

**ESTIMATES OF INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE SHIFT:
SURVEYS, MEASURES, AND DOMAINS**

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ABSTRACT

Studies of intergenerational language shift present different rates of language shift across immigrant generations, leading to discrepant conclusions regarding the pace and magnitude of language shift between immigrant generations in the United States. Using data from Pew Hispanic Center surveys, the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, and the Immigrant and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles study, I analyze language shift between generations using different measures of language use, preference, and knowledge across immigrant generations and national origin groups. The analyses show that results based on a measure of language preference show a faster pace of intergenerational language shift than measures of knowledge or use and that the pace of language shift varies across domains of use and by national origin. The findings suggest that discrepancies across samples, measures, and domains may reflect different stages in the language shift process, rather than conflicting evidence regarding the pace of language shift.

INTRODUCTION

The pace at which an immigrant non-English language (NEL) group shifts to English is a strong indicator of a group's integration into the English-speaking American mainstream. But research on intergenerational language shift yields discrepant conclusions regarding the pace and magnitude of language shift among U.S. immigrant groups. For example, according to Hakimzadeh and Cohn (2007) and Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean (2006), nearly all first-generation Hispanic adults speak Spanish, but less than half of second generation and no more than 25 percent of third-generation Hispanics speak Spanish (see Figure 1). These results suggest that intergenerational language shift is essentially complete by the third generation. In contrast, Alba (1999) suggests that just over 40 percent of third-generation Mexican Americans – a substantially higher percentage – speak an NEL at home.

In this paper, I investigate the reasons for these discrepancies. As shown in Table 1, there are substantial differences in the samples, measures, and domains of language use available in each of these datasets. To evaluate the methodological differences across studies and their implications for research on language shift, I undertake an analysis of data from the Pew Hispanic Center surveys, the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), and the Immigrant and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles study (IIMMLA). Using these data, I compare measures of language use, preference, and knowledge across immigrant generations and national origin groups. I find substantial variation across samples, measures, and domains of language use, which lead to diverging conclusions regarding the pace and magnitude of language shift across immigrant generations. The results suggest that efforts to evaluate rates of linguistic assimilation are largely influenced by the samples, measures, and domains of language use that are examined. The resultant discrepancies in research findings presents a significant challenge to research attempting to determine whether language shift culminates with a largely English monolingual third generation or if NELs have staying power across generations for some immigrant groups.

BACKGROUND

Hakimzadeh and Cohn (2007) examine English usage among Hispanics in the United States and find that while English is not the primary language used in the home or at work for the immigrant generation, it has become the dominant means of communication in both settings for the second and third generations. Using a measure of English dominance, which includes both English only and English dominant bilingual speakers, they report that the use of Spanish declines to 50 percent in the second generation and by the third generation only 25 percent speak Spanish. Because the authors' measure of home language use combines those who speak only English or speak more English than Spanish, the measure of English dominance includes bilingual respondents who are not exclusive English speakers. The measures of language use that are used in my analysis of 2004 CPS data and Alba's analysis of 1990 Census data (Alba 1999) include only those who respond that English is the *only* language they speak at home, while those responding that they speak a language other than English at home are considered to be NEL speakers.

Using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) and the Immigrant and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles study (IIMMLA), Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean (2006) find substantial declines in both non-English language proficiency and a shift in preference from non-English languages to the use of English across generations. They report that among Mexican Americans, only one-third of the second generation prefers to use Spanish and over 90 percent of the third generation prefers to use English rather than Spanish. The authors' use a measure of language *preference* instead of language use to investigate intergenerational language shift. The authors argue that when the language preference of an individual changes to English, "the mother tongue was considered to have "died" because it was no longer used within the intimate confines of family life" (Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006: 454). However, a change in language preference does not necessarily reflect a change in the actual use of a language. My analysis of the *use* of NELs by Hispanics based on October 2004 CPS data and Alba's (1999) analysis of language *use* among Mexican American youth show that between 80 and 90 percent of the second generation still speak an NEL at home. This only decreases to around 40 percent in the third generation.

Because the samples and language measures used to study language shift in each of these studies differ, it may be the case that differences in samples and measurement produce the diverging results observed in Figure 1. To evaluate these methodological differences and their implications for research on intergenerational language shift, I perform my own analyses of intergenerational language shift using the Pew Hispanic Center surveys, CILS, and IIMMLA data. Table 1 provides a comparison of the characteristics of the samples and language measures available in each study. Using measures of English monolingualism and English dominance I evaluate changes in language use at home and work across generations using data from the Pew Hispanic Center surveys. Next, I compare measures of language knowledge and language preference using data from the third wave of the CILS surveys to identify differences in knowledge and preference among young adults across generations and national origin groups. I then use domain-specific measures of language use available in the CILS data to evaluate differences in language use by generational status and national origin group. Finally, I compare the language preference and language used at home during childhood among young adults across generations and national origins using data from the IIMMLA study.

DATA & MEASURES

Pew Hispanic Center Surveys

The Pew Hispanic Center (PHC) conducted six surveys between 2002 and 2006: (1) National Survey of Latinos (2002), (2) National Surveys of Latinos: Education (2004), (3) National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation (2004), (4) Changing Channels and Crisscrossing Cultures: A Survey of Latinos on the News Media (2004), (5) National Survey of Latinos: the Immigration Debate (2006), and (6) Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion (2006). All six surveys were conducted by telephone among a nationally representative sample of adults (18 years and older). Prior to merging the six datasets, I excluded all non-Latinos from the sample and standardized all measures used in my analysis so that the values were consistent across datasets. All results using PHC survey data are weighted to represent the actual distribution of adults throughout the United States.

Pew Hispanic Center Survey Measures

The Pew Hispanic Center surveys are collectively representative of Latinos living in the United States. Therefore, I include only those who indicate they are of Hispanic or Latino origin. All respondents are asked, “*Are you, yourself of Hispanic or Latin origin or descent such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central or South American, Caribbean or some other Latin American background?*” Only those who respond “Yes” to this question are included in the data set used in this analysis¹. All non-Latino respondents and respondents that identify as Puerto Rican or of Puerto Rican descent are excluded from the analysis. Because Mexicans are the only national origin group of sufficient size across all five generational statuses I do not disaggregate the analyses by national origin group.

All six PHC surveys include questions about language use at home and at work: (1) “*What language do you usually speak at home? Only Spanish, more Spanish than English, both equally, more English than Spanish, or only English?*” and (2) “*What language do you usually speak at work? Only Spanish, more Spanish than English, both equally, more English than Spanish or only English?*”. While Census and CPS data only include two categories for the question about language spoken at home (yes or no), I retain the five categories available in the PHC surveys to look at not only the shift to English monolingualism, but also to consider what levels of bilingualism are retained or lost across generations. The categories “Only English” and “More English than Spanish” are combined into a measure of *English dominance*, consistent with the measure used by Hakimzadeh and Cohn (2007) to compare measures of English only with measures of English dominance.

Generational Status refers to the grouping of individuals by generation based on that individual’s nativity, and when applicable the nativity of an individual’s parents or grandparents. All respondents are asked, “*Were you born in the United States, the island of Puerto Rico or in another country?*” Those who indicate they were born in another country are asked “*How many years have you lived in the United States?*”. They are later

¹ Interviews with individuals who did not identify as Hispanic or Latino were terminated in the Pew Hispanic Center surveys. Subsequently, information about language use is not available in these datasets for the non-Hispanic population.

asked, “*Were either of your parents born outside the US?*” If the answer is yes, respondents are then asked: “*One or both?*”

Those who are foreign born and immigrated after the age of 14 are identified as the first generation. Age at arrival is calculated by subtracting the age of the foreign-born respondents from the number of years they report residing in the United States. Prior research has identified foreign-born children of immigrants as members of the second generation, who are themselves immigrants but arrived at an early age² (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). These individuals are referred to as the 1.5 generation (Rumbaut 1994). Hence, individuals who are foreign born but immigrated prior to turning 15 are considered to be part of the 1.5 generation.

Native-born respondents with two foreign-born parents are identified as the second generation and those with one foreign-born and one native-born parent are categorized as members of the 2.5 generation³. Finally, individuals born in the U.S. and whose parents are also native-born are classified as the third generation. Subsequently, as is the convention in many studies on language use in immigrant generations, the third generation includes both those who are in fact third generation Americans (individuals born in the U.S. whose parents are native born and whose grandparents are foreign born) and those who are members of the fourth and higher order generations. Because language shift has been primarily characterized by a “three-generation” model it is not necessary to classify individuals in or beyond the fourth generation (Alba, Logan, Lutz, and Stults 2002; Fishman 1965; Fishman 1966; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Veltman 1983).

Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) was conducted to examine the experience of second-generation immigrant children in metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, FL and San Diego, CA (Portes and Rumbaut 2008). A sample of second-generation immigrant children was followed from early adolescence to early

² Portes and Rumbaut included children who immigrated prior to the age of 12 in the second generation in their *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study* (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001).

³ In a previous analysis using CPS data I found that the 2.5-generation more closely resembles the third generation than the second, so I treat them as a separate group here.

adulthood, and respondents were interviewed at three points in their life cycle: in junior high school, just prior to high school graduation, and at the beginning of their work careers. The survey targeted both the immigrant second generation born in the U.S. to at least one foreign born parent and children born abroad but brought to the U.S. at an early age.

Data were collected through face-to-face interviews during the first two waves and mailed questionnaires for the third wave. The first wave was conducted in 1992 and produced a sample of 8th and 9th graders attending public or private schools in southern Florida and southern California. The second wave of the survey took place in 1995, conducted when students were preparing to graduate from high school (or had dropped out of school). The third wave of the survey took place from 2001 to 2003, when respondents were entering early adulthood. This wave collected information from 68.9 percent of the original sample. Only data from the third wave of the CILS survey is included in this paper. Respondents that identify as Puerto Rican or of Puerto Rican descent are excluded from the analysis. In addition, I include only those respondents who qualify as members of the 1.5, second, or 2.5 generations. The sample used in this paper consists of 2,867 respondents.

CILS Measures

The CILS surveys ask questions about language knowledge and preference in each wave of the survey. In all three waves respondents were asked, “*Do you know a language other than English? Yes or No.*” Respondents were also asked, “*In what language do you prefer to speak most of the time?*” Two categories are created from responses to this question – (1) English and (2) NEL or both languages.

In the third wave of the CILS survey respondents were also asked “*In what language(s) do you speak with your parents, spouse or partner, children⁴, friends, and co-workers? English only, English mostly, English and Non-English about the same, Mostly in non-English language, in Non-English language only.*” Because prior research has documented variation in the use of NELs by domain of language use (Akresh 2007; Potowski 2004), I use the information available in the CILS surveys to evaluate whether

⁴ I exclude 196 respondents from the analysis of the language spoken with children because they respond “No” to the question “*Do you have any children? Yes or no.*”

there are generational differences in language use in specific settings. The original response categories for these questions are retained for use in this paper.

Three questions are used to construct the generational status of respondents: (1) *In what city and country were you born?*, (2) *In what country was your father born?*, and (3) *In what country was your mother born?*. Those who are foreign born and immigrated prior to turning 15 years old are identified as the 1.5 generation. Age at arrival is calculated by subtracting the age of the foreign-born respondents from the number of years they report residing in the United States. Native-born respondents with two foreign-born parents are considered to be members of the second generation while those with one foreign-born and one native-born parent are identified as members of the 2.5 generation. Seven foreign-born respondents have two native-born parents and are excluded from the analysis. In addition, 108 of the foreign-born respondents had one foreign-born parent and one native-born parent and are also excluded from the analysis.

The CILS data provides information about the national origin of all respondents. National origin was determined by the investigators based on the responses to three questions: *In what country was your father born?*, *In what country was your mother born?*, and *What is your national origin?*. If mother and father's national origins differ, the mother's national origin is assigned to the respondent. Using these base categories, I create a measure of national origin, which includes four groups: Cubans, Mexicans, Other Latin Americans and Asians. Because there are very few individuals whose national origins are classified Middle Eastern, African, or European I exclude these individuals from the analysis.

Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles

The Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) survey was conducted to examine how the children of recent immigrants are faring as they move through U.S. schools and enter the labor market. Data were collected in 2004 through multi-stage sampling, which employed the use of telephone interviews and more in-depth face-to-face interviews among a sub-sample of respondents. The survey provides information about the basic demographic characteristics, socio-cultural orientation and mobility, economic mobility, geographic mobility, and civic engagement and politics. The survey targets young adult children of immigrants between the ages of

20 and 40 years who are members of a selected set of national origin groups – Mexicans, Vietnamese, Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, and Central Americans from Guatemala and El Salvador. Young adults in the third and later generations were also surveyed, which targeted Mexican Americans and non-Hispanic whites and blacks. (Rumbaut et al. 2008).

IIMMLA Measures

The IIMMLA survey asked several questions about language use and preference. All participants are asked “When you were growing up, did you ever speak a language other than English at home?”. Those who respond yes to this question are then asked a series of follow up questions: “What language was that?”, “What language did you use most at home – English or (*language spoken*) when you were growing up?”, “What language do you prefer to speak in your home most of the time – English or (*language spoken*)?”. In this paper, I use a measure of language preference, which includes three response categories: NEL, English and NEL equally, and English. In addition, I construct a measure of NEL use based on the question as to whether an individual spoke a language other than English at home as a child to examine intergenerational differences in the use of NEL at home during childhood. This measure consists of two categories: NEL and English only.

