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**A Student Experience in the Research University (SERU)
Project Research Paper***

The Immigrant University: Assessing the Dynamics of Race, Major and Socioeconomic Characteristics at the University of California

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ABSTRACT

The University of California has long been a major source of socioeconomic mobility in California. Data from the University of California's Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES) indicates that more than half the undergraduate students in the UC system have at least one parent that is an immigrant. The ratio is even higher at UC Berkeley. What do such a high percentage of students with recent immigrant backgrounds tell us about the University of California and socioeconomic mobility? How is it influencing the academy and academic and civic experience of undergraduates who are largely first or second-generation immigrants?

Utilizing UCUES data on the University of California, and specifically the Berkeley campus as a case example, this brief provides an initial exploration of the dynamics of race and ethnicity, major, and the differing socioeconomic backgrounds of immigrant students, and in comparison to "native" students. Among the major conclusions offered in this study: there are a complex set of differences between various "generations" of immigrant students that fit earlier historical waves of immigrant groups to the United States; that the startling number and range of students from different ethnic, racial, cultural, and economic backgrounds points to the need for an expanded notion of diversity beyond older racial and ethnic paradigms; and while there are growing numbers of immigrant students at Berkeley from different parts of the world, and often from lower income families, there is a high correlation with their socioeconomic capital, described as a variety of factors, but most prominently the education level of their parents and family. Further, students at Berkeley who come from lower income families and have relatively low socioeconomic capital (in particular Chicano/Latinos) do well academically, if only marginally less so than those with higher rates of educational capital. At the same time, they also spend more time in paid employment, spend approximately the same amount of time as Euro-Americans studying and going to class, and have relatively high rates of overall satisfaction with their social and academic experience

With each generation, the immigrant roots of the United States has changed and, in turn, reshaped the nation's economic and social experiment. California and a number of other states situated along the nation's borders are at the vanguard of yet another wave of population growth significantly influenced by globalization and the characteristics and aspirations of immigrants groups. As in the past, only even more exaggerated by the economic demands of postmodern economies, education is one of the primary tools for socioeconomic mobility among recent immigrant generations. And as in the past, immigrant groups, including first generation, and those with foreign-born parents or grandparents, tend to find the easiest and best route to tertiary education

* The SERU Project is a collaborative study based at the Center for Studies in Higher Education at UC Berkeley and focused on developing new types of data and innovative policy relevant scholarly analyses on the academic and civic experience of students at major research universities. One of the main products of the SERU Project has been the development and administration of the University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES). For further information on the project, see <http://cshe.berkeley.edu/research/seru/>

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in the public sector, where costs are lower. Influenced by their racial and ethnic background, a select group also focuses much of their educational aspirations on a cadre of high prestige public institutions.

The following paper examines the new wave of immigrant groups in California and their significant presence in the University of California system, using the undergraduate population at the Berkeley campus as a case study and relying on the most recent University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES).¹ UCUES is a census survey of all undergraduates. Data for this study came from the Spring 2006 administration at the Berkeley campus and includes over 10,000 student responses out of 22,700 the students who received the survey -- a forty-eight percent response rate. Analysis indicates that those that responded are generally representative of the entire Berkeley undergraduate population.

Within the growing number of UC undergraduates, and at Berkeley in particular, lies a remarkable story of the increased numbers of students with immigrant backgrounds, many striving to better their lives, all conditioned by their cultural and social roots, which in turn influences their educational experience and, to some degree, education outcomes.

According to the 2006 UCUES, some fifty-four percent of all undergraduate students at the University of California's nine undergraduate campuses have at least one parent that is an immigrant. At the Berkeley campus, that figure is sixty-three percent. Over one-quarter of UCUES respondents at UC Berkeley (twenty-eight percent) and UC Los Angeles (twenty-seven percent) reported that they had immigrated to the United States. When one examines the number of students with at least one immigrant grandparent, the figure at Berkeley is seventy-two percent.

Only the Irvine, Riverside, Merced, and UCLA campus have a similar presence of students with current or recent immigrant backgrounds. While we do not have accurate or systematically gathered data for the UC system prior to UCUES's first administration in 2002 regarding immigrant status, it is relatively safe to assume that the composition of UC's undergraduate student body has changed significantly over the last thirty years, reflecting profound changes in California's population. Further, some fifty-four percent of UCUES respondents report that English was their sole first language. Berkeley and the other University of California campuses, which enroll over 210,000 undergraduate and graduate students, are truly cosmopolitan institutions, magnets for talent and creativity.

Here also is a story that expands our notion of diversity and the complexity of modern society—a world that is increasingly and inevitably multiracial, international and global in its perspective. Other parts of the United States are undergoing a similar transition, but only a few at the pace of California. And California's experience is not some isolated event, but rather part of a worldwide phenomenon. Much of the developed world is shifting from a largely homogeneous culture and population to a more global multiracial and multiethnic paradigm in which immigrant labor fills national needs, and in which people from underdeveloped and often politically unstable areas of the world seek entrance to more developed economies. Contemporary discussions about race and ethnicity, and diversity in general are severely handicapped without a greater understanding of demographic changes in states like California, in US, and indeed in other parts of the world.

This working paper offers a preliminary analysis of the student population at Berkeley, focused on contrasting the backgrounds and experiences of various immigrant generations. The first section of the paper looks at general demographic trends in California and at Berkeley, and to a lesser extent the entire UC system. The second section discusses ideas related to socioeconomic capital and the characteristic of different waves of immigrant groups. The third section examines variables related to race and ethnicity and family income and education. And the fourth section provides a more detailed look at the different characteristics and experience of three subgroups: Euro-Americans, and students with Chinese and Chicano Latino family backgrounds. Among our main conclusions:

- The startling number and range of students from different ethnic, racial, cultural, and economic backgrounds points to the need for an expanded notion of diversity beyond older racial and ethnic paradigms.
- While there is growing numbers of immigrants from different parts of the world, and often from lower income families, there is a high correlation with their socioeconomic capital, described as a variety of factors, but most prominently the education level of their parents and their extended family.
- The academic majors of first and second generation immigrant students (those with at least one parent who is an immigrant) do show a tendency toward fields such as engineering and the sciences. They also prominently feature aspects of a strong focus on careerism and perceived prestige professions, but not exclusively and with a significant variety of academic engagement.

- Students at Berkeley who, on average, come from lower income families and have relatively low socioeconomic capital (in particular Chicano/Latinos) do well academically, if only marginally less so than those with higher rates of educational capital. At the same time, they also spend more time in paid employment, spend approximately the same amount of time as Euro-Americans studying and going to class, and have relatively high rates of overall satisfaction with their social and academic experience.
- Some students with Asian family backgrounds do tend to congregate in more applied fields (engineering, the sciences, and economics), have relatively high levels of educational capital, and generally study more. However, they also are less likely to be employed and have, on average, lower levels of satisfaction in their social and academic experience.

It is important to note that the analysis in this working paper has certain limitations. Studies indicate that UCUES data, a census survey that generated over 10,000 responses at Berkeley for a forty-eight percent response rate, is highly representative of the campus student body.² Self-reporting information on family income and parental education also rely on the knowledge of students, partially corroborated by other university databases. Yet the great diversity of ethnic and racial groups, for example, has not been fully captured, with important and growing groups being lumped in with broad categories, including students of mixed race. This study is an initial effort to decipher the characteristics of a pluralistic Berkeley campus.

A. California and Emergence of the Immigrant University

America is a land of immigrants; this is not simply a cliché, but a significant reality. Yet each region, and, in turn, state, has its own particular history. As historian Carrie McWilliams once wrote, with the rush of Argonauts in the mid-1800s to a largely unpopulated and isolated California, “The lights went on all at once, in a blaze, and they have never been dimmed.”³

California became a state in 1850, two years after the discovery of Gold in Sutter Mill, and was instantly “international” or, in modern terms, “global” in its population. According to census data, in 1880 some thirty-five percent were from foreign lands, another fifteen percent had foreign born parents; many were from Europe, or were first or second generation Americans who traveled westward, mostly from the East coast and by 1900 increasingly from the Midwest; coming from the east were Chinese immigrants and, when their numbers were restricted by anti-Alien laws, the Japanese arrived as well.

In terms of immigrant backgrounds, California was more diverse in 1900 than it is today—in terms of percentage. But there are major differences in the ethnic and racial mix and the growing scale of the state’s population. In 1920, for example, California retained a significant immigrant population, with approximately twenty-three percent foreign born, but it was largely a population with European roots – what we know deem as a relatively homogenous ethnic mix, but at the time was viewed by many as a population marked by the division of Protestant versus Catholic, Western versus Eastern European.

Some ninety percent of California’s population was Euro-American. African Americans, again according to US Census data which undercounted some ethnic groups as so offers only a partial picture, represented less than two percent of the state’s population; Hispanics and Mexican (or Chino-Latino in our contemporary nomenclature) had a significant presence (as a percentage) before and at the time of statehood, but less so by 1920 with perhaps four percent of the population – and segregated in distinct largely urban areas of the state. Asians, including Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and other groups, represented some three percent of the state. The total population of the state was 3.5 million.⁴

Immigrant Generation Vignette - Iranian

My family and I are first generation immigrants in the United States. My eldest brother was the first one to immigrate, arriving when he was thirteen years old. When he came to the U.S. his education level as an 8th grader in Iran was so far above thirteen year olds in the United States that he was able to skip several grades graduated high school within a couple of years, and began attending a university. Soon thereafter, my second eldest brother graduated high school and came to the U.S. to continue his education. Both my brothers came for the same reason: to get an education here and to have greater opportunities with that education.

