1950s; and Austin-Round Rock - a major-emerging gateway with major immigration growth since the 1990s. This last area is currently the only one identified in Texas that meets the specific criteria of this gateway.

The sample size varies for each year and across the metropolitan areas. As previously stated, data is pulled from the year 2000 and every year from 2005 to 2018. After the regression, I combined the data to show progression every five years; 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015, and 2018. For the year 2000, American Community Survey (ACS) included an approximately 1-in-750 national random sample of the population. For the rest of the years used, ACS includes a 1-in-100 national random sample of the population in 2005, 2010, 2015, and 2018. The following breakdown represents the simplified name for each metropolitan area (recoded by using the main city's name for simplicity) and the sample size pulled from IPUMS (includes all valid cases of Mexican Americans and

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

years combined): El Paso – 94,254; San Antonio – 282,785; McAllen – 71,866; DFW – 823,232; Houston – 665,872; and Austin – 231,531.

Educational attainment was measured in years of education and is used as the dependent variable. It was originally measured by the highest level of degree completed, with a detailed variable that included twenty-eight categories, including no school completed, nursery school, kindergarten, grade school levels 1-11, 12th grade no diploma, high school diploma or GED, some college, associates, bachelors, masters, doctorates degrees, and other professional degrees. However, the highest level of degree attained is an ordinal variable and therefore limiting in regressions. I recoded a new variable to measure estimated years of education based on the same data by combining and transferring appropriate ordinal categories into interval ones. This allowed educational attainment to become a ratio-level variable and allowed me to run OLS regressions, making the data easier to analyze.

Independent variables tested include citizenship status, generation cohort, and English-speaking ability. Citizenship is broken down into U.S.-born citizens, born abroad U.S. citizens, naturalized citizens, and non-citizens. Generation cohorts were broken down by age of immigration, as modeled by Rumbaut (2004): first-generation includes all those that immigrated at 25 years old or more, and the second generation is those born in the U.S. from immigrant parents. In between, there is the 1.75 generation – immigrated at 0-5 years old, the 1.5 generation – 6-12 years old, the 1.25 generation – 13-17 years old, and the first generation transitioning adults – 18-24 years old. English speaking

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

ability is divided into five categories: No English at all, Only English, “Yes very well”, “Yes well”, and “Yes Not Well.”

When running the regressions focused on one independent variable, the other two variables were controlled for, for example: when running the regression for citizenship status, controlled variables included generation cohort and English-speaking ability. All regressions were analyzed by controlling for both age and sex and included a breakdown by both year and gateway city.

Method

Results were generated in SPSS by using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression with years of education as the dependent variable. The independent variables were generation cohorts, citizenship status, and English language proficiency while controlling for sex and age. Regressions were conducted in each metropolitan area and each year. To simplify data, I aggregated results for all years into line graphs for each of the metropolitan areas. Each figure is a result of OLS regression focusing on generation cohorts (Figure 1), citizenship status (Figure 2), and English language proficiency (Figure 3), while all other variables are controlled. These are predicted values, but due to the large sample sizes, nearly all coefficients are statically significant. See the Appendix for the regression results.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

RESULTS

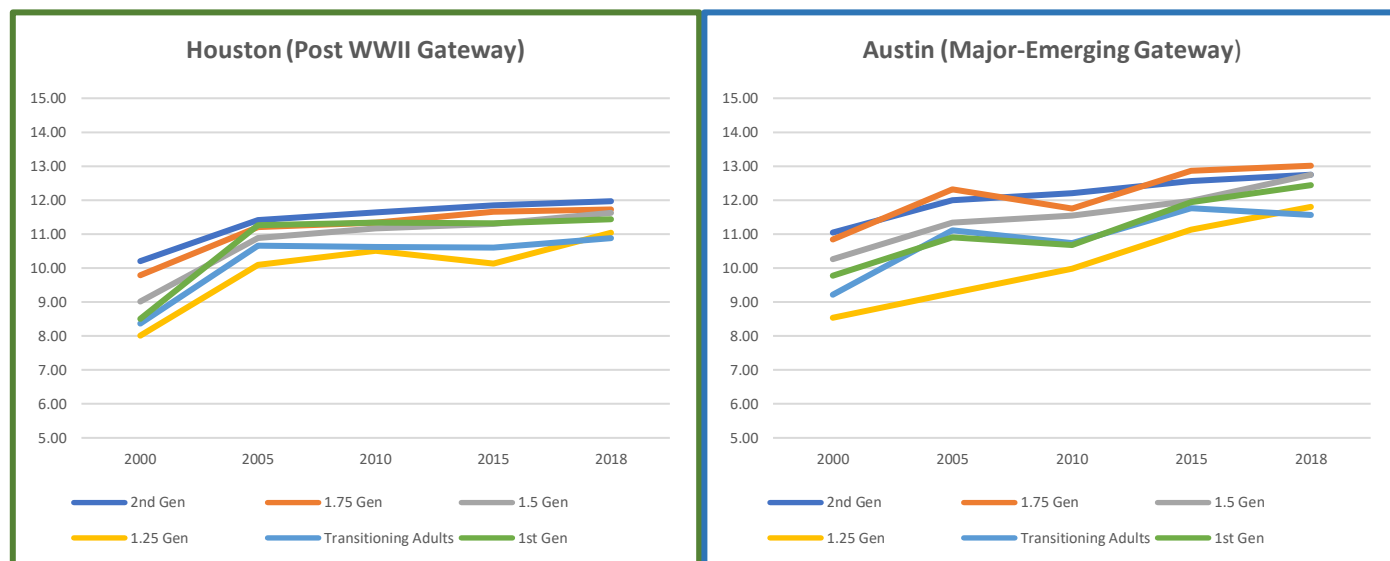
Hypothesis 1 Graphs

Figure 1 – Educational attainment by generation cohorts across the six gateways.



EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Figure 1 – continued



Generations

In Figure 1, the most basic pattern for educational attainment is an increase over time for all generations across all gateways, with a steep increase from 2000 to 2005 and then a leveling off towards 2018. This pattern is shared across all six gateways.

The 1.25 generation shows the lowest educational attainment throughout all gateways, although it continues to increase overall. In every gateway, this 1.25 generation starts at the lowest attainment, but by 2018 it is replaced by the Transitioning adults as the lowest educated cohort. The second generation seems to have the most years of education overall – being at the top in El Paso, DFW, and Houston, and second highest in San Antonio and Austin. The 1.75 generation was very close to the second generation in most cities. McAllen is the only gateway that shows the 1st generation as the highest in years of education, and San Antonio has a peak in 2010 where the 1st generation was the most highly educated with 12.38 years of education. Transitioning adults and the 1.5

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

generation were found to be in the middle throughout all six gateways. These results *do not* support Hypothesis 1, since the 1.5 cohort is accumulating fewer years of education than the 2nd and the 1.75 generation in almost all gateways and years. This is probably due to the young age at which the 1.75 generation can easily assimilate. It is surprising to see that 2018 marks some interesting crossovers in San Antonio, McAllen, and Austin, where the 1.75 generation surpasses the 2nd generation in years of educational attainment, and in Austin, the 1.5 matches the 2nd generation and is right below the 1.75 generation in years of attainment.