There are several limitations to the data on language use provided by these questions. First, with the exception of the language preference question, *all* language questions in the IIMMLA survey are retrospective. Respondents are asked about their language use at home when growing up. There are no questions about current language use, therefore it is not possible to evaluate current language usage patterns or if these patterns have changed during the transition from childhood to adulthood. Second, because the language preference question is asked immediately after a series of questions focused on language use in the home during childhood, it is possible that respondents will interpret this question as targeting their language preferences in the home as children rather than their language preference at the time of the survey. Subsequently, it is unclear as to whether the question regarding language preference provides a measure of language preference during the present or the past.

I include only those respondents who qualify as members of the 1.5, second, 2.5, or third generations. The sample used in this paper consists of 4,426 respondents. Generational status is determined by evaluating the responses to questions regarding respondent and parental nativity: (1) “*Were you born in California, some other place in the U.S., or outside the U.S.?*” and (2) “*Were both of your parents born in the United States or were one or both born in another country?*”. Foreign-born respondents who immigrated prior to turning 15 years old are classified as members of the 1.5 generation. Age at immigration is determined by the response to the following question: “*At what age did you first come to the United States to live?*”. Native-born respondents with two foreign-born parents are considered to be members of the second generation and respondents with one foreign-born parent and one native-born parent are classified as members of the 2.5 generation. Respondents who are native-born and whose parents are both native born are considered as members of the third generation. Sixty foreign-born respondents had only one foreign-born parent and one native-born parent and are excluded from the analysis. In addition, 13 foreign-born respondents have two native-born parents and are also excluded from the analysis. Finally, I exclude foreign-born respondents who came to the United States to live after the age of 15, who are technically members of the first generation.

The IIMMLA survey provides information about the national origin of all respondents. Using the detailed national origin variable constructed by the investigators, I classify individuals into the following national origin groups: Mexican, Other Latin American/Caribbean, Asia, Europe/Middle East, and Non-Hispanic black and white. Individuals of Puerto Rican, Canadian, or British origin are excluded from the analyses. Because Mexican-origin respondents are the only national origin group of sufficient size (at least 100 cases to represent each generational status), I first compare Mexican with all other national origin groups. Because the aggregation of all other national origin groups into one category masks the variation between other origin groups, I also provide a second comparison of all five national origin groups and represent the comparisons where the sample size for that group falls below 100 with dashed lines.

RESULTS

Pew Hispanic Center Surveys

English Only versus English Dominance

Using the combined data from the six PHC surveys, Figures 2 and 3 display the percent distribution of English only and English dominant speakers by generational status at home and work. The category of English dominant in both Figures includes both English only and “English more than Spanish” speakers. In Figure 2, the percent speaking only English and English dominant is near zero percent in the first generation. While the percentage in both categories rises in each subsequent generation, the percent of English dominants becomes substantially higher in subsequent generations⁵. By the third generation, over 70 percent are English dominant, while less than 50 percent are English monolingual.

When language shift is defined as the shift to English monolingualism, the amount of shift that occurs among Latinos by the third generation is modest – only 50 percent have shifted to the exclusive use of English at home. These results are consistent with the findings reported in prior research (Alba 1999; Alba, Logan, Lutz, and Stults 2002; Ortman and Stevens 2008). In contrast, measuring language shift as the shift to English *dominance* (Hakimzadeh and Cohn 2007) indicates that language shift has been achieved by the third generation.

The percent distribution of English only and English dominant speakers at work is presented in Figure 3. The shift to the use of English is more pronounced in the workplace than at home. The percent of English dominant Latinos increases from near 25 percent in the first generation to 80 percent by the third generation. The use of English only also increases, but similar to the findings for home language use remains substantially lower across generations⁶. The percent of English only speakers increases

⁵ Differences within each generation in the proportion speaking only English at home and the proportion speaking more English than Spanish at home are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

⁶ Differences within each generation in the proportion speaking only English at work and the proportion speaking more English than Spanish at work are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

from 10 percent in the first generation to over 50 percent in the third generation, representing a difference of about 25 percent in the percent English only and English dominant by the third generation.

Decisions about the measurement of language shift are important to the conclusions that will be drawn from data on changes in language use across generations. If the end product of language shift is English dominance, then language shift has taken place by the third generation both at home and at work for the third generation. However, if language shift is identified as a change to the use of only English the amount of change is more modest and suggests that Spanish is being maintained to a high extent across generations of Latinos.

I also construct a third figure to compare the percent distribution of non-English language speakers across generations by domains of language use – at work and at home (see Figure 4). Non-English languages are maintained at higher levels at home than in the workplace⁷. This supports the claim that the domain of the home is “typically the last, strongest bastion of ethnic language use” (Bills, Hudson, and Hernández Chávez 2000). The use of Spanish both at home and in the workplace declines across generations, with a difference of about 10 percent in the proportion speaking Spanish in each generation. These findings are consistent with prior research, which concludes the probability of English use is highest in the workplace, while it is more likely that an NEL is used in communications at home, with a spouse, and with friends. (Akresh 2007).

Intergenerational Shifts in Bilingualism

Figures 5 and 6 measure not only the shift to English monolingualism or dominance, but also include measures of Spanish monolingualism and three levels of bilingualism: English dominant bilinguals (speak more English than Spanish), balanced bilinguals (speak English and Spanish equally), and Spanish dominant bilinguals (speak more Spanish than English). In these figures, each bar represents the percent distribution of language use within each generation in the home and at work. Comparing each bar can assess the magnitude and patterns of changes in both home and work language use.

⁷ Differences within each generation in the proportion speaking an NEL at home and the proportion speaking an NEL at work are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

With regard to home language use (see Figure 5), the proportion speaking only English and more English than Spanish (English dominant) increase across generations indicating that in each successive generation the use of English increases. The proportion using both languages equally increases from the first to the second generation, and then decreases from the second to the third generation. This represents a move toward English dominance. Finally, the proportion speaking only Spanish declines markedly from almost 60 percent in the first generation to just over 17 percent in the second generation and less than 5 percent in the third generation.

The 1.5 generation resembles the first generation in terms of the proportion speaking more Spanish than English, but is much more similar to the second generation for all other categories of language use. This suggests that it is important to treat the 1.5 generation as a separate generational status since these individuals are somewhat unique in their patterns of language use. The 2.5 generation more closely resembles the third generation than the second generation, but it is important to note that the percentage falling into the English dominant category is higher than for the second generation while the other categories are lower than the percentage distribution found for the second generation. This suggests that the 2.5 generation is also distinct from the second and third generations, and should also be treated as a separate generational status.

The conversion to English dominance as well as English monolingualism is much more pronounced when looking at patterns of language use at work by generational status (see Figure 6). One-third of the second generation speak only English at work and almost 60 percent of the third generation speak only English at work. The use of only Spanish in the workplace drops dramatically after the first generation and Spanish dominance (only Spanish or more Spanish than English) accounts for less than 5 percent of the third generation. Finally while the equal use of both Spanish and English declined slowly across generations, the percentage of English dominant bilinguals increased from 12 percent in the first generation to 32 percent in the second generation before dropping slightly to 22 percent of the third generation. This indicates that while English is gaining dominance, Spanish is still being maintained both within and without the home setting.

Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study

Language Knowledge versus Language Preference

Using data from the third wave of the CILS survey, I construct Figures 7 and 8 to examine differences in language knowledge and preference across generations and by national origin group. I present the distribution for the entire sample (identified as *All* in the figure) and then compare language knowledge and preference across generations for each national origin group separately.

Overall, the majority of all respondents report they have knowledge of an NEL. The percentage that indicates they have knowledge of an NEL declines across generations. About 94 percent of 1.5-generation respondents report that they have knowledge of an NEL. Slightly fewer second-generation respondents report they have knowledge of an NEL and less than 70 percent of 2.5-generation respondents report they have knowledge of an NEL. Virtually all 1.5 and second generation Cubans and Mexicans indicate they have knowledge of an NEL. In the 2.5 generation, knowledge of an NEL declines slightly. Knowledge of an NEL is also high among Latin Americans, with nearly 90 percent of the 1.5 and second generations reporting they have knowledge of an NEL. This declines to just over 70 percent in the 2.5 generation. Asians exhibit similar levels of NEL knowledge in the 1.5 generation, with around 94 percent reporting they have knowledge of an NEL. In contrast to the Hispanic-origin groups, the percentage of Asians with knowledge of an NEL declines to just fewer than 70 percent in the second generation and less than 50 percent in the 2.5 generation. It may be concluded from this figure that there are differences between generations in the knowledge of an NEL. There are also important differences in the language knowledge patterns across national origin groups, as shown in the comparison of Asians to the Hispanic immigrant groups⁸. It appears that Asians are much more likely to lose knowledge of their NEL

⁸Differences between 1.5 generation Cubans and Mexicans, 1.5 generation Latin Americans and Asians, second generation Cubans and Mexicans, 2.5 generation Cubans and Mexicans, and 2.5 generation Mexicans and Latin Americans are not significant ($p > .05$). All other national origin differences within each generational status are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

across generations, while Hispanics are maintaining the knowledge of the NELs across generations.

In Figure 8, I present differences in language preference across generations and by national origin group. Overall, less than half of those sampled prefer to use an NEL. Just over 40 percent of all respondents in the 1.5 generation indicate they prefer to speak an NEL. In the second generation this falls to 30 percent and in the 2.5 generation only 17 percent prefer to speak an NEL. Mexicans have the highest percentage of individuals preferring to use an NEL in both the 1.5 and second generations. Over 75 percent of Mexicans indicate they prefer to speak an NEL. This drops to just fewer than 70 percent in the second generation and then declines substantially to fewer than 30 percent of 2.5-generation respondents indicating a preference for an NEL. Cubans and Latin Americans have much lower preference for NELs. Among Cubans, around 45 percent of the 1.5 generation prefers to use an NEL, which declines to about 30 percent in the second and 2.5 generations. Among Latin Americans just over 35 percent of the 1.5 generation prefers to use an NEL, which declines to 30 percent in the second generation and then 15 percent in the 2.5 generation. While the knowledge of an NEL is maintained across generations of Hispanics, English is rapidly becoming the preferred means of communication for Hispanics. While the language preference of Asians is similar to that of Cubans and Other Latin Americans during the 1.5 generation, around 10 percent of the second generation and less than 10 percent of the 2.5 generation indicate a preference for an NEL over the use of English⁹.

The measure of language knowledge, based on a question asking individuals whether they have knowledge of a language other than English, presents results that indicate higher levels of maintenance of non-English languages across generations than does the measure of language preference. The majority of Hispanics have knowledge of an NEL across generations, while Asians experience a marked divergence from this

⁹ Differences between 1.5 generation Cubans, Latin Americans, and Asians are not significant ($p > .05$). In addition, differences between second generation Cubans and Latin Americans and 2.5 generation Latin Americans and Asians are not statistically significant ($p > .05$). Finally, differences between 2.5 generation Cubans, Mexicans, and Latin Americans are not statistically significant ($p > .05$). All other national origin differences within each generational status are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

pattern with substantial losses in the knowledge of NELs into the second and 2.5 generations.

Language Spoken by Domain of Language Use

Using data from the third wave of the CILS study, I construct Figures 9 to 13 to display the percent distribution of the language spoken by domain of use across generations and national origin groups. Respondents are asked what language they speak in five domains – with their parents, spouse or partner, children, close friends, and co-workers. Because the measures used to construct these figures include information about the relative use of both English and NELs, this measure may be used to assess the shift to English monolingualism or dominance as well as the maintenance of NELs across generations in each domain of language use. In these figures, each bar represents the percent distribution of the language spoken within each generation in each of the five domains of language use. By comparing each bar, it is possible to evaluate the magnitude and patterns of change in each domain of language use across generations and by national origin group.

With regard to the language respondents' use when speaking with their parents (see Figure 9), the proportion speaking mostly or only English increases across generations. By the 2.5 generation, nearly 70 percent of all respondents use primarily English when speaking with their parents. Just fewer than half of all respondents speak only English with their parents. The proportion of respondents that speak an NEL language with their parents most or all of the time decreases across generations. By the 2.5 generation, about 10 percent of respondents speak only or mostly an NEL with their parents. The proportion that speak English and an NEL about the same with their parents increases from nearly 23 percent in the 1.5 generation to one-third of respondents in the second generation. This decreases further to about 20 percent in the 2.5 generation.

There is substantial variation within national origin groups in the amount of intergenerational language shift. Very few 1.5-generation young adults of Cuban or Mexican-origin use only or mostly English to speak with their parents. Among Cubans, the use of English most or all of the time rises to 20 percent in the second generation and is over 50 percent in the 2.5 generation. The use of English does not increase

significantly among Mexicans until the 2.5 generation. Less than 30 percent of the Mexican-origin 2.5 generation speak only English with their parents and less than 50 percent speak mostly English.

Latin Americans exhibit a slightly higher use of English with their parents across generations when compared to Cubans and Mexicans. In the 1.5 generation, just over 10 percent of Latin Americans speak only or mostly English with their parents. Just over 25 percent of Latin Americans speak only or mostly English with their parents in the second generation. In the 2.5 generation, over 40 percent of Latin Americans speak only English with their parents while an additional 20 percent speak mostly English.

