

**THE TAXONOMY OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION
IN THE U.S.:
THE EFFECTS OF CLASS AND ETHNICITY***

*Mau-Kuei Michael Chang***

Introduction

The adaption of immigrants to the larger society has been a major area in the studies of race and ethnic relationships (e.g., Gordon 1964; Kurokawa 1970; Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Marret and Leggon 1982). In past years, the theories of race and ethnic relationships have been dominated largely by assimilationism and pluralism. In general, the assimilation perspective emphasizes how and to what extent racial and ethnic groups become similar to the host society. The pluralistic perspective, on the other hand, focuses on the study of racial and ethnic differences through intergroup relations: subordination, discrimination, conflict or exploitation (Horton 1966; Schermerhorn 1967). Yet, in many cases, the distinction between assimilation and pluralism is not empirical but social and philosophical, for a number of reasons (cf. Feagin 1978). The critics of assimilationism argue that the study of assimilation implies an ought-to-be outcome for immigrants; namely, assimilating into the host society. On

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**Associate Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

the other hand, the pluralistic point of view is criticized for "stereotyping" group differences and thus perpetuating polarization between ethnic and racial groups.¹

Since both assimilation and pluralism are possible outcomes of adaptation, they can be viewed as two extremes of a continuum; hence they imply a single concept of immigrant adaptation to the larger society. As Horton pointed out, "Each view is correct in a normative and practical sense in so far as it conforms to viable political and social experiences" (p. 713). Thus, if we can free ourselves from this philosophical debate, there is nothing to prevent us from incorporating both assimilation and pluralism into one operational definition.

To avoid some of the controversies associated with the term "assimilation", therefore, this study prefers the term "adaptation" to "assimilation" (cf. Goldlust and Richmond 1978). The study of assimilation, however, has occupied the center stage of immigrant studies for years. From time to time it has also included study of the "nonassimilated" or "segregated" population. Thus it is almost impossible to refer to the literature if we totally replace the term "assimilation" with "adaptation". As a result, this paper will use the more conventional term "assimilation" when reviewing the literature, but will use "adaptation" whenever it is appropriate.

In the literature, the term "assimilation" has been used with a variety of meanings. In many earlier cases, "assimilation" was interchangeable with "acculturation" and referred to the process of incorporating two or more different cultures into a single common one (cf. Parker and Burgess 1921; Redfield et al. 1936). Therefore it focused on the cultural aspect of immigrant adaptation to the larger society. Yet Milton Gordon's work on assimilation (1964) has added another important element to the conventional meaning of this term; namely, the social or structural level of assimilation.

¹ The recent heated debate over the values of bilingual education in the U.S. is a good example of this controversy.

Gordon suggested that even though some of the immigrants in the United States might have achieved the stage of acculturation, in which way they behave and think like Americans, their primary relationships were still limited to members of their own ethnic group, and their access to the social circles of the dominant group were still circumscribed. More recently, Kim and Hurh (1980) have suggested that Gordon's classic thesis may have overlooked another important aspect of assimilation; i.e., the occupational or economic level of assimilation. Using Korean immigrants in the United States as an example, they argue that economic assimilation and structural assimilation are actually two, separate though interdependent processes, and that the latter does not imply the former.

Consequently, it can be said that assimilation has three general dimensions: (1) cultural and behavioral, (2) social and structural, and (3) occupational and economic. Few current studies of assimilation, however, have attempted to incorporate these three dimensions into a single all-inclusive concept of assimilation. Most of the studies have either adopted a single-dimension approach (e.g., Brown 1969; Doan 1977; Ex 1966; Heiss 1969) or an approach that implies multiple dimensions and yet analyzes each dimension separately (e.g., Eisenstadt 1955; Gallo 1974; Goldlust and Richmond 1978). Thus the utility of this multidimensional concept of assimilation has yet to be investigated empirically. Since the validity of any conceptual framework depends ultimately on its empirical usefulness, students of race and ethnicity must explore the adequacy of this conceptualization.

Research Problems

This paper attempts to use cluster analysis to create a taxonomy of adaptation based on a set of chosen assimilation indices that correspond to the three aspects of assimilation. A sample of immigrants from all over the United States has been classified into subgroups according to their differences in adaptation. Then each of the subgroups' relations to the larger society is examined to find whether they are sociologically

consistent with a *a priori* assimilation concept or theory.