Another pattern of importance is the gap in education across generational cohorts, and how they change over time. Notice that DFW, Houston, and Austin show a bigger gap between the generations, especially in the year 2000. Austin, being the most disparate group, shows a gap of 2.51 years between the lowest (1.25 generation) and highest (2nd generation) levels of educational attainment in the year 2000, and then it narrows down to 1.21 years in 2018, between 1.75 generation and transitioning adults. Houston and DFW show similar trends while El Paso and McAllen show a much lower gap differential. El Paso has the lowest gap differential starting with a gap of 1.12 years in 2000 and 0.93 years in 2018 between the 1.25 and the 2nd generation. Although all gateway cities appear to close the gap from 2000 to 2018, San Antonio is the only gateway in which the gap became larger. In the year 2000, the gap was 1.44 years, and in 2018 the gap grew to 1.82 years.

The gateways all had differing starting points for each of the cohorts in the year 2000. By focusing on the gaps between the lowest and highest educated cohort, San

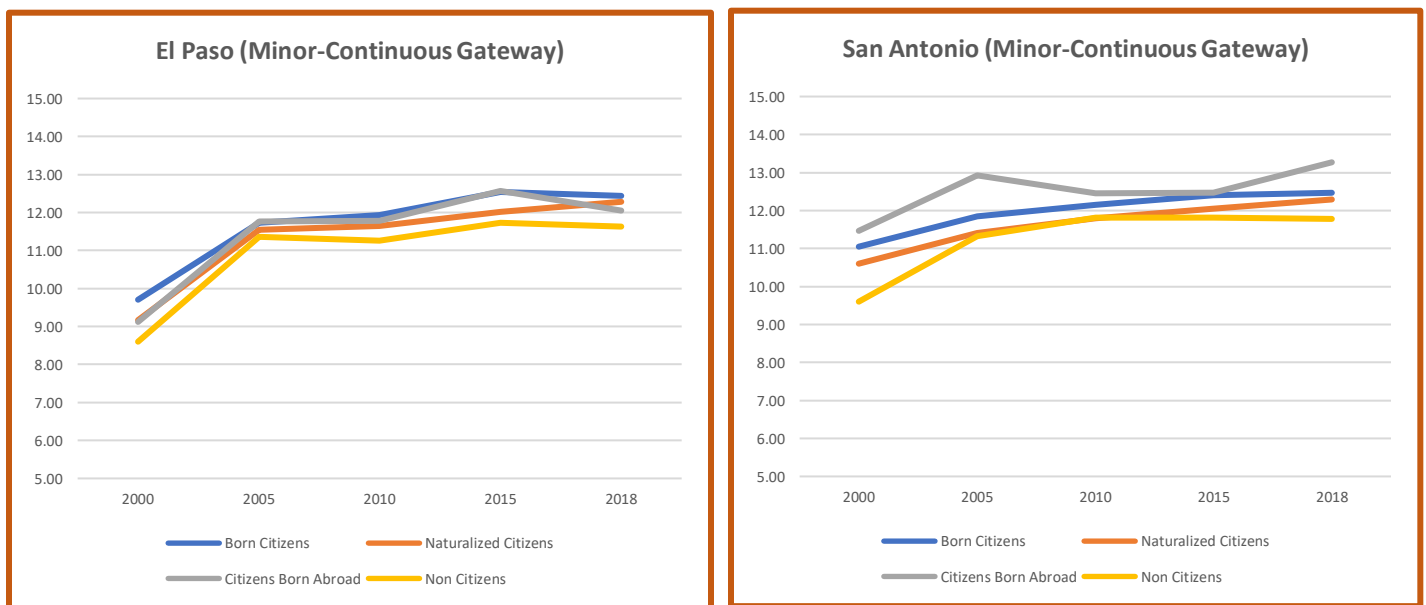
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Antonio has the highest starting point for all cohorts, with the Transitioning adults at the lowest at 9.62 and the 2nd generation at the highest with 11.06 years of attainment.

McAllen has the lowest starting points for the year 2000, with 1.25 generation at 5.84 and the 2nd generation at 7.41 years. By the year 2018, both of these gateways increased, but the relative increase we see in McAllen is more significant when compared to the other gateways. DFW and Houston, the two Post WWII gateways, had similar starting points and endings points. Austin’s starting points and endpoints are similar to San Antonio’s and only slightly lower on average.

Hypothesis 2 Graphs

Figure 2 – Educational attainment by citizenship status across the six gateways



EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Figure 2 - continued



Citizenship Status

In Figure 2, non-citizens have accumulated the fewest years of education in all six gateways, except for McAllen, where they surpassed other citizenship statuses in 2005.

Although non-citizens have the lowest amount of years in education, they do show a

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

steady increase from 2000 to 2018 in all gateways. Citizens born in the US show an overall increase in educational attainment as well, with the number of years in education increasing steadily from 2000 to 2018 for all gateways. Naturalized citizens seem to increase steadily in all Minor-continuous and Post WWII gateways, but this has a different pattern in Austin, the only Major-emerging gateway. In Austin, the naturalized citizens increased their years of education between 2000 and 2018, but dropped significantly in the year 2010, picking back up at almost the same rate in 2015.

Citizens born abroad show interesting patterns that differ through some of the gateways. In San Antonio, citizens born abroad have the highest number of years in education. This same group is closer on average to US-born citizens in El Paso, DFW, and even Houston, although Houston shows a drastic drop in years of education for citizens born abroad between the years 2005 and 2010. In McAllen, citizens born abroad increased their years of education steadily and peaked above all other statuses in 2010, but then dropped significantly in 2015 and steadily dropped into 2018. In Austin, citizens born abroad started with the highest amount of years in education compared to other statuses, and the highest in all other gateways, surpassing 13 years and almost reaching 14 years in 2005, but there was a steep decrease in 2005-2010 and then another drop in years of education from 2015-2018. However, it is important to note that this group is much smaller in comparison to the rest of the categories. None of the gateways exceeded more than 6,000 cases of born abroad to American parents.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Overall, there is a pattern of increase in education across all gateways, however, McAllen has the lowest levels of education in the year 2000. They also show the biggest progress, with a growth of about five years for all citizenship types from 2000 to 2018.