The use of English when speaking with parents is most common among Asians. Almost 20 percent of the Asian-origin 1.5 generation speak only English with their parents. Another 10 percent speak mostly English. In the second generation, over 50 percent of Asians report speaking only English with their parents and just fewer than 80 percent indicate they speak only or mostly English. Nearly 80 percent of Asians in the 2.5 generation use only English and 90 percent speak primarily English with their parents.

A majority of respondents indicate they use primarily English to speak with their spouse or partner (see Figure 10). In the 1.5 generation, over 40 percent speak only English with their spouse or partner and an additional 20 percent speak mostly English. English dominance increases to about 75 percent in the second generation and over 80 percent of the 2.5 generation uses mostly or only English to speak with their spouse or partner. The proportion of respondents that speak an NEL most or all of the time with their spouse or partner is less than 10 percent in the 1.5 generation and fewer than five percent of the 2.5 generation report that they speak only or mostly an NEL. The use of both English and an NEL about the same when speaking with a spouse or partner decreases steadily to 12 percent by the 2.5 generation.

There are notable differences in the language used to speak with a spouse or partner by national origin. Once again, the use of English is most prevalent among Asians. Over 70 percent of the Asian-origin 1.5 generation speak mostly or only English with their spouse or partner. More than 50 percent use only English with their spouse or partner. In the second and 2.5 generations, over 90 percent of Asians speak primarily

English while just fewer than 90 percent of Asians in both generations speak only English with their spouse or partner.

Mexican-origin respondents exhibit the least use of English when speaking with a spouse or partner. Around 10 percent of the 1.5 generation speak only English and fewer than 30 percent speak mostly or only English with their spouse or partner. In the second generation, more than 30 percent of Mexicans speak only English with their spouse or partner, while 50 percent of 2.5-generation Mexicans report speaking only English. When including those who speak mostly English, over 70 percent of the Mexican 2.5 generation is English dominant.

Cubans and Latin Americans exhibit higher levels of English use, when compared to Mexicans. Nearly 70 percent of Latin Americans and 60 percent of Cubans speak mostly or only English with their spouse or partner in the 1.5 generation. The percentage of English dominant speakers increases across generations. Nearly 90 percent of Latin Americans and more than 70 percent of Cubans in the 2.5 generation use primarily English when speaking with their spouse or partner.

The use of English also increases across generations when evaluating the language used by respondents to speak with their children. Less than 20 percent of the 1.5 generation speak only English with their children while about 60 percent of 2.5-generation respondents indicate they speak only English with their children. In contrast, the use of an NEL when speaking with children decreases across generations. Fewer than 20 percent of the 1.5 generation use an NEL all or some of the time when speaking with their children, while less than 10 percent of the second generation and about five percent of the 2.5 generation speak primarily an NEL with their children. Nearly half of respondents in the 1.5 generation report they speak English and an NEL about the same when speaking with their children. The use of both English and an NEL equally increases to about 52 percent in the second generation and by the 2.5 generation around 34 percent of respondents speak both languages about the same when speaking with their children.

The use of English with children is most prevalent among Asians. About 30 percent of Asian-origin respondents speak only English with their children and another 17 percent speak mostly English in the 1.5 generation. In the second and 2.5 generations,

over 70 percent of respondents speak only English with their children. English is the primary language spoken with children for almost 90 percent of Asians in the second and 2.5 generations. The remaining ten percent of respondents speak English and an NEL about the same. None of the Asian-origin second or 2.5-generation respondents report speaking an NEL most or all of the time.

The use of English is least prevalent among Cubans. English is the primary language spoken with children for about 10 percent of respondents in the 1.5 generation. Among second-generation Cubans, around 25 percent speak primarily English with their children. However, just over 10 percent of 2.5-generation respondents speak primarily English with their children¹⁰. A slightly higher proportion of Mexican-origin respondents speak primarily English with their children. Nearly 20 percent of 1.5 generation and over 25 percent of second-generation respondents speak primarily English with their children. In the 2.5 generation, over 40 percent speak primarily English with their children. A similar trend is shown for Latin Americans. About 30 percent of 1.5-generation and second-generation respondents use English as the primary language spoken with their children. This rises to about 65 percent of respondents in the 2.5 generation.

With regard to the language spoken with close friends, the use of English is quite prevalent (see Figure 12) and the differences in language use between generations are quite modest. The proportion of respondents speaking only English with close friends increases from 40 percent in the 1.5 generation to over 60 percent in the 2.5 generation. The use of English mostly and the use of English and an NEL about the same are also substantial. In the 1.5 and second generations almost 30 percent of respondents report speaking mostly English with their close friends. In the 2.5 generation, less than 25 percent speak mostly English with close friends. The proportion speaking both English and an NEL about the same is almost 30 percent in the 1.5 generation, but declines to 23 percent in the second generation and 14 percent in the 2.5 generation. Very few respondents report using an NEL most or all of the time when speaking with close friends. About four percent of the 1.5 generation speak primarily an NEL with close

¹⁰ The apparent decline in English use between the second and 2.5 generations may be accounted for by characteristics of the CILS sample. Of the 699 Cubans in the CILS-III sample, only 9 individuals are classified as members of the 2.5-generation and had children.

friends, which drops to two percent in the second generation and only one percent of the 2.5 generation.

The use of English to speak with close friends is most pronounced among Asians. Over 50 percent of 1.5-generation Asians speak only English with close friends. This rises above 80 percent for both second and 2.5-generation respondents. When including those who speak mostly English, over 75 percent of 1.5-generation respondents speak primarily English with close friends and nearly all of the second and 2.5 generations speak English most or all of the time. A high proportion of Latin Americans also speak mostly or only English with close friends. More than 70 percent of 1.5 and second generation respondents and over 80 percent of the 2.5-generation respondents speak primarily English with close friends.

Slightly fewer Cubans use English most or all of the time when speaking with close friends. Less than 60 percent of 1.5-generation Cubans speak primarily English. This increases to about 70 percent in the second and 2.5 generations. Substantially fewer 1.5 and second-generation Mexican-origin respondents speak mostly or only English with close friends. Less than 40 percent of the 1.5 and second generation respondents report that they use English most or all of the time when speaking with close friends. This increases considerably in the 2.5 generation, where over 75 percent of Mexican-origin respondents report speaking primarily English with close friends.

English is the primary language spoken with co-workers (see Figure 13) in all three generations and the differences between generations indicates an increasing reliance on English across generations in the workplace. Over 50 percent of 1.5 and second generations respondents speak only English with co-workers while 70 percent of the 2.5 generation speak only English. Just over 20 percent of 1.5 and second generation respondents speak mostly English with co-workers, which drops to 15 percent in the 2.5 generation. Very few respondents use an NEL all or most of the time to speak with co-workers. Only four percent of the 1.5 and second generations and only 2 percent of the 2.5 generation speak primarily an NEL with co-workers. The use of both English and an NEL equally accounts for about 20 percent of 1.5 and second generation respondents, but this decreases to 13 percent of the 2.5 generation.

While the use of English is a prominent means of speaking with co-workers, there is cross-national variation in the primacy of English in the workplace. The use of only English is most prevalent among Asians. Nearly 80 percent of 1.5-generation Asians speak only English with co-workers, while 90 percent of second and 2.5 generation Asians report speaking only English with co-workers. Less than half of 1.5-generation respondents of Cuban, Mexican, or Latin American origin speak only English. Among Cubans, the percentage speaking only English with co-workers remains less than 50 percent across generations. The use of only English is higher in the second and 2.5 generations of Mexicans and Latin Americans. Over 60 percent of 2.5-generation Mexicans and Latin Americans speak only English with co-workers.

While the use of only English is not dominant across all national origin groups, when including the category of mostly English it becomes clear that English is the dominant means of communication in the workplace. Around 60 percent of all Cubans speak English most or all of the time and an additional third of the Cuban-origin population speak English and an NEL equally. More than 50 percent of 1.5 generation and over 60 percent of second generation Mexicans speak only or mostly English with co-workers. Around 85 percent of the Mexican-origin 2.5 generation speak primarily English with co-workers. An even higher proportion of Latin Americans speak primarily English with their co-workers. Just over 70 percent of 1.5-generation Latin Americans speak mostly or only English, which rises to nearly 80 percent of second-generation respondents and over 80 percent of 2.5-generation respondents. Over 90 percent of Asian-origin 1.5-generation respondents report speaking English most or all of the time. In the second and 2.5 generations this increases to over 95 percent of all Asians. Very few respondents report that they speak mostly or only an NEL with co-workers and among Asians no members of the second or 2.5 generations report speaking an NEL most or all of the time.

The use of English increases across generations in all domains of language use available in the CILS data, both overall and within national origin groups. While English is gaining dominance across generations, NELs are still maintained in particular settings. NELs are used primarily as a means of communication with family members. The proportion speaking an NEL most or all of the time is highest with respondents' parents,

but also a notable feature of communication with a spouse or partner and with children. Consistent with the results produced in an analysis of Hispanics using Pew Hispanic Center surveys earlier in this paper, I find that a shift to English dominance as well as English monolingualism is more pronounced when evaluating the language used in the workplace than when measured as the language spoken with family members. In addition, the continued use of an NEL is more prominent across generations of Cubans, Mexicans, and to some extent other Latin Americans. In contrast, English rapidly becomes the dominant and in some cases the only means of communication across generations of Asians in all five domains of language use.

Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles

Language Preference

Using information on the language that respondents report they prefer to speak at home, I construct Figures 14 and 15 to show the percent distribution of respondents who prefer to speak only an NEL or both English and an NEL at home. In Figure 14, I compare the language preference of Mexican origin respondent's with all other national origin groups. Mexicans exhibit a higher overall preference for the use of an NEL part or all of the time at home across generations¹¹. Preference for NELs declines across generations for all groups. While over 60 percent of Mexicans in the 1.5 generation prefer to use an NEL at home at least part of the time, this drops substantially by the third generation where fewer than 20 percent indicate a preference for an NEL at least part of the time. Among other national origin groups, the percentage that prefers to speak an NEL at least part of the time drops from just fewer than 50 percent in the 1.5 generation to less than 10 percent in the third generation.

In Figure 15, I compare the home language preferences of all five national origin groups across generations¹². Around 50 percent of individuals of Latin American,

¹¹ Differences within each generation in the proportion of Mexicans who prefer to use an NEL and the proportion of other national origin groups that prefer to use an NEL are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

¹² Differences between Mexicans and Latin Americans are not significant within any generational status ($p > .05$). Differences between individuals of European or Middle Eastern descent and Mexicans, Latin Americans, or Asians in the second and 2.5

Caribbean, or Asian origin indicate a preference for an NEL at least part of the time, which drops steadily across generations to around 5 percent by the 2.5 generation for Asians and nearly zero percent among Other Latin Americans and those from the Caribbean. In comparison to other national origin groups, individuals of European or Middle Eastern descent have less preference for the use of an NEL at home in the 1.5 generation, which drops to around 5 percent by the 2.5 generation. Those identified as non-Hispanic black or white exhibit virtually no preference for NEL. However, there are only 18 individuals in the 1.5, second, and 2.5 generations while the remaining 781 cases for this national origin group fall in the third generation. Because this national origin group is virtually not represented in the earlier generational cohorts, the only conclusive result is that by the third generation a very small minority of non-Hispanic black or white respondents exhibits preference for an NEL.

The findings regarding intergenerational shift in home language preference indicate that there is a substantial decline in the percentage that prefer to speak an NEL at home across generations, resulting in a third generation that indicates their preferred means of communication in the home is English. However, the measure of language preference does not necessarily represent language use. To estimate how preference may diverge from actual language use among those surveyed, I also evaluate the intergenerational differences in the percent that spoke an NEL at home while growing up.

Childhood Language Use

In Figures 16 and 17, I provide an intergenerational comparison of the percent speaking an NEL at home while growing up by national origin. First, I compare those of Mexican-origin with all other national origin groups (see Figure 16). The percent that report speaking an NEL during childhood is around 90 percent in the 1.5 generation for both Mexican and other origin groups and there is an overall decline in this percentage across generations. The percent distribution diverges after the 1.5 generation and Mexican origin respondents report a consistently higher rate of NEL usage across

generations are not significant ($p > .05$). Non-Hispanic blacks and whites in the 2.5 generation do not differ significantly from Latin Americans, Asians, or individuals of European or Middle Eastern descent in the 2.5 generation ($p > .05$). All other national origin differences within each generational status are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

generations¹³. In addition, there is an increase between the 1.5 and second generations for Mexican origin respondents, among which 95 percent report speaking an NEL at home while growing up. By the third generation, just over 25 percent and under 10 percent of the Mexican and other national origin groups spoke an NEL during childhood, respectively.

In Figure 17, I compare all five national origin groups and find that those of Mexican, Other Latin American, or Caribbean origin exhibit the highest levels of NEL use during childhood. Individuals of Asian, European, or Middle Eastern origin exhibit similar levels of NEL use as children as do the Mexican, Other Latin American, and Caribbean origin respondents, but their levels of NEL use fall much more rapidly across generations to just over 20 percent in the 2.5 generation¹⁴. Non-Hispanic blacks and whites exhibit substantially less frequent use of NELs during childhood, with only 50 percent reporting they used an NEL while growing up in the 1.5 generation. While this rises to over 65 percent in the second generation, fewer than 10 percent report speaking an NEL at home while growing up in the third generation. Sample size is once again an issue, particularly for the non-Hispanic black and white origin groups that have very little representation in any generational status with the exception of the third generation and the European/Middle East origin group that has no representation in the third generation.

It is apparent that the use of NELs was quite prevalent for most national origin groups among the earliest generational cohorts, but declines across generations. When compared to the measure of language preference, these results indicate that the

¹³ Differences in the proportion of 1.5-generation Mexicans and other national origin groups that spoke an NEL at home while growing up are not statistically significant. All differences within the three other generational statuses are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

¹⁴ Differences across national origin groups in the 1.5 generation are not significant ($p > .05$). Second and 2.5 generation non-Hispanic blacks and whites do not differ significantly from any other origin group ($p > .05$). Differences between Mexicans and Latin Americans in the second and third generations are not significant ($p > .05$) and differences between Latin Americans and non-Hispanic blacks and whites in the third generation are not significant ($p > .05$). Finally, differences between 2.5 generation individuals of European or Middle Eastern descent and Asians are not significant ($p > .05$). All other national origin differences in the percentage of respondents that spoke an NEL at home while growing up within each generational status are statistically significant ($p < .05$).

substantial and growing preference for English across generations does not parallel the actual use of NELs across generations, at least during childhood. Therefore preference should not be used as a measure that approximates use or represents the maintenance or attrition of NELs among immigrant-origin groups in the U.S.

DISCUSSION

Estimates of intergenerational language shift between the first and third generations range from a dramatic 95 percent decrease in NEL preference among Mexican Americans (Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006) to a more modest 53 percent decrease in NEL use among Hispanic adults (author's analysis of 2004 CPS data). In this paper, I investigated the role that differences in samples, measures, and domains of language use play in producing these discrepancies in the estimation of intergenerational language shift. The analyses show that results based on a measure of language preference show a faster pace of intergenerational language shift than measures of knowledge or use. The pace of language shift also varies across domains of use and by national origin. NELs are maintained at higher rates across generations as a means of communication with family members, but English prevails as the primary means of communication with friends and co-workers. The results also show that for all measures of language shift, the pace of language shift is more rapid for Asians than Hispanic-origin groups.

The nuances in the differences across samples, measures, and domains shed substantive light on the progression of the language shift process. There is a pronounced preference for the use of English across generations, however a substantial portion of respondents indicates they have knowledge of an NEL and many continue to use an NEL in numerous settings. This may indicate that a shift in preferences precedes the shift in actual use and knowledge. The continued use and maintained knowledge of an NEL, in spite of a preference for English, may indicate that individuals maintain their use of an NEL out of necessity – for example, as a means of communication with older relatives (i.e., parents or grandparents) who lack the ability to communicate in English. This is supported by the results for domain-specific uses of NELs, which show that NELs are primarily maintained as a means of communicating with family while English prevails in settings outside of the home such as the workplace.

The results in this paper provide insight into the process of language shift. The discrepancies across samples, measures, and domains may reflect different stages in the language shift process, rather than conflicting evidence regarding the pace of language shift. Subsequently, a measure of language preference may be used to detect the beginning of the process while shifts in actual usage and knowledge of an NEL reflect that language shift is entering the final stages.

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Figure 1. Differing Estimates of Intergenerational Language Shift.

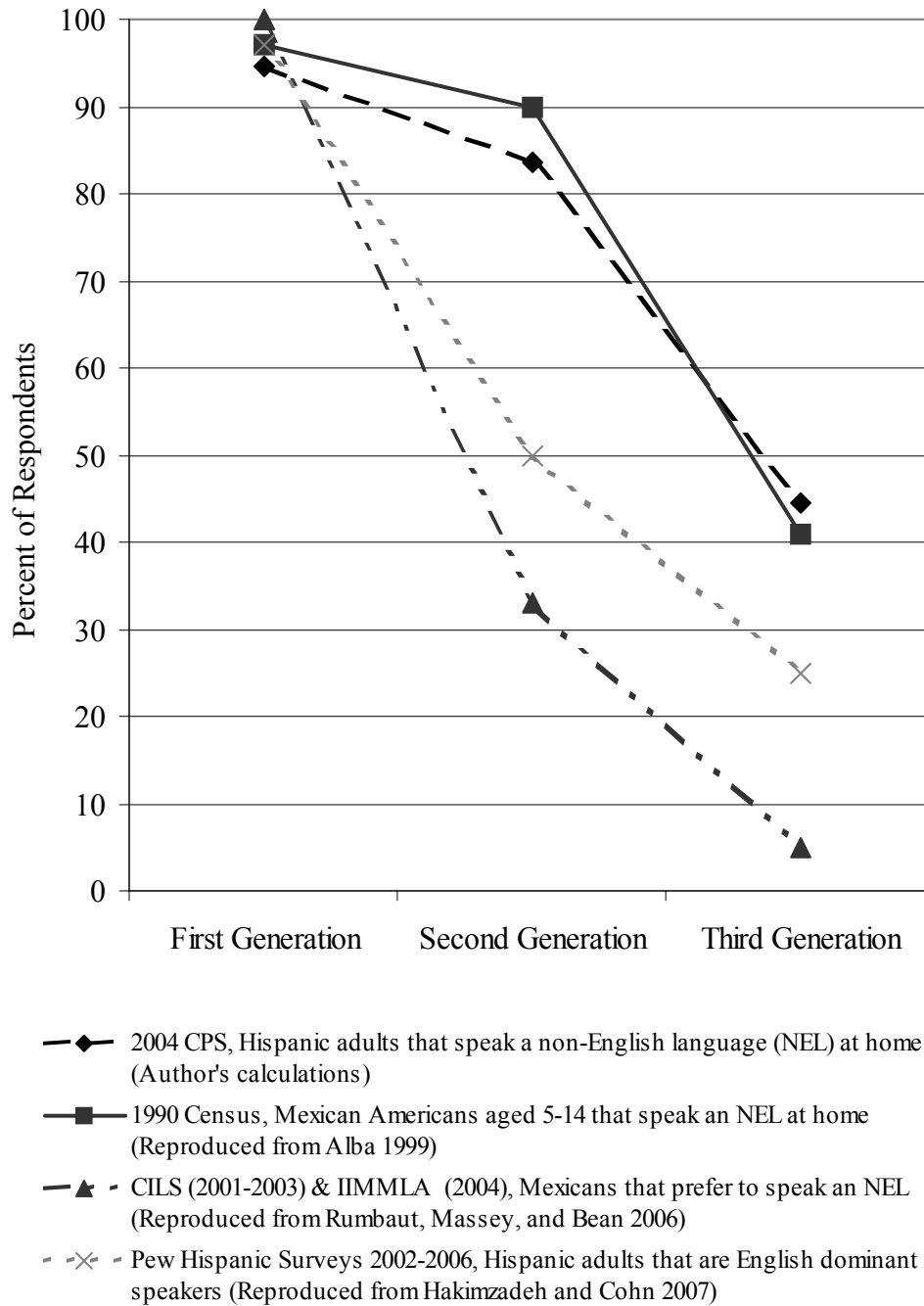
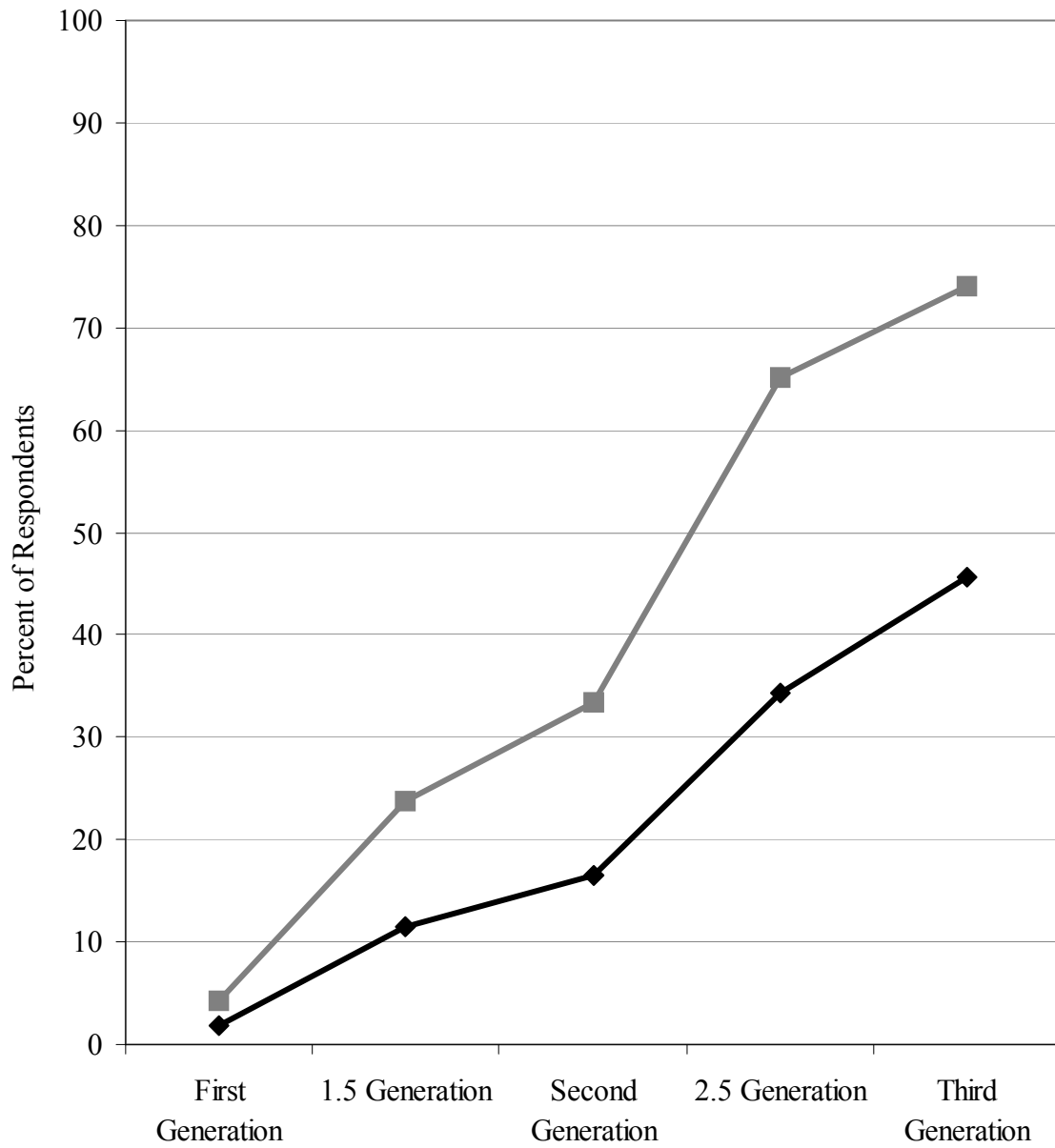


Table 1. Characteristics of Data Used to Study Intergenerational Language Shift.

<i>Study</i>	<i>Hakimzadeh & Cohn 2007</i>	<i>Rumbaut, Massey, & Bean 2006</i>		<i>Alba 1999</i>	<i>Ortman</i>
<i>Data</i>	Pew Hispanic Center Surveys (2002-2006)	CILS-III (2001-2003)	IIMMLA (2004)	U.S. Census (1990)	CPS (2004)
<i>Sampling Frame</i>	Adults (18+ years) living in the U.S.	Young Adults (early 20s) in Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, FL & San Diego, CA	Young Adults (20-40 years) living in Los Angeles, CA	Children (5-14 years) living in the U.S.	Adults (18+ years) living in the U.S.
<i>National Origins</i>	Hispanics	Filipinos, Chinese, Vietnamese, Koreans, Other Asians, Salvadorans-Guatemalans, Mexicans, Other Latin Americans, White Europeans		Mexican Americans	Hispanics
<i>Generations</i>	1 st , 2 nd , & 3 rd	1.5, 2 nd , 2.5, 3 rd		1 st , 2 nd , & 3 rd	1 st , 2 nd , & 3 rd
<i>Language Measures</i>	Language respondent speaks at home & work	Knowledge of NEL, language respondent prefers to speak, language spoken in specific domains	Language respondent spoke at home as a child, language respondent prefers to speak	Language spoken at home	Language spoken at home

Figure 2. Percent of Hispanic Adults Speaking Only English or More English than Spanish at Home by Generational Status. Pew Hispanic Surveys, 2002-2006.



◆ Speaks only English at home ■ Speaks more English than Spanish at home

Figure 3. Percent of Hispanic Adults Speaking Only English or More English than Spanish at Work by Generational Status. Pew Hispanic Surveys, 2002-2006.