My mother and I came from Iran to visit them in California when I was three years old. My brothers convinced my mother to stay. She decided she would try it out, as she knew there were more opportunities available for me here than back at home. I practiced speaking English with my brothers and began attending school soon thereafter. Soon I spoke English just as well as Farsi and I now speak English as if it was my first language. However, I continued to speak Farsi at home with my parents and am fluent in both languages to this day.

Once my mother decided we would stay, my father and sister sold what we had back home and joined us here within a year or two. Upon arrival, my sister began community college to learn the language and continue her education. My third brother arrived later, after living and studying in Germany for a few years.

My siblings and I have been highly successful in the United States. My eldest brother has a graduate degree and has his own consulting firm, my other brother is a computer engineer at a large corporation, my sister recently received her graduate degree from Stanford and is now Nurse Practitioner/Physician’s Assistant, my third brother is getting his graduate degree in Pharmacy from UC San Francisco this May, and I will be receiving my undergraduate degree in Psychology from UC Berkeley in May [2007].

The first assessment of the ethnic and racial background of students at the University of California, then dominated by the Berkeley campus but also including a growing student body at the new branch campus in Los Angeles (established in 1919), came as a result of a growing anti-alien political movement. A report to the university's board of regents stated that some three percent of students were of Asian background, including not only foreign nationals, but also students from Hawaii. According to census data, Asian Americans composed approximately three percent of the population in the state at that time. Another nine percent were from other states. No figures were provided on African-Americans or Chicano-Latinos, probably in large part because of the focus on the presence of international students. But one can assume that their numbers were small – probably proportionally smaller to their presence in California's population.⁵

In his report to the regents, university president, David P. Barrows, argued against the call of some regents to either severely restrict the enrollment of foreign nationals or impose a substantial fee. From 1872 until the 1990s, the university imposed no "tuition" (fees for instruction costs) on students, only incidental fees for laboratory costs and later for student services. Barrows also argued for, essentially, the value of diversity, following arguments made by previous presidents, including Daniel Cot Gilman (1872-1875) and Benjamin Ide Wheeler (1899-1919).

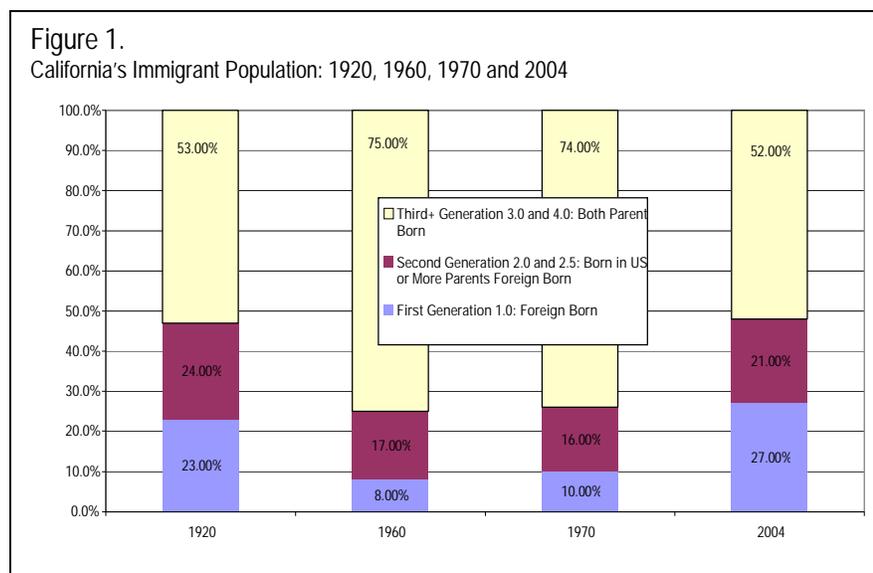
Gilman argued it was in the best interests of the university system and California as a whole to welcome students from throughout the world. A great university needed to be cosmopolitan. Looking not toward Europe but to the vast markets of Asia, he thought both the enrollment of international students and the promotion of scholarly research on major international powers held numerous benefits. They would enlighten the academic community, provide a service for other nations and cultures, and promote commerce. California was a "new civilization of the Pacific Coast" and, as such, needed to foster and build on "the enlightenment of Asiatic nations . . . for it is obvious that California is not only granary, treasury, and mart for the American States which are growing up on this long coast, but it is the portal through which the Occident and Orient must exchange their products and their thoughts . . . "We can not be too quick to prepare for the possible future which may open upon us."⁶

By the 1920s, public universities were at the vanguard of opening access to international students and immigrant groups, with the large and significant caveat of public universities in the South that segregated white and black students into separate institutions or simply restricted their enrollment. In New York City, for instance, Columbia University, like most private institutions, restricted the enrollment of ethnic minorities, in particular Jews and Catholics with immigrant roots. And like Princeton, Harvard and most other increasingly selective universities, Columbia barred admissions to women.

In contrast, City College became the primary path to a college education to the city's burgeoning population of sons and daughters of immigrants. Whereas an increasing cadre of private institutions incorporated admissions practices that required a student to submit personal information on his/her social background and race (including requiring a photo of the prospective student), and began to use standardized testing largely to exclude unwanted students, public universities, like City College and the University of California, focused largely on the academic performance of students in high school. In states such as California, Michigan, and Wisconsin, this included a system of accrediting secondary schools. Initially, this included school site visits by faculty members tasked with reviewing and encouraging the adoption of college-preparatory curriculums.

The deleterious influence of segregation and racial biases in the larger society, and in the schools, did of course shape access to state universities. But in relative terms, the improving quality of public high schools in the Midwest and West helped to improve educational opportunities among all racial and ethnic groups.

As students with immigrant backgrounds heavily populated City University in New York by the 1920s and into the post-World War II period, the University of California offered a relatively robust route for certain racial and ethnic groups in California. By 1960, California's population had grown to nearly 16 million—nearly the size of New York and three



years later becoming the largest state in population.

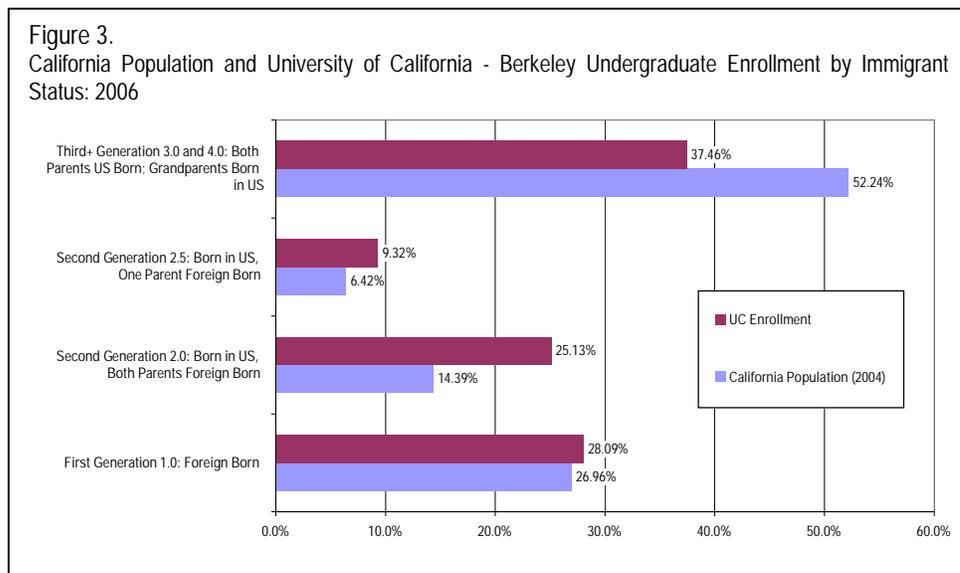
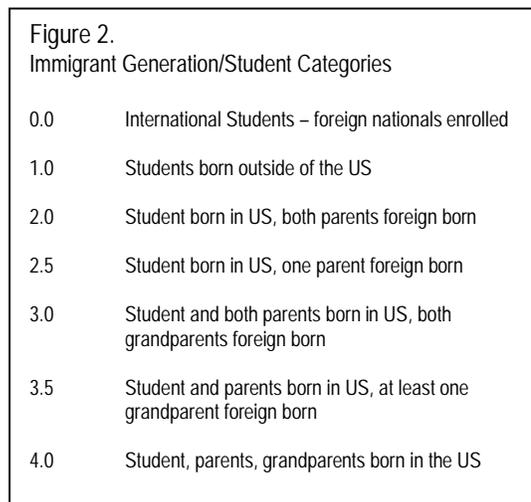
As shown in Figure 1, the percentage of foreign born and those with immediate immigrant backgrounds had dropped by 1960; Euro-Americans had grown to represent nearly ninety-three percent of the population, fueled in large part by migration from midwestern states. Asian Americans retained their relative share of the total population over that period at around 2.5 percent; other groups, including Chicano-Latinos declined marginally, and African Americans grew to five percent. Over that period, according to one analysis, the number of Asian American students grew as a percentage of the students at Berkeley from three percent in 1920, to four percent in the late 1930s, to approximately 8.5 percent by the early 1950s. Reflecting the cultural and economic characteristics of Asian Americans, then largely Chinese and Japanese in their background, they had become, in essence, an “overrepresented” group at the University of California – a status retained today.⁷

The immigrant generational mix in California today closely mirrors that in 1920. The difference, again, is in the total size of the population and an altered mix in the ethnic and racial groups and their place of origin. California now has over 35 million (probably more due to undercounting of many illegal immigrants who account, by one estimate, for eight percent of all workers in the state).⁸ Between 1920 and 1960, anti-alien laws and other restrictions on the personal freedoms of certain ethnic groups—mostly citizens and illegal immigrants of Asian background—and changing economic conditions in the world suppressed the earlier flow of immigrants to California and the US.