Gap differentials between the lowest and highest levels of educational attainment are small in the minor-continuous gateways, with very little change in those gaps from 2000 to 2018. Born citizens tend to stay at the top, attaining the highest education in all gateways (except for citizens born abroad). Non-citizens tend to be the least educated. The two post-WWII gateways show bigger gaps in citizenship status, with Houston having a gap of 1.91 years in 2000, and decreasing into a gap of 0.78 years in 2018. Austin, our only emerging gateway, shows the biggest gap of 3.96 years in 2000 and then a noticeable narrowing of 0.94 years by 2018. This means Austin closed its gap by 3.02 years from 2000 to 2018, which is a much bigger change than any other gateway city. The gap between citizens and non-citizens appears to be closing, but only because of the increase in non-citizens educational attainment.

Naturalized citizens showed an increase overall, but attain more education than non-citizens in every gateway. Naturalized citizens surpassed US born-citizens in 2018 in Austin and are the reason for the gap of almost one educational year between them. Even McAllen saw its naturalized citizens attaining more years of education in 2015 than all other types of citizenship status.

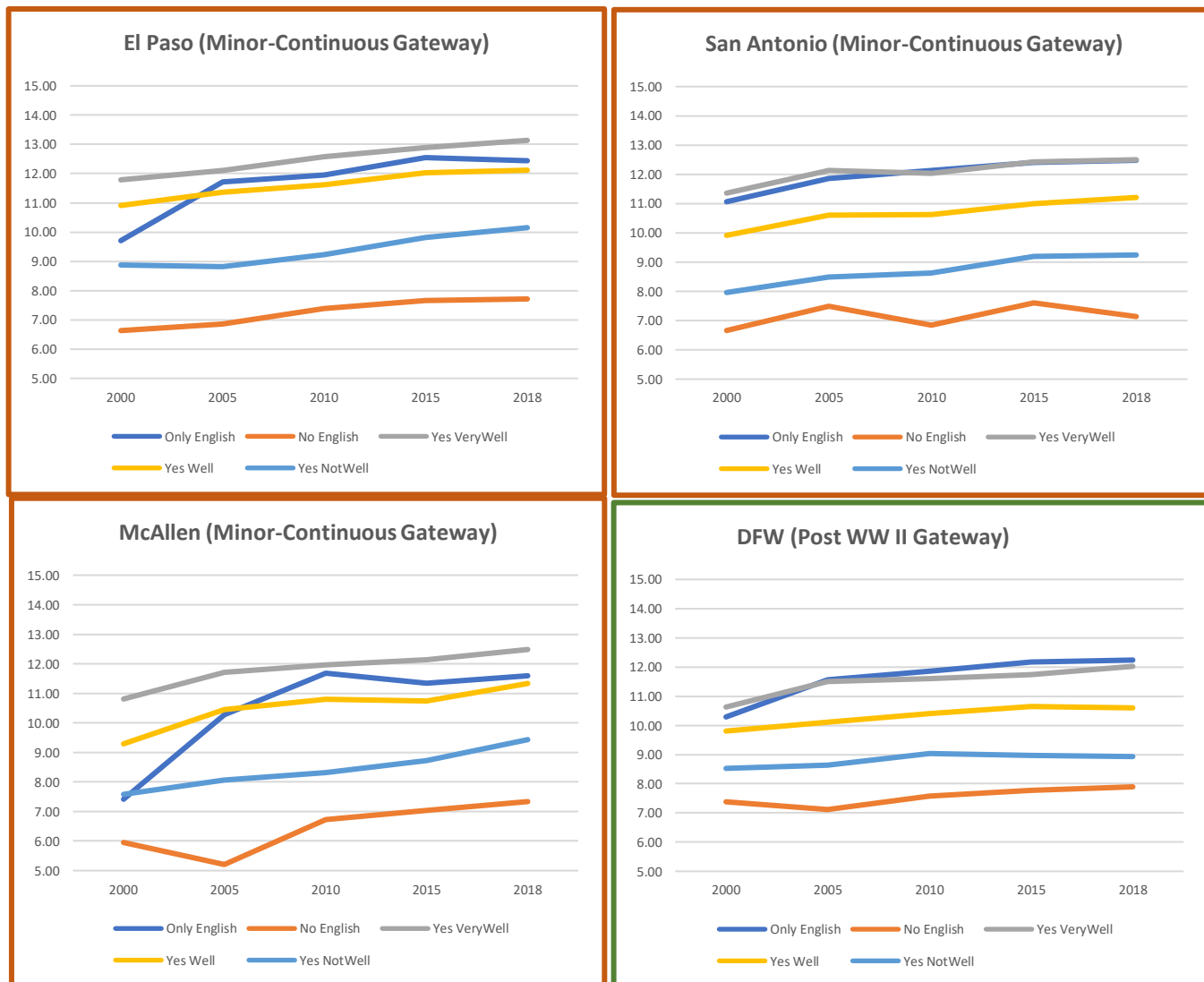
These results *do not fully* support Hypothesis 2, because although naturalized citizens attain more education than non-citizens, they still fall behind US-born citizens in

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

all gateways. However, hypothesis 2 does prove true in Austin, where naturalized citizens match the educational attainment of US-born citizens before 2015, and then surpass them until 2018. It would be interesting to see where those trends lead and if naturalized citizens are still at the top today. El Paso and San Antonio also show these two almost match in educational attainment in the year 2018, so there is a possibility that naturalized citizens surpass all others eventually.

Hypothesis 3 Graphs

Figure 3 – Educational attainment by language proficiency across the six gateways



EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

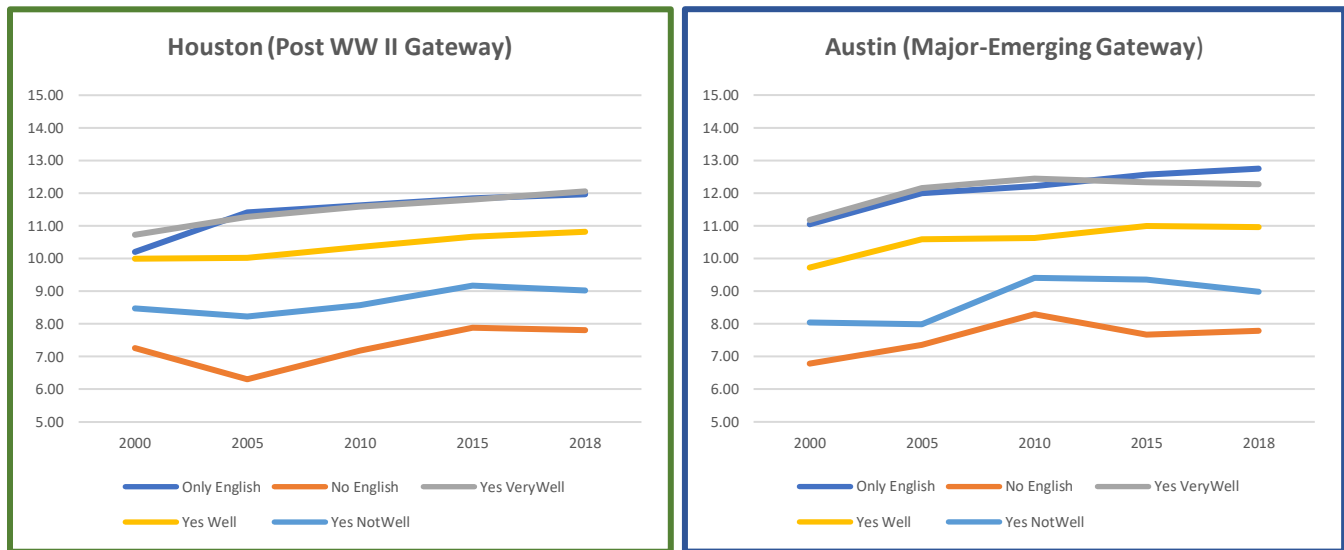
Figure 3 - continued**Language Proficiency**

Figure 3 shows the levels of education broken down by language proficiency. This independent variable shows the biggest gaps in educational attainment in all six gateways. As shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2, Figure 3 also denotes an overall increase in years of education, but language proficiency shows a trend: those that identify as better English speakers, “Yes Very Well,” or “Only English” also has the highest amount of years of education. Those that do not speak English averaged the lowest education in all six gateways, staying within 6-8 years of education in all six gateways, except for Austin, where non-English speakers went slightly above 8 years in 2010. They showed a steep decrease however in McAllen, Houston, and DFW in the years 2000-2005, with a steady increase after those years. In Austin, non-English speakers increased until 2010, peaked, and then decreased.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Those that speak English, but “Not Well,” had a similar trend – increasing in all gateways but staying within low 7-10 years of education. Those that speak English “Well” steadily increased, staying within 9-11.5 years from 2000 to 2018. Native speakers that only speak English show a very steep increase at the beginning from 2000-2005 in almost every gateway (in McAllen, the steep increase continues until 2010), and then steadily increase, reaching over 12 years of education in every city, except McAllen. Native speakers also surpassed those that speak English “Very Well” in their years of education in DFW from 2010 to 2018 and Austin from 2015 to 2018. Due to the steep increase at the beginning of the century, Native speakers appear to have the most growth in years of education. El Paso and McAllen had the lowest amount of educational years for Native speakers in 2000, even lower than other language proficiency statuses, but then increased steadily in El Paso. McAllen shows that 2010 was a peak year for English-only speakers, decreased in 2015, and only increased slightly in 2018.

As mentioned earlier, language proficiency shows the biggest gap differentiation out of all independent variables. Differences in years of education due to citizenship status and generation are more subtle than what we see in language. This implies that language ability has a stronger relationship with education, which is statistically confirmed based on the standardized coefficient beta for each year across all gateways.

These results *fully support* the third hypothesis, that educational attainment is higher for those that speak English with the best ability. However, it was interesting to note that those that speak “Only English” could be at a disadvantage in almost every gateway since those that speak English “Yes Very Well” surpassed in years of education

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

in many of the years in almost all gateways. One exception is DFW, where Only English speakers have been the most educated since 2005, although by 2018, “Yes Very Well” speakers have almost matched their level of attainment. In Austin, Only English speakers have been at the top since before 2015.

Gateway Patterns

San Antonio, which is a Minor-continuous Gateway, had the highest average in years of education for all generations: 11.60 years. However, McAllen, which is also a Minor-continuous Gateway averaged the lowest in years of education for all generations: 10.02 years. Houston and DFW, both Post WWII Gateways averaged below 11 years: 10.72 and 10.69 years respectively. Austin, the only Major-emerging Gateway in Texas averaged 11.34 years of education for all generations, which is slightly above El Paso, a Minor-continuous gateway, with an average of 11.25 years of education for all generations.

Some metropolitan areas have bigger gaps in educational attainment than others, which denotes different levels of inequity. Austin, the only Major-emerging gateway, has the most inequity across the board and the most fluctuation across all years for both citizenship and generation cohorts. All gaps are bigger for all gateways when it comes to language proficiency, but in this case, the major-emerging gateway (Austin) had smaller gaps than all three of the minor-continuous gateways.

The minor-continuous gateways, which have been established the longest, include El Paso, San Antonio, and McAllen. Most of the lowest levels of educational attainment

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

were found within this type of gateway, particularly in McAllen, which had the lowest attainment levels among all independent variables. However, McAllen also shows the most distinct curve regarding citizenship status and generation cohort, which means that it has the most growth from 2000 to 2018 in all variables. Educational attainment gaps were smaller for these gateways in both citizenship status and generation cohort, but it was bigger for all three cities in language proficiency.

The Post WWII gateways, which include DFW and Houston, have very few fluctuations in their growth from 2000 to 2018, with DFW being the more consistent of the two cities.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper uses data from IPUMS USA to track educational attainment in Mexican American immigrants throughout the six major immigration gateways in Texas: El Paso, San Antonio, McAllen, Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, and Austin. Regressions were run on the independent variables including the different generational cohorts, citizenship status, and English language proficiency while controlling for age and sex. Results support the idea that English language ability has a stronger connection to educational attainment than citizenship status or generational cohort. Language showed the biggest gap differentiation, which also shows inequality within each of these gateways. Those that speak “No English” at all have the lowest amount of education, while those that speak “English Very Well” attained the highest years of education, even more so than those that only speak “Only English.” This not only supports Hypothesis 3,

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

but it also means that speaking more than just one language can provide an advantage in educational attainment, which is a sound argument used by proponents of bilingual programs. English proficiency has become recognized as an indicator of the type of skills that immigrants possess, and when it comes to Mexican immigrants, they seem to be at a disadvantage relative to other groups (De Leon 2009).

Both of the post-WWII gateways, DFW and Houston are leading the way in closing the gap between those most and least educated, but not by much. It seems as though the gap of inequality when it comes to educational attainment and English language proficiency has not changed much from 2000 to 2018 in any of the gateways. However, there is a subtle increase in educational attainment across the board for all gateways, no matter the English capacity. The biggest growth was in McAllen with its Only English population, adding over four years of educational attainment from 2000 to 2018. McAllen also had a much lower starting point for all language capacities in 2000 than the other gateways. All three minor-continuous gateways had the biggest gaps between the highest and lowest number of educational years. This shows that minor-continuous gateways are maintaining a bigger level of inequality when it comes to English language proficiency. This could be due to the lack of English learning resources, or the comfort of a well-established ethnic niche in these gateways that foster the use of their first language and does not necessarily force them to learn English.