The paper uses two methods to determine whether classifying immigrants according to their different patterns of adaptation is consistent with prior knowledge. First it examines the relationships among the subgroups and the indices that create the subgroups; stated in another way, it examines the validity of the taxonomy of adaptation according to its internal criteria (see Mezzich and Solomon 1980). This study intends to discover to what extent these subgroups are explained by the indices. If the subgroups can be accounted for properly by the indices, we can conclude that an underlying structure of adaptation exists for the entire group of the immigrants, and, that this structure is revealed properly by the indices. The validity of the multidimensional conceptualization of adaptation will thus be supported. On the other hand, if the indices cannot explain these subgroups, or if only a random relationship exists between the indices and the subgroups, the study must conclude either that no such structure of adaptation exists among the immigrants or that the amalgamated indices cannot reveal this multifaceted structure of assimilation and that no empirical evidence can be produced for the validity of his conceptualization.

Second, the results of the classification can be analyzed further with other variables that have been demonstrated to affect adaptation in *a priori* theories. One purpose of this part analysis is to cross-examine the validity of the taxonomy of adaptation with some external criteria (Mezzich and Solomon 1980). In brief, this analysis will use new variables that have not been involved in the cluster procedures, although their relations to adaptation have been demonstrated elsewhere, to find out whether the relationship will hold true.

The primary purpose of this study is to learn the effects of immigrants' racial/ethnic backgrounds and social class on the taxonomy of adaptation. The effects of these two variables on adaptation have been documented frequently in the literature of racial and ethnic relations (e.g., Kent 1953; Rogg 1974; Montero 1979); one can easily summarize the relationships

among racial/ethnic backgrounds, social class, and adaptation in the following propositions (cf. Warner and Srole 1945):

Proposition 1 (effects of racial/ethnic background on adaptation):

White immigrants of European or Canadian origins tend to have a higher degree of assimilation than immigrants of Asian, African, Hispanic, or other nonwhite origins.

Proposition 2 (effects of social class on adaptation):

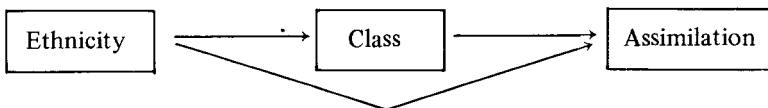
Immigrants who have achieved higher social class in the host society tend to be more assimilated than those who have not.

Proposition 3 (interaction effect between ethnic/racial background and social class):

Immigrants' social class in the host society is also influenced by their racial/ethnic backgrounds. White European immigrants are more likely to achieve higher social class than non-European immigrants such as Asians, Africans, or Hispanics.

A traditional model of racial/ethnic relations is depicted in Figure 1 using racial/ethnic backgrounds, social class, and adaptation. Immigrants' social class serves as an intermediary variable between race/ethnicity and adaptation. This model summarizes very generally the *a priori* knowledge concerning immigrants' adaptation.

Figure 1: Theoretical Relations among Ethnicity, Class and Assimilation



In summary, this study has two stages of analysis. The first attempts to describe the underlying structure of adaptation by immigrants, and second stage is explanatory; it examines the effects of immigrants' race/ethnicity and social class on the pattern of adaptation.

Data and Method

The data for this study are taken from the 1978 General Social Survey (NORC78), collected by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. Eighty-four immigrants were selected from the data base. They and their parents were all born outside the United States (using variables PARBORN, BORN, in the NORC78 data).

A set of assimilation indices corresponding to the multi-dimensional structure of adaptation was selected. (The indices are presented in Table 1.) The original variable labels used in the NORC78 were retained. ALIENAT4 (feel left out),

Table 1: Assimilation Indices and Variables Used

Assimilation Indices

Social Aspect:

ALIENAT4*	You are left out of things
TRUST*	Can people can be trusted
MEMNUM	Number of memberships in all kind of organizations

Cultural Aspects:

ALIENAT3	What you think doesn't count
COMPREND	Respondent's understanding of questions
WORDSUM	Number of correct answers in word test

Economic Aspect:

ALIENAT5	Powerful people take advantage of you
FAIR*	People being fair or not
UMENP	Ever unemployed in last ten years

Independent Variables

CLASS	Subjective class identification
ETHNIC	Countries of respondents' family origins

Immigrant Status

PARBORN	Were parents born in the U.S. or not
BORN	Where you born in the U.S. or not

*In fact, each of these three variables, ALIENAT4, TRUST, and FAIR may have broader implications that imply both social and economic adaptation. Yet they were assigned to different dimensions respectively according to their primary meanings to the general public.