Major changes in federal immigration law in 1965 substantially eased restrictions, particularly for those coming from Asia, Latin America, and to a lesser extent Europe. Changes in federal immigration laws had a profound influence on the racial and ethnic composition of California, with a ripple effect in other states. As a state with the largest economy (ranked approximately eighth in the world in GDP, if it were a country), bordered by Mexico, the closest geographically to the Pacific Rim, and already with substantial minority and immigrant populations, California became a magnet for immigrants.

By the 1990s, it is estimated that nearly a third of all immigrants, legal and illegal, made California their destination. And while over fifty percent came from Mexico, the origin of this new wave of immigrants is more diverse geographically and racially, including, El Salvador, Vietnam, Guatemala, China, India, South Korea, Laos, Iran, Germany, Canada, Italy, England, Poland, and a relatively new wave of immigrants from the former Soviet States.⁹ The racial mix of California also includes a growing, substantial, and relatively new population of multiracial children and young adults. Multiracial children now represent the second largest number of births in the state, after Chicano-Latinos.

As in the past, immigrant groups not only have different cultural and economic backgrounds that influence college attendance rates, but they vary substantially among themselves in their drive and interest in education, depending, among other factors, on whether they are first, second, or third generation immigrants. For the purpose of this analysis, first generation immigrants (1.0) refers to those born outside of the U.S.; second generation includes those with both parents foreign born (2.0) or with one parent foreign born (2.5); third generation



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includes students with all (3.0) or at least one (3.5) grandparent born outside of the US; and fourth generation (4.0) is when both parents and grandparents are foreign born. International students are designated as 0.0. (See Figure 2)

Figure 3 provides 2006 demographic data on these different immigrant generations (1.0-4.0) within California's total population, and their relatively high representation within the microcosm of Berkeley's undergraduate population, providing one indicator of the significant differences in the drive of high levels of education attainment. Within California's population, the first generation immigrant cohort totals over 9.5 million people (or twenty-seven percent of the total state population); second generations 2.0 and 2.5 include 5.1 and 2.3 million respectively (or nearly twenty-one percent of the state population). In total, generations 1.0-2.5 constitute forty-eight percent of the state's population, with most below the age of thirty-six.

Within the Berkeley campus, they constitute some sixty-two percent of all enrollments. International students (foreign nationals) represent only about three percent of total undergraduate enrollment at Berkeley; including them in the number of those born outside of the US would increase the figure to nearly sixty-five percent. In comparison with California's population, generation 2.0 and 2.5 are the most "overrepresented" (in a parity model) within the Berkeley campus; the most "underrepresented" are those with both parents born in the United States. When including the variable of at least one grandparent being foreign born, the number rises to seventy-one percent of the Berkeley undergraduate student body.

B. The Modern Immigrant and Notions of Human and Social Capital

What are the factors for explaining the tremendous and unprecedented presence of immigrant groups (as defined as generations 1.0-4.0) at Berkeley? Again, while this analysis is focused on the Berkeley campus, UCUES data suggests that these trends are found at all nine of the University of California's undergraduate campuses, with Berkeley, Irvine, Riverside, UCLA, and the new Merced campus, thus far, having the most students with immigrant backgrounds.

There are substantial problems with generalizing about the predilections of one racial/ethnic group from another – averages do not tell the range of human proclivities and rates of socio-economic mobility. But certain patterns are prevalent that help in analyzing the success of some immigrant groups compared to others and that informs our discussion. This includes:

- The Idea of Socioeconomic Capital

There are important patterns in the cultural and socioeconomic behaviors of different racial and ethnic groups that, in some form, reflect their own personal histories—as a broad group, and as individuals with different opportunities for education and socioeconomic mobility. This is sometimes referred to as "human capital": the accumulation of knowledge, skills, circumstance, and desire that influence life-chances. There are different types of human capital that are interrelated and that help inform our discussion of the differences among immigrant generations¹⁰:

Cultural Capital, defined as family traits and cultural backgrounds that influence individuals, including perceived ethnic and racial ties, language, neighborhoods, and community. An increasing number of studies indicate that what happens in early childhood, including socioeconomic and family influences, often determines chances later in life and is perhaps more influential than a student's school experiences.

Economic and Educational Capital, the high correlation of family economic background, and educational attainment with life chances remains significant in society. While many young people from lower income families often with relatively low levels of educational attainment do manage to excel in society (as political/community leaders, as professionals or in business, or as academics) the odds are much lower than those from upper income groups.

Social Capital, essentially behavioral knowledge on how to best use opportunities, to understand the workings and manners of society and its institutions, and perhaps most important, the ability to navigate through the treacherous waters of growing bureaucracies.

Cognitive Capital, the notion that there are different kinds of intelligence. Their distribution is not even, or localized in one particular social, racial, or economic group.

Aspiration Capital, recognition that social capital and cognitive capital are influenced by ambition. Ambition plays an important role, in part influenced by environmental factors (e.g., real opportunities) and by personal traits. The combination

of social and cognitive abilities with ambition helps explain why a significant number of successful CEOs in the United States were not particularly stellar students or did not come from elite universities and colleges.

- The Differences in Immigrant Inflows

Historically, immigrant groups coming to the United States from underdeveloped economies have tended to follow a pattern in which the first wave from a region or nation of the world are often relatively highly educated and/or have backgrounds in commerce or the professions, and hence the foresight, will, and ability to travel and settle in a more developed economy. Immigrants with professional backgrounds often do not find jobs that replicate their incomes or social status in their home country; but merchants often fit into some niche in the economy.

The second wave tends to be immediate and extended family related to the first wave of immigrants, along with a continued flow of the first wave bolstered in part by the sense of a growing ethnic and racial community. Settlement patterns tend to congregate in known communities, such as the Vietnamese in Orange County – a region in southern California once almost entirely Euro-American -- Armenians in Glendale, Persians in Pasadena and other enclaves in the Los Angeles county area.

A third wave tends to include economic and political refugees from lower socioeconomic strata of their home country. They are often informed by known patterns of immigration, community based information networks on job and living conditions, and often the encouragement and financial help from relatives and friends in the United States.

The exception to these trends includes two significant phenomena. One is the large migration of largely poor and minimally educated laborers and their families from Mexico – essentially a huge flow from an underdeveloped to a developed economy in need of labor in agricultural, service, and to some degree a shrinking manufacturing sector.

The other exception is the relatively steady migration of highly educated and skilled labor from certain parts of the world, essentially having the characteristics of the first and second wave. In the case of India, a large cohort have sought some form of higher education, often graduate school, in the United States and then sought to stay, or, in the case of many Western European natives, have professional and graduate degrees from their home countries that are, generally, recognized as from credible institutions.¹¹

Immigrant Generation Vignette – Hong Kong

We arrived in the U.S. in 1985; I was seven years old and my brother was five, emigrating from Hong Kong to California with my parents and younger brother. We both went through the school district in Temple City (near Pasadena/Arcadia in the San Gabriel Valley) and are both Cal graduates.

Both my parents have undergraduate degrees. My mom was an elementary school teacher in Hong Kong and is now an import manager at a customs broker.

My dad was an electrical engineer and also taught part-time at Hong Kong Polytechnic University. In the U.S., he continued his career as an electrical engineer and retired several years ago.

I am what some people call 1.5 generation, since I am technically the second generation to be in the U.S., but was not born here. I am currently AVP/Marketing Manager at a community bank and my brother is a project coordinator at an IT consulting firm.

- Immigrants and Generation Differences

Throughout the University of California's nine undergraduate campuses, approximately ninety-five percent of Asian-Pacific Rim and eighty-eight percent of Latino respondents reported in 2006 that either they or one of their parents or grandparents were born outside of the United States. For Whites, this proportion is just over forty percent. On average, students with Asian backgrounds, as noted, are part of a first or second wave of immigrants and, as in past immigrant generations, tend to come from families with relatively high education levels, and embody a strong cultural and family drive to attain a higher education -- preferably at a perceived high prestige institution.

We know, however, that culture, family and personal aspirations tend to shift in succeeding generations – at least, this has been a pattern among previous immigrant groups. For those who come from families who experience relative success economically, and socially (e.g., some form of integration within American society), the drive to follow career-oriented fields lessens – in part influenced by a stronger sense of a secure place in society.

For those second and third plus generations from families with relatively low education and income levels, however, there is a persistent pattern of relatively low socioeconomic mobility – with a correlation with race and ethnicity that, in large part, reflects the different immigrant waves just discussed, and the social and economic regional differences of immigrant groups.¹² A number of studies indicate that immigrants from Canada and Europe, and certain Asian immigrant cohorts, including those from China,

Korea, and Japan, tend to have higher levels of education when entering the US. While most start with lower average incomes than the average American family, within seven to twelve years they are at the US average.

Those with Middle Eastern, African, Caribbean, and South American immigrant backgrounds reach the US average in about ten years, according to studies by the RAND Center for Research on Immigration Policy.¹³ Their second and third generations tend to then achieve relatively high levels of education attainment – as indicated in the large presence at Berkeley, and the entire University for California system.

The large influx of immigrants from Mexico and bordering countries show a different pattern. Approximately twenty percent of California's population is of Mexican heritage. Most have much lower educational backgrounds than, for example, immigrant groups from Asia. While they make, on average, good gains between the first and second generations – achieving approximately four years more schooling and thirty-five percent higher wages than their parents, the third generation stalls in their socioeconomic progress.¹⁴

Where immigrants settle, their proficiency in English, and the vibrancy of local community, including government services (including public schools) and businesses, in which they live, all influence the pattern of socio-economic mobility and educational attainment. Many new immigrants and the first (1.0 and 2.0) generations tend to congregate in community enclaves and in specific regions of the state. Chicano/Latinos, particularly Mexican Americans, have long had significant largely urban and suburban communities in areas such as Los Angeles and to a lesser extent the Bay Area.