When it comes to generational cohorts, I was surprised to see that the lowest level of educational attainment falls on the 1.25 generation across all gateways and almost every year with a few exceptions. This generation (13-17 years old) may be immigrating

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

at a critical time in their lives in which they are not yet young adults, but they have missed the critical window to assimilate both cultures and both languages seamlessly as we see with the 1.75 generation (0-5 years old). The 1.5 generation did not appear to be at the highest or lowest in any of our gateways and instead was in the middle throughout. The 2nd generation was the highest from 2000 to 2018 only in the post-WWII gateways (DFW and Houston). Austin, which showed the biggest gaps between cohorts, had the 1.75 generation attain more education in the years 2005, 2010, 2015, and 2018. Another surprising find was the high educational attainment of the 1.75 generation in recent years. Because many of them do not retain memories of their homeland, they may assimilate into the American educational system with little effort. At the same time, they still have access to a different culture and different language at home, which may be providing an advantage for them. Also, many of them are DACA recipients, so more research should be done on the educational attainment of these generations in the years to come.

The minor-continuous gateways had the smallest gaps between cohorts, but with interesting highest and lowest levels of educational attainment. It seems like the 1st generation will thrive educationally in these gateways. McAllen, which shows the biggest growth in education overall, had the 1st generation attaining the highest level of education from 2005 to 2015. San Antonio saw the 1st generation peak in 2010 above the other cohorts, and the same for El Paso in 2005. Minor continuous gateways may have a bigger support system for immigrants that just arrived, but lack the continuing support for subsequent generations, such as a strong bilingual system that can allow the children of immigrants a better chance at educational attainment. It is also possible that the 1st

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

generation does well because the native-born White population in these continuous gateways are not perceiving immigrants as much of a threat anymore, leading to less institutionalized racism and more equal opportunities for educational attainment.

When reviewing citizenship status, non-citizens continue to be the least educated of all statuses across all six gateways. This is not surprising since they lack access to resources and must often face the possibility of deportation. US-born citizens had higher educational outcomes, and although my second hypothesis was not supported, I argue that naturalized citizens have a higher outcome in educational attainment and are doing much better than the non-citizens. This could be due in part to the removal of obstacles that come with citizenship, and the many financial aid opportunities that it allows. It is also important to note that in 2018, Austin's most educated were its naturalized citizens. Austin is the only major-emerging city in Texas, and this is the only case in which my hypothesis was true. Austin's college-centric environment may be the reason why naturalized citizens have more educational opportunities, and also the proximity to the city's legislation, which is where the naturalizations occur.

Citizenship status did not show much of a gap within the three minor-continuous gateways (El Paso, San Antonio, and McAllen). Austin, the only emerging gateway shows the biggest starting gaps when it comes to citizenship status in the year 2000, but has surprisingly closed that gap by over three years by 2018. It is in this gateway and year too that we see naturalized citizens becoming more educated than their US-born counterparts.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Mexican immigration has been a permanent feature of America for well over 170 years. Mexican immigrants have been the only immigrant group to span the Great European Migration, the post-1965 era, and the period in between (Waters and Jimenez 2005). Immigration is a continuing process, each wave replenished by another, and then another, all in search of better lives (Rumbaut 1997; Waters and Jimenez 2005). How can we best serve this group, many of whom have been part of our society since the beginning of our country (or before)? Does the type of gateway in which they settle become a factor in determining their educational attainment?

More research should be done on the reasons why the 1.25 generation is performing so poorly and which programs are helping those that do succeed. I argue that naturalized citizens have a better chance of attaining higher levels of education and that bilingual education programs should be made more widely available and properly funded to allow Mexican American immigrants a chance to maintain and perfect their dual culture and dual-language skills.

The types of gateways may have more importance than can be perceived in this descriptive paper. Continuous gateways (El Paso, San Antonio, and McAllen) have already-established niches that have accepted immigrants and labor from Mexico for over one hundred years. The post-WWII gateways (DFW and Houston) have grown in their immigrant population since the 1950s and have developed slightly different sentiments toward immigration in general. Lastly, Austin, our only major-emerging gateway is a metropolitan area that had a small immigrant population for most of the 20th century, but then that immigrant population grew tremendously in the last 20 years. It is also the

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

state's capital and a college town known for its liberal and diverse population. More research should be done to determine which factors in these gateways are affecting immigrant populations and what programs could be directly affecting the educational attainment of Mexican American immigrants.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

REFERENCES

- American Immigration Council (AIC) 2020. "Immigrants in Texas." *American Immigration Council*. Retrieved April 15, 2022
(<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/immigrants-in-texas>).
- Anderson, Bridget. 2011. "The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement - Edited by Nicholas De Genova & Nathalie Peutz." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17(4):883–84.
- Chavez, Leo. 2014. "The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (Second Edition)." *Population and Development Review* 40 (1): 171-172.
- Colby, Sandra L., and Jennifer M. Ortman. 2015. "Projections of the Size and Composition of the U.S. Population: 2014 to 2060" *Population Estimates and Projections – US Census Bureau*. Retrieved May 8, 2019
- De León, Arnoldo. 2009. *Mexican Americans in Texas: A Brief History*. 3rd ed. Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc.
(<https://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2015/demo/p25-1143.pdf>).
- Domina, Thurston, Andrew Penner, and Emily Penner. 2017. "Categorical Inequality: Schools As Sorting Machines." *Annual Review of Sociology* 43(1):311–30.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

- Dowling, Julie A., Christopher G. Ellison, and David L. Leal. 2012. "Who Doesn't Value English? Debunking Myths about Mexican Immigrants' Attitudes toward the English Language*." *Social Science Quarterly*.
- Espino, Michelle M. 2015. "Sacrificing a Latina/o Presence in the Professoriate: An Analysis of Affirmative Action as Racial Remedy and Silent Covenant." *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal* 9(1):42-56
- Foner, Nancy and Joanna Dreby. 2011. "Relations Between the Generations in Immigrant Families." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37(1):545–64.
- Fox, Cybelle and Thomas A. Guglielmo. 2012. "Defining America's Racial Boundaries: Blacks, Mexicans, and European Immigrants, 1890–1945." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(2):327–79.
- Gutiérrez, Ramón A. 2019. "Mexican Immigration to the United States." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*.
- Hempel, Lynn M., Julie A. Dowling, Jason D. Boardman, and Christopher G. Ellison. 2012. "Racial Threat and White Opposition to Bilingual Education in Texas." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 35(1):85–102.
- Krogstad, Jens Manuel 2016. "5 facts about Latinos and education." *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved May 8, 2019 (<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/28/5-facts-about-latinos-and-education/>).