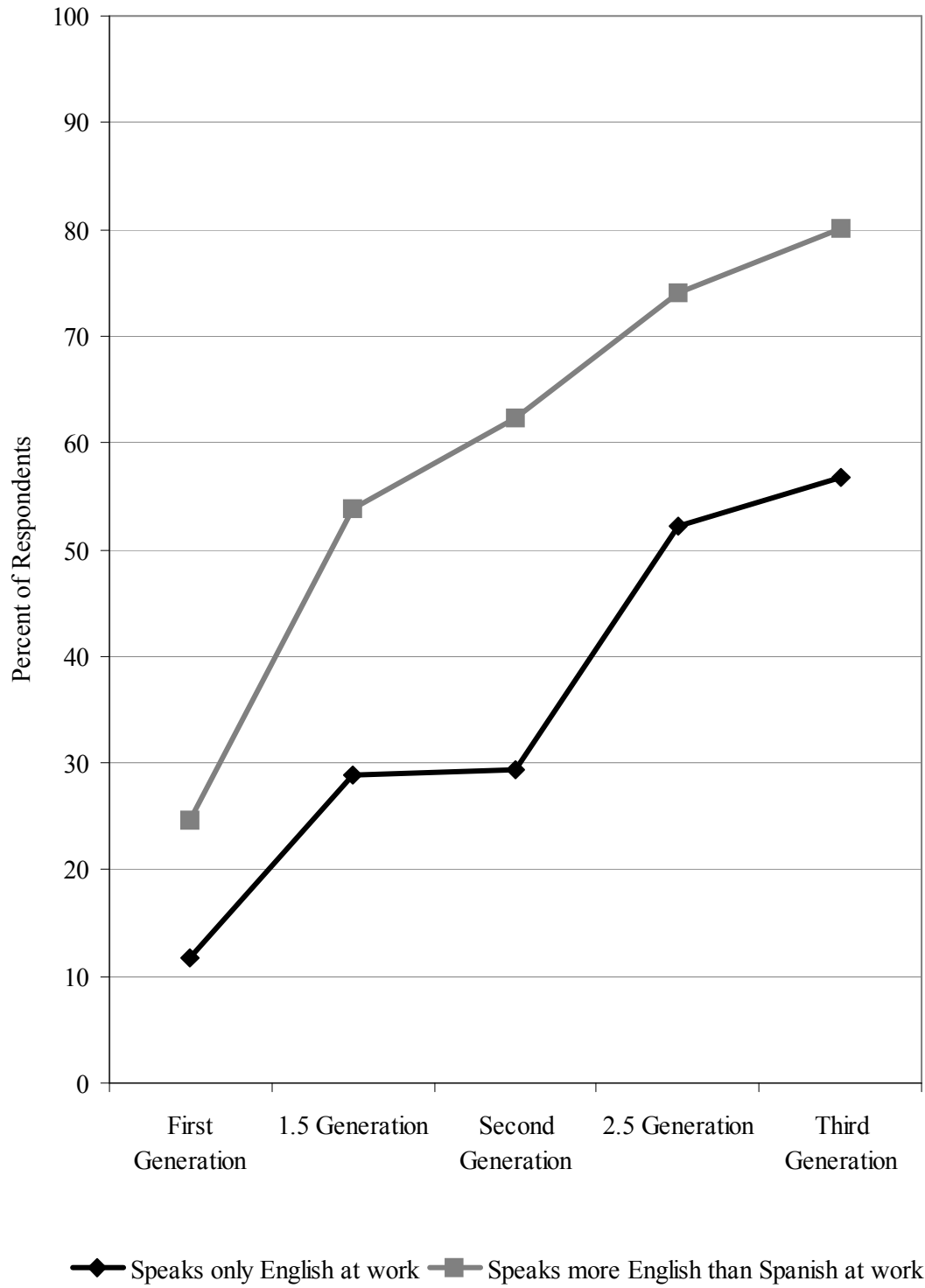


Figure 4. Percent of Hispanic Adults Speaking an NEL at Home and Work by Generational Status. Pew Hispanic Surveys, 2002-2006.

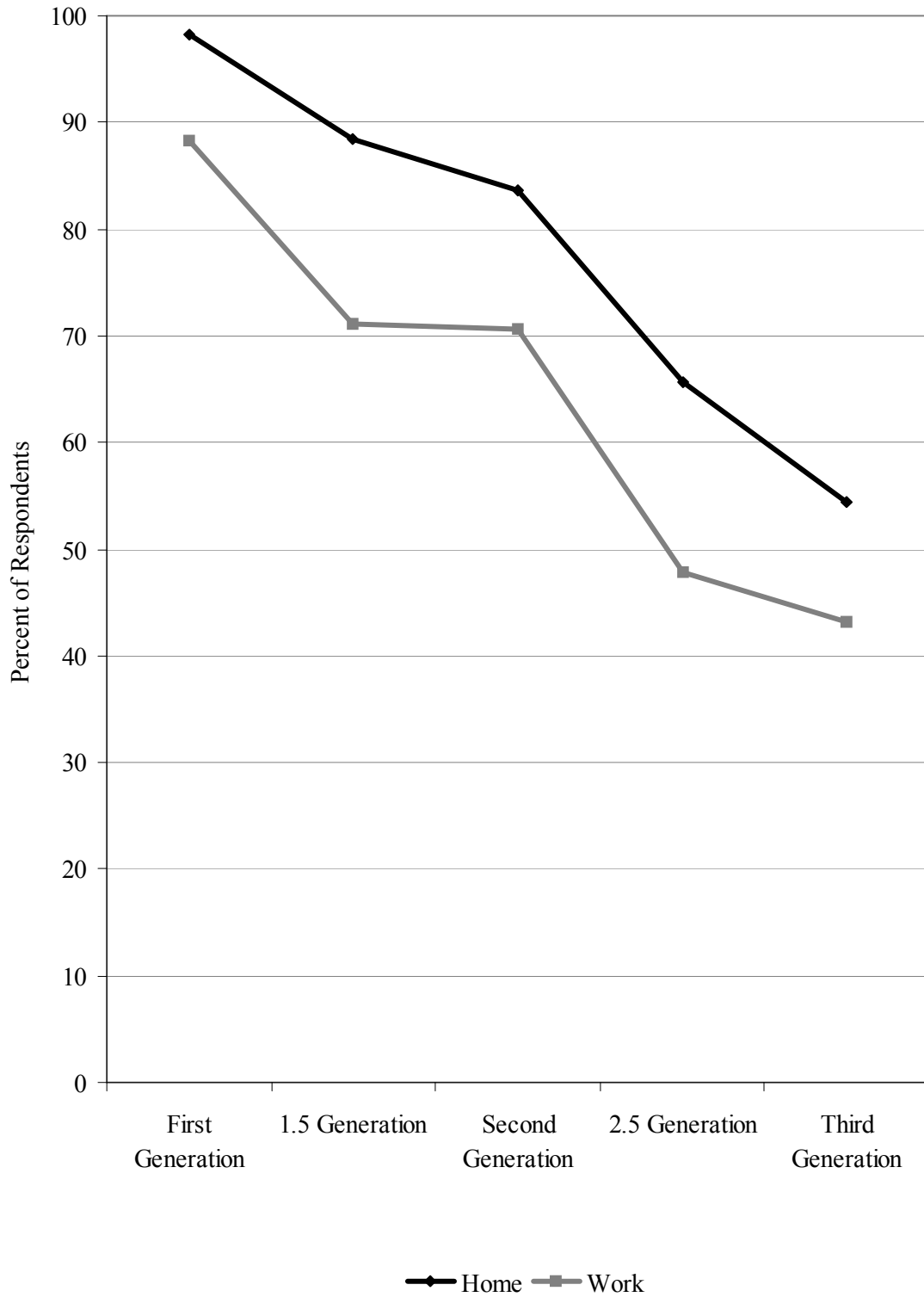
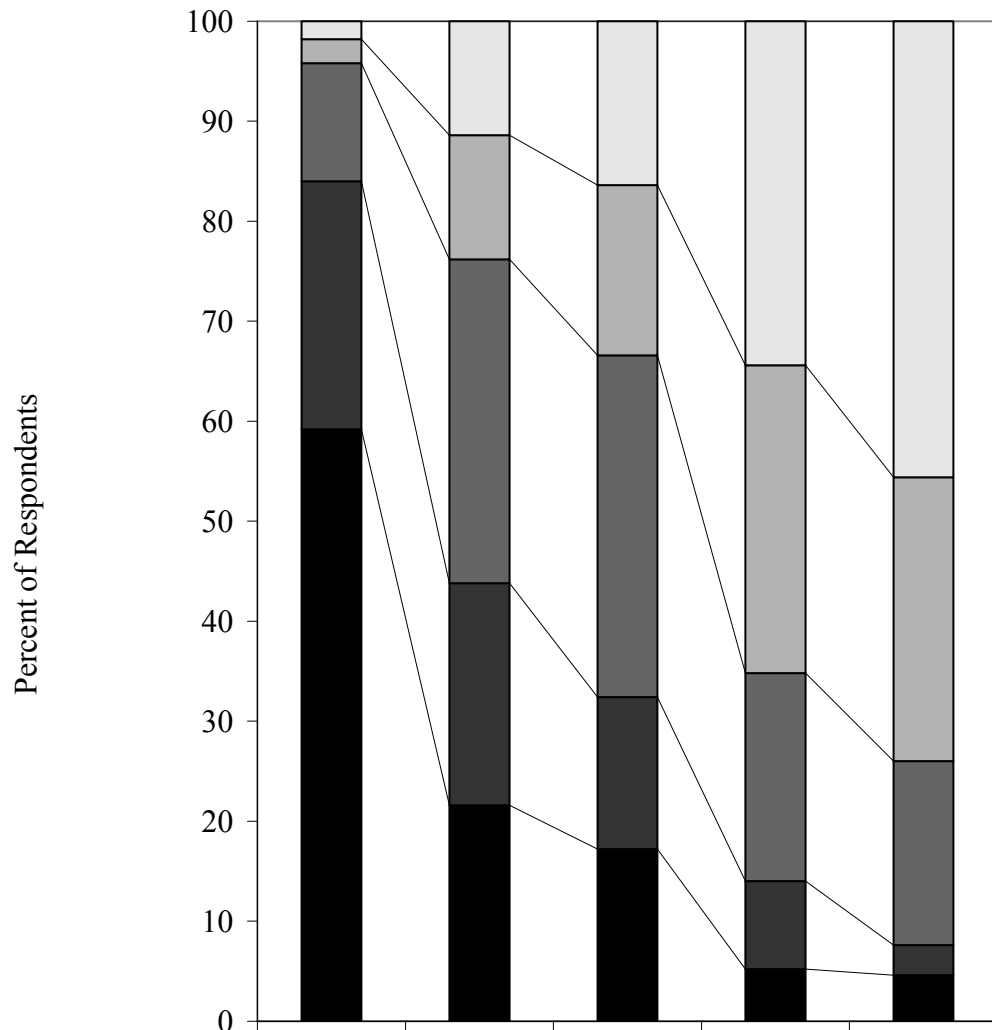
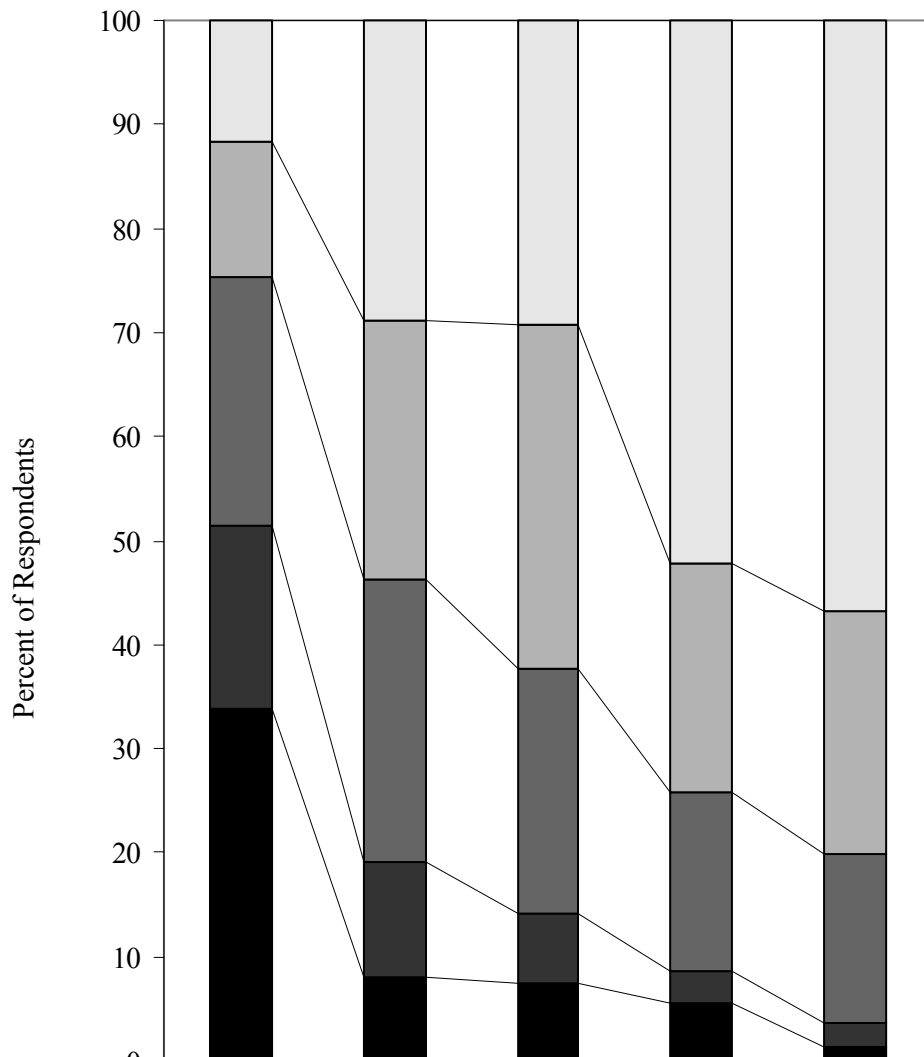


Figure 5. Language Spoken by Hispanic Adults at Home by Generational Status. Pew Hispanic Surveys, 2002-2006.