TRUST (people can be trusted), and MEMNUM (numbers of membership in all kinds of groups) were treated as the indices for social assimilation. ALIENAT3 (what one thinks doesn't count and two measurements relevant to English ability (COMPREND, WORDSUM) were used as the indices for cultural assimilation. FAIR (people being fair), ALIENAT5 (exploited by powerful people) and UNEMP (ever unemployed) were used as the indices for economic assimilation. The original definitions for each of the variables used in this study are also listed in Table 1.

With these indices, an "average linkage" process of cluster analysis of the eighty-four cases was performed, based on the Euclidean distances between the cases.² The Euclidean distance is a measure of the relations between cases; it represents the extent of profile similarities between the cases. The greater the distance, or the more dissimilarity between the two cases, the later these two will be amalgamated into a cluster during the process of clustering. As a result, both the homogeneity within each subcluster and the heterogeneity between each cluster are maximized.

The results of clustering were used then to sort individual cases into different adaptation categories. Each subcluster represents a type of adaptation. To verify the relationships between the adaptation categories and the indices, the study used either a Chi-square test or an ANOVA procedure, depending on the levels of measurement of the indices allow.

At the second step, the study employed a multivariate analysis to examine the effects of race/ethnicity and social class on the structure of assimilation from the first step of analysis. Because these two variables (ETHNIC and CLASS) in the NORC78 data set are categorical, a logit model analysis was selected (Swafford 1980).

Because both ETHNIC and CLASS were coded with too

² This procedure was carried out with the 2M program of the BMDP computer package.

many multiple choices in the original data set, the cases were regrouped for this analysis. The variable CLASS was reclassified into CLASSLO vs. CLASSHI; CLASSLO includes the lower-class and working-class individuals from the original coding, and CLASSHI includes the middle-class and upper-class individuals. The original variable ETHNIC was recoded into the CORE ethnic group or the PERIPHERAL ethnic group. The CORE ethnic group includes white immigrants from English-speaking or European regions, such as England, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Scandinavia. The PERIPHERAL ethnic group includes primarily nonwhite or non-European immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America, such as China, India, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the West Indies. The contrast between the CORE and the PERIPHERAL ethnic groups lies in their different physical and cultural distances from the "mainstream" of Americans. The physical features and culture heritages of the CORE ethnic group are more similar (and less threatening) to the dominant group than are those of the PERIPHERAL ethnic group. Historically, the CORE ethnic group has encountered relatively less discrimination from the dominant groups than has the PERIPHERAL group.³ After the recoding process, a logit model was used to test the effects of ETHNIC and CLASS on different adaptation groups.

The results of the first and second steps are presented separately in the following section.

Findings

(1) The Results of Clustering: The Taxonomy of Adaptation

A simplified version of the clustering result is illustrated in

³ It is clear that this rough distinction between the peripheral and the core immigrant groups may overlook the differences existing within each of the immigrant groups. For instance, within the CORE group, the German, Italian, and Irish immigrants differ greatly from one another in the ways they were treated by the larger society. None of these groups can be considered to be like English immigrants, but the purpose of this analysis is to maximize the intergroup differences and to minimize the intragroup difference. Therefore, the distinction between CORE and PERIPHERAL ethnic groups is justified.

the dendrogram (Figure 2). Ten out of the eighty-four immigrants are excluded from the process of clustering because of missing data. The remaining seventy-four are amalgamated at each level of the distance matrix. The range of the distances is from .000 to 10.755. At 2.522 level, a cluster consisting of 24 cases was formed. At a similar but later stage, 2.727, a second cluster of 39 cases formed. These two clusters contain 85% of the total number of cases involved in clustering. A third cluster was formed at a much later stage, 4.239, and consisted of only 10 cases.⁴ These three clusters are named ASSI1, ASSI2, and ASSI3 respectively.

The relationships between the three groups and the assimilation indices are analyzed further with a Chi-square test and an ANOVA. The results are presented in Table 2 and Table 3 respectively. The Chi-square analysis in Table 2 shows that all the indices except for ALINAT3 (what you think doesn't count), UNEMP (ever unemployed in last 10 years), and the adaptation clusters are significantly related at $p < .05$ level.⁵ The analysis of variance in Table 3 also demonstrates that significant mean differences exist among the adaptation groups with respect to WORDSUM (the number of correct answers in word test) and MEMNUM (number of memberships in all kinds of organizations). The following conclusions can be drawn from these two tables:

1. The ASSI1 immigrants appear to be the most assimilated. At the social adaptation level, ASSI1 has the highest percentage of immigrants who (1) do not feel left out (ALIENAT4), and (2) feel that other people are trustworthy. The ASSI1 immigrants also have a greater degree of social participation (MEMNUM) than do the other two groups. At the cultural level, the ASSI1 immigrants are more competent in English

⁴ One unique case clusters with the rest at a very late level (10.755), but it has an Euclidean distance of 6.52 above the next level. Therefore it is excluded from the following analysis.