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Krogstad, Jens Manuel and Jynnah Radford. 2018. "Education Levels of U.S. Immigrants Are on the Rise." *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved May 8, 2019

(<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/09/14/education-levels-of-u-s-immigrants-are-on-the-rise/>).

Kunovich, Robert M. 2016. "Perceptions of Racial Group Size in a Minority-Majority Area." *Sociological Perspectives* 60(3):479–96.

Lichter, Daniel T. and Kenneth M. Johnson. 2009. "Immigrant Gateways and Hispanic Migration to New Destinations." *International Migration Review* 43(3):496–518.

Liebersohn, Stanley. 1980. *Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880*. CA: Univ. of Calif. Press.

MacKenzie, Michael J., Emily Bosk and Charles H. Zeanah. 2017. "Separating Families at the Border - Consequences for Children's Health and Well-being." *The New*

England Journal of Medicine 376(24):2314-2315

([https://login.ezproxy.uta.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-](https://login.ezproxy.uta.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.uta.edu/docview/1895272817?accountid=7117)

[com.ezproxy.uta.edu/docview/1895272817?accountid=7117](https://login.ezproxy.uta.edu/docview/1895272817?accountid=7117)). DOI:

<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.uta.edu/10.1056/NEJMp1703375>.

Medina, Catherine, and Gaye Luna. 2000. "Narratives from Latina Professors in Higher Education." *Anthropology Education Quarterly* 31(1):47–66.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

- Merton, R. K. (1987). Three fragments from a sociologist's notebooks: Establishing the phenomena, specified ignorance, and strategic research materials. *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 1-28.
- Mitchell, Faith and Marta Tienda. 2006. *Hispanics and the Future of America*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.
- Montañez, Marcel, Esther Devall and Dawn M. VanLeeuwen. 2010. "Social Capital: Strengthening Mexican-American Families through Parenting Education." *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences* 102(3):27-33 (<https://login.ezproxy.uta.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.uta.edu/docview/820914565?accountid=7117>).
- Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. 2018. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *Inequality in the 21st Century* 289–98.
- Portes, Alejandro and Rumbaut Rubén G. 2014. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley, CA: Univ. of Calif. Press.
- Riegle-Crumb, Catherine. 2010. "More Girls Go to College: Exploring the Social and Academic Factors Behind the Female Postsecondary Advantage Among Hispanic and White Students." *Research in Higher Education* 51(6):573–93.
- Rodríguez Havidán, Rogelio Saenz, and Cecilia Menjívar. 2008. *Latinas/os in the United States Changing the Face of américa*. New York, NY: Springer US.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

- Ruggles, Steven, Sarah Flood, Sophia Foster, Ronald Goeken, Jose Pacas, Megan Schouweiler and Matthew Sobek. 2021. IPUMS USA: Version 11.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS. <https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V11.0>
- Rumbaut, Ruben G. 1997. "Ties that Bind: Immigration and Immigrant Families in the United States," in *Immigration and the Family: Research and Policy on US Immigrants*, ed. Alan Booth, Ann C. Crouter, and Nancy S. Landale. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 36.
- Rumbaut, Ruben G. 2004. "Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States." *International Migration Review* 38(3):1160–1205.
- Rojas-García, Georgina. 2013. "Transitioning from School to Work as a Mexican 1.5er." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 648(1):87–101.
- Schneider, Barbara, Sylvia Martinez, and Ann Ownes. 2006. "Barriers to Educational Opportunities for Hispanics in the United States." In: National Research Council (US) Panel on Hispanics in the United States; Tienda M, Mitchell F, editors. *Hispanics and the Future of America*. Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US) (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK19909/>).
- Singer, Audrey, Susan Hardwick, and Caroline Brettell. 2008. *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Smokowski, Paul R., Roderick Rose, and Martica L. Bacallao. 2008. "Acculturation and Latino Family Processes: How Cultural Involvement, Biculturalism, and Acculturation Gaps Influence Family Dynamics*." *Family Relations* 57(3):295-308

Teicher, Martin H. 2018. "Childhood Trauma and the Enduring Consequences of Forcibly Separating Children from Parents at the United States Border." *BMC Medicine* 16(1).

Turcios-Cotto, Viana, and Stephanie Milan. 2013. "Racial/Ethnic Differences in the Educational Expectations of Adolescents: Does Pursuing Higher Education Mean Something Different to Latino Students Compared to White and Black Students?" *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 42(9):1399-1412
(<https://login.ezproxy.uta.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.uta.edu/docview/1424325586?accountid=7117>).

Turner, Richard Neil, and Brian Thiede. 2018. "Mexican-American Educational Stagnation." *International Migration Review* 52(1):159–82.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017. *Table S0501, SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN POPULATIONS - 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates*. Retrieved September 16, 2019.
(<https://factfinder.census.gov>)

U.S. Census Bureau. 2017. *Table S0506, SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY REGION OF BIRTH: LATIN AMERICA*

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

- 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates. Retrieved September 16, 2019. (<https://factfinder.census.gov>)
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. 2013. "Post-War Years." *USCIS*. Retrieved December 9, 2019 (<https://www.uscis.gov/history-and-genealogy/our-history/overview-ins-history/post-war-years>).
- Valenciana, Christine. 2006. "UNCONSTITUTIONAL DEPORTATION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS DURING THE 1930s: A Family History & Oral History." *Multicultural Education* 13(3):4-9
(<https://login.ezproxy.uta.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.uta.edu/docview/216509195?accountid=7117>).
- Waters, Mary C. and Tomás R. Jiménez. 2005. "Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges." *Annual Review of Sociology* 31(1):105–25.
- Zambrana, Ruth Enid, Brianne A. Dávila, Michelle M. Espino, Lisa M. Lapeyrouse, R. Burciaga Valdez, and Denise A. Segura. 2017. Mexican American Faculty in Research Universities: Can the Next Generation Beat the Odds? *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 3, no. 4

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

APPENDIX A: REGRESSION RESULTS**Table A1. Educational Attainment Models: El Paso, 2000-2018.**

El Paso	2000		2005		2010		2015		2018	
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>
Intercept	9.71	0.12	11.71	0.22	11.94	0.17	12.55	0.16	12.44	0.15
1.75 Generation	-0.40*	0.18	-0.03	0.32	-0.22	0.27	-0.11	0.28	-0.41	0.29
1.5 Generation	-0.59*	0.14	-0.13	0.28	-0.24	0.25	-0.33	0.24	-0.09	0.25
1.25 Generation	-1.12*	0.13	-0.76*	0.29	-0.37	0.25	-0.69*	0.26	-0.93*	0.30
Adult Transitioning	-0.93*	0.11	-0.45*	0.22	-0.90*	0.20	-1.14*	0.20	-0.57*	0.21
1 st Generation	-0.88*	0.10	-0.07	0.20	-0.40*	0.18	-0.63*	0.17	-0.34	0.17
Female	0.05	0.06	0.25*	0.12	0.24*	0.11	0.29*	0.10	0.17	0.10
Age	-0.07*	0.00	-0.07*	0.00	-0.06*	0.00	-0.04*	0.00	-0.04*	0.00
NO English	-3.07*	0.15	-4.85*	0.30	-4.56*	0.25	-4.88*	0.25	-4.73*	0.26
Yes Very Well	2.08*	0.12	0.39	0.22	0.62*	0.18	0.35*	0.17	0.69*	0.16
Yes Well	1.20*	0.13	-0.35	0.26	-0.34	0.21	-0.52*	0.20	-0.32	0.18
Yes Not Well	-0.84*	0.14	-2.89*	0.29	-2.71*	0.24	-2.72*	0.23	-2.29*	0.23
Born Abroad	-0.58	0.32	0.04	0.53	-0.16	0.45	0.03	0.45	-0.37	0.43
Naturalized Citizen	-0.54*	0.09	-0.18	0.17	-0.29	0.15	-0.52*	0.15	-0.15	0.15
Non-Citizen	-1.10*	0.09	-0.36	0.19	-0.67*	0.16	-0.81*	0.16	-0.81*	0.17
N	13,050		3,162		3,939		4,107		4,114	
Adjusted R ²	0.369		0.366		0.365		0.334		0.290	

* $p < .05$ (two tailed)

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table A2. Educational Attainment Models: San Antonio, 2000-2018.

San Antonio	2000		2005		2010		2015		2018	
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>
Intercept	11.06	0.07	11.85	0.12	12.14	0.09	12.41	0.08	12.48	0.07
1.75 Generation	-0.17	0.17	0.13	0.34	0.12	0.27	0.04	0.26	0.72*	0.24
1.5 Generation	-0.22	0.16	-0.26	0.33	-0.11	0.27	-0.22	0.24	-0.26	0.25
1.25 Generation	-1.60*	0.14	-0.70*	0.29	-1.04*	0.24	-1.29*	0.25	-0.91*	0.25
Adult Transitioning	-1.44*	0.11	-0.40	0.22	-0.90*	0.18	-0.82*	0.19	-1.10*	0.18
1 st Generation	-0.83*	0.10	-0.51*	0.20	0.24	0.17	-0.17	0.17	-0.11	0.16
Female	0.02	0.05	0.09	0.10	0.22*	0.08	0.17*	0.08	0.25*	0.07
Age	-0.07*	0.00	-0.06*	0.00	-0.04*	0.00	-0.03*	0.00	-0.03*	0.00
NO English	-4.40*	0.14	-4.35*	0.27	-5.29*	0.25	-4.80*	0.25	-5.34*	0.26
Yes Very Well	0.29*	0.07	0.29*	0.13	-0.11	0.10	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.09
Yes Well	-1.15*	0.09	-1.25*	0.17	-1.52*	0.15	-1.41*	0.14	-1.27*	0.14
Yes Not Well	-3.10*	0.11	-3.36*	0.21	-3.50*	0.19	-3.22*	0.19	-3.24*	0.18
Born Abroad	0.42	0.30	1.08*	0.49	0.31	0.43	0.07	0.39	0.80*	0.33
Naturalized Citizen	-0.45*	0.09	-0.44*	0.19	-0.35*	0.15	-0.37*	0.15	-0.18	0.14
Non-Citizen	-1.45*	0.08	-0.53*	0.18	-0.34*	0.15	-0.60*	0.15	-0.68*	0.15
N	19,670		4,580		6,792		7,001		7,414	
Adjusted R ²	0.273		0.258		0.216		0.198		0.196	

* $p < .05$ (two tailed)

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table A3. Educational Attainment Models: McAllen, 2000-2018.

McAllen	2000		2005		2010		2015		2018	
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>
Intercept	7.41	0.15	10.27	0.31	11.68	0.26	11.35	0.23	11.59	0.21
1.75 Generation	-0.87*	0.20	-0.84*	0.40	-0.84*	0.29	-0.23	0.31	0.08	0.31
1.5 Generation	-0.94*	0.16	-1.21*	0.32	-0.62*	0.26	-0.41	0.31	-0.43	0.29
1.25 Generation	-1.58*	0.14	-0.05	0.33	-0.65*	0.28	-0.94*	0.31	-0.87*	0.30
Adult Transitioning	-1.23*	0.12	-0.07	0.27	-0.47*	0.23	-0.36	0.25	-0.95*	0.24
1 st Generation	-0.68*	0.11	0.62*	0.25	0.36	0.21	0.24	0.21	-0.20	0.21
Female	0.00	0.07	0.20	0.14	0.23*	0.12	0.28*	0.12	0.29*	0.12
Age	-0.11*	0.00	-0.09*	0.00	-0.07*	0.00	-0.06*	0.00	-0.06*	0.00
NO English	-1.46*	0.16	-5.06*	0.37	-4.94*	0.33	-4.31*	0.31	-4.25*	0.29
Yes Very Well	3.39*	0.15	1.45*	0.32	0.27	0.27	0.78*	0.23	0.90*	0.22
Yes Well	1.88*	0.16	0.18	0.35	-0.87*	0.30	-0.61*	0.28	-0.25	0.25
Yes Not Well	0.17	0.17	-2.21*	0.37	-3.37*	0.32	-2.62*	0.31	-2.16*	0.29
Born Abroad	-0.13	0.46	-0.96	0.64	0.78	0.73	-0.07	0.57	-0.28	0.48
Naturalized Citizen	-0.96*	0.11	-0.53*	0.23	-0.38*	0.19	0.35	0.20	-0.35	0.21
Non-Citizen	-1.08*	0.09	0.05	0.21	-0.39*	0.17	-0.66*	0.18	-0.49*	0.18
N	12,027		2,581		3,431		3,395		3,416	
Adjusted R ²	0.421		0.432		0.382		0.354		0.322	

* $p < .05$ (two tailed)

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table A4. Educational Attainment Models: Dallas Fort Worth, 2000-2018.