	First Generation	1.5 Generation	Second Generation	2.5 Generation	Third Generation
□ Only English	1.81	11.50	16.45	34.36	45.66
▒ More English than Spanish	2.45	12.34	16.91	30.76	28.35
■ Both equally	11.67	32.46	34.29	20.85	18.42
■ More Spanish than English	24.80	22.04	15.06	8.88	2.98
■ Only Spanish	59.26	21.68	17.29	5.15	4.59

Figure 6. Language Spoken by Hispanic Adults at Work by Generational Status. Pew Hispanic Surveys, 2002-2006.



	First Generation	1.5 Generation	Second Generation	2.5 Generation	Third Generation
□ Only English	11.70	28.81	29.35	52.13	56.74
▒ More English than Spanish	12.93	25.00	33.05	22.00	23.38
▓ Both equally	23.99	26.98	23.55	17.19	16.20
■ More Spanish than English	17.56	11.16	6.66	3.14	2.31
■ Only Spanish	33.83	8.05	7.40	5.55	1.36

Figure 7. Percent of Respondents that have Knowledge of an NEL by Generational Status and National Origin. CILS Wave 3, 2001-2003.

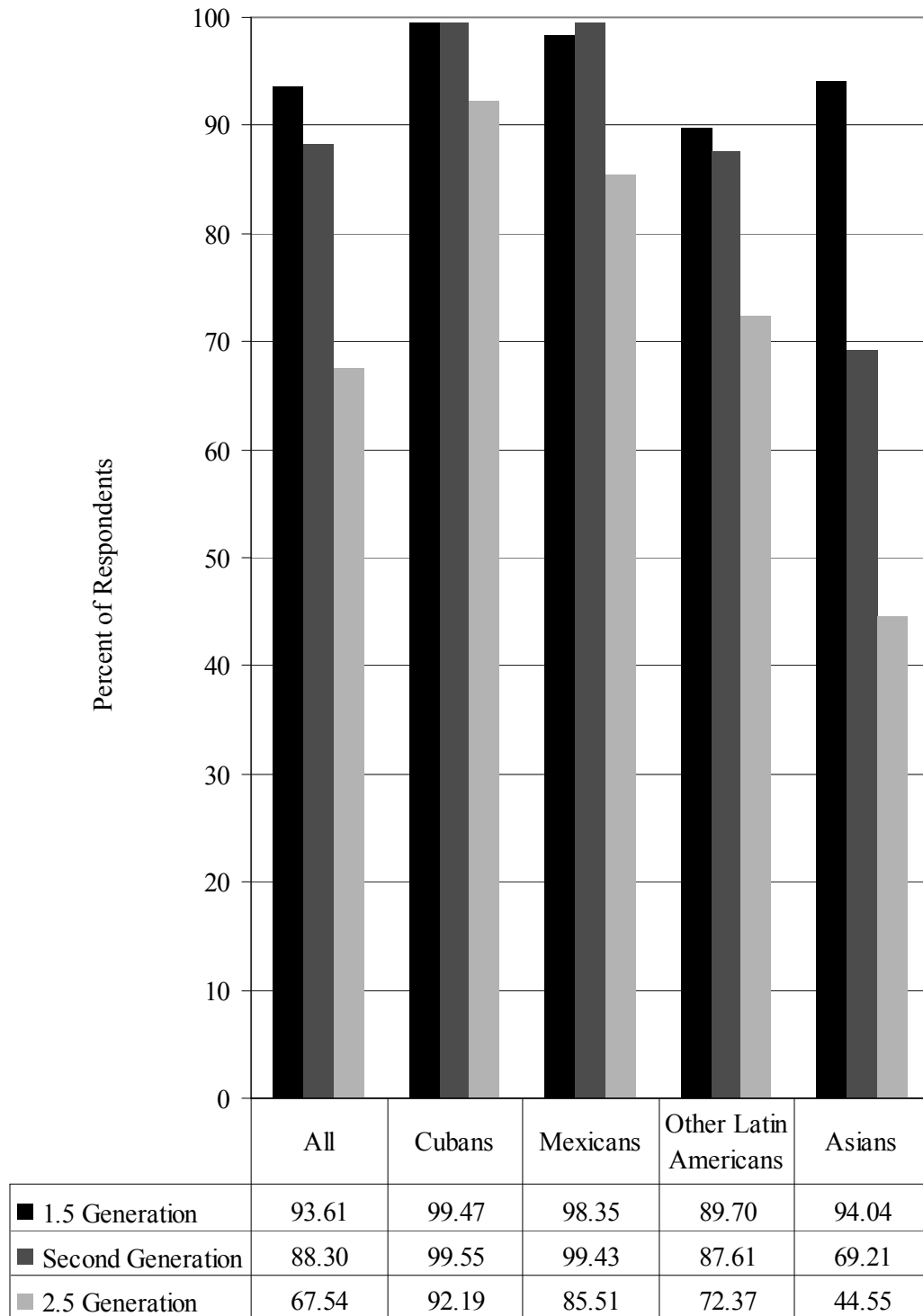


Figure 8. Percent of Respondents that Prefer to Speak an NEL by Generational Status and National Origin. CILS Wave 3, 2001-2003.

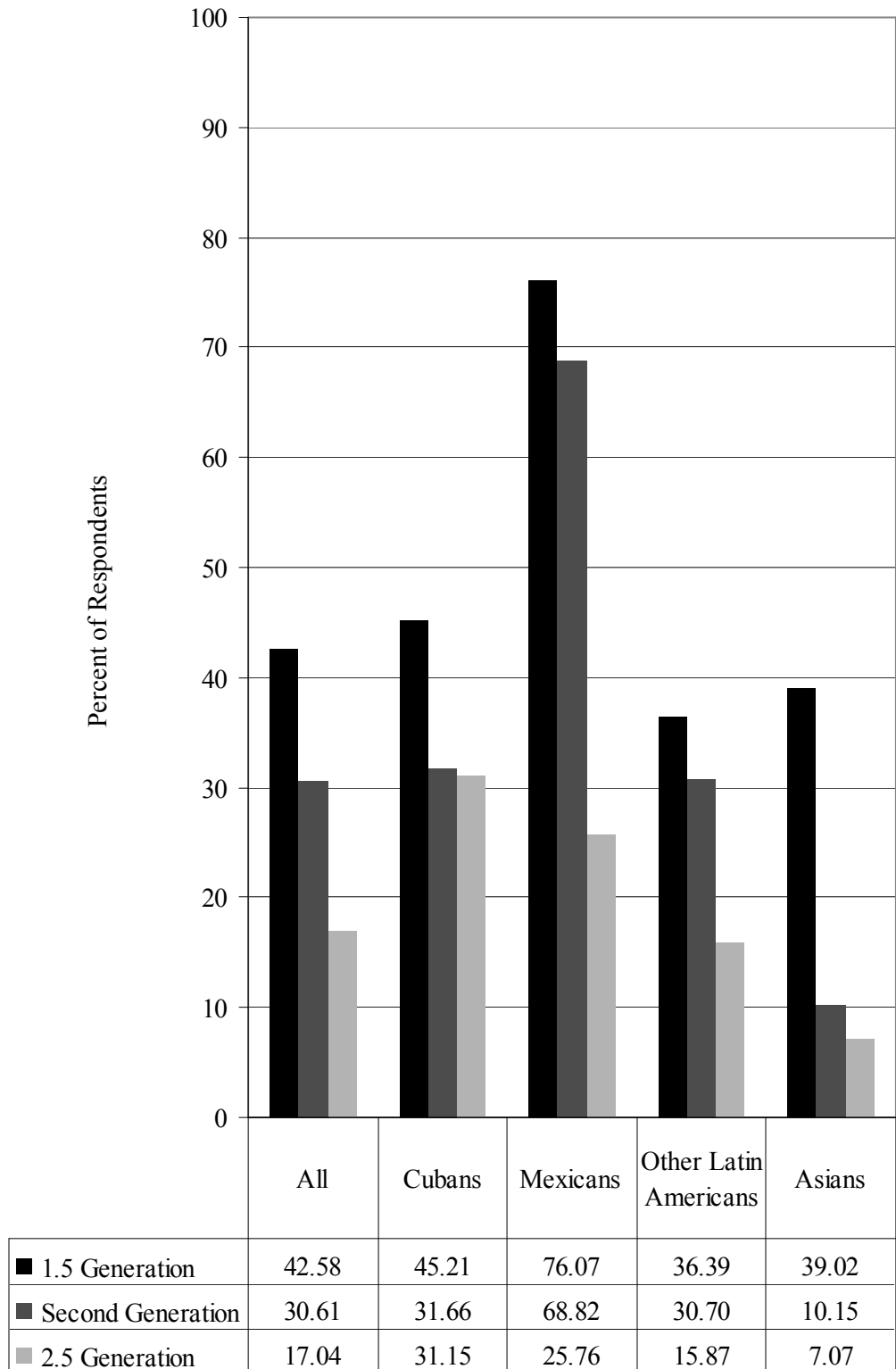


Figure 9. Language Spoken by Respondents with Parents by Generational Status and National Origin. CILS Wave 3, 2001-2003.

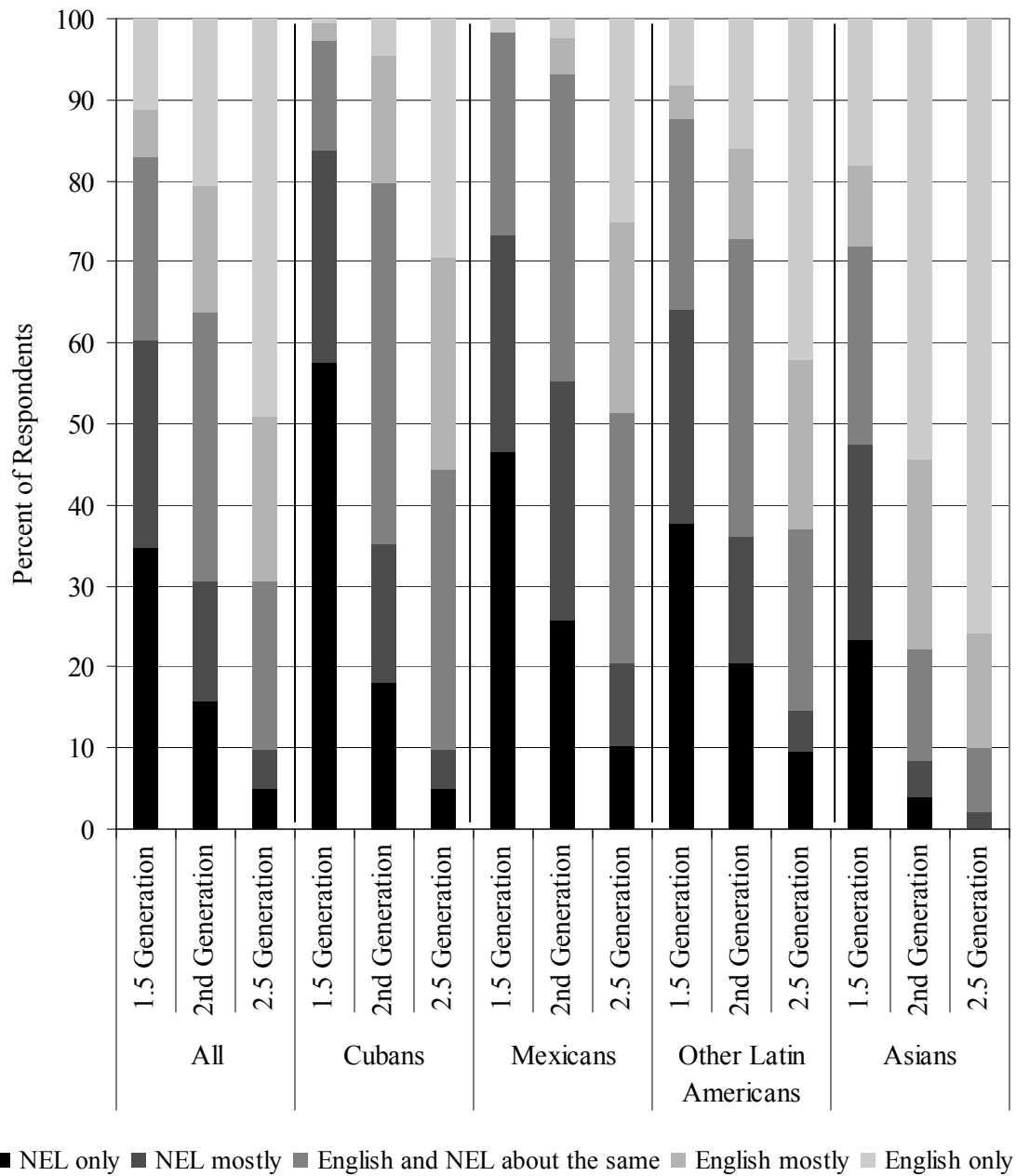


Figure 10. Language Spoken by Respondents with Spouse or Partner by Generational Status and National Origin. CILS Wave 3, 2001-2003.

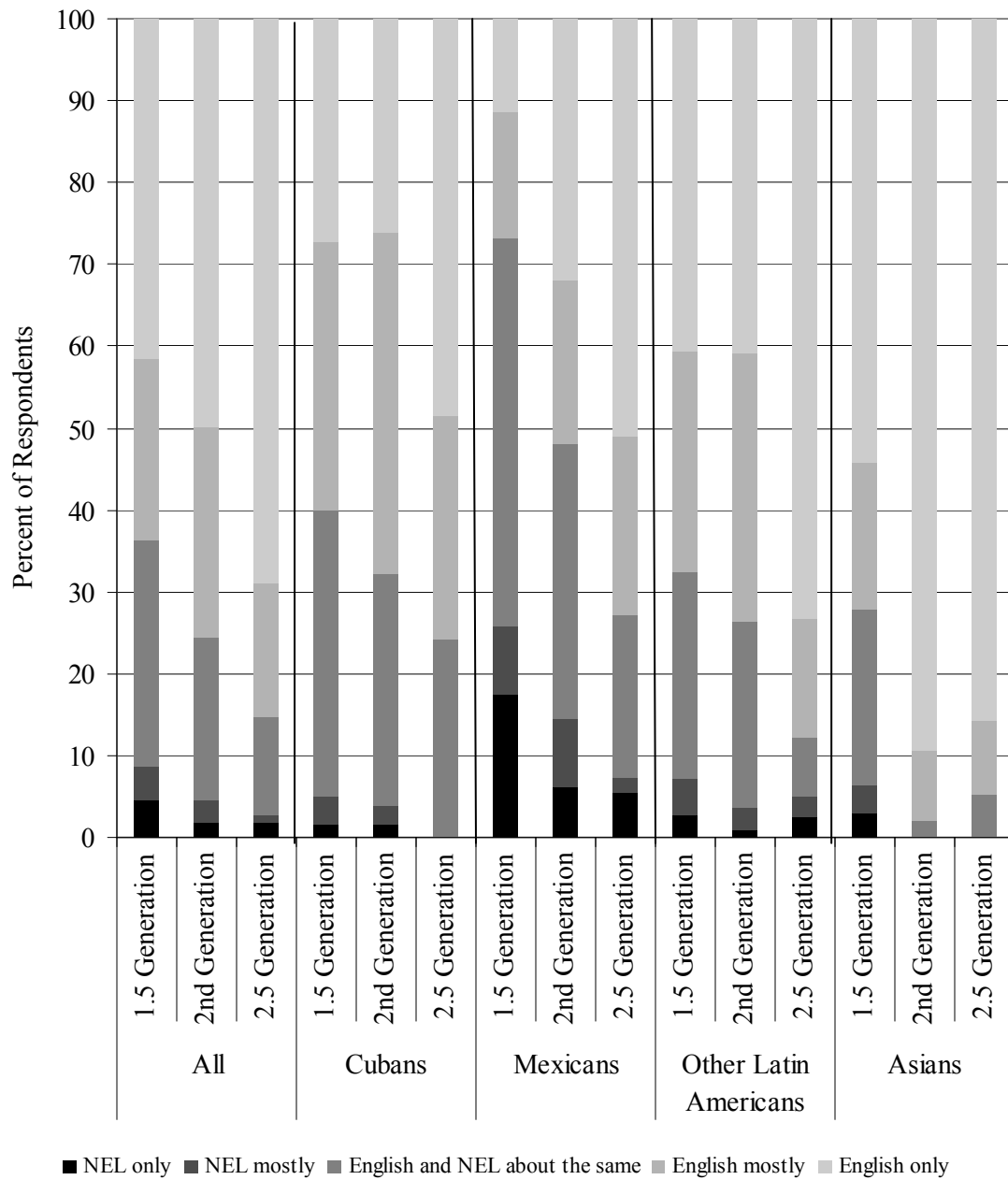


Figure 11. Language Spoken by Respondents with Children by Generational Status and National Origin. CILS Wave 3, 2001-2003.

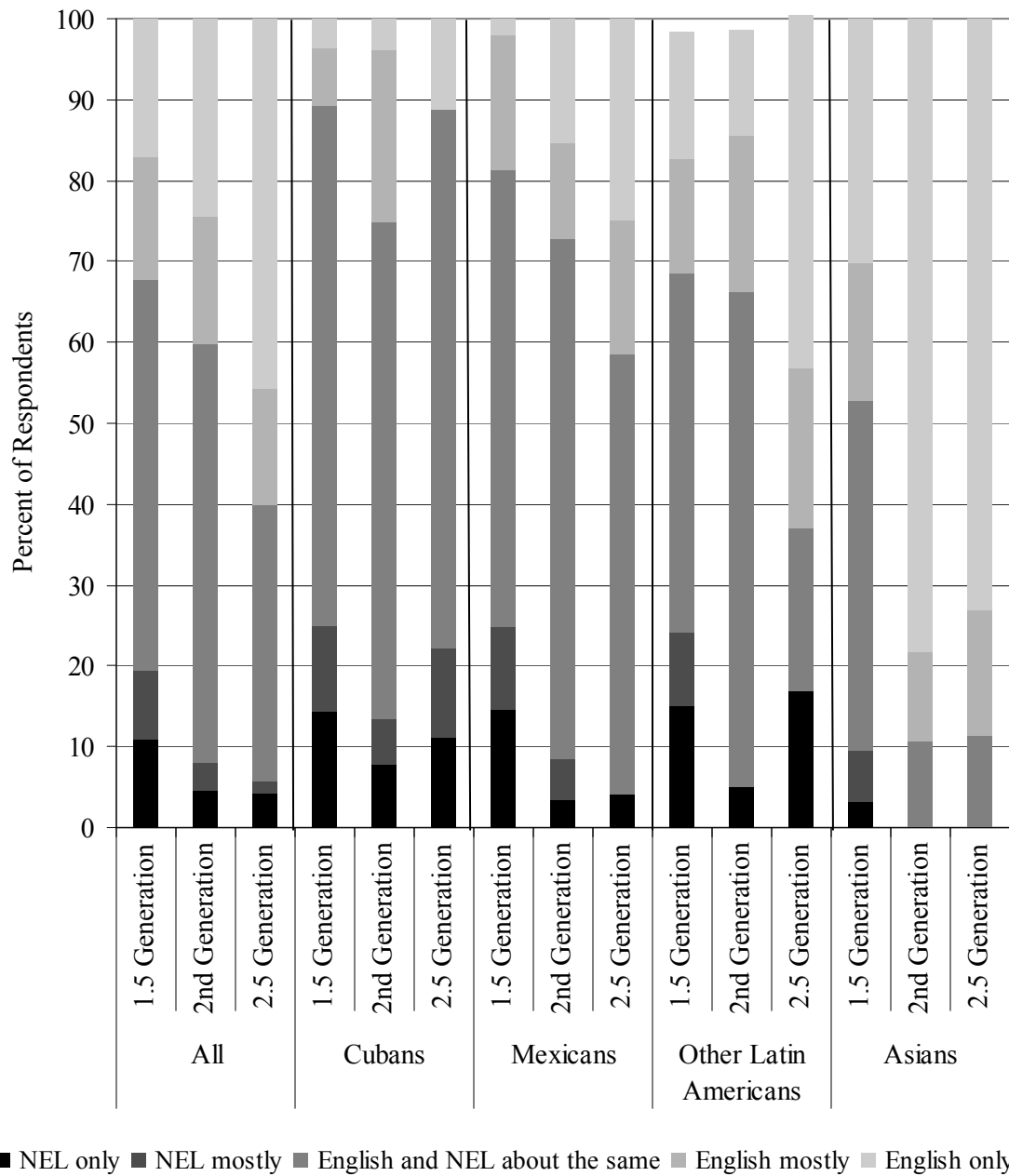


Figure 12. Language Spoken by Respondents with Close Friends by Generational Status and National Origin. CILS Wave 3, 2001-2003.

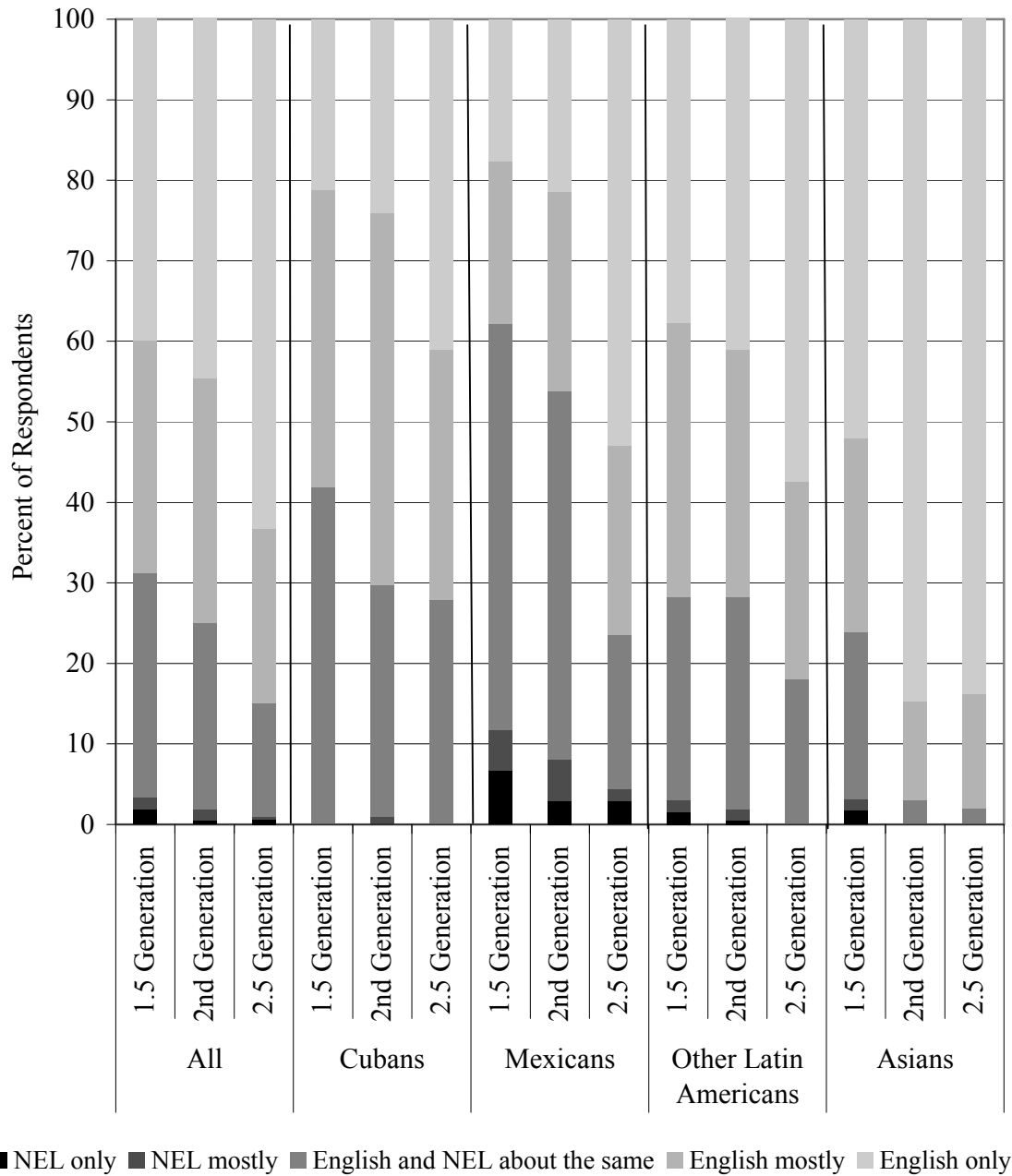


Figure 13. Language Spoken by Respondents with Co-Workers by Generational Status and National Origin. CILS Wave 3, 2001-2003.