⁵ No causal relationship is assumed here; otherwise, a fallacy of tautology might be committed.

(COMPREND, WORDSUM) than are the other two groups. At the economic level, the ASSI1 immigrants believe that other people in general have been fair (FAIR), and that they themselves have not been exploited by powerful people (ALIENAT5).

2. The ASSI2 immigrants seem to be just the opposite of the ASSI1. They are the most “nonassimilated” immigrants of the three groups. In regard to social adaptation, they feel left out of things, have the lowest level of social participation, and have the highest percentage of those who do not trust other people. In cultural adaptation, their understanding of English is also worse than that of the ASSI1 group.⁶ From the economic aspect, they are most likely to feel that powerful people are taking advantage of them, and they believe that they are treated unfairly by other people. As a result, the term “nonassimilated” is not really adequate in describing this kind of adaptation. Yet “pluralism”, the opposite of “assimilation”, is also a little too broad to convey the actual meaning. This type of adaptation can be best expressed by the word “subordination”, which implies the feelings of apathy, distrust, alienation, and powerlessness.
3. The ASSI3 appears to be more heterogeneous than the other two groups, as demonstrated by the Euclidean distances existing among the members (see Figure 2). Also, because of the small number of immigrants in this group (only 10 cases), it is difficult to generalize about its characteristics from the data. In general, we may say that the ASSI3 immigrants fall between the “assimilated” and the “subordinate” immigrants. They are less assimilated than the ASSI1 immigrants, but also less subordinate than the ASSI2 immigrants.

⁶ Yet their understanding of English is better than that of the ASSI3 group in the following.

Figure 2: The Dendrogram Representing a Brief Version of Cluster Analysis, Using Euclidean Distances and Average Linkage

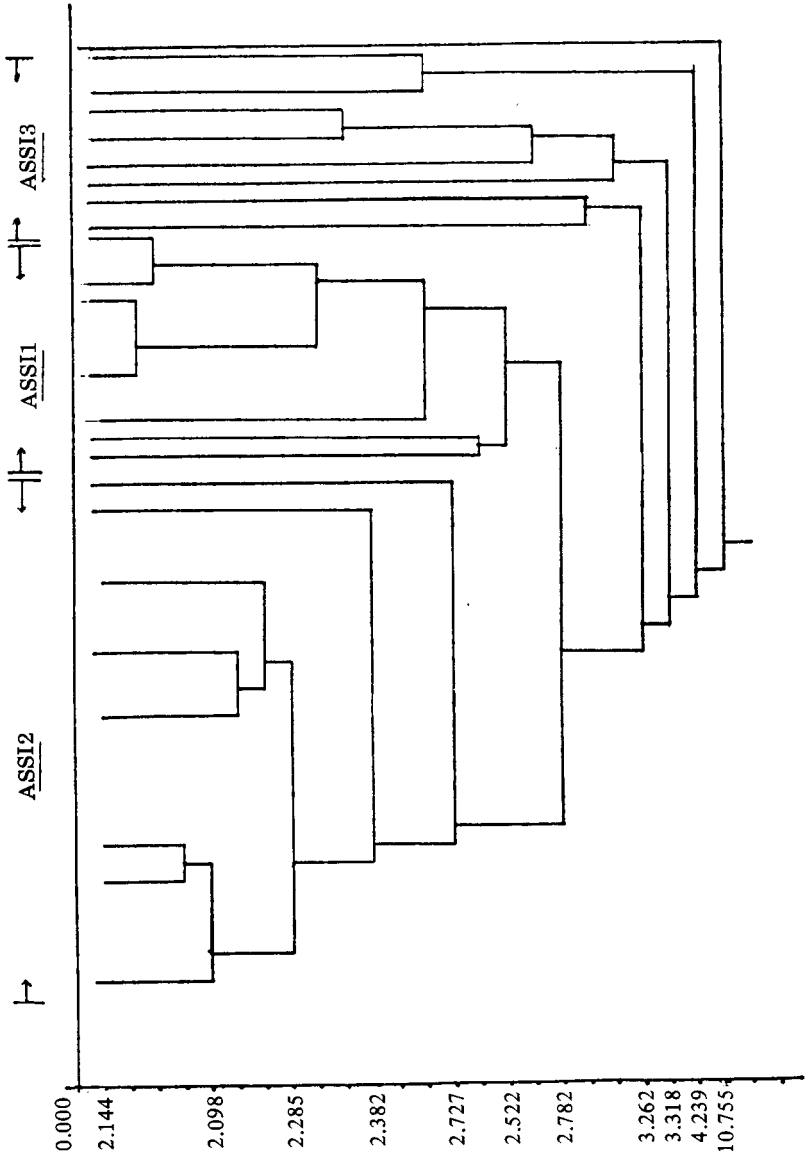


Table 2: Chi-square Analysis of Assimilation Groups with Assimilation indices

		ASSI1	ASSI2	ASSI3	X ²	P
ALIENAT3	Feel	42% (10)	54% (21)	100% (2)	2.88	.24
	Not feel	58% (14)	46% (18)	0% (0)		
ALIENAT4	Feel	13% (3)	49% (19)	29% (2)	8.76	.013
	Not feel	88% (21)	51% (20)	71% (5)		
ALIENAT5	Feel	29% (7)	80% (31)	57% (4)	15.70	.000
	Not feel	71% (17)	21% (8)	43% (3)		
COMPRED	Good	79% (19)	62% (24)	57% (4)	20.98	.000
	Fair	21% (5)	39% (15)	14% (1)		
	Poor	0% (0)	0% (0)	21% (2)		
TRUST	Yes	96% (23)	0% (0)	29% (2)	71.16	.000
	Depends	4% (1)	8% (3)	43% (3)		
	No	0% (0)	92% (36)	29% (2)		
FAIR	Yes	92% (22)	41% (16)	86% (6)	18.25	.001
	Depends	0% (0)	8% (3)	0% (0)		
	No	8% (2)	51% (20)	14% (1)		
UNEMP	Yes	25% (6)	36% (14)	14% (1)	1.75	.42
	No	75% (18)	64% (25)	86% (6)		

Their proficiency in English (WORDSUM, COMPREND) seems to be less than that of the other groups. Nevertheless, because the group is heterogeneous and small, it will not be included in the following analysis.

As a result of the above findings, the study concludes that the assimilation indices corresponding to the three dimensions of adaptation do produce a meaningful classifications of immigrants. Therefore, the study can say that there exists an underlying structure of immigrants' responses to the larger society. When using the three-dimension concept of adaptation, it finds that an assimilated group (ASSI1) and a subordinate group (ASSI2) conform most closely to the structure of adaptation

The second step of the analysis is to examine the influences of racial/ethnic characteristics and social class on different categories of adaptation as conceptualized above. This part of the analysis will also use certain external criteria to study the external validity of the taxonomy of adaptation, particularly the variables of race/ethnicity and social class.

Table 3: ANOVA of Assimilation Groups on WORDSUM and MEMNUM

		ASSI1	ASSI2	ASSI3	Multiple R	P
WORDSUM	\bar{X}	7.63	4.00	5.14	.54	.001
	N	24	39	7		
MEMNUM	\bar{X}	2.67	1.08	1.86	.41	.002
	N	24	39	7		

(II) The Results of Logit Analysis: The Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Social Class on Adaptation

The theoretical ground for assuming that adaptation is influenced by immigrants' race/ethnicity and social class was summarized in the three propositions. Following the procedure specified by Swafford, an effects coded logit analysis of these three variables, ETHNIC (CORE vs. PERIPHERAL),

CLASS (CLASSLO vs. CLASSHI), and ASSI (ASSI1 vs. ASSI2) was performed.⁷ The interaction between ETHNIC and CLASS was assumed in the saturated model.⁸ The interaction effect is not statistically significant, however. When the interaction term is excluded from the saturated model, the unexplained X^2 value increases by 0.63 only. The model that uses the effects coded ETHNIC and CLASS as the only predictors is the only statistically significant model in Table 4.

Table 4: Residual Chi-squares in the Logit Models

Models	X^2	df	P
CORE, CLASSLO, INTERACTION (Saturated Model)	.000	0	
CORE & CLASSLO (INTERACTION excluded)	.630	2	.98
CORE (CLASSLO & INTERACTION excