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RACE AND ETHNICITY, SOCIAL CLASS, AND SCHOOLING

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THE IMMIGRANT has been a lightning rod for America's passions since the beginning of the republic, yet the polarity of that attraction gradually has reversed.[1] At the turn of the twentieth century, the waves of "new" immigrants arriving from Eastern and Southern Europe were resented, feared, and loathed by contemporary native whites. The political tide of nativism ebbed after the recession of 1893–1897 and did not crest again until World War I, yet xenophobia remained a powerful current in American culture in the interim (Higham 1988). Although we now refer to immigrants as representing a variety of ethnic groups (reserving the term "race" to distinguish among whites, blacks, Asians, and American Indians), contemporaries often viewed them as separate races that were intellectually, physically, and morally inferior to native whites. The most sophisticated scientific research of the day concurred. The newly developed Binet Intelligence Test "proved" that the great majority of the Jewish, Hungarian, Italian, and Russian immigrants (among others) were "feeble minded" (Blum 1978, p. 61; see also Gould 1981).

By the 1980s, passions regarding American "ethnics," the descendants of the immigrants, still ran high, but now the ethnics were the heroes and heroines of an American tale of liberty and opportunity. The 1986 centennial festivities for the Statue of Liberty served as a national celebration of the success of immigrants in the United States. By this time the statue stood as a symbol of welcome to immigrants, a view

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Higham notes was largely absent during the statue's first fifty years (Higham 1988). The Statue of Liberty had become so intertwined with the mythology of the immigrant that President Ronald Reagan could remind his audience that "Miss Liberty, like the many millions she has welcomed to these shores, is originally of foreign birth" (*New York Times*, July 4, 1986, Section 2, p. 3). In his 1988 presidential campaign, Michael Dukakis sought to portray himself as the all-American ethnic, the son of hardworking immigrant stock committed to the American ideals of initiative and opportunity, drawing on well-established vocabulary in contemporary political discourse. This was one of the few successful themes in his otherwise lackluster campaign.

The glorification of the ethnics' success surely represents progress when compared with the virulent hostility aimed at their immigrant parents, yet it is a story often put to less-than-benign ends. Today ethnic success is employed in invidious comparisons with the continued poverty of blacks and Hispanics. "Our parents came with nothing, faced terrible discrimination, yet prospered nonetheless through hard work, self-reliance, and a recognition of the value of education. Why can't the blacks do the same?" This refrain, embroidered with poignant tales of personal hardship and sacrifice from family histories, stands as a principal point of contention between ethnic whites and blacks. The political moral of this tale is that blacks deserve no more help than the immigrants received, no special treatment, no affirmative action policies. And the glorification of previous waves of immigrants has not dispelled suspicion and resentment toward the newest immigrants arriving from the Caribbean and Central America (Simon 1985).

In his award-winning book, Lieberson (1980) challenged the validity of the ethnic versus black comparison. After scrutinizing the historical record for evidence regarding the economic and social trajectories experienced by the different groups, Lieberson concluded that the arriving immigrants were better off than blacks, and faced fewer barriers to advancement. Most blacks resided in the rural South, where public provision for schooling for blacks was meager compared to that for whites, and where schooling even for whites lagged far behind the rest of the country. Thus, he argued, blacks and European immigrants did not start out on equal footing, and blacks were continually relegated to the back of the line in the competition for decent schools, housing, and jobs.

Another version of the immigrant morality tale plays the "good" immigrants off against the "bad" immigrants. The good immigrants, namely those who sought education for their children and prospered by it, are often distinguished from the bad immigrants, whose lack of appreciation of the value of education could be seen as shortsighted, antiintellectual, and exploitative of their own children. The value placed on

education by immigrants is taken as indicative of their worthiness to participate in the American dream. In short, the American dream is there for all who would but urge their children to study.

The most visible articulation of this viewpoint is Sowell's *Ethnic America* (1981). Sowell argues that the immigrant experience is most remarkable in its diversity. All immigrants arrived poor and faced discrimination, but some groups far outdistanced others in pursuing the American dream. Sowell sees the cultural orientation of the different groups as necessary to account for these divergent outcomes.

This cultural explanation of the differences between good and bad immigrants has been vigorously criticized by Steinberg (1988). In a series of case studies, Steinberg maintains that the role of culture has been vastly overstated in accounting for the success of some immigrant groups. Immigrant groups differed dramatically in the education, skills, and resources they brought with them and in the opportunities they faced after arriving. Much of the differences between groups, Steinberg insists, is attributable to these factors. If some groups obtained relatively little education for their children, it was a reflection of limited resources, limited exposure to educational institutions in their country of origin, and inadequate provision of schools. The value placed on education for Steinberg is not a primordial aspect of culture but rather a matter of adaptation to circumstances.

Cultural explanations are often offered without due consideration of other possible explanations. Kessner's (1977) comparison of Italian and Jewish immigrants in New York City exemplifies the uncircumspect use of cultural explanations. Kessner repeats the familiar view that Jews recognized the value of education for social mobility, whereas Italians did not. Kessner quotes Jacob Riis approvingly when he said that even "The poorest Hebrew knows—the poorer he is the better he knows it—that knowledge is power, and power is the means for getting on in this world that has spurned him so long, is what his soul yearns for. He lets no opportunity slip to obtain it" (Kessner 1977, p. 97). That socioeconomic resources might facilitate the acquisition of schooling is explicitly denied here.

Yet others have stressed the fact that Jews largely left urban settings in Europe with skills that facilitated their economic rise in the United States, and that the educational achievements of Jewish children followed their parents' economic advancement (Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984; Howe 1976; Steinberg 1988). Further, Kessner's portrayal of the Jews as exclusively preoccupied with economic success ignores the socialist, Zionist, and Yiddishkeit movements, which all competed with the pursuit of material advancement in the Jewish immigrant community (Howe 1976; Bodnar 1985). Thus, not only does Kessner ignore the

social-structural context of the Jewish community, but he also ignores the cultural currents that would complicate his argument. Lastly, Kessner ignores the enormous cultural transformation involved in moving from traditional religious education for the few to mass secular schooling pursued for the purposes of economic advancement (Steinberg 1988).

On the other hand, Kessner sees Italians as less committed to schooling because Italian parents were said to view their children as economic resources, had few aspirations for their children, and were concerned that schools would undermine their authority over their children. The fact that the relatively low enrollment levels of Italian children reflected their parents' limited economic resources and limited social resources (such as low literacy rates) is not seriously investigated. Covello (1967), in contrast, argues that the relatively low emphasis placed by Italians on the education of their children was largely due to their low socioeconomic standing and the discrimination that they in particular faced.

The fact that ethnic groups differed in economic success is not in dispute. Rather, the argument is over whether these differences are a matter of opportunity or choice. The socioeconomic explanation stresses the fact that disadvantaged groups have fewer social and economic resources, and consequently that blaming them for their limited success is simply a case of blaming the victim (Ryan 1971). The cultural explanation sees group differences as caused by the exemplary beliefs and choices of some groups and the failure of others to take advantage of available opportunities.

These issues are fundamentally contentious ones for each ethnic group and for the morality tale of America as a land of opportunity. And there are also lessons in such arguments for contemporary political choices. At stake is a principal set of justifications for public efforts to improve opportunities for the disadvantaged. Sowell (1981) maintains that discrimination cannot explain persistent poverty, because ethnic groups that have since been successful all faced initial discrimination. Since much of the rationale for public policy efforts on behalf of particular groups rests on the grounds of redressing inequalities due to discrimination, Sowell's effort to discount the significance of discrimination is clearly designed to challenge the underpinnings for such policies.

Some of the recent historiography of education attempts to sidestep the question of structure versus culture. Bodnar (1985) attempts to turn the entire question around. He maintains that immigrants' general desire to take advantage of the opportunities offered by American society was accompanied by a deep ambivalence concerning the loss of their traditions. As a result, he maintains, public schooling beyond a basic elementary education was generally viewed with suspicion by immi-

grants. For each group, this ambivalence was expressed in different ways, yet it was a common theme for many immigrant groups. Thus, although the structuralists assume that socioeconomic constraints made school attendance difficult, Bodnar views such constraints as reinforcing the reluctance already felt by recent immigrants regarding the schooling of their children.

Although Bodnar's synthesis of the diverse immigrant experience is in many ways quite appealing, we are not convinced that he succeeds in escaping the uncomfortable dichotomy of structure versus culture. Bodnar de-emphasizes this issue by highlighting the common concerns immigrants expressed about their children's education. While this may hold as a generalization, once it is restricted to teenagers, it is clearly an attempt to avoid the need to explain differences in schooling rates across groups. Yet the question of why some groups were more likely to send their children to school than others remains.

Morawska (1990) summarizes some principal themes culled from recent research by sociologists and historians on the immigrant experience. She notes that the attainment perspective that emphasized the importance of education above all else in explaining the successful entry of immigrants into American society has been amended by much recent research over the last two decades that has focused on opportunity structures and collective strategies. She maintains that, before 1930, the prospects for upward mobility generated by the transformation of local economies were far more important in explaining immigrants' success than their educational levels. She notes the importance of network hiring practices and immigrant enclave businesses in incorporating new immigrants into the local economy. She compares the view of ethnicity as a rational, instrumental, collective strategy for upward mobility with the atomized, individualistic model advanced by both economic and sociological attainment perspectives.

We agree with Morawska that schooling is just one part of the American success story, and that it has received a disproportionate amount of attention compared with structural factors that influence success rates. However, schooling was important for achieving middle-class status even in 1910, as Perlmann's (1988) detailed research on Providence, Rhode Island, indicates. Further, education of second-generation immigrants was important in providing a foundation for the socioeconomic advancement of their children. Research has consistently shown that parental educational attainment is an influential predictor of children's educational attainment. As education became increasingly important later in the century, some groups superseded others in employing this route out of the working class.

We feel that Morawska has properly emphasized the importance of

collective strategies that have all too often been ignored in favor of individual attainment models. But education, long viewed as the paradigmatic individualistic mobility approach, need not be viewed in this way. As Walters and O'Connell (1988) have emphasized, educational decisions need to be understood as taking place within the family economy. Further, immigrant education often involved the creation of separate parochial school systems intended to mitigate the conflict between schooling and traditional values.

Parochial schools enrolled a significant portion of children in 1910. By 1910 there were over 1.5 million children in parochial schools, compared to nearly 18 million in public schools (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975; see also U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960).[2] The most significant churches in terms of numbers were the Catholic and Lutheran. Catholics were "more sensible of the danger to the faith of their children which lurked in the atmosphere of the public school" (Burns 1912, p. 18) because of their concerns over nativist anti-Catholicism. Germans made up a large proportion of both the Catholic and the Lutheran populations of the United States. Germans were the most likely to have own-language schools, perhaps owing to their large numbers and early arrival in the United States (see Chapter 6, this volume, for evidence regarding the Germans' relatively modest residential segregation). However, by 1912 English was used almost exclusively in German Catholic schools (Beck 1939; see also Bodnar 1985).