These communities have grown, with settlement patterns influenced by jobs and the affordability of housing, but also community networks where extended families often stay for succeeding generations. Vietnamese immigrants and Hmong, many refugees from the Vietnam War, also have shown a tendency to build distinct communities, notably in Orange County but also in many other areas. Some immigrant groups, including many other Asian groups, including the Japanese, tend to assimilate more quickly and integrate into neighborhoods – influenced in part by their improving economic status, and often in the search of high quality schools.

These generational economic and education capital difference indicates that those with low levels of economic and educational capital generally, linked with socioeconomic circumstances experienced both in their nation or region of origin and in the US, make intergenerational economic and social mobility much less likely – on average. In no small part, this simple observation helps to decipher what are extremely different immigrant experiences in California and the US, and in other parts of the developed world.

Places like Berkeley, and the other University of California campuses, provide catchments that tend to serve a certain component of the immigrant population who may have a relatively low economic profile, but are rich in their cultural, economic and educational, social, and cognitive capital.

C. Considering Two Variables: Race and Educational Background

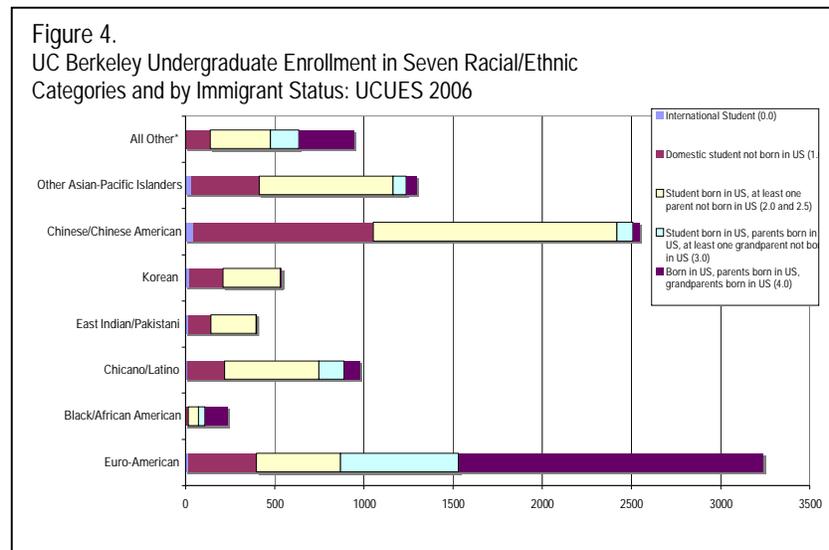
Berkeley has become a true Immigrant University, providing a route for socioeconomic mobility that, in some measures, also reflects the drive of immigrant groups to attain a tertiary education in a public, prestigious university where costs are relatively lower than in private institutions. As one might expect, at Berkeley there are significant correlations with race and ethnicity, educational attainment of parents and other family members, and with socioeconomic status. And there are also correlations with careerism, as gauged by what Majors students enter.

Race and Ethnicity

The academic success of Asian Americans is a widely discussed phenomenon. Results of the 2006 UCUES illustrate a dynamic story that, for one, indicates the diversity of their student backgrounds. In total, there are some 48 different Asian racial and ethnic groups. The seven categories used do not do justice to the great variety of racial and ethnic groups that now populate the Berkeley campus; but it does allow for a brief discussion of the variance among groups and their total enrollment.

Euro-Americans represent approximately thirty percent of the total undergraduate population at Berkeley. Their numbers are probably slightly inflated as a number of racial and ethnic groups are lumped in precisely because there are not enough racial and ethnic categories to reflect America's, and California's, increasingly complex demographics. For example, the growing population of Persians/Iranians are categorized as Euro-Americans – a seemingly arbitrary decision reflecting federal norms.

As shown in Figure 4, the majority of Euro-Americans, as one might suspect, are third or more generations (3.0 and 4.0) in the US. But there is greater heterogeneity than many might anticipate. There are also a sizable number of students who are foreign born (11.7 percent) or have at least one parent not born in the US (14.5 percent). This in part because of significant influx of immigrants from Western Europe (a steady stream over the decades, and usually highly educated), and more recently an influx of those from the former Soviet States. Both groups tend to come from educated families and seek social status and relatively inexpensive access to a prestigious institution such as Berkeley.



African Americans represent a relatively small percentage of the Berkeley enrollment that, in part, reflects their declining percentage within California's total population, and the concentration of much of the African American population in poor urban communities and schools. But an interesting trend relates the fact that many African American students who apply, are admitted, and enroll at Berkeley, are relatively recent immigrants: some 7.2 percent are foreign born, and 24.6 have at least one parent that is an immigrant. Only 53.8 percent have grandparents born in the US. This indicates that many of the Black students on campus are not the traditional African American population – the focus of much of the nation's affirmative action efforts – but students with Caribbean or more recent African roots and with an immigrant culture that places high value on educational attainment.

Chicano/Latino students have a much different pattern in their immigrant status in the state of California. Just over seventy-five percent are foreign born or have at least one parent not born in the US; another five percent have both parents born and at least one grandparent both in the US. Reflecting the long presence of immigrants with Mexican roots in California (particularly southern California), approximately seventeen percent have grandparents born in the US. But the largest presence of Chicano/Latinos in the state is the relatively recent immigrants.

The surge in Mexican immigration to the state has meant that Chicano/Latinos have recently surpassed Euro-Americans as the largest single ethnic group among children and young adults. But, as discussed previously, Chicano/Latinos also have relatively high rates of poverty and low levels of educational attainment. The number of Chicano/Latino students enrolled at Berkeley represents only 9.5 percent of the total undergraduate population.

The contemporary wave of immigrants from China and Taiwan, facilitated by changes in federal laws in the 1960s and 1970s, is large and significant. Some 39.5 percent are foreign born and well over half have at least one parent foreign born. The total of the 1.0 and 2.0/2.5 generations represent 93.2 percent of all students with Chinese backgrounds. Among students who identified themselves as Korean and East Indian/Pakistani, there is a similar pattern: ninety-four and ninety-six percent, respectively, are born outside of the US or have at least one parent that is foreign born.

The "Other Asian-Pacific Islanders" category includes a sizable student population including those with Vietnamese, Thai, Filipino, Japanese, and other groups from the Pacific Rim—accounting for approximately 12.6 percent of Berkeley's undergraduates. Similar to the Chinese immigrant cohort, most of these students are generation 1.0 thru 2.5 students (just over eighty-seven percent). The "All Other" category includes a number of smaller groups, including Native Americans, and those who did not report their ethnic and racial identity—missing data that accounts for approximately 4 percent of all students at Berkeley.

It is important to note that students are categorized as being one racial or ethnic group, thus making it difficult to decipher in current UCUES and UC system-wide data the number of multiracial students who, in the state of California, represent the second fastest growing population group after Chicano/Latinos. They are recorded as being one race or another, not as multiracial –

even if that is a more true reflection of their self-identity. One study at Berkeley estimates that multi-racial students represent at least thirteen percent of all undergraduates at that campus.

Education and Socioeconomic Status:

The UCUES data affirms what has long been known: Students with high social and economic capital have a much better chance of gaining access to a higher education, and in particular at prestige institutions that are increasingly highly selective in their admissions. This in turn will inform our later analysis of three specific racial and ethnic groups.

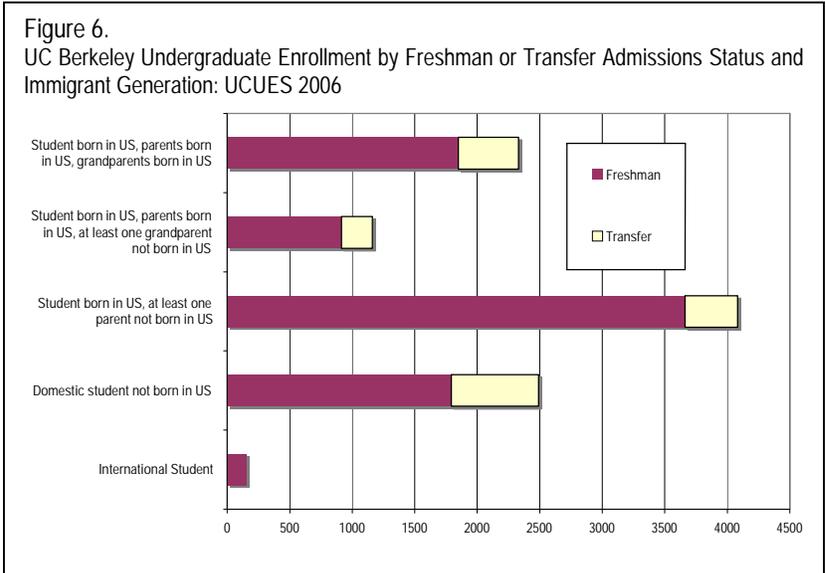
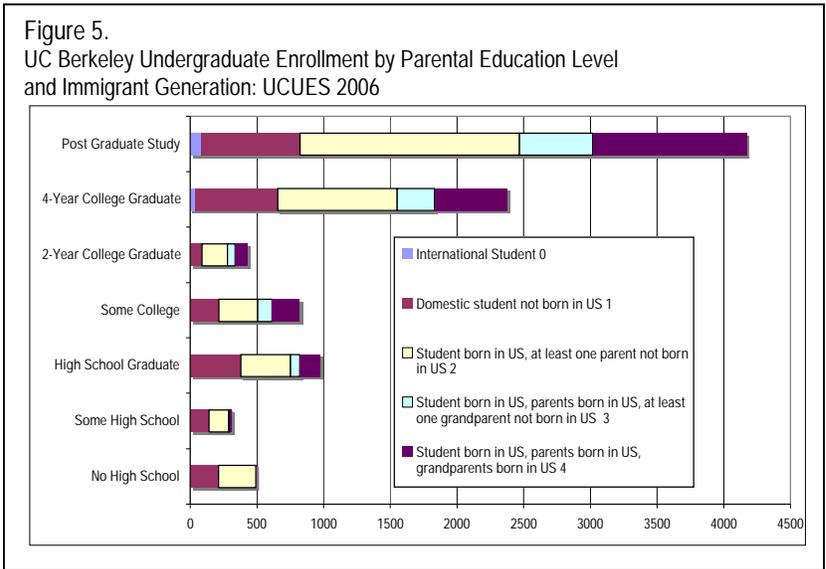
Figure 5 provides the distribution of the various student immigrant generations and their parental education levels. Students who have grandparents born in the US, predominantly Euro-American, some African Americans and Chicano/Latinos, are those most likely to have parents with at least a post-secondary degree. That is not surprising.