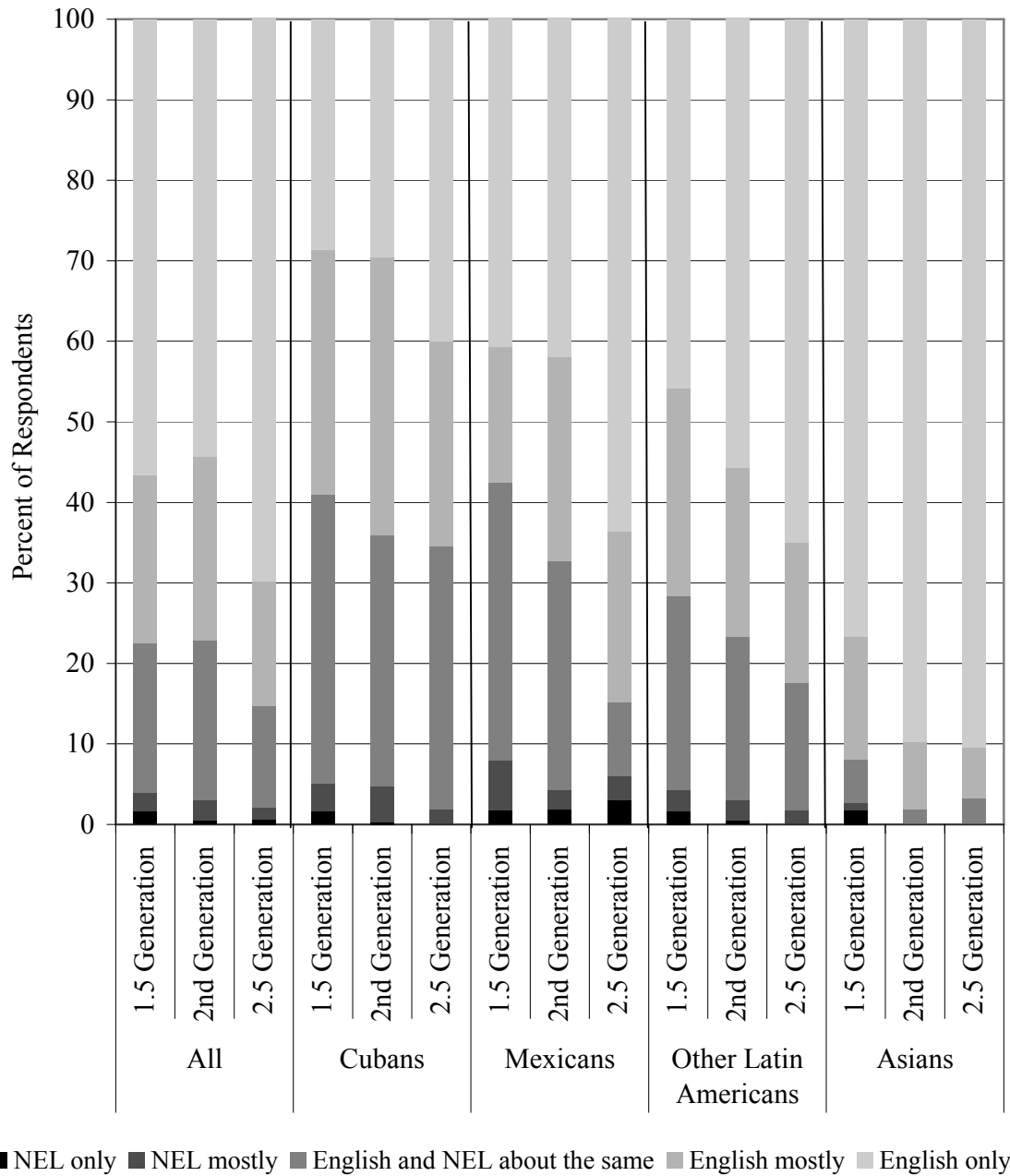


Figure 14. Percentage of Respondents by National Origin that Prefer to Speak an NEL or both English and an NEL at Home. IIMMLA, 2004.

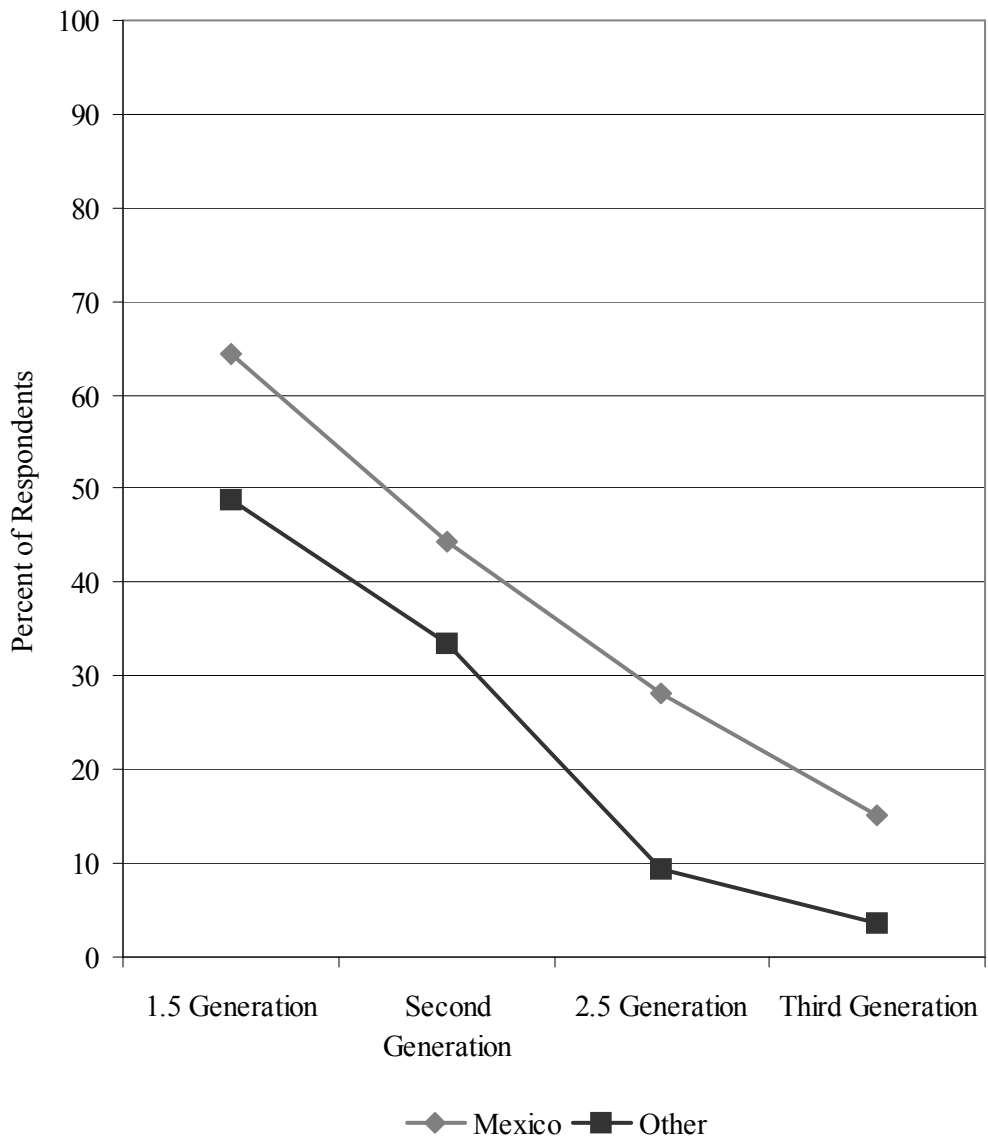


Figure 15. Percentage of Respondents by National Origin that Prefer to Speak an NEL or both English and an NEL at Home. IIMMLA, 2004.

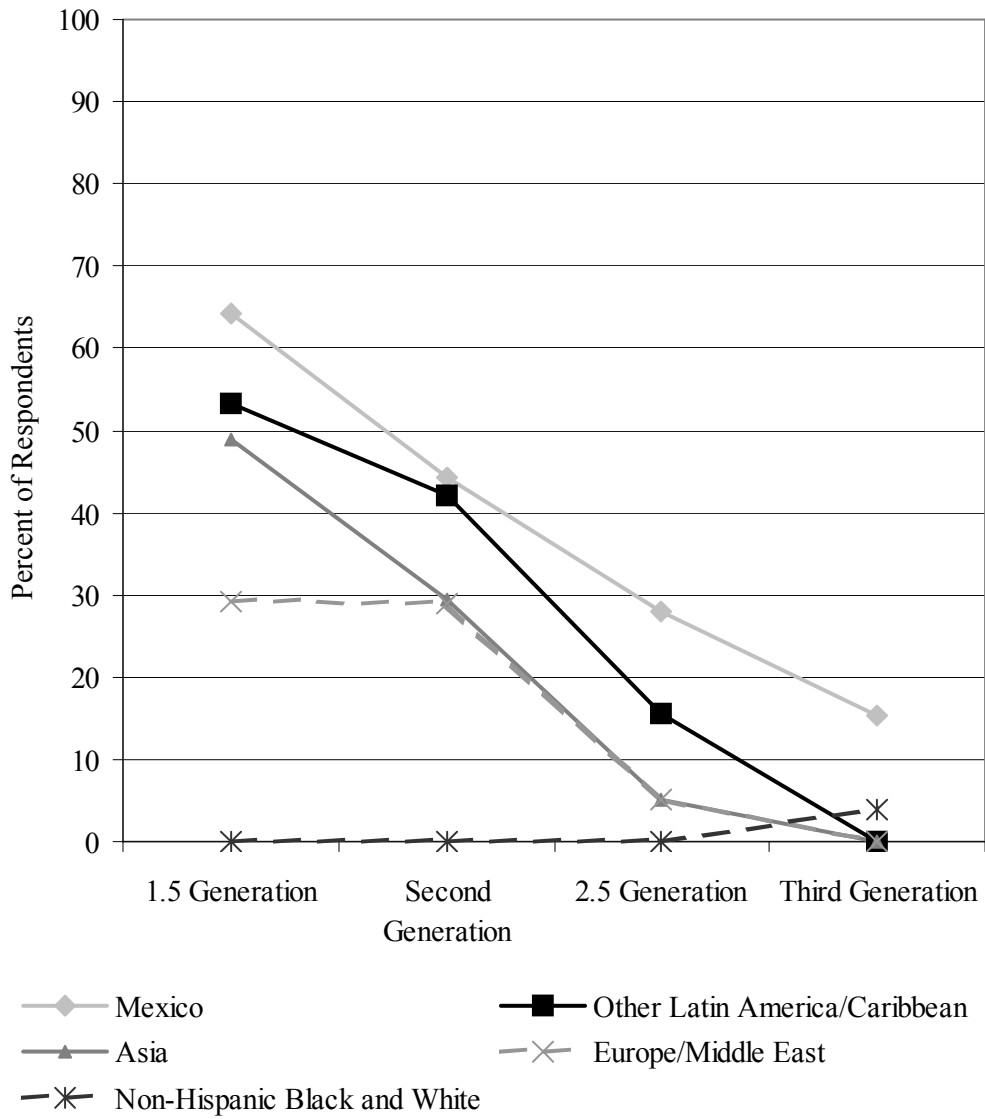


Figure 16. Percentage of Respondents by National Origin that Spoke an NEL at Home while Growing Up. IIMMLA, 2004.

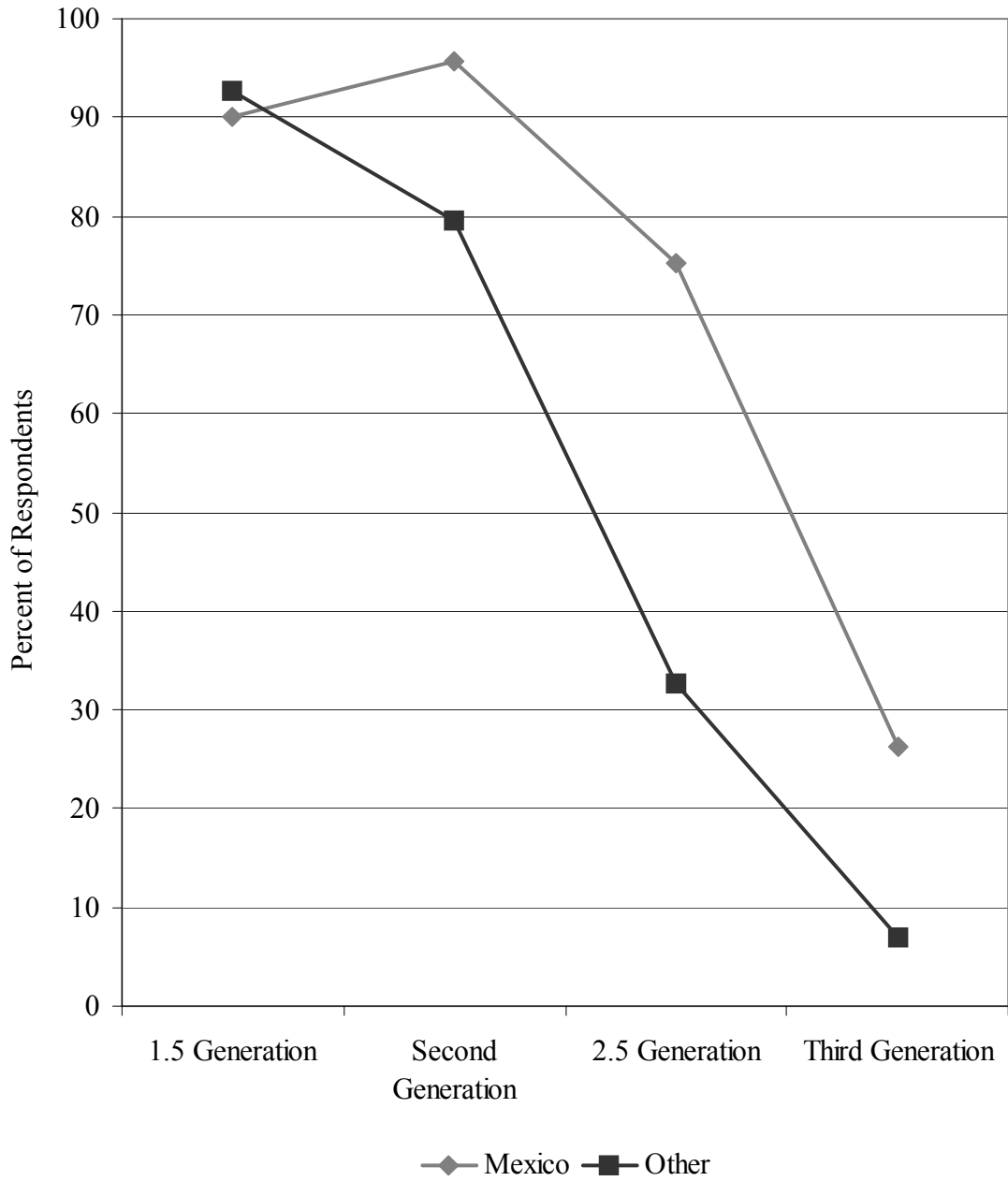


Figure 17. Percentage of Respondents by National Origin that Spoke an NEL at Home while Growing Up. IIMMLA, 2004.