Full-time parochial schools never flourished among the Scandinavians as they did among the Germans, as they considered the public schools to serve their interests more than parochial schools, and in fact, "the American public school system—free, democratic, under public control—was one of the very distinct advantages of American citizenship that had attracted them to this country" (Beck 1939, p. 141). French-speakers, principally French Canadians, also tended to set up their own schools. Eighty-five percent of French Canadian school attendance was in the dense French-speaking communities in New England, which had easy access to religious teachers from nearby Canada (our calculation from the 1910 Public Use Sample).

In spite of the large numbers of Italians, few parishes had Italian-language schools. In the few such schools that existed, almost all the teaching was done in English. This was the case, for example, in all the schools for Italian children in New York City. The pattern among the Polish was quite different. Nearly all parishes had a parish school, in which the Polish language was maintained. The Poles were poor, and

[2]The parochial school data were obtained from surveys of schools, not from surveys of households.

arrived speaking no English, but their transition to English, particularly for the boys, was viewed as quite rapid by at least one observer (Burns 1912). Of the other groups, only these had a handful of schools each: Spanish, Bohemian, Lithuanian, Slovaks, Greek Orthodox (schools attended by a variety of nationalities), Hungarian, and Belgian.

This brief review of parochial schooling underscores the complexity of studying schooling at the turn of the century. Not only did children from different groups enroll in school for different amounts of time—the central focus of this chapter—but groups also differed in their reliance on public schools, in their concern for preserving their native language, in their emphasis on religious versus secular education, and in the importance of skills versus cultural values in education. By focusing on one aspect of schooling, enrollment rates, we do not seek to slight these complexities. We do not highlight these features of schooling because the data we explore are of relatively little benefit in studying these different aspects of education.

Thus parochial schooling can be incorporated within Morawska's emphasis of the importance of collective strategies in understanding the history of immigration to the United States. The same could be said of immigrants' efforts to influence policies in public schools (Ravitch 1974).

Yet, with Morawska as with Bodnar, we are not convinced that the structure versus culture dichotomy has been transcended. Morawska emphasizes the way immigrant group identity was forged on the part of people with diverse backgrounds, and points to culture as a dynamic and adaptive resource rather than as a static set of values and beliefs that held people back. Yet even the "instrumental collective rationality" of immigrants is, in the end, another way of saying that culture mattered. And because one group's instrumentalism may have had more payoff than another's, we are inexorably brought back to the question of how much these strategies influenced socioeconomic success. Consequently, this terminology does not entirely remove us from the culture versus structure debate with which we began.

We do not propose to settle the debate regarding the relative importance of structure and culture for several reasons. First, we recognize that partisans of each approach are not easily swayed by contrary evidence. Consider the varying reactions to Perlmann's careful study of schooling in Providence, Rhode Island. Perlmann, in his book *Ethnic Differences* (1988), studied the schooling patterns of Italians, Jews, Irish, blacks, and native whites, and found that many (but not all) of the differences could be attributed to differences in resources across the groups. Steinberg's review (1990) points to the strong effects of socioeconomic resources on schooling as demonstrating the importance of social structure in influencing rates of school attendance. Olneck (1990), in con-

trast, concludes that Perlmann's research proves the importance of culture in understanding the use of schooling, as groups continued to differ in the rates of high school entrance even after socioeconomic controls were imposed.

Second, on a more theoretical level, it is important to note that the culture versus structure debate cannot entirely be resolved by appeal to data alone. The core of the empirical debate rests on the extent to which social-structural effects on education and occupational attainment can "explain away" the effects of ethnicity. The research consequently depends on the availability of a complete set of social background variables. Thus, even if ethnic differentials persist in an elaborate multivariate analysis, "social structuralists" can plausibly hold to their position that a wider set of measures would have gone further in reducing the direct effect of ethnicity on education and career outcomes. Further, the staunch structuralist might insist that whatever residual remains after controlling for social class background was ultimately due to pre-migration social structure.

Although the structuralist would maintain that differences across groups in socioeconomic resources need to be factored out of any fair comparison of groups, a steadfast culturalist may insist that these differences are themselves the result of pre-migration cultural orientations. Given this divergence of perspectives, it seems unlikely that any empirical analysis is likely to be decisive in this debate (Jacobs 1990).

We view schooling decisions in part as reflecting family strategies and in part as reflecting group strategies. These decisions would have been influenced partly by the constraints families were laboring under and partly by the strategies that the ethnic groups employed. To the extent that these decisions appear to be due to constraints under which families operated, we attribute them to the constraints of social structure. To the extent that differences across groups remain after such factors are controlled, (1) we suspect that other variables, such as measures of employment opportunity and more precise socioeconomic measures, might reduce the ethnic residuals; and (2) we are willing to acknowledge that an ethnic strategy (culture) might be responsible.

Our goal is to identify the extent of schooling—both public and private—obtained by different groups, and to identify those factors that increased or decreased the rate of enrollment. We point out the ways in which our evidence can be interpreted as supporting the view that constraints on opportunity played an important role in influencing school enrollment.

We are not attempting to show that culture does not matter, and we recognize that others may insist on a different interpretation of our results. In short, in this chapter we revisit Lieberson's terrain. We ex-

plore the patterns of schooling of immigrant groups in 1910 and compare them to those of native whites and blacks, bringing newly available data to bear on the debate outlined above. We also explore the extent to which variation among immigrant groups can be explained. The questions we ask and the analysis strategy we employ closely parallel those used by Perlmann in his investigation of schooling in Providence.

We are in the fortunate position of being able to extend the scope of previous analyses in several ways. First, we have a large, representative national sample culled from the 1910 census. Just over 100,000 children aged 5–18 are included in this data set, including nearly 24,000 children who were foreign-born or children of immigrants. We can factor into our analysis urban versus rural differences, and differences across regions. In this way, we go beyond the geographic scope possible in studies of a particular city. Further, these data enable us to explore the experiences of a large number (sixteen) of racial and ethnic groups. Many generalizations regarding the role of race and ethnicity derive from the comparison of two or three groups. Casting a broader net enables us to avoid the pitfalls associated with such restricted comparisons. For the comparison of large groups that were located in many different areas, the nationally representative data are clearly desirable. The national data set thus offers a number of advantages over studies of particular groups in an individual city. Of course, setting the national record straight does not obviate the need for local studies, which can provide the microscopic attention to context unattainable in a national overview.

Second, we explore the schooling patterns of young as well as older children. Much of the research to date has focused on enrollment rates among teenagers or high school entrants. As we will see, the role of ethnicity in influencing schooling differs sharply by age, a finding that raises basic questions regarding the role of ethnicity per se. A cultural theory of ethnic differentials would have to account for opposite effects at different ages.

Third, the availability of individual-level data allows us to attempt to *explain* differences between race and ethnic groups in enrollment patterns. Previous research on schooling patterns employing national data has not had access to individual-level data. Thus, by employing multivariate statistical techniques, our analysis will be able to go further than previous research on national data in identifying explanations for group differences in enrollment rates.

We expect much of the differences in enrollment between immigrants and native whites to be due to recency of immigration, location, and socioeconomic resources. First, we expect foreign-born children to be underrepresented in schools compared to children born in the United States. Part of the educational disadvantage of immigrant children was

probably due to the fact that their parents did not speak English. Recent immigrants, particularly members of large ethnic groups, would be more likely to live in isolated ethnic ghettos where English was less essential (Chapter 6, this volume). The familial language would have made them less likely to succeed in an English-language school, and consequently less likely to persist in pursuing an education. Further, as immigrants they would likely have been behind in school upon arrival, because many were arriving from countries with less commitment to formal education than the United States. In addition, recent immigrants were poor, and immigrant children contributed to their families' earnings when possible (Bodnar 1985; Hareven and Langenbach 1978; Yans-McLaughlin 1977). Similarly, we expect second-generation immigrant children to be underrepresented in schools owing to continuing economic hardships and some continuing language barriers, but clearly to a lesser degree than foreign-born children. This differential will remain even after socioeconomic controls are introduced. Direct socioeconomic measures such as occupation and homeownership do not completely capture the economic disadvantage of recent immigrants, because immigrant families had less time to accumulate wealth than their native counterparts. When these factors are taken into account, the immigrant (and second-generation) enrollment deficit should be reduced.

Similarly, we expect the introduction of controls for socioeconomic resources to enhance the relative enrollments of recent immigrants. We expect that children whose parents were illiterate would have been underrepresented in schools compared with those whose parents could read and write. We view parental literacy less as a cultural trait and more as a social resource facilitating access to and use of public services. We also expect that children from families of limited means would be less likely to continue their education than children from wealthier families. We anticipate that this will be particularly true for teenagers, who often worked rather than attend school in order to help their families make ends meet. Measures of those resources we will employ include homeownership, father's occupation, father's self-employment status, and family disruption (whether the father was present). Once these factors are taken into account, immigrant enrollments will appear more similar to those of native whites.

Locational considerations, in contrast, generally worked in favor of the immigrants. Few immigrants lived in the South, where education lagged behind the rest of the country. Thus, immigrants' non-southern location should have favored their enrollment prospects. Immigrants were also concentrated in cities, which had higher enrollments for children under age 14 but lower enrollments of children age 14 and above compared with rural areas (Greene and Jacobs 1992).

We have examined the question of compulsory attendance and child labor laws and find little correlation between them and school enrollment rates.[3] By 1910, forty-four states had enacted compulsory attendance laws, typically requiring schooling through age 14 or 15, yet there was minimal enforcement of these laws, especially in rural areas. Furthermore, these laws typically had many exceptions: for farm children, for poor children, for employed children, for children living more than two miles from school, and so on. Thus, the limited effectiveness of these early laws in promoting school attendance is hardly surprising. Indeed, statistical analyses have shown that, at least through 1900, there was little impact of these laws on attendance rates (Landes and Solomon 1972).

Similarly, child labor legislation at the turn of the century was relatively unimportant. By 1909, all states but Wyoming had child labor laws, but these laws were poorly enforced and had remarkably broad exceptions (National Child Labor Committee 1912; Loughran 1921). An employer merely had to receive a certificate saying that a child could read and write in English before he or she could work. Thus, the effect of the child labor and compulsory schooling laws was to emphasize the citizenship role of education rather than to develop the child's intellect. However, compulsory attendance legislation became more effective after 1916, when it was combined with national legislation restricting child labor (Osterman 1980; Stambler 1968; Tyack 1974). Thus, although compulsory attendance and child labor legislation are important in the long run, neither was decisive in explaining school enrollment in 1910.

Data and Methods

Our analysis focuses on the determinants of school attendance among the 104,038 respondents in the 1910 PUS who were between the ages of 5 and 18. For a description of these data, see Strong et al. 1989; Appendix A, this volume. Respondents to the 1910 census answered questions related to their geographical origins and mother tongue, making the data set especially interesting for that period during which so much immigration to the United States took place.

The data include information on school attendance in the last year.

[3]Our statistical analysis of state child labor laws indicates that they had only a small net effect on the rate of school enrollment of 14–18-year-olds (less than 1 percent). Compulsory attendance laws had a slightly larger net effect on enrollments (states with more comprehensive laws had approximately 2 percent higher enrollment than states without such laws) but did not affect the differential between race and ethnic groups.

Respondents were asked if they were attending school, and enumerators were instructed to enter "yes" if the person had attended school since September 1909. (The census was taken on April 15, 1910.) We treat this question as a measure of enrollment, not attendance, because the latter would require more detailed information on the number of days actually present in school.

Although one might want to know a great many things about schooling that are not included in the census, such as grades, daily attendance, and being over-age in a grade, these limitations are in part counterbalanced by the advantages of a large and nationally representative sample.

The contrast between the census data on school *enrollment* and the *attendance* figures compiled for the Immigration Commission reports of 1911 should be noted (U.S. Immigration Commission 1911). The Immigration Commission gathered data on the attendance of children in schools in thirty-seven large cities in December 1908. Information on twenty-eight immigrant groups was compared with native-born whites and blacks. The principal advantage of the Immigration Commission data is that one may compare the age of children with their grade level to determine the proportion who were behind their expected grade level (Olneck and Lazerson 1974). These valuable data, however, are limited in several ways. First, the data were collected for only a selected group of cities. The 1910 census data, in contrast, allow for a national overview of school enrollment. Second, because data on children not in school were not collected, an estimate of the proportion enrolled in school for each group is not possible. Further, because only data on attendance, race, sex, and ethnicity were obtained, it is not possible to determine whether other factors may have accounted for these differences in schooling rates. The 1910 census data, in contrast, allow for a multivariate analysis of the determinants of attendance.

Thus, the census data will be a useful complement to the analysis of the Immigration Commission data. However, we should not expect our results necessarily to correspond with those of the Immigration Commission. It is perfectly possible for a group to have a high enrollment rate while many children lag behind their grade level, as Perlmann finds was the case for blacks in Providence (Perlmann 1988).

Much of this chapter compares the schooling rates of immigrant children with those of the native-born population. In our data we can identify children who immigrated to the United States as well as children of immigrants, whom we refer to as second-generation immigrants. Thus, in this chapter, the term "second-generation immigrant" refers to the children's generation, not to their parents' generation.

Children were classified into sixteen race and ethnic groups using

five types of data: (1) their place of birth; (2) their mother's place of birth; (3) their mother tongue; (4) their mother's mother tongue; and (5) their race.

One may use maternal, paternal, or both parents' place of birth (or mother tongue) as criteria for assigning ethnic codes to individuals. Morgan and Pagnini (1990) have shown that maternal and paternal ethnicity were the same in the overwhelming majority of cases as a result of high rates of in-marriage. Our arbitrary assignment of ethnicity based on maternal place of birth is thus of little consequence, and makes our results more closely comparable to those described in other chapters in this volume.

We have expanded on the race and ethnic categories set out in Chapter 2. Of the sixteen racial and ethnic groups we examine, the NWNP, British, Irish, Scandinavians, Germans, Italians, Poles, and Jews are defined as they are in Appendix B, this volume. We modified these definitions only by grouping Yiddish-speakers into a single Jewish category. We expanded on these eight groups in order to be more comprehensive in our treatment of both immigrant and racial groups. First, we added Russians, Other Northern Europeans, and Other Southern Europeans. These heterogeneous groupings were included in the analysis because these categories can serve as points of comparison for the more homogeneous groups, and may suggest fruitful topics for more detailed investigations. Second, we also included several other immigrant groups not included in the above list, namely, Hispanic immigrants (mostly immigrants from Mexico), English-speaking Canadian immigrants, and French-speaking Canadian immigrants. In an earlier draft, we constructed a composite Asian group, but on closer analysis we have decided that this classification is simply too small and heterogeneous to be of substantive interest.[4] Finally, we included American Indians in addition to blacks.[5] All of these groups are compared with native whites of native parentage, to whom we will refer simply as "native whites." Our list of groups is as close to comprehensive as possible and avoids arbitrary exclusion of race and ethnic groups. Because our list differs in part from those in Appendix B in this volume, the specific definition of each group is given in Table 7A.1.

[4]By our definition, there were only 300 Asian children in the 1910 sample. The largest group was Hawaiian (a substantial minority of whom were of Portuguese origin), a significant minority of Turkish ancestry (in 1910, Turkish ancestry was divided into Asian and European components), and only a small number had Chinese or Japanese ancestry. We decided that this group was too heterogeneous to allow us to draw substantive conclusions.

[5]While we believe that it would be more appropriate to refer to American Indians as Native Americans, we felt that the frequent comparison of native whites with immigrants would make this terminology confusing.

We constructed a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent was foreign-born, based on the response to the place of birth question. We also constructed a dichotomous measure of parental English ability, coded as 1 if either parent could speak English and 0 otherwise. (We did not include duration in the United States in this analysis partly because of extensive missing data—appearing in Appendix B—and partly because we feel that a parent's ability to speak English more directly assesses the mechanism by which duration in the United States operates.)

Socioeconomic information is in part derived from data regarding the respondent's household and in part from the attributes of the fathers. Parental literacy was coded as 1 if either parent could read or write (in any language), and as 0 otherwise. Homeownership was a household-level measure that was simply assigned to each child in the household. Assigning the father's occupation measure to children was more difficult. The procedure involved linking each child with his or her mother, and then finding the mother's husband in the household. Of course, there are questions of assignment only when there is more than one married male in the household. Once fathers are identified, the father's occupation is assigned to each school-age child. In this analysis, we created occupational dichotomous variables for each of the major occupational groups: professional/managerial, clerical, sales, craft, service, farm, and operatives/laborers. (We employed the 1980 census occupational classifications for which all occupational data in the 1910 PUS are coded.) Factory operatives and laborers were combined into a single group, and professionals and managers together constitute the reference category. We also constructed a dichotomous variable indicating whether the father was self-employed (versus being an employee). The self-employed category combines owners of establishments and self-employed individuals. In order to include the approximately 13 percent of cases in which the father was not present, and for substantive reasons, we include a dichotomous variable indicating the father's presence or absence.

Size of place was measured by the size of the population of the respondent's county. (It should be noted that this county-size measure differs from the "location type" measure employed in other chapters in this volume.) County population was divided into four categories: rural areas represent those counties with populations ranging from 0 to 49,999 (the omitted category in the logistic regression); small cities are defined as those counties with populations of 50,000–199,999; medium cities are those counties with populations of 200,000–499,999; and big cities are those counties with populations of 500,000 or more. A dichotomous variable was constructed for each of these categories. This

allows us to see whether there are curvilinearities in the relationship between city size and educational enrollment. We also include a measure of southern residence in the analysis to tap the major differences in schooling rates between the South and the rest of the country. (Although several chapters in this volume parallel our approach of distinguishing the South from the rest of the country, others present a more detailed analysis of regional differences. See Greene and Jacobs (1992) for a more detailed discussion of regional and urban versus rural differences in schooling.)

We estimate a series of logistic regression equations that test the effect of independent variables on whether the school-age respondents were enrolled in school. Because school enrollment is a dichotomous dependent variable, logistic regression analysis is the appropriate statistical technique for estimating the effects of independent variables (Aldrich and Nelson 1984).

We employ a series of models designed to test whether the effects of race and ethnicity on school enrollment persist when recent immigration, location, and family socioeconomic attributes are controlled. The first model treats school enrollment as a simple function of the race or ethnic group. The second model adds two variables related to recent immigration: foreign-born status of the respondent and a measure of parental English-speaking ability. The third model adds locational variables: residence in the South, and in small, medium, or large cities. The final model adds socioeconomic variables: parental literacy, homeownership, father's self-employment status, father's occupation, and father's presence. Models were estimated for all children aged 5–18; and separately for children aged 5–9, 10–13, and 14–18, because of the different age patterns of enrollment discussed above.

Results

Race and Ethnic Differences in Enrollment

Table 7.1 presents the proportion of individuals aged 5–18 who reported that they attended school at any time between September 1, 1909, and April 15, 1910, by race and ethnic group. Overall, 66.4 percent of 5–18-year-olds reported some school attendance during the 1909–1910 school year. The most disadvantaged groups in terms of educational enrollment were Hispanic children, only 39.4 percent of whom attended school, followed by black children, 48.3 percent of whom attended school. By comparison, the high rates of school enrollment of most of the European and Canadian immigrant groups were remarkable. Four of the immigrant

TABLE 7.1

Proportion Enrolled in School of Individuals Ages 5–18, by Race, Ethnicity, and Nativity

Group	Total % Enrolled (n)	Born in United States % Enrolled (n)	Foreign-born % Enrolled (n)
Native White	70.2 (66,907)	70.2 (66,907)	
Black	48.3* (13,006)	48.3* (13,006)	
American Indian	58.8* (410)	58.8* (410)	
British	68.9 (1,901)	69.8* (1,648)	63.2+ (253)
Irish	72.1 (2,398)	73.4* (2,302)	42.7+ (96)
Scandinavian	70.3 (2,508)	71.9* (2,276)	54.3+ (232)
Italian	60.6* (2,118)	66.8 (1,306)	50.7+ (812)
German	64.5* (4,734)	65.4* (4,475)	47.9+ (259)
Jewish	71.2 (2,018)	76.7* (1,163)	63.6+ (855)
Russian	64.6* (715)	67.5 (498)	58.1+ (217)
Polish	55.7* (1,711)	59.4* (1,307)	43.8+ (404)
Other N. European	68.1 (705)	68.5 (587)	66.1+ (118)
Other S. European	60.5* (2,260)	65.9 (1,593)	47.7+ (667)
English Canadian	76.0* (1,344)	77.5* (1,108)	69.1+ (236)
French Canadian	61.2* (788)	65.7* (624)	43.9+ (164)
Hispanic	39.4* (515)	43.6* (282)	34.3+ (233)
Total	66.4 (104,038)	67.0 (99,492)	53.3+ (4,546)

*Proportion enrolled differs from Native White proportion enrolled, $p<.05$.
+Foreign-born proportion enrolled differs from second-generation proportion enrolled, $p<.05$.

groups equaled or surpassed the native whites in enrollment: the Irish, Scandinavians, Jews, and English-speaking Canadians. As we will see, enrollment rates varied substantially by age and region. Nonetheless, the evidence demonstrates high enrollment rates among many immigrant groups even before adjusting for a variety of factors that account for differences in schooling.

The enrollment rates of the second-generation children were even more remarkable. All of the second-generation European children except the Germans, Poles, Other Southern Europeans, and French-speaking Canadians equaled or exceeded the national average enrollment rates. Variation between second-generation European immigrant groups was surprisingly modest. Among second-generation immigrants, only the Poles fell below the average enrollment rates by as much as 7 percent, and only the Jews exceeded the average by more than 7 percent. The enrollment rates of second-generation British, Irish, Scandinavian, Italian, German, Canadian, and Russian children varied within a relatively narrow, 8 percent range.

For each immigrant group, foreign-born children had lower enrollment rates than their native-born counterparts. The foreign-born enrollment deficit was typically substantial: for eleven of the thirteen groups, the enrollment of foreign-born children was at least 8 percent lower than for their second-generation counterparts. (The difference was statistically significant for each case.) The closest case of first- and second-generation children was the Other Northern Europeans, for whom only a 2.4 percent differential in favor of the second generation was observed.

The enrollment rates of foreign-born children exceeded that of blacks in a majority of cases, and the children of immigrants far exceeded blacks in enrollment rates for each of the immigrant groups, with the exception of the Hispanics noted above. These results are consistent with the extensive evidence regarding the inadequate provision of public education to blacks, most of whom lived in the South in this period. These results confirm Lieberson's conclusion that blacks were educationally disadvantaged compared to European immigrants at the turn of the century.

Table 7.2 displays enrollment rates by ethnic group for each of three age groups: 5–9, 10–13, and 14–18. These results indicate a clear age bifurcation. Among 5–9- and 10–13-year-olds, the enrollment rates of immigrant groups usually equaled or surpassed those of native whites, while 14–18-year-old immigrants were generally less likely to be in school than their native white counterparts. Among 5–9-year-olds, eight of the thirteen immigrant groups had higher enrollment rates than native whites, three groups were not statistically different, and only two groups—Poles and Hispanics—exhibited lower enrollment rates than native whites. The

TABLE 7.2

Enrollment, by Race and Ethnicity, by Age Group

Group	5–18 % Enrolled (n)	5–9 % Enrolled (n)	10–13 % Enrolled (n)	14–18 % Enrolled (n)
Native White	70.2 (66,907)	63.8 (25,472)	92.9 (18,477)	59.1 (22,958)
Black	48.3* (13,006)	40.4* (5,106)	70.1* (3,637)	39.3* (4,263)
American Indian	58.8* (410)	53.6* (183)	72.1* (104)	55.3 (123)
British	68.9 (1,901)	73.8* (600)	95.6* (540)	46.1* (761)
Irish	72.1 (2,398)	79.6* (744)	97.3* (691)	48.4* (963)
Scandinavian	70.3 (2,508)	70.2* (793)	95.9* (733)	51.1* (982)
Italian	60.6* (2,118)	65.8 (868)	91.5 (544)	30.5* (706)
German	64.5* (4,734)	74.2* (1,391)	94.9* (1,324)	37.8* (2,019)
Jewish	71.2 (2,018)	77.0* (726)	95.6* (549)	47.4* (743)
Russian	64.6* (715)	61.1 (324)	93.9 (181)	44.8* (210)
Polish	55.7* (1,711)	58.2* (698)	91.5 (424)	27.0* (589)
Other N. European	68.1 (705)	75.0* (252)	94.9 (197)	40.6* (256)
Other S. European	60.5* (2,260)	64.8 (864)	93.6 (579)	32.6* (817)
English Canadian	76.0* (1,344)	75.4* (443)	97.2* (290)	66.5 (611)
French Canadian	61.2* (788)	76.6* (248)	94.0* (166)	36.4* (374)
Hispanic	39.4* (515)	31.3* (195)	62.9* (143)	29.4* (177)
Total	66.4 (104,038)	62.0 (38,907)	90.2 (28,579)	52.3 (36,552)

*Proportion enrolled differs from Native White proportion enrolled, $p<.05$.

overwhelming majority of native white 10–13-year-olds (92.9 percent) were enrolled in school. Nonetheless, the enrollment rates of six of thirteen immigrant groups exceeded that of native whites, while those of six others were not statistically different. Among immigrant groups, only Hispanic children had a shortfall in enrollment at these ages.

The immigrants' parity or advantage among children aged 5–13 was reversed among 14–18-year-olds. Here, twelve of the thirteen immigrant groups were less likely to be enrolled in school than native white teenagers, with only English-speaking Canadian teenagers not significantly less likely to attend school than their native white counterparts.

Part of the apparent advantage of immigrants in the analysis thus far is due to the fact that they have been compared to all native whites, including those living in the South. Southern schools were much less developed than northern schools, and consequently the native white enrollment rates were depressed by the inclusion of southern states, where few immigrants lived. Yet a small immigrant advantage among younger children remains when they are compared with non-southern native whites. The age patterns of enrollments are graphically presented in Figure 7.1 for five groups: non-southern native whites, southern native whites, foreign-born children, second-generation immigrants, and blacks. From age 5 through age 13, the highest enrollment rates were found for second-generation immigrant children. After age 14, second-generation immigrant enrollment rates fell much faster than those of non-southern native whites. Blacks had the lowest enrollment rates until age 15, at

FIGURE 7.1

Immigrant and Native School Attendance, by Age

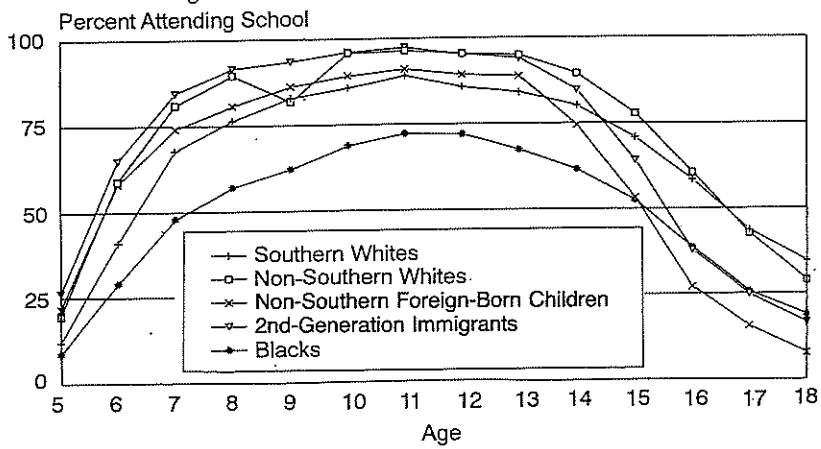

TABLE 7.3
Estimated Years of Schooling Completed, Ages 5–22

Group	Total	Born in United States	Foreign-born
	Estimated Years of Schooling Completed (n)	Estimated Years of Schooling Completed (n)	Estimated Years of Schooling Completed (n)
Native White	10.25 (83,562)	10.25 (83,562)	
Black	6.98 (16,167)	6.98 (16,167)	
American Indian	8.81 (485)	8.81 (485)	
British	10.09 (2,584)	10.24 (2,149)	9.20 (435)
Irish	10.48 (3,302)	10.62 (3,022)	8.83 (280)
Scandinavian	10.17 (3,426)	10.41 (2,915)	8.57 (511)
Italian	8.57 (2,878)	9.32 (1,444)	8.06 (1,434)
German	9.57 (6,499)	9.67 (5,977)	7.96 (522)
Jewish	10.39 (2,670)	11.01 (1,292)	9.93 (1,378)
Russian	9.28 (945)	10.25 (551)	8.51 (394)

which age this distinction fell to foreign-born children. By age 16, second-generation immigrants were no more likely to be in school than blacks. A final item of note on Figure 7.1 is the relative rise in enrollment of southern native white teenagers, who by age 16 were enrolled at nearly the same rate as non-southern native whites. This delayed educational enrollment pattern reflected the relative ease of combining agricultural work and part-time schooling among southern native white teenagers.

Table 7.3 presents estimates of cumulative years of school attended,

TABLE 7.3 (*continued*)

Group	Total	Born in United States	Foreign-born
	Estimated Years of Schooling Completed (n)	Estimated Years of Schooling Completed (n)	Estimated Years of Schooling Completed (n)
Poles	7.96 (2,333)	8.21 (1,483)	7.39 (850)
Other N. European	9.70 (902)	9.79 (728)	9.31 (174)
Other S. European	8.72 (3,249)	9.19 (1,858)	8.01 (1,391)
English Canadian	11.00 (1,800)	11.14 (1,379)	9.37 (421)
French Canadian	9.21 (1,073)	9.37 (799)	8.55 (274)
Hispanic	5.62 (683)	6.25 (338)	5.03 (345)
Foreign-born Whites			8.39 (8,387)
Second-generation Whites		9.90 (23,930)	
Total	9.63 (132,558)	9.73 (124,149)	8.41 (8,409)

by racial and ethnic group and nativity. (Although the balance of this chapter focuses on enrollment between the ages of 5 and 18, the estimates of cumulative years of school attended are calculated on the basis of any school attendance from age 5 to age 22.) These estimates were derived by assuming that the age-specific attendance rates observed in 1910 remained constant. Although this assumption is clearly untenable, given the rapid growth of schooling during this period, it nonetheless allows us to calculate the mean number of years of schooling children would have completed given the enrollment rates at that time. These estimates can be compared with others calculated by the same method for later periods, a comparison that helps to identify the rate of change

in schooling. Further, this measure transforms the age-specific enrollment rates into a summary measure of educational attainment that is more easily understood.

However, caution is in order in interpreting these figures. The figures in Table 7.3 should be viewed as estimates of years of schooling attended, not years completed. Many teenagers attending school were enrolled in grammar school, not in high school. And many who reported that they were enrolled in school did not attend consecutively for the entire school year. Thus, these figures are probably over-estimates of years of schooling completed.

The estimated mean years of school-attended figures presented in Table 7.3 indicate that, on average, students would have attended school for 9.63 years had 1910 attendance rates endured. The two groups with the lowest attendance were Hispanics, who would have attended 5.62 years of school had 1910 rates persisted, and blacks, who would have attended 6.98 years of school. Mean attainment levels for European immigrant groups ranged from the 7.96 years attended by Polish children to 10.48 years attended by Irish children. The attainment of second-generation immigrants was higher, and most groups fell within a narrow range around 10 years of school attended. Jews and English-speaking Canadians averaged approximately 11 years of school attended, while Hispanics (6.25 years) and Poles (8.21 years) remained below average, but the other immigrant groups all fell between 9 and 11 years of school attended. These results indicate that while elementary education was typical, the average student probably did not attend high school for very long.

A second generalization regarding Table 7.3 is the lower levels of schooling for foreign-born children. For each immigrant group, foreign-born children attended school less than those born in the United States, with the difference typically being on the order of 1 year. Because many of these children did not attend school full time for the full year, most foreign-born children probably received no more than a basic primary-level education at this time.

The true level of attainment of foreign-born children was probably even lower than these figures indicate. Some foreign-born children would not have been living in the United States during their entire childhood, and thus would have missed some years of potential schooling that our procedure nonetheless imputes to them. Nonetheless, the age-specific enrollment rates were higher for foreign-born children than for blacks. This is true for every group with the exception of Hispanics, noted above. Thus, blacks were educationally disadvantaged compared to newly arrived immigrants, and were at an even greater disadvantage compared with second-generation immigrants.

The estimates reported here are in line with Lieberson's estimates based on the 1920 census (1980, pp. 128–129). The average number of years of school attended by native whites increased slightly (from 10.25 to 10.60 years) between 1910 and 1920, while black enrollment rose from 6.98 to 8.40. Years of school attended for foreign-born whites rose from 8.39 to 8.70, while second-generation white immigrant attainment rose from 9.90 to 10.30. (We have averaged Lieberson's male and female figures for 1920.) In this period, then, the largest enrollment gains were evident for blacks, who nonetheless remained behind foreign-born whites.

Sex Differences in Enrollment

Table 7.4 presents enrollment rates by sex and age group for each of the immigrant groups. The clear conclusion evident from Table 7.4 is that differences between girls and boys within the same racial or ethnic background are small compared to differences across groups. The only statistically significant differences in Table 7.4 occur for blacks and Italians. In both cases, young women were more likely to be enrolled in school than their male counterparts, and only among blacks was this difference consistent across age groups. As far as the age-specific patterns are concerned, aside from the case of blacks, there were only a few scattered cases of statistically significant differences between boys and girls of the same age and racial or ethnic background. The similarity in enrollment rates between girls and boys is itself a puzzle, because many of the reasons that boys left school would not necessarily have applied to girls. This is one clear instance in which our results differ from those obtained by the U.S. Immigration Commission of 1911.