DFW	2000		2005		2010		2015		2018	
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>
Intercept	10.29	0.08	11.57	0.15	11.85	0.11	12.18	0.10	12.24	0.09
1.75 Generation	-0.74*	0.16	-0.51	0.30	-0.56*	0.22	-0.36	0.19	-0.22	0.18
1.5 Generation	-1.34*	0.13	-1.05*	0.24	-0.89*	0.19	-0.70*	0.17	-0.40*	0.17
1.25 Generation	-2.38*	0.09	-1.64*	0.20	-1.62*	0.16	-1.51*	0.15	-1.41*	0.16
Adult Transitioning	-2.15*	0.08	-1.15*	0.17	-1.18*	0.14	-1.34*	0.13	-1.33*	0.12
1 st Generation	-1.98*	0.08	-0.72*	0.17	-1.04*	0.15	-1.03*	0.13	-0.90*	0.13
Female	0.35*	0.05	0.34*	0.10	0.32*	0.08	0.27*	0.07	0.33*	0.07
Age	-0.08*	0.00	-0.07*	0.00	-0.05*	0.00	-0.05*	0.00	-0.05*	0.00
NO English	-2.91*	0.10	-4.45*	0.22	-4.28*	0.19	-4.39*	0.18	-4.34*	0.18
Yes Very Well	0.34*	0.08	-0.06	0.16	-0.25*	0.12	-0.44*	0.11	-0.22*	0.10
Yes Well	-0.48*	0.09	-1.47*	0.20	-1.45*	0.16	-1.53*	0.14	-1.65*	0.13
Yes Not Well	-1.76*	0.09	-2.93*	0.21	-2.82*	0.17	-3.21*	0.15	-3.30*	0.14
Born Abroad	0.14	0.33	-0.12	0.55	0.30	0.44	-0.21	0.36	0.51	0.34
Naturalized Citizen	-1.54*	0.09	-1.01*	0.17	-0.65*	0.14	-0.70*	0.12	-0.70*	0.12
Non-Citizen	-2.14*	0.07	-1.05*	0.15	-1.39*	0.12	-1.26*	0.10	-1.09*	0.10
N	25,428		5,545		7,465		8,739		9,367	
Adjusted R ²	0.243		0.275		0.281		0.285		0.285	

* $p < .05$ (two tailed)

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table A5. Educational Attainment Models: Houston, 2000-2018.

Houston	2000		2005		2010		2015		2018	
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>
Intercept	10.20	0.07	11.41	0.13	11.63	0.10	11.85	0.09	11.97	0.08
1.75 Generation	-0.42*	0.14	-0.20	0.24	-0.30	0.21	-0.18	0.20	-0.24	0.19
1.5 Generation	-1.19*	0.11	-0.51*	0.22	-0.46*	0.19	-0.54*	0.18	-0.34	0.17
1.25 Generation	-2.19*	0.09	-1.30*	0.19	-1.13*	0.16	-1.72*	0.17	-0.93*	0.16
Adult Transitioning	-1.84*	0.07	-0.74*	0.16	-1.01*	0.13	-1.25*	0.14	-1.09*	0.13
1 st Generation	-1.70*	0.08	-0.14	0.16	-0.29*	0.14	-0.53*	0.14	-0.53*	0.13
Female	0.22*	0.05	0.26*	0.09	0.38*	0.07	0.33*	0.08	0.37*	0.07
Age	-0.07*	0.00	-0.07*	0.00	-0.05*	0.00	-0.04*	0.00	-0.05*	0.00
NO English	-2.95*	0.10	-5.10*	0.20	-4.44*	0.18	-3.96*	0.17	-4.16*	0.17
Yes Very Well	0.52*	0.07	-0.13	0.14	-0.04	0.11	-0.04	0.10	0.09	0.09
Yes Well	-0.21*	0.09	-1.38*	0.18	-1.27*	0.15	-1.18*	0.14	-1.15*	0.13
Yes Not Well	-1.72*	0.09	-3.18*	0.19	-3.06*	0.16	-2.67*	0.16	-2.94*	0.15
Born Abroad	-0.47	0.30	0.83	0.56	-0.49	0.48	0.00	0.42	-0.23	0.35
Naturalized Citizen	-1.16*	0.07	-0.40*	0.15	-0.36*	0.13	-0.56*	0.13	-0.50*	0.11
Non-Citizen	-1.92*	0.06	-0.70*	0.13	-0.85*	0.11	-1.03*	0.11	-0.79*	0.11
N	27,958		6,071		8,045		8,654		9,199	
Adjusted R ²	0.242		0.309		0.278		0.249		0.262	

* $p < .05$ (two tailed)

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table A6. Educational Attainment Models: Austin, 2000-2018.

Austin	2000		2005		2010		2015		2018	
	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>
Intercept	11.05	0.11	12.00	0.20	12.20	0.15	12.57	0.14	12.75	0.13
1.75 Generation	-0.20	0.30	0.32	0.50	-0.45	0.43	0.30	0.36	0.26	0.37
1.5 Generation	-0.78*	0.24	-0.65	0.47	-0.65	0.40	-0.59	0.37	0.00	0.35
1.25 Generation	-2.51*	0.19	-2.73*	0.42	-2.22*	0.35	-1.44*	0.34	-0.95*	0.35
Adult Transitioning	-1.83*	0.15	-0.88*	0.34	-1.48*	0.28	-0.81*	0.26	-1.18*	0.27
1 st Generation	-1.27*	0.15	-1.09*	0.35	-1.53*	0.28	-0.62*	0.25	-0.31	0.25
Female	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.17	0.28*	0.14	0.34*	0.13	0.49*	0.13
Age	-0.08*	0.00	-0.07*	0.01	-0.04*	0.00	-0.03*	0.00	-0.03*	0.00
NO English	-4.26*	0.19	-4.65*	0.43	-3.91*	0.34	-4.91*	0.35	-4.95*	0.42
Yes Very Well	0.13	0.12	0.15	0.22	0.24	0.18	-0.25	0.16	-0.48*	0.15
Yes Well	-1.32*	0.16	-1.41*	0.34	-1.58*	0.27	-1.57*	0.26	-1.79*	0.24
Yes Not Well	-3.00*	0.17	-4.01*	0.37	-2.80*	0.30	-3.21*	0.28	-3.77*	0.29
Born Abroad	2.12*	0.53	1.88*	0.83	0.48	0.76	0.28	0.62	-0.53	0.66
Naturalized Citizen	-1.08*	0.16	-0.18	0.36	-0.97*	0.31	0.15	0.25	0.10	0.24
Non-Citizen	-1.84*	0.12	-1.67*	0.28	-1.55*	0.23	-1.17*	0.21	-0.84*	0.21
N	8,013		1,699		2,423		2,695		2,884	
Adjusted R ²	0.291		0.328		0.290		0.222		0.193	

* $p < .05$ (two tailed)