But perhaps of more interest in our discussion of immigrant generations is the distribution of students in the 1.0 and 2.0 and 2.5 generations (foreign born, and born in the US with at least one parent foreign born). Here we see a more broadly distributed array of socioeconomic backgrounds, yet the dominance of this group in the categories of no or some high school (although their overall numbers, again approximately eight percent of total enrollment at Berkeley, are relatively small). There are very few students who have both parents born in the US who also have parents with no or some high school.

A large majority of the undergraduates, some seventy-three percent, have parents with at least an associate of arts or a bachelor's degree or higher. Some 43.6 percent have had some form of post-graduate level study. Only about eight percent have parents with no or some high school experience; high school graduates account for 10.1 percent, and those with some postsecondary experience accounts for eight percent.

The ability to transfer to the University of California system from other institutions, and particular the California Community Colleges, has been a vital component for rationalizing the structure of California's higher education system. During the 1930s and into the 1950s, nearly half of the students at Berkeley (and UCLA) at the undergraduate level were transfer students. That figure has now dropped to around twenty-two percent, up slightly over the last few years. How have the different immigrant generations used the transfer function?

Figure 6 indicates that generation 1.0 (domestic students born outside of the US) has been the most significant transfer group, coming in largely at the



junior year at Berkeley. Of all the transfer students at Berkeley, approximately thirty-eight percent are in the 1.0 immigrant generation; the second and third largest are generation 4.0 (26 percent) and 2.5 (23 percent).

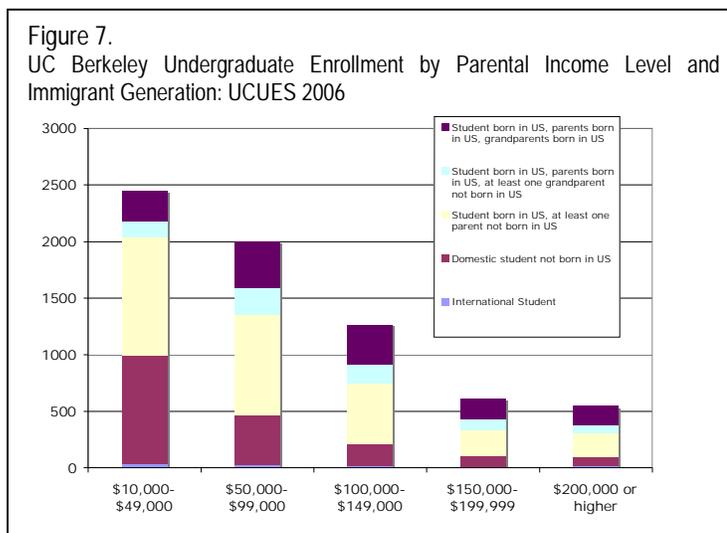
The largest group coming to Berkeley as freshman, and again demonstrating the educational drive of students with immediate immigrant backgrounds, are the 2.0 and 2.5 generation (representing forty-four percent of all those enrolled as freshman) followed by the 1.0 generation (twenty-one percent); combined they represent sixty-five percent of all undergraduate students admitted as freshman.

Parental income offers an indicator of the complex story of different immigrant generations and, in some form, the correlation with education, culture and other variables (See Figure 7). While the University of California serves a domestic, third generation population that often has substantial economic advantages, UCUES data indicates that it is a tremendous path for lower and relatively moderate income families and their offspring. It is important to note, however, that there may be some bias in UCUES data related to income, as analysis indicates that some lower income groups are under-represented.

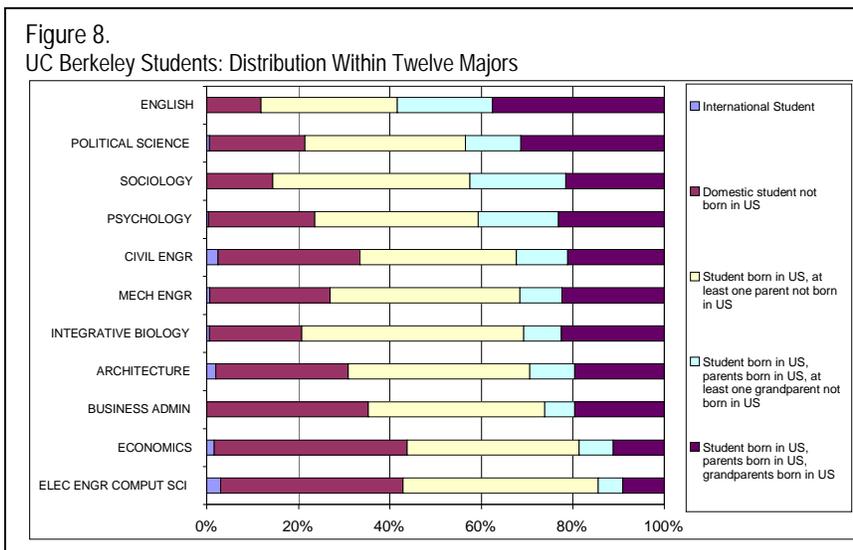
That said, the survey indicates that some thirty percent of the students at Berkeley have reported family incomes of \$10K and \$49K, another twenty-nine percent have between \$50K and \$99K. Most immigrant generations 1.0 thru 2.5, approximately fifty-three percent, report parental incomes between \$10K and \$99K (with most, forty-two percent of their total, within the \$10-\$49K cohort).

Berkeley's high number of Pell Grant recipients further corroborates the significant presence of students with lower incomes. Berkeley has the second highest in total number of all public research universities with UCLA placing first in the nation. One estimate is that Berkeley alone enrolls more lower income students than all of the Ivy League campuses combined.¹⁵

Those students with reported parental incomes above \$100K represent just over thirty-five percent of the total undergraduate population at Berkeley. Reflecting variables in educational attainment, and to some degree culture and socioeconomic circumstances, students with at least one parent born in the US (2.0 and 2.5) represent a significant portion of the upper income students – a total of nearly forty percent of the total of these economically advantaged students.



As noted previously, one general assumption regarding both past and current student groups with immigrant backgrounds is a predilection towards courses and majors that may lead to professional employment and that, within their own family and community, are perceived as high prestige occupations. This predilection is driven, it is assumed, by both parental influence and demands, and student desires (to some degree) and is most prevalent among students who are either recent immigrants, or are second generation.



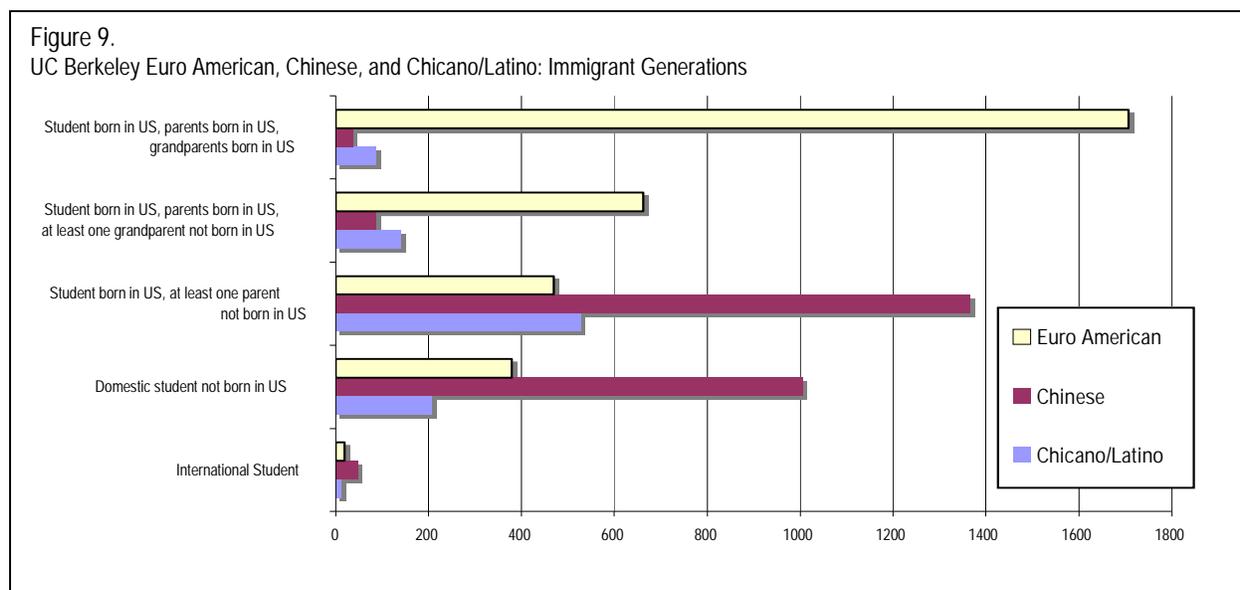
The 2.5 (one parent foreign born), and 3.0 and 4.0 generations, tend to be less career oriented, and more open to college as a chance to pursue a more broad academic experience that may correlate with their desires and abilities.