Table 7.5 presents the combinations of work and schooling maintained by children ages 14–18, by ethnic group and sex. The similar levels of school attendance for boys and girls in each ethnic group mask considerable differences in the tendency of each group to combine work with schooling.

For all groups, relatively few boys were neither working nor in school, while higher and widely varied proportions of girls were not in school and not working. Southern native white girls in particular were more likely to be exclusively enrolled in school than their male counterparts.

Southern boys, both white and black, were most likely to combine work with school. Relatively few teenage girls of any group managed to combine school and work, southern blacks being a notable exception at 21 percent. Majorities of 14–18-year-old boys who were British, German, Italian, Polish, Other Northern European, Other Southern European, French Canadian, Hispanic, or Southern black opted for gainful

TABLE 7.4

Enrollment, by Race and Ethnicity, by Sex and Age Group

Group	5–18		5–9	
	Males % Enrolled (n)	Females % Enrolled (n)	Males % Enrolled (n)	Females % Enrolled (n)
Native White	70.0 (33,937)	70.4 (32,970)	63.7 (12,895)	63.9 (12,577)
Black	45.8 (6,474)	50.8+ (6,532)	38.8 (2,607)	42.1+ (2,499)
American Indian	57.6 (210)	60.0 (200)	48.9 (90)	58.1 (93)
British	68.0 (956)	69.8 (945)	73.3 (288)	74.4 (312)
Irish	72.6 (1,134)	71.8 (1,264)	79.2 (356)	79.9 (388)
Scandinavian	68.4 (1,296)	72.3 (1,212)	68.1 (423)	72.7 (370)
German	65.6 (2,360)	63.3 (2,374)	74.8 (706)	73.6 (685)
Italian	57.9 (1,165)	63.9+ (953)	65.2 (454)	66.4 (414)
Polish	56.0 (828)	55.4 (883)	56.9 (336)	59.4 (362)
Jewish	71.8 (1,049)	70.5 (969)	75.1 (393)	79.3 (333)
Russian	62.8 (341)	66.3 (374)	53.4 (148)	67.6+ (176)
Other N. European	68.4 (354)	67.8 (351)	70.0 (130)	80.3 (122)
Other S. European	59.7 (1,192)	61.5 (1,068)	61.3 (442)	68.5+ (422)
English Canadian	74.2 (674)	77.9 (670)	75.7 (222)	75.1 (221)
French Canadian	63.5 (386)	59.0 (402)	80.0 (115)	73.7 (133)
Hispanic	41.3 (254)	37.6 (261)	31.6 (98)	30.9 (97)
Total	65.9 (52,610)	66.9 (51,428)	61.4 (19,703)	62.6 (19,204)

+Female proportion enrolled differs from male proportion enrolled, $p < .05$.

TABLE 7.4 (*continued*)

10–13		14–18	
Males % Enrolled (n)	Females % Enrolled (n)	Males % Enrolled (n)	Females % Enrolled (n)
92.6 (9,474)	93.2 (9,003)	58.6 (11,568)	59.6 (11,390)
68.9 (1,778)	71.2+ (1,859)	34.9 (2,089)	43.4+ (2,174)
71.2 (52)	73.1 (52)	58.8 (68)	50.9 (55)
94.6 (278)	96.6 (262)	45.1 (390)	47.2 (371)
98.2 (339)	96.3 (352)	47.4 (439)	49.2 (524)
95.2 (376)	96.6 (357)	48.3 (497)	54.0 (485)
95.8 (665)	94.1 (659)	38.8 (989)	36.8 (1,030)
90.3 (288)	93.0 (256)	28.1 (423)	33.9 (283)
93.2 (205)	90.0 (219)	28.6 (287)	25.5 (302)
95.1 (288)	96.2 (261)	50.0 (368)	44.8 (375)
92.3 (91)	95.6 (90)	50.0 (102)	39.8 (108)
97.0 (101)	92.7 (96)	43.1 (123)	38.4 (133)
91.8 (305)	95.6 (274)	36.0 (445)	28.5+ (372)
97.4 (155)	97.0 (135)	60.9 (297)	71.7 (314)
94.6 (92)	93.2 (74)	36.9 (179)	35.9 (195)
70.0 (70)	56.2+ (73)	29.1 (86)	29.7 (91)
90.0 (14,557)	90.4 (14,022)	51.5 (18,350)	53.1 (18,202)

TABLE 7.5

Economic Activity, by Race and Ethnicity and Enrollment Status, for Boys and Girls Ages 14–18

Boys	N	Not Working		Working	
		Not in School	In School	Not in School	In School
Southern Native White	3,363	6.60	24.41	36.19	32.80
Non-South. Native White	8,203	6.88	42.12	33.90	17.10
Southern Black	1,735	6.69	9.91	60.63	22.77
Non-South. Black	354	9.04	28.25	44.92	17.80
American Indian	68	19.12	42.65	22.06	16.18
British	390	4.36	33.08	50.51	12.05
Irish	439	5.69	39.18	46.92	8.20
Scandinavian	497	7.85	34.61	43.86	13.68
German	989	6.98	27.70	54.20	11.12
Italian	423	7.57	20.57	64.30	7.57
Polish	287	6.62	22.30	64.81	6.27
Jewish	368	4.89	36.96	45.11	13.04
Russian	102	9.80	32.35	40.20	17.65
Other N. European	123	3.25	25.20	53.66	17.89
Other S. European	445	7.42	24.27	56.63	11.69
English Canadian	250	6.80	42.80	37.20	13.20
French Canadian	151	7.28	16.56	66.23	9.93
Hispanic	86	6.98	24.42	63.95	4.65

Girls	N	Not Working		Working	
		Not in School	In School	Not in School	In School
Southern Native White	3,283	24.49	48.74	12.18	9.59
Non-South. Native White	8,109	23.47	56.25	16.41	3.87
Southern Black	1,814	17.92	21.61	39.25	21.22
Non-South. Black	360	25.56	32.50	28.06	13.89
American Indian	55	36.36	49.09	12.73	1.82
British	371	23.99	43.13	28.84	4.04
Irish	524	13.74	43.70	37.02	5.53
Scandinavian	485	21.24	51.75	24.74	2.27
German	1,030	25.92	32.43	37.28	4.37
Italian	283	30.39	29.33	35.69	4.59
Polish	302	19.54	20.53	54.97	4.97
Jewish	375	12.27	37.60	42.92	7.20
Russian	108	24.07	35.19	36.11	4.63
Other N. European	133	26.32	32.33	35.34	6.02
Other S. European	372	20.97	24.19	50.54	4.30
English Canadian	271	16.67	64.21	15.50	3.32
French Canadian	160	21.25	19.38	55.63	3.75
Hispanic	91	56.04	28.57	14.29	1.10

employment over continued enrollment. The highest proportions of working girls not attending school were found among the French Canadians (56 percent) and Poles (55 percent). Thus, we see that even when boys and girls had similar rates of school enrollment, they had very different levels of employment. We plan to explore these issues in greater depth in a companion paper that will try to explain why girls' enrollment rates were so similar to those of boys despite such differences in economic activity.

Race and Ethnic Differences in Social Characteristics

Much of the discussion of ethnic differences moves from the descriptive measures presented in Tables 7.1 and 7.3 to speculations about differences in the cultural attributes of these groups that would produce such outcomes. But these groups differed on many attributes that we have good reason to believe are powerful predictors of educational enrollment. In Tables 7.6 and 7.7, a number of these indicators for each race and ethnic group are summarized.

Table 7.6 indicates the proportion of children ages 5–18 from each

TABLE 7.6

Mean Values of Predictor Variables, by Race and Ethnicity, for Children Ages 5–18

Group (n)	Foreign-born %	Parental+ Literacy %	Parental English Ability+ %	South %	Rural++ %
Native White (66,923)	.0	98.1	99.2	29.5	63.9
Black (13,010)	.0	74.4	99.7	83.9	78.9
American Indian (410)	.0	63.0	69.4	5.9	90.2
British (1,904)	13.3	99.0	99.7	3.7	23.0
Irish (2,398)	4.0	99.0	100.0	2.0	9.9
Scandinavian (2,510)	9.2	99.6	96.6	.5	58.4
German (4,734)	5.5	98.7	93.0	3.0	37.1
Italian (2,118)	38.3	73.4	66.6	6.0	10.4
Polish (1,711)	23.6	85.1	69.2	2.6	15.7
Jewish (2,018)	42.4	87.3	78.9	2.7	.6
Russian (715)	30.3	90.1	73.3	2.6	45.7
Other N. European (705)	16.7	98.5	92.6	2.0	39.6
Other S. European (2,260)	29.5	92.0	74.7	2.5	22.0
English Canadian (1,344)	17.6	99.3	99.6	1.7	35.6
French Canadian (788)	20.81	89.5	83.3	0.4	25.5
Hispanic (515)	45.2	63.6	21.9	7.2	64.1

+One or more parents were literate (or reported being able to speak English).
++Counties with less than 50,000 population.

race and ethnic group that was foreign-born, had one or more parent who was literate, had one or more parent able to speak English, or who lived in the South or in rural areas. There is substantial variation between groups in the proportion foreign-born, owing to historical patterns of immigration to the United States. Substantial minorities of Hispanic, Jewish, Italian, Russian, Polish, and Other Southern European children were foreign-born, whereas British, Irish, Scandinavian, German, Other Northern European, and Canadian children were more likely to be children of immigrants.

Parental literacy rates also varied substantially across ethnic groups. Although some may suggest that low parental literacy rates reflect a low cultural emphasis on education, we view limited opportunities for education in the origin countries as more likely to be responsible. Because parental literacy is a reliable predictor of children's enrollment, we expect that variation in schooling rates between groups will be due in part to variation in parental literacy.

Parental literacy differs sharply between native whites and other northern European groups, on the one hand, and all other groups on the other. Native whites and immigrant groups in which the children were overwhelmingly second-generation immigrants (the British, Irish, Scandinavians, Germans, Other Northern Europeans, and English-speaking Canadians) all had parental literacy rates of over 95 percent. (These literacy rates are no doubt exaggerated, but are nonetheless useful as approximations of the differentials across groups.) Among more recent immigrants, the Hispanics (with 63.6 percent parental literacy) and the Italians (73.4 percent) had the lowest incidence of parental literacy. Moderate parental literacy rates were also observed among the French Canadians (89.5 percent), the Jews (87.3 percent), and the Poles (85.1 percent). Among non-white American groups, both blacks and American Indians also reported relatively low rates of parental literacy (74.4 and 63.0 percent, respectively).

The majority of parents in all groups (except the Hispanics) reported being able to speak English, but here again variation across groups is notable. (As we noted above in the case of literacy, the proportion claiming to speak English is probably exaggerated.) The groups in which less than 90 percent of parents reported being able to speak English were French-speaking Canadians (83.3 percent), Jews (78.9 percent), Other Southern Europeans (74.7 percent), Russians (73.3 percent), Poles (69.2 percent), Italians (66.6 percent), American Indians (69.4 percent), and Hispanics (21.9 percent).

Relatively few immigrants lived in the South, where most blacks (83.9 percent) and a substantial minority of native whites (29.5 percent) were located. Southern schooling rates were lower than those in the rest

of the country, and consequently this factor needs to be incorporated in our analysis. Similarly, the proportion living in urban areas varies widely across groups. Most native whites, blacks, American Indians, Scandinavians, and Hispanics lived in rural areas, whereas the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Poles were overwhelmingly concentrated in urban areas. This locational difference tended to work in the immigrants' favor, at least for young children, since urban areas tended to have higher enrollment rates for younger children. Among teenagers, the greater extent of job opportunities in cities tended to reduce high school attendance rates (Greene and Jacobs 1992).

Table 7.7 presents group averages for several measures of parental economic resources: the proportion with fathers employed in white-collar occupations and farming, who were self-employed (non-farm), and who owned their own home (separated by farm versus non-farm). In Table 7.7 we present two measures of father's occupation: the proportion of fathers employed in white-collar (nonmanual) occupations, and the proportion engaged in farming. In the multivariate analysis, we include a slightly more detailed series of occupational measures.

Seventeen percent of the fathers of native white children were employed in white-collar jobs in 1910, a figure substantially exceeded only by Jews (42.0 percent). The high proportion of Jewish fathers reported as white-collar reflects the definition of proprietor or manager as a white-collar occupation. Many Jewish men were self-employed proprietors of small shops or worked as vendors, another occupation classified as a nonmanual occupation.

This pattern is reflected in the proportion of fathers who were reported as self-employed. In discussing self-employment data, one must keep in mind that farmers were more likely to be self-employed than those engaged in nonagricultural pursuits. Consequently, we have divided self-employed individuals into farm owners and others.[6]

Jews were the group most likely to be employers or self-employed in non-farm settings (20.5 percent), and their rate far exceeded that of native whites (5.6 percent). Two groups were the most underrepresented among the self-employed in non-farm settings: blacks (0.7 percent) and American Indians (0.0 percent in this sample). Blacks were likely to report being self-employed farmers (46.3 percent, a figure that undoubtedly included many sharecroppers), as did one-quarter of American Indians.

The groups most likely to be engaged in farming were blacks (73.5 percent), American Indians (66.3 percent), Hispanics (52.0 percent), na-

[6]In the multivariate analysis, we included both farm and non-farm self-employed fathers in one group, because the farm category is also included in the analysis.

TABLE 7.7

Mean Values of Father's Characteristics, by Race and Ethnic Group, for Children Ages 5–18

Group (n)	White-collar %	Farm Total %	Farm Owner %	Non-farm Self-employed %	Home-owner+ %
Native White (53,521)	17.4	48.4	25.8	5.6	53.2
Black (8,189)	2.0	73.5	46.3	.7	25.3
American Indian (267)	7.5	66.3	25.1	.0	68.0
British (1,533)	17.0	10.4	4.6	5.9	36.1
Irish (1,788)	13.2	10.3	3.4	5.1	35.4
Scandinavian (2,004)	8.7	42.9	28.0	4.6	66.3
German (3,838)	11.8	33.9	20.4	6.4	57.2
Italian (1,724)	18.2	7.1	2.7	7.4	28.0
Polish (1,367)	9.7	10.5	4.2	4.1	42.4
Jewish (1,720)	42.0	1.0	.2	20.5	16.8
Russian (606)	15.3	40.6	20.3	5.9	53.8
Other N. European (586)	14.3	39.2	17.7	3.9	51.9
Other S. European (1,798)	11.3	17.5	9.2	7.0	42.0
English Canadian (1,344)	18.8	19.6	9.8	15.4	47.0
French Canadian (788)	5.8	11.0	3.9	6.4	33.6
Hispanic	6.0 (367)	52.0 (367)	7.4 (367)	2.5 (367)	28.9 (515)

+The number of cases for homeownership matches that reported in Table 7.6.

tive whites (48.4 percent), and Scandinavians (42.9 percent). In contrast, the Irish, Italians, Jews, Poles, and recent British immigrants were rarely found working in the agricultural sector. (See A. R. Miller, Chapter 8, this volume, for more detail on the industrial distribution of immigrants.) Again, schooling patterns of farm children differ substantially from those of non-farm children.

Homeownership is a final indicator of parental resources that tend

to increase the chances of children's school enrollment. Not surprisingly, homeownership varied substantially across groups: 53.2 percent of native whites with children aged 5–18 reported owning their own homes. Several groups reported higher ownership rates than native whites, including American Indians (68.0 percent), Scandinavians (66.3 percent), and Germans (57.2 percent). The high homeownership rates among these groups are probably related to the high proportions living on the family farm. Undoubtedly, the quality of homes varied substantially across groups, and homeownership by itself should not be taken to mean middle-class status. Jews, who were more advantaged occupationally, were the least likely to report owning their own dwelling (16.8 percent), presumably because of their concentration in apartments in urban settings.

These results indicate that our sixteen race and ethnic groups varied a great deal on a variety of factors that were likely to be related to schooling. We now turn to a multivariate analysis in order to assess what impact these variables had on schooling rates.

Table 7.8 presents four logistic regression equations. Initially, a series of race and ethnic dichotomous variables alone are used to predict enrollment. We gradually add groups of other variables, which we expect to attenuate the gross ethnic effects estimated in Equation 1. Model 2 adds measures of foreign-born status, and parental English-speaking ability; Model 3 adds measures of urban and southern residence; and Model 4 includes homeownership and father's presence, occupation, and self-employment status.

The gross differentials across ethnic groups found in Model 1 have already been discussed. They are presented here to allow us to ascertain what fraction of these differentials are due to the variables added to the model. The negative coefficients indicate that the group in question had lower odds of enrollment than native whites, which is the reference, or comparison, group in this and subsequent analyses. In Model 2, we see (as expected) that foreign-born children were less likely to attend school than native-born children; and children whose parents were able to speak English were more likely to be enrolled in school than those whose parents spoke only a foreign language. As discussed above, we view each of these attributes as measures of social resources associated with recent immigration that would influence the likelihood of enrollment.

How does the introduction of these variables alter the effects of race and ethnicity on enrollment? Our principal focus will be on the extent to which the independent variables explain (reduce) the race and ethnic differentials. By comparing the size of the ethnic coefficient across models, we can see how much of the gross differential is due to the effects of recent immigration, locational factors, or socioeconomic resources. The results in Model 2 indicate that controlling for nativity and parental

TABLE 7.8

Logistic Regression Models of Enrollment for Children Ages 5–18

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Intercept	.860* (.012)	−.285* (.059)	−.149* (.060)	−.943* (.073)
Black	−.927* (.021)	−.930* (.021)	−.709* (.024)	−.427* (.030)
American Indian	−.505* (.101)	−.316* (.104)	−.428* (.104)	−.275* (.107)
British	−.064 (.051)	−.007 (.051)	−.112* (.052)	−.118* (.055)
Irish	.091 (.047)	.103* (.047)	.010 (.049)	.060 (.052)
Scandinavian	−.001 (.045)	.051 (.046)	−.079 (.046)	−.126* (.049)
German	−.264* (.033)	−.225* (.033)	−.325* (.034)	−.374* (.037)
Italian	−.429* (.046)	−.108 (.050)	−.179* (.052)	−.138* (.056)
Polish	−.631* (.050)	−.412* (.052)	−.503* (.053)	−.463* (.057)
Jewish	.043 (.051)	.301* (.054)	.252* (.058)	.202* (.062)
Russian	−.258* (.079)	−.007 (.082)	−.110 (.082)	−.163* (.085)
Other N. European	−.102 (.082)	−.007 (.082)	−.108 (.083)	−.160* (.085)
Other S. European	−.423* (.044)	−.190* (.047)	−.288* (.048)	−.275* (.051)
English Canadian	.299* (.065)	.371* (.066)	.263* (.067)	.223* (.069)
French Canadian	−.406* (.074)	−.193* (.076)	−.345* (.077)	−.269* (.080)
Hispanic	−1.296* (.091)	−.491* (.100)	−.586* (.100)	−.426* (.103)
Foreign-born		−.444* (.038)	−.446* (.038)	−.305* (.039)

TABLE 7.8 (*continued*)

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Parental English Ability		1.154* (.058)	1.157* (.059)	1.025* (.062)
South			−.426* (.022)	−.371* (.028)
Small Cities			−.022 (.022)	−.066 (.027)
Medium Cities			.070* (.031)	.128* (.037)
Big Cities			−.103* (.027)	−.052 (.033)
Parental Literacy				.288* (.025)
Owns Home				.293* (.021)
Salesman				−.007 (.064)
Clerical				.210* (.102)
Service				.099 (.077)
Farm				−.359* (.051)
Craft				−.117* (.051)
Operative				−.132* (.051)
Self-employed				.195* (.031)
Father Present				.718* (.049)
Proportion Reduction in Chi-Squared	.027	.035	.039	.049

*p<.05.

English-speaking ability tends to enhance the relative enrollment of recent immigrant groups. Indeed, the entire Italian enrollment deficit can be attributed to these two factors. (As we will see, the age-specific analyses for the Italians tell a more complicated story.)

Model 3 adds region and measures of small, medium, and large cities to the analysis. Enrollment was lower in the South than in other regions of the country, and was lower in small and big cities (we will see that this final result varies by age group). The locational variables lower the enrollment rates of all immigrant groups compared to native whites, because few lived in the relatively low-enrollment South. The only group in the analysis whose relative enrollment increases after locational controls are introduced is blacks, whose concentration in the South contributed to their low schooling rates (see Greene and Jacobs 1992).

In additional analyses not shown, we tested for interaction effects of location of residence and race and ethnicity. We found that rural blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians were especially disadvantaged in terms of school enrollments compared to their urban counterparts, while other groups living in rural areas had similar enrollments to those living in urban areas. We also tested for interaction effects associated with living in New York City. We explored this issue because so much has been written about immigrants in New York, and many have wondered how the immigrant experience may have differed in other locations. Our results provide little evidence for the proposition that New York was different, although we may not have had enough cases for each group to provide a very strong test of this conclusion.[7]

In Model 4, socioeconomic variables are added to the analysis. The results indicate that parental literacy increased enrollment. We tested for interactions of parental literacy and race and ethnicity, and found that parental literacy had a positive effect on enrollment for virtually all groups and that there was little evidence of variation in the size of the literacy effect across groups.[8] Homeownership also increased enrollment rates. This finding is consistent with the results of Perlmann's study of Providence and Thernstrom's research on Boston (1973), but clashes with Thernstrom's study of Newburyport, Massachusetts (1964), and Hogan's study of Chicago (1985). In analyses not reported here, we found that homeownership had a positive effect on enrollment for each race and ethnic group. We reason that homeownership indicated a certain economic freedom and resources enabling children, especially teenagers, to attend school. Thus, our results do not support the view that some groups chose a social mobility strategy of homeownership at the expense of their children's schooling prospects.

[7]The only cases to have significant interaction effects for New York City were Poles and Italians: for both groups enrollments were higher in New York than elsewhere.

[8]In only two cases did the evidence suggest no positive effect of literacy: Scandinavians and Other Southern Europeans. We suspect these results may not be stable, and further evidence is needed before conclusions should be drawn in these cases.

The measures of father's occupation behave as expected. The children of fathers employed in white-collar jobs had enrollment rates that were not statistically different from professional and managerial children, while the children of farmers, craftsmen, factory operatives, and laborers all had lower enrollment rates. Children of self-employed fathers had higher enrollment rates than those who worked for others, while children whose fathers were present had appreciably higher enrollment rates than those whose fathers were absent.

Another important result is that the introduction of socioeconomic controls reduces the direct effect of being foreign-born. Some of the effect of recent immigration, then, was in fact due not to immigration per se but simply to the socioeconomic disadvantage associated with recent immigration.

In the initial model, five of the fifteen groups did not significantly differ in schooling rates from native whites: British, Irish, Scandinavians, Other Northern Europeans, and Jews. English-speaking Canadian children were more likely to be enrolled in school than native whites. The most substantial schooling deficit was observed among Hispanics, followed by blacks, Poles, American Indians, Italians, Other Southern Europeans, French-speaking Canadians, Germans, and Russians.

In the final model, only the Irish did not significantly differ in their enrollment rates from those of native whites with similar locational and socioeconomic resources. The Jews exceeded native-born whites in their enrollment rates once relevant controls were imposed. In four cases of "old" immigrant groups, the British, Scandinavian, German, and Other Northern Europeans, the relative enrollment rate declined once nativity, location, and socioeconomic status were taken into account. (The enrollment advantage of English-speaking Canadian children was attenuated by these controls but remains statistically significant.) In contrast, for the (mostly) "new" immigrant groups, the Italians, Russians, Poles, Other Southern Europeans, French-speaking Canadians, and Hispanics, the enrollment deficit was cut by one-third to one-half by the introduction of various controls (for the Hispanics, the reduction was two-thirds). The two native non-white groups, blacks and American Indians, both had lower enrollment rates than native whites, but in both instances the size of the deficit is cut by about half by the introduction of location and socioeconomic controls. Although the imposition of control variables does not eliminate ethnic differences, the gap between "old" and "new" immigrants does diminish substantially.

While the results of Table 7.8 may be viewed as a summary of the overall relationship between race, ethnicity, and schooling, taking recent immigration, location, and socioeconomic factors into account, we know that schooling patterns varied substantially by age. As we saw in Table 7.3, race and ethnic effects themselves varied substantially by age. Consequently, we should not rush to interpret the effects in Table 7.8 before we have considered the age-specific analyses presented in Tables 7.9, 7.10, and 7.11.

Table 7.9 presents each of the logistic regression models for children aged 5–9. The immigrant groups largely had enrollment rates higher than or similar to those of native whites for this age group. Eight cases were higher: the British, Irish, Scandinavians, Germans, Other Northern Europeans, Jews, and both Canadian groups; three other cases were not statistically different: Russians, Italians, and Other Southern Europeans; whereas among immigrants only the Poles and the Hispanics had lower enrollment rates than native whites. Both non-white native groups—the blacks and American Indians—also had lower enrollment rates than native whites.

The introduction of controls for recent immigration improves the relative position of the Poles and Hispanics. The introduction of locational variables, however, lowers the relative position of all immigrant groups except Hispanics, while it substantially improves the relative position of blacks. The socioeconomic controls have only a modest impact on these relationships for these young children.

Parental ability to speak English, southern location, parental literacy, homeownership, father's self-employment, and having a farmer as a father all have the same effects for this age group as for all children under age 18. However, being foreign-born appears to have no direct negative effect for this group (above and beyond membership in one of the groups of recent immigrants). All cities have higher enrollment rates than rural areas, a pattern that is not evident among teenagers. Aside from farming, other occupational variables do not have a consistent, ordered effect on enrollment found for older children. This apparently surprising result is not so baffling on reflection, because it is when children have competing economic choices that socioeconomic considerations have their greatest impact on schooling chances.

After all controls are introduced in Model 4, seven immigrant groups have enrollment advantages among children aged 5–9: the British, Irish, Germans, Jews, Other Northern Europeans, and both groups of Canadians; four other groups do not differ significantly from native whites: the Scandinavians, Russians, Italians, and Other Southern Europeans. Among immigrants only the Poles and Hispanics were educationally

disadvantaged at this age level. Both blacks and American Indians were also educationally disadvantaged, and for both groups part of the disadvantage was due to locational and socioeconomic disadvantage.

A similar pattern is observed among 10–13-year-olds (see Table 7.10). Before controls are introduced, only Hispanics among immigrant groups have significantly lower enrollment rates than native whites. Once controls are imposed, Poles join Hispanics, blacks, and American Indians among those with lower chances of enrollment than native whites. (Locational considerations are responsible for much of the change for the Poles.) Because education was close to universal at this age level, few substantial group differences were evident.

Among teenagers aged 14–18, most immigrant groups had lower enrollment rates than did native whites (see Table 7.11). Indeed, all groups except English-speaking Canadians and American Indians had significantly lower enrollment rates in this age group, and the latter case may simply be due to the small sample. Much (but far from all) of the disadvantage of teenagers is accounted for by the control variables. Once controls are imposed, the teenage enrollment deficit disappears for the Irish, the Jews, and the Hispanics, who join the American Indians in having no statistically significant net difference in enrollment. The British, Scandinavians, Germans, Poles, Russians, Other Northern Europeans, Italians, Other Southern Europeans, French-speaking Canadians, and blacks had lower net enrollment chances than native white teenagers, while English-speaking Canadians had a net advantage. For seven of the groups, the controls reduce the size of the group differential by about half: British, Poles, Russians, Italians, Other Southern Europeans, French-speaking Canadians, and blacks. For four groups the net effect was similar to the gross effect: British, Scandinavians, Germans, and Other Northern Europeans. The imposition of control variables thus attenuated differences between "old" and "new" immigrant groups.

It should be noted that the proportion of the variance explained in these analyses is quite small. The proportion of chi-squared explained by these models is generally less than 10 percent, except in the case of 10–13-year-olds, where it ranges from 11 to 19 percent. (The proportion reduction in chi-squared in logistic regression analysis is analogous to the more familiar r-squared in ordinary least squares regression.) This is due not only to the fact that we are analyzing individual-level data, but also to the nature of the dependent variable. Models that predict enrollment rates explain less of the variance than those that predict years of schooling completed. We have focused not on the issue of variance explained but rather on the contribution of the independent variables to explaining the ethnic differentials.

TABLE 7.9

Logistic Regression Models of Enrollment for Children Ages 5–9

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Intercept	.565* (.013)	−.516* (.107)	−.439* (.108)	−.826* (.116)
Black	−.953* (.031)	−.955* (.031)	−.668* (.034)	−.491* (.036)
American Indian	−.423* (.149)	−.295* (.151)	−.346* (.152)	−.310* (.154)
British	.472* (.094)	.459* (.094)	.199* (.095)	.218* (.096)
Irish	.794* (.092)	.788* (.092)	.450* (.094)	.482* (.094)
Scandinavian	.293* (.079)	.290* (.079)	.122 (.080)	.074 (.080)
German	.490* (.063)	.505* (.063)	.279* (.064)	.255* (.064)
Italian	.088 (.073)	.137 (.075)	.169 (.077)	−.028 (.080)
Polish	−.236* (.078)	−.165* (.080)	−.471* (.082)	−.350* (.083)
Jewish	.643* (.089)	.644* (.092)	.262* (.096)	.330* (.098)
Russian	−.113 (.115)	−.072 (.117)	−.285* (.118)	−.254 (.118)
Other N. European	.533* (.146)	.556* (.147)	.356* (.148)	.349* (.148)
Other S. European	.060 (.072)	.088 (.074)	−.186* (.075)	−.106 (.076)
English Canadian	.577* (.113)	.566* (.113)	.330* (.114)	.309* (.114)
French Canadian	.621* (.151)	.685* (.152)	.391* (.154)	.532* (.155)
Hispanic	−1.367* (.155)	−1.046* (.163)	−1.158* (.163)	−.923* (.166)
Foreign-born		.054 (.070)	.044 (.070)	.139* (.071)

*p<.05

TABLE 7.9 (*continued*)

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Parental English Ability		1.086* (.106)	1.067* (.107)	1.022* (.107)
South			−.467* (.027)	−.411* (.027)
Small Cities			.175* (.029)	.164* (.031)
Medium Cities			.395* (.043)	.382* (.045)
Big Cities			.352* (.039)	.357* (.041)
Parental Literacy				.322* (.032)
Owns Home				.303* (.023)
Salesman				−.040 (.065)
Clerical				.004 (.092)
Service				.125 (.087)
Farm				−.285* (.052)
Craft				−.060 (.054)
Operative				−.052 (.054)
Self-employed				.166* (.034)
Father Present				.039 (.055)
Proportion Reduction in Chi-Squared	.030	.032	.044	.053

*p<.05.

TABLE 7.10

Logistic Regression Models of Enrollment for Children Ages 10–13

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Intercept	2.560* (.028)	.796* (.117)	1.166* (.123)	.073* (.139)
Black	−1.709* (.046)	−1.733* (.046)	−1.147* (.051)	−.751* (.056)
American Indian	−1.610* (.221)	−1.192* (.238)	−1.521* (.240)	−1.192* (.245)
British	.508* (.211)	.529* (.212)	−.033 (.215)	−.046 (.216)
Irish	1.006* (.234)	.980* (.234)	.323 (.239)	.366 (.240)
Scandinavian	.594* (.189)	.615* (.190)	.119 (.192)	.014 (.193)
German	.372* (.129)	.421* (.130)	−.102 (.134)	−.206 (.134)
Italian	−.178 (.157)	.260 (.177)	−.264 (.188)	−.093 (.193)
Polish	−.183 (.177)	.045 (.184)	−.575* (.190)	−.470* (.193)
Jewish	.525* (.211)	.787* (.224)	.147 (.236)	.283 (.242)
Russian	−.178 (.312)	.638* (.327)	.170 (.330)	.114 (.330)
Other N. European	.369 (.326)	.436 (.329)	−.114 (.331)	−.187 (.331)
Other S. European	.121 (.170)	.312 (.178)	−.277 (.182)	−.265 (.184)
English Canadian	.692* (.274)	.714* (.276)	.186 (.278)	.108 (.279)
French Canadian	.171 (.277)	.663* (.291)	.105 (.300)	.225 (.299)
Hispanic	−2.031* (.175)	−.567 (.213)	−913* (.217)	−.659* (.222)
Foreign-born		−.284 (.134)	−.351* (.136)	−.229* (.138)

TABLE 7.10 (*continued*)

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Parental English Ability		1.798* (.117)	1.797* (.120)	1.625* (.123)
South			−1.154* (.053)	−1.030* (.055)
Small Cities			.273* (.061)	.243* (.064)
Medium Cities			.530* (.101)	.533* (.105)
Big Cities			.343* (.093)	.392* (.098)
Parental Literacy				−.605* (.053)
Owns Home				.506* (.047)
Salesman				.234 (.162)
Clerical				.350 (.248)
Service				.561* (.219)
Farm				−.113 (.113)
Craft				.329* (.122)
Operative				.339* (.127)
Self-employed				.217* (.072)
Father Present				.372* (.110)
Proportion Reduction in Chi-Squared	.115	.149	.174	.188

*p < .05.

TABLE 7.11

Logistic Regression Models of Enrollment for Children Ages 14–18

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Intercept	.366* (.013)	−.782* (.095)	−.639* (.096)	−1.693* (.106)
Black	−.802* (.034)	−.807* (.034)	−.755* (.037)	−.387* (.040)
American Indian	−.154 (.182)	.061 (.187)	−.093 (.188)	.152 (.192)
British	−.521* (.074)	−.463* (.075)	−.351* (.076)	−.294* (.078)
Irish	−.430* (.066)	−.407* (.066)	−.218* (.068)	−.073 (.070)
Scandinavian	−.321* (.065)	−.254* (.066)	−.299* (.067)	−.360* (.069)
German	−.864* (.048)	−.827* (.048)	−.756* (.049)	−.838* (.051)
Italian	−1.192* (.083)	−.713* (.090)	−.508* (.092)	−.413* (.096)
Jewish	−.471* (.075)	−.106 (.083)	.172* (.086)	.045 (.091)
Polish	−1.361* (.094)	−1.053* (.097)	−.897* (.099)	−.834* (.102)
Russian	−.576* (.139)	−.223* (.145)	−.204 (.147)	−.352* (.152)
Other N. European	−.745* (.128)	−.635* (.130)	−.595* (.131)	−.672* (.135)
Other S. European	−1.084* (.075)	−.727* (.080)	−.609* (.081)	−.573* (.084)
English Canadian	.111 (.091)	.221* (.093)	−.270* (.094)	.266* (.097)
French Canadian	−1.477* (.132)	−1.249* (.135)	−1.120* (.136)	−1.002* (.138)
Hispanic	−1.243* (.166)	−.248 (.183)	−.287* (.183)	−.090 (.186)
Foreign-born		−.541* (.060)	−.508* (.061)	−.278* (.062)

TABLE 7.11 (*continued*)

Variables	Model 1 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 2 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 3 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)	Model 4 Log Odds Ratio (Std. Error)
Parental English Ability		1.158* (.095)	1.224* (.096)	1.039* (.097)
South			−.214* (.028)	−.161* (.029)
Small Cities			−.340* (.029)	−.245 (.031)
Medium Cities			−.341* (.040)	−.166 (.043)
Big Cities			−.528* (.036)	−.326* (.039)
Parental Literacy				.399* (.037)
Owns Home				.393* (.024)
Salesman				.050 (.071)
Clerical				.029 (.108)
Service				−.333* (.093)
Farm				−.359* (.057)
Craft				−.529* (.057)
Operative				−.629* (.058)
Self-employed				.291* (.039)
Father Present				1.041* (.052)
Proportion Reduction in Chi-Squared	.027	.034	.040	.080

*p<.05.

Summary

Among the many empirical results in the preceding analysis, we think five findings are the most noteworthy. First, our evidence confirms the disadvantage of blacks relative to European immigrant groups in 1910. Blacks trailed foreign-born whites in attendance rates at all ages, and were even farther behind second-generation immigrants. We show that this result holds for each of twelve groups of European stock. In a companion paper, we show that the black enrollment disadvantage is evident in the South, the Midwest, and the West, but not in the Northeast (Greene and Jacobs 1992).

Second, young women and men had virtually the same chances of being enrolled in school. This finding is true for virtually every race, ethnic, and age subgroup we examined, with the notable exception of an enrollment advantage for young black women. This finding is in accord with other evidence based on census data (Perlmann 1988, p. 60), but differs from a number of reports based on school records, which find lower schooling rates among immigrant girls (U.S. Immigration Commission 1911; Olneck and Lazerson 1974). These discrepancies warrant further inquiry.

Third, the relatively high enrollment rates of immigrant children under age 14 are a striking result. Olneck and Lazerson (1974) report data showing that immigrant children under 13 had higher enrollment rates than native whites, but they downplay this finding. They judged the immigrant and native white rates to be essentially the same. (They report that 93 percent of second-generation immigrant children under 13 were in school in 1910 versus 88 percent of native whites, which translates into an odds-ratio advantage for the immigrants of 1.81.) We find a pattern of immigrant parity or advantage for most immigrant group children aged 5–9 that persists after recent immigration, location, and socioeconomic controls are introduced.

Fourth, we find that immigrant teens were less likely to be enrolled in school than native whites. The addition of controls in the multivariate analysis generally reduces this disadvantage, especially for recent immigrants. Also of note is the fact that the Northern and Western European groups—the British, the Scandinavians, the Germans, and Other Northern Europeans—had lower enrollment chances than native whites, chances that did not greatly differ from those of Eastern and Southern Europeans after controls were imposed.

Fifth, we show that both parental literacy and parental ability to speak English increased schooling rates in 1910. Locational considerations were also important factors in schooling rates, with the South

trailing the rest of the country, and cities promoting schooling among young children but not among teenagers. Socioeconomic considerations are most notable among teenagers, who had economically productive alternatives to school to consider.

Discussion

What light do these results shed on the debate regarding socioeconomic resources and culture in influencing schooling patterns? There is evidence both sides can point to. The culturalist can point to the fact that there are differences between groups that are not explained when the available measures of recent immigration, location, and socioeconomic resources are controlled. The Poles, for example, trail native whites significantly at all age levels even after controls are imposed, while Jews surpass native whites until age 14, after which age no difference remains.

Yet there are five findings that are particularly supportive of the view that the principal differences across groups are rooted in social and economic resource constraints. First, we believe that the immigrants' interest in education is evident in the high rates of schooling of children under age 14. For these children, there was no economically productive alternative to school. In other words, in the absence of economic tradeoffs, immigrant children were as likely if not more likely than native whites to attend school. We view this as strong evidence in favor of the view that schooling rates principally reflect the social and economic resources of families. Further, it may be the case that the teenage deficit for immigrant groups was merely a mirror image of their advantage at earlier ages. High school attendance remained low and high school completion remained exceptional in 1910, with the completion of a basic elementary education still the norm. If immigrant parents' main objective was obtaining a basic elementary education for their children, and if this goal had been accomplished by an earlier age, then it would be understandable that a "deficit" in the enrollment of the teenage children of immigrants would have been observed.

Second, the evidence indicates that, for the majority of the "new" immigrant groups, differences between native whites and immigrant groups are attenuated by measures of the recency of immigration, location, and socioeconomic resources. The Italians are often cited as a group lacking in a cultural commitment to schooling (Covello 1967), yet the evidence suggests that no difference remains between them and native

whites after measures of recent immigration are taken into account (except among teenagers, for whom controls explained the majority of the enrollment gap).

Third, among teenagers, several of the Northern and Western European groups were actually at a net enrollment deficit. If the new immigrants were seen as insufficiently committed to schooling, the same charge may be leveled at earlier immigrant groups. In short, those who would rush to offer cultural explanations for the Italian, Jewish, and Polish results must be prepared to offer cultural-deficiency explanations for the British, Scandinavian, and German groups as well. We suspect that these cases may involve particular sets of opportunities that provided financially attractive alternatives to schooling. If these explanations are borne out by subsequent research, it may be possible to pursue similar explanations for the enrollment gaps found for other groups as well.

Fourth, the variables related to social and economic resources behave as expected. Foreign birth, parental literacy, parental ability to speak English, homeownership, and father's self-employment all have direct, sizable effects on schooling rates, which generally have the effect of attenuating differences across groups. Father's occupation has a clear effect, especially among teenagers, which we view as evidence that teenage enrollment was particularly sensitive to socioeconomic influences. Additional analyses of family structure and the availability of job opportunities would likely further reduce the interethnic differentials. There are several other identifiable but unavailable measures that would likely make a difference in enrollments. These include return migration for the Italians and especially the Hispanics and low southern-school expenditures for blacks. (The likelihood of return migration would tend to reduce one's interest or desire to obtain the skills needed for success in the United States, although unrelated individuals may have been more likely to return than families with children.)

Fifth, the lack of sex differences among the immigrant groups is another piece of evidence regarding the adaptability of cultures to circumstances. Because none of the traditional European cultures greatly stressed education for girls, the lack of strong gender differentials in schooling indicates that these cultural impediments to schooling for girls gave way after arrival in the United States.[9]

The points underscore the importance of social structure in influencing school enrollment rates. We nonetheless recognize that the complexities of schooling cannot be entirely accounted for by such an analysis, and that a role for group strategies will inevitably need to be part of a complete explanation of enrollment rates.

[9]Data on sex differences in schooling in Europe at the turn of the century are not easily found. However, available evidence from Britain (Dures 1971; Lawson and Silver 1973), Italy (Mazzocchi and Rubinacci 1975), and France (Prost 1968) all indicate that girls, especially teenagers, were at a disadvantage compared to boys in schooling rates during this period.

The evidence presented in this chapter indicates the extent to which differences in schooling between race and ethnic groups were the result of differences in social and economic resources. Differences across groups diminished when control variables were added to the analysis, yet notable differences remained even after the entire set of variables at our disposal was included. We hope these results help to provide a context for local studies of the schooling and employment of teenagers, and stimulate further research on the complexities of schooling in 1910.

TABLE 7A.1

Definitions of Ethnicity Employed

A. Definitions Based on Place of Birth	
British	Respondent or mother born in England, Wales, or Scotland.
Irish	Respondent or mother born in Ireland.
Russian	Respondent or mother born in Russia or Russian Poland.
Other Northern European	Respondent or mother born in Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, or Luxembourg.
Other Southern European	Respondent or mother born in Austria, Austrian Poland, Hungary, Austria-Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Atlantic Islands, Azores, Turkey, Turkey in Europe, or Other European Countries.
Hispanic	Respondent or mother born in Mexico, Cuba, Central America, West Indies, South America, Bermuda, or Puerto Rico.
B. Definitions Based in Part on Mother Tongue	
French Canadian	Respondent or mother born in Canada; mother tongue French.
English Canadian	Respondent or mother born in Canada; mother tongue English.
Scandinavian	Respondent or mother born in Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, or Finland; mother tongue (or mother's mother tongue) Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, or Finnish.
German	Respondent or mother born in Germany or German Poland; mother tongue (or mother's mother tongue) German.
Italian	Respondent or mother born in Italy; mother tongue (or mother's mother tongue) Italian.
Jewish	Respondent or mother foreign-born; mother tongue of respondent or mother given as Yiddish.
Polish	Respondent or mother born in Poland; or respondent or mother foreign-born and mother tongue of respondent or mother given as Polish.
C. Definitions Based in Part on Race	
Black	Respondent's race given as Negro or mulatto.
American Indian	Respondent's race given as Indian.
Native White	Respondent and mother born in United States, including those born in any of what became the fifty states, those born in the U.S. but state unknown, and U.S. citizens born abroad, but excluding Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and respondent's race given as white.
Excluded	Those born at sea, birthplace unknown, birthplace illegible, birthplace blank; those born in Africa (if race not black); those born in Australia and New Zealand.

AFTER ELLIS ISLAND

Newcomers and Natives in the 1910 Census

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