Figure 8 reinforces that general sense of the career orientation of more recent immigrant groups. It provides data on the proportions of immigrant generations in twelve randomly chosen majors at Berkeley that, in some form, reflect the Humanities, the Social Sciences, professional programs at the undergraduate level, or science and engineering. International students, generations 1.0 thru 2.5, show a strong orientation toward science and engineering, and professional oriented programs (and hence, in some form, careerism).

Students with more distant immigrant backgrounds, third or more generations, are a more significant proportion of enrollments in fields like English and political science; yet their proportion in other majors, including civil engineering, and integrative biology, is relatively robust (keeping in mind that they represent only thirty-seven percent of all undergraduate enrollment) It is important to note that there are other variables to consider: including the size of each major (the number of students) and how selective they are – some are relatively small, such as Business administration and civil engineering.

D. Gauging the Socioeconomic Capital and Academic and Social Experience of Euro-Americans, Chinese, and Chicano/Latino Students

The following provides a more in-depth look at three racial/ethnic groups that provides greater nuance to the varied backgrounds, educational goals, and experiences of the various immigrant generations described largely on a campus-wide basis thus far. We contrast the enrollment and experience of Euro-Americans, Chinese, and Chicano/Latinos Euro-American are largely composed



of third+ generation students; students with Chinese backgrounds reflect the larger experience of Asian Americans, many, as we will see, with relatively high levels of parental education; and Chicano/Latinos are a significant and rapidly growing population with, on average, lower parental education backgrounds.

Figure 9 offers the distribution of these three racial groups according to our four designated immigrant groups (1.0 – 4.0) plus international students. Students with Euro-American backgrounds, as noted previously, constitute approximately thirty-two percent of all Berkeley undergraduates; Chinese and Chicano/Latino students represent twenty-five and 9.5 percent respectively. Euro-American students are concentrated in 4.0 and 3.0 generations. Chinese and Chicano/Latino students are largely concentrated in the 1.0 and 2.0 and 2.5 generations (having at least one parent that is foreign born).

As noted previously, there are large disparities in the educational levels between racial and ethnic groups. Correlating with the significant number of third+ generation Euro-Americans, and the tendency of recent Euro-American immigrants (generations 1.0 and 2.0) to come from parents with relatively high levels of education, this group has the highest socio-educational capital (as shown in Figure 9 and 10).

Approximately ninety-three percent of Euro-American students have parents with at least some type of college experience, with just over fifty-five percent having one or more parents with graduate school study (See Figure 10). Among Chinese students, the

vast majority of whom are 1.0 and 2.0 generations (over ninety-three percent) some ninety-three percent have parents with some college experience, and forty-four percent with graduate school study.

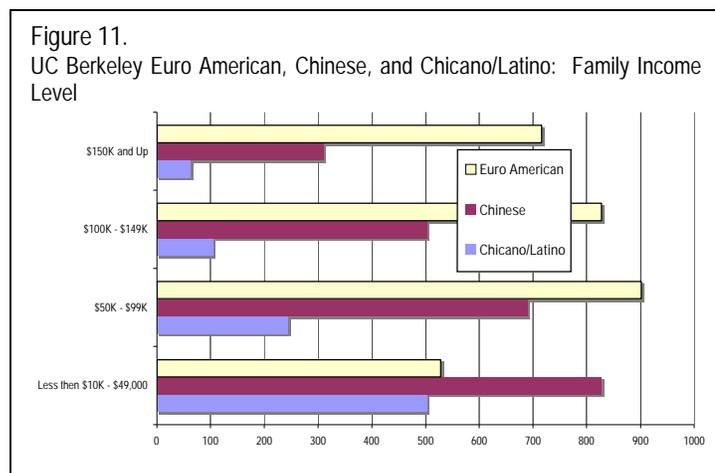
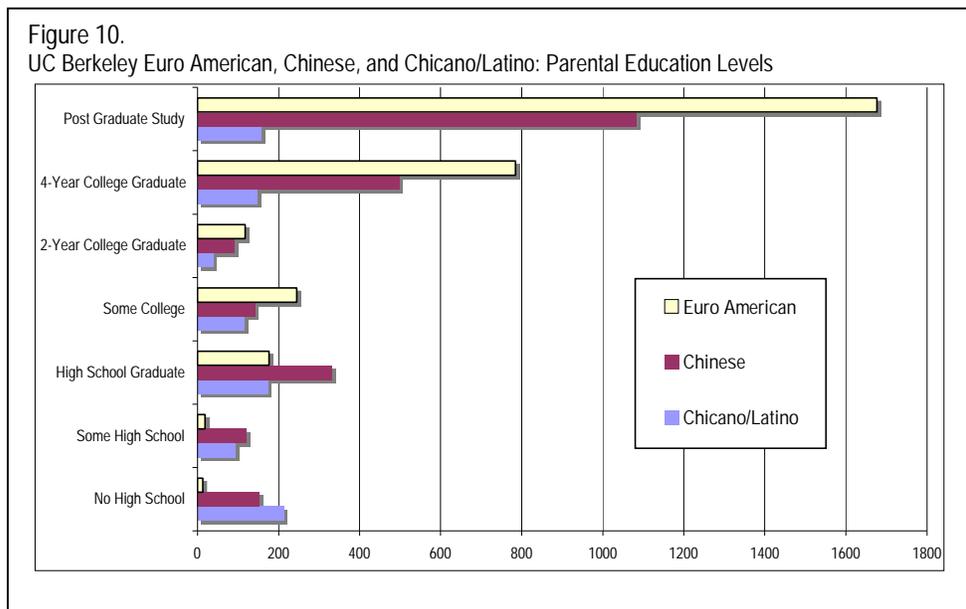
Chicano/Latinos have a much lower and more broadly distributed level of family educational capital, with only forty-nine percent with some college experience, and only seventeen percent with some graduate school. Yet it is important to note that this is a much higher level of overall educational attainment then the general Chicano/Latino population in California.

The large influx of adult immigrants from Mexico, as noted, have little or sometimes no formal education beyond the sixth grade, and their children, both born in Mexico or in the United States, have extremely low high school graduation rates. Among those who immigrated between the ages of five and fifteen, only forty percent achieve a high school degree. This lack of socio-educational capital translates into tragically low college-going rates.

Those eligible to attend UC (to one or more of the UC system's undergraduate campuses) constitute less than four percent of all high school graduates; at the same time Chicano/Latinos represent over thirty-five percent of all secondary graduates in the state. This translates into not only low enrollment rates at UC, including Berkeley, relative to the number of Chicano/Latino youths. It also means that most Chicano/Latino students come from middle and upper income families

As shown in Figure 11, data on family income shows widely different stories among our three groups. More than half (fifty-four percent) of Chicano/Latino students come from families making less than \$50K, with the highest concentration in the income range of \$20K to \$35K. Chinese students have a wider distribution among the four income cohorts.

Only 35.5 percent have incomes below \$50K (although it is important to note that this group has the most students in this cohort, 827 versus 502 for Chicano/Latino Students, and 528 for Euro Americans).



The distribution of the Euro-American group is most heavily represented in those making more than \$50K, yet with a sizable “middle class” (the \$50K - \$100K range, which is arguably middle class in the context of living costs in California). As noted earlier, the other racial and ethnic groups lumped into the Euro-American category (such as those with family ties to the Middle East) illustrates some of the limitations of all analysis based on race and ethnicity. Yet excluding groups that should not be in the Euro-American category would probably only marginally change the data shown in Figure 9 and 10.

The transfer function remains a vital route for students from families with relatively low socio-economic capital. At least, the importance of providing this option is one of the grand theories behind California’s pioneering effort to build a vast network of community colleges.

California was the first state to develop the public community college, starting back in 1907, and now has more students in these two-year institutions than any other large state – some seventy percent and growing of all students enrolled in California public higher education are in the Community Colleges. Figure 12 offers data on which racial/ethnic groups are transfer students or admitted at the freshman year to Berkeley.

Both Euro-American and Chicano/Latino students are the most significant transfer group; some twenty-three percent of the Euro-American and twenty-two percent Chicano/Latino students have used the transfer function to enter Berkeley. The students with Chinese backgrounds are much less likely to use this route, with only approximately twelve percent transfer students.

Reflecting to some degree the earlier data on the distribution of more recent immigrant generations in disciplines and fields that are more career oriented, Figure 13 provides information on the same twelve majors – here grouped roughly from humanities (with English the only representative), social sciences, professional and science and engineering fields—and this time by the number of majors.

Once again we see the predilection of the Chinese cohort toward majors such as Electrical and Computer Sciences (one of the largest majors at Berkeley), Civil and Mechanical Engineering, and their large majority within Molecular Biology (a ready route to the health sciences and an extremely competitive major).

In the social sciences, they have a much larger presence than Euro-Americans or Chicano/Latinos in economics. But they are also a significant number of the majors in sociology. The distribution among the sample majors is, perhaps, wider than might be predicted.

Figure 12.
UC Berkeley Euro American, Chinese, and Chicano/Latino Students: Regular (Freshman) Admits and Transfer

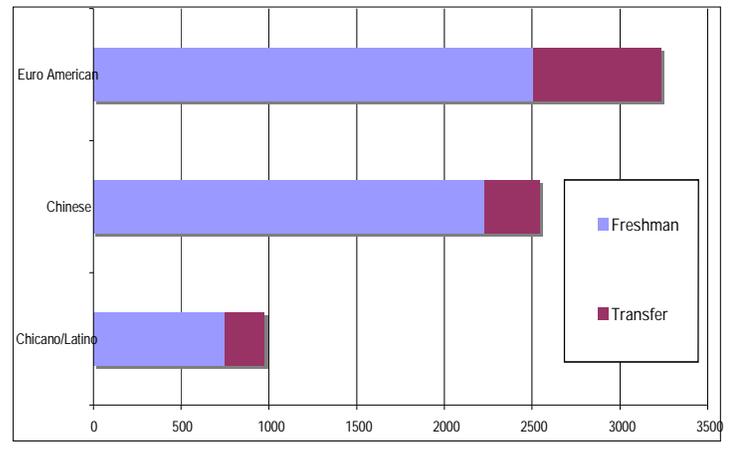
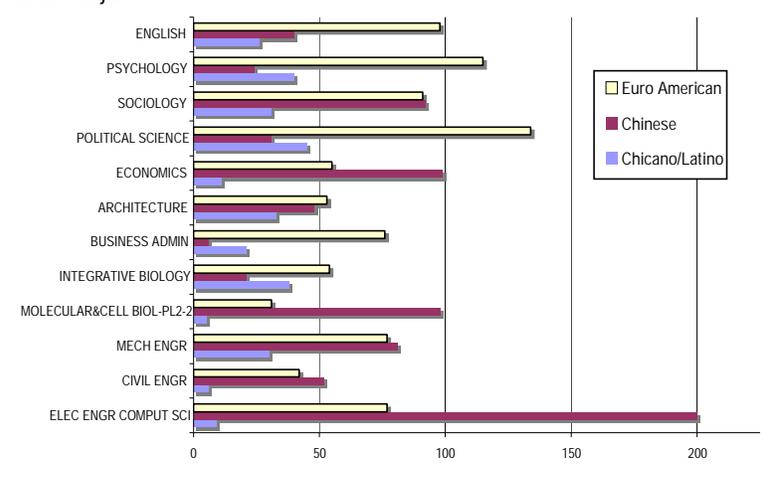


Figure 13.
UC Berkeley Euro American, Chinese, and Chicano/Latino Students: Distribution Within Twelve Majors



Euro-Americans are most highly represented in the humanities and social science fields, but remain a significant proportion of the science and engineering majors, and are by far the largest proportion of business administration major offered through the Haas School of Business– and perhaps reflecting better, on average, language skills (a conjecture in part influenced by the focus of most Chinese students on economics).¹⁶

An important focus of the SERU Project, and its progeny UCUES, is not only to create information on the background of students, but their academic and social engagement and performance at the university, and their sense of community and observations on how to improve the undergraduate experience.

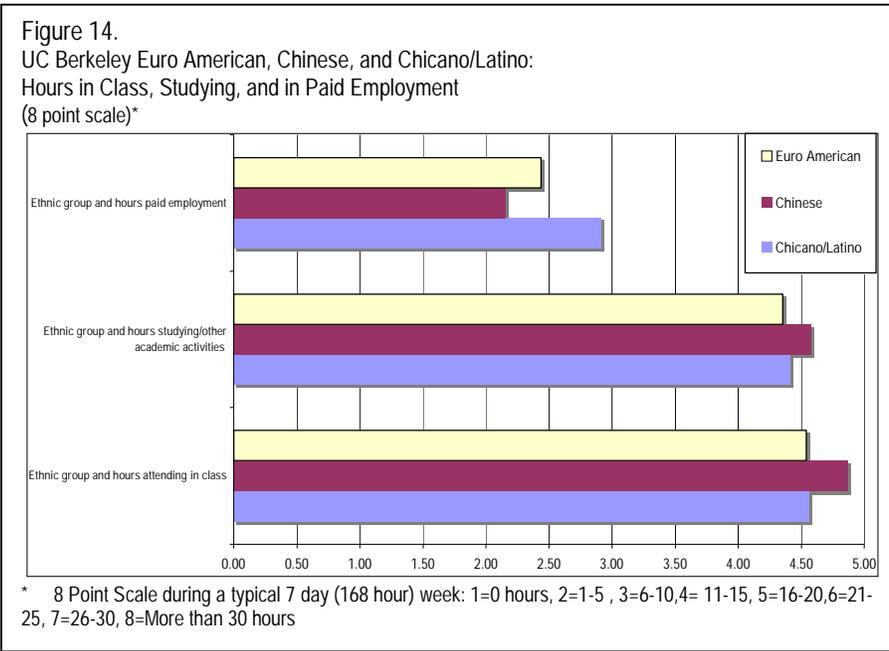
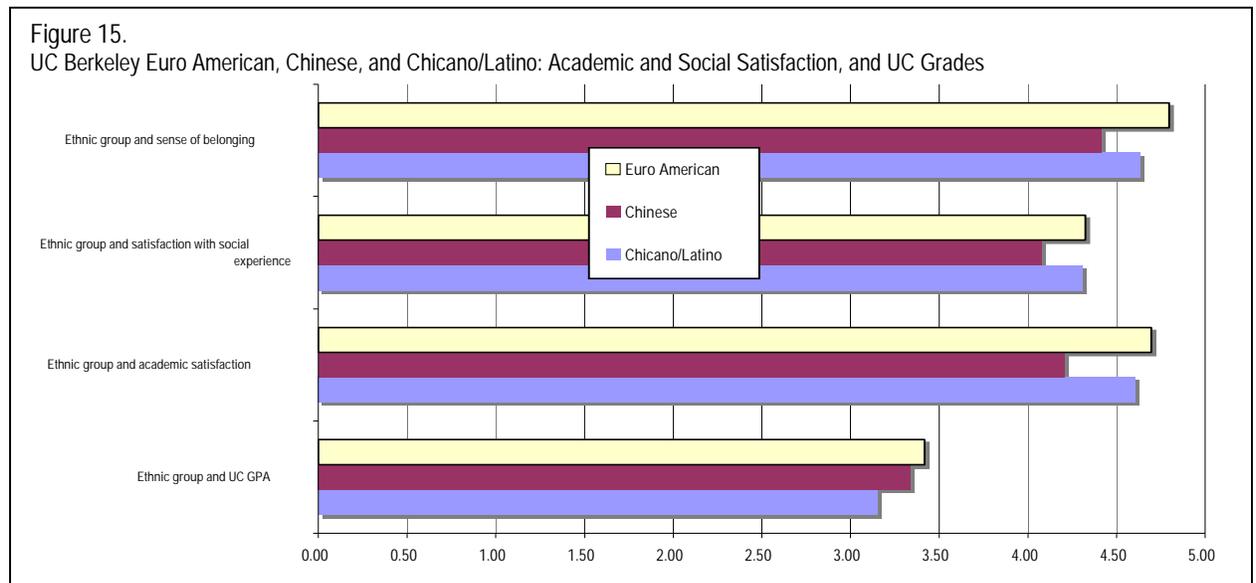


Figure 14 provides information on each group's average hours of time spent in class, hours studying, and time spent in paid employment. Figure 15 provides a glimpse into the varied experiences (actual and perceived) of students within our three racial/ethnic groups, mixing four variables related to a student's sense of belonging, their perceived satisfaction with their social experience, academic activities (all on a six point scale), with their average UC GPA.



Again, averages do not tell the wide variety of experiences among or within racial and ethnic groups, or the immigrant generations, at Berkeley. Yet certain patterns do emerge that indicate time is spent differently among these groups in academic and non-academic endeavors, as well as the existence of different group perceptions and experiences. These include:

- Euro-American Students – This cohort is, on average and in comparison with other groups, highly satisfied with their academic experience; they also have the strongest sense of belonging to a larger academic and social community. Again,

the higher general income of Euro-American students, the lower level of careerism, and the greater sense of economic and social security, appears to bear fruit in a less stressful academic experience. Euro-American students, nonetheless, are more likely to be in paid employment – perhaps reflecting the higher concentration of middle class students who are not eligible for most student grant programs and, in turn, are more reliant on loans.

The greater concentration in humanities and social science majors, where grades are generally higher than in the science and engineering majors, help to explain the higher GPA, despite slightly lower rates of class attendance and related academic activities.

- Chinese Students – Low levels of satisfaction in overall academic and social experience is a persistent pattern among the Chinese cohort (most of whom are 1.0 and 2.0 immigrant generation students), relative to our other two chosen groups. In part, this may reflect the effects of careerism, with family and social pressure to enter highly selective and demanding academic fields, and perhaps other cultural factors.

On average, and among the three groups, Chinese students spend more time on academic activities and less time in paid employment – despite, on average, having relatively low family incomes. Lower income Chinese students have high rates of entering at the freshman level, acquiring Pell grants, and perhaps a high level of social capital (the ability to navigate bureaucracy and assess institutional opportunities). Reflecting their higher concentration in science and engineering and certain professional programs, they achieve relatively high grades (with grades being an important factor in influencing overall satisfaction with the major), but lower than that of Euro-Americans.

- Chicano/Latino Students – students in this cohort demonstrate, on average, relatively robust levels of social and academic satisfaction – nearly equal to that of Euro-Americans (understanding that students are responding to a five point scale and, generally, seek self-affirmation in the choices they make). Reflecting the significant proportion of students who are from lower income families (and perhaps with less ability for both receiving family financial support and navigating the increasingly complex financial aid world), Chicano/Latino students work more hours. They also study less and achieve relatively lower grades -- although they graduate at roughly approximate rates compared to most Berkeley students.

D. A Changed Berkeley and the Larger World

In many ways, Berkeley (and all the UC Campuses to some degree) represents a rarified world. It is among the most selective higher education universities in the US, public or private – a “brand name” institution with extremely high name recognition throughout the world, while still devoted to serving California’s population. Only some four percent of all undergraduates are technically “international” students. Yet Berkeley is now a remarkably cosmopolitan university with one of the most diverse undergraduate student bodies in the nation and, in some significant measure, reflecting profound demographic changes in California.

This analysis of the composition of Berkeley’s student population should expand our contemporary discourse on diversity, which too often remains confined to a rather restrictive racial and ethnic paradigm rooted in the Civil Rights Movement. When compared to just twenty-five years ago, Berkeley is a very different place in terms of the great variety of student backgrounds, including a complex mix of recent and second and third generation immigrants. This working paper offers only a preliminary investigation into the complexity of this story, challenging some traditional notions regarding various ethnic and racial groups, corroborating others, and indicating that among categories of students, whether Euro-American, or second-generation immigrants, there is a significant range of student backgrounds and experiences.

Not all Euro-Americans or African American students at Berkeley are, for example, third plus generation Americans. And while careerism (narrowly defined as those entering majors that are more professional in their focus) is a significant factor for many immigrant groups, it is not a unique characteristic, with many first and second generation immigrants in social science and humanities fields – although it is important to note that some may be pushed into these fields when they find they can not compete for a restricted number of places within a school or department.

At the same time, there are patterns that emerge that enhance our understanding of who gets into Berkeley and their student experience. This includes,

- The Decisive Role of Socioeconomic Capital - While race and ethnicity, and immigrant generation status, are important factors for understanding the differences among student groups, perhaps the most significant correlation for those who

apply, are admitted, and enroll at Berkeley, and then succeed academically, is the educational capital of their parents – which also correlates heavily to their economic, social, and cognitive capital. In other words, the vast majority of students at Berkeley share a high level of socioeconomic capital that makes many racial and immigrant groups more alike than different.

- Immigrant Groups at Berkeley - The diverse background and academic drive of Berkeley students, thus, represents a certain slice of a larger demographic profile in California. The astounding number of students with immigrant backgrounds (our 1.0 to 3.0 generations), as noted, shares a number of characteristics that are not fully representative of the population in general. Often they are from a certain slice of their own native communities – first and second wave of immigrants who are, in some form, economically and politically privileged, and have relatively high rates of educational attainment.

Prospective students from these groups tend to have the benefit of a family experience that is highly supportive and demands high academic performance. They also have the ability to assess and navigate social and bureaucratic hurdles, like taking courses that make them UC eligible and academically competitive, seeking good value for money (a public state university education), and taking advantage of a growing myriad of financial aid programs.

- The Biases Within a Larger Society - In contrast, a large percentage of the state's growing Chicano/Latinos communities, some Asian communities (notably Hmong and Filipino), as well as third+ generation African Americans, have relatively low socioeconomic capital that is both tragic and, to some degree, self-perpetuating. Shifts in demography and income have disproportionately influenced the socioeconomic mix and in turn the high school graduation and college-going rates of various subgroups. Most significantly, African American and Mexican immigrants and their children have extremely low high school graduation rates relative to the general population. This is a phenomenon that is, of course, not unique to California.

In border-states such as Florida, Texas, and California, the low high school rates of the fastest growing minority group, Chicano/Latinos, poses a major problem for society. And when compared to Chicano/Latinos, African American high school and college participation rates correlate even more directly with economic status. Low high school graduation rates result in low colleges access and degree rates, and that means, general exclusion from the mainstream of American economic and social life. Nationally, only 14.7% of Chicano/Latinos have earned either an associate or higher degree; for African Americans, the number is 20.0%; and for Asian Americans and Euro-Americans the number is 50.5% and 33.6% respectively.¹⁷

Again, reflecting the influence of socioeconomic capital as largely independent variable, recent studies indicate that children from Mexican American families that have similar education levels, family income, and other characteristics, as Euro-Americans have similar overall levels of educational attainment. And the most at risk students, irrespective of race and ethnicity, or immigrant status, are those from parents who never graduate from high school.¹⁸

- Demographic Change and Inequality – Berkeley is tremendously diverse, with growing complexity regarding the background and socioeconomic capital of students. It offers a significant path to a higher education by a burgeoning and talented immigrant population, which in turn fuels socioeconomic mobility. But the campus, and to a large degree the other campuses of the University of California system, also reflects a growing trend in California and American society – growing inequality among various groups, including rich and poor.

Certain immigrant groups, and a high proportion of Euro-Americans, with high levels of socioeconomic capital are the ones who can compete for a limited and rather small number of enrollment spots at Berkeley under current admission policies. They perform well at Berkeley academically, in terms of academic engagement (e.g., grades) and graduation rates, but only marginally better when compared to students with less socioeconomic capital who also demonstrate higher levels of balancing employment, civic activities, and studying—at least as indicated in this and other SERU Project analysis.

More to the point is the trend that the student population at Berkeley reflects the prospect that the University of California, and California society in general, will continue to perpetuate inequalities in society, rather than to help mitigate them. Arguably, Berkeley, and all public higher education, needs to consciously and continuously adjust their admissions policies and practices in a way that might more directly support groups that are disadvantaged and have a reasonable chance at academic success.

In many ways, the experience at Berkeley, and in California, related to the stupendous increase in immigrants from all over the world, and their patterns of assimilation and contributions to the economy and society, is a harbinger for other US states, and other developed economies. California continues to be a magnet for the first and second wave of immigrants noted previously – which tend to be the highly educated. Will that trend continue?

Or will the third wave, oftentimes economic refugees with lower skills and educational levels, become a more dominant part of the immigrant influx? In no small part, California has built an economy around attracting talent from outside of the state signified by the state ranking among the top six states in its percentage of those with bachelors degrees, it also ranks only forty-second in those 18-24 gaining a bachelor's degree.¹⁹ State policymakers should ask themselves an important question: is this is a sustainable model?

ENDNOTES

¹ UCUES is a product of the SERU Project based at CSHE. Data used in this analysis is based on the Spring 2006 on-line, census based administration of the survey.

² Of the nearly 151,000 students included in the spring administration of UCUES within the nine undergraduate campuses of the University of California, over 57,000 completed surveys during the four-month period, for a response rate of 38%. Total response rates at Berkeley were 48 percent. For analysis of response rates and bias see Steve Chatman, "Overview of UCUES Response Rates and Bias Issues," SERU Project, November 2006 available on the SERU website: <http://cshe.berkeley.edu/research/seru/>

³ Carrie McWilliams, *California: The Great Exception*. New York: Current Books 1949, p. 10.

⁴ Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For The United States, Regions, Divisions, and States," Population Division, U. S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC 20233, September 2002, Working Paper Series No. 56

⁵ John Aubrey Douglass, *The Conditions for Admission: Access, Equity, and the Social Contract of Public Universities*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, California, 2007: 70-72.

⁶ Daniel C. Gilman, President of the University of California, *The Building of the University*, an inaugural address delivered at Oakland, November 7, 1872 (University of California Archives, henceforth UCA).

⁷ Past categorization of racial and ethnic groups the past have been overly narrow, reflecting a slow (and on-going) process of recognizing the widening array of new immigrant and racial groups in American society. In the 1960s, the tabulation of racial and ethnic groups by the federal government included six groups that, in some form, reflected an evolving conceptual idea of what groups constituted the American population: White, African American, Chicano-Latino (formerly Hispanic that lumped all with Spanish surnames into the White category), American Indian/Alaska Native, and Asian/Pacific Islander.

In turn, analysis on significant differences within broadly categories of peoples, such as Asian, and even among distinct national and ethnic groups, such as Vietnamese and the Hmong, has been hindered. The significant increase in multiracial offspring, particularly in states such as California, New York, and Florida, also lay outside of formal categorizations invented at a time when the nation was very different in its racial and ethnic makeup.

The confined nature of past data collection also reflects the politically charged nature of race and ethnicity in American society. The Civic Rights Movement brought a vital heightened awareness and attempts at political and legal amelioration to racial discrimination and biases; it also gave rise, in combination with the post-1960s influx of immigrants from Mexico, Asia, and other parts of the world, of a new age in racial politics marked by growing political power of ethnic and racial specific groups and neoconservative anti-immigrant initiatives.

That tension was demonstrated in more recent debates over changing the tabulation of racial and ethnic categories at the federal, and as a result the state and local levels, and in institutions such as the University of California. A proposal for a greater array of racial categories in the 1990 and later 2000 US Census, including allowing a respondent to identify more than one racial category and offering 16 racial and ethnic categories, alarmed some ethnic groups who sensed that desegregation of, for example, the Chicano-Latino category, would diminish their political clout. Some conservatives argued that at institutions, such as public universities, no data should be kept on ethnic and racial background in an attempt to dismantle affirmative action programs. That approach would have meant that much of the analysis in this research paper could not be completed.

⁸ Hans P. Johnson, "Illegal Immigration," *At Issue*, Public Policy Institute of California, 2006.

⁹ S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Hans P. Johnson, "Second-Generation Immigrants in California," *California Counts*, vol. 6, no. 4, May 2005; Karthick S. Ramakrishnan, *Democracy in Immigrant America*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, California, 2005.

¹⁰ These categories are adopted from Douglass, *The Conditions of Admission*, pp. 279-280.

¹¹ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2003.

¹² For a synthesis of past and current theories on immigrant assimilation, see Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "New Immigrants, New Models of Assimilation," Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy, University of California- Irvine, August 2006; Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and the New Immigration*, Harvard University Press, 2003; Frank D. Bean and Gillian Stevens, *America's Newcomers: Immigrant Incorporation and the Dynamics of Diversity*, Russell Sage Foundation, 2003).

¹³ Robert F. Schoeni, Kevin F. McCarthy and Georges Vernez, "The Mixed Economy and Progress of Immigrants," Rand Center for Research on Immigration Policy, Santa Monica, CA, 1996; Georges Vernez and Allan Abrahamse, "How Immigrants Fare in US Education," Rand Center for Research on Immigration Policy, Santa Monica, CA, 1996.

¹⁴ Jeffrey Grogger and Stephen J. Trejo, "Falling Behind or Moving Up? The Intergenerational Progress of Mexican Americans," Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco, CA, 2002.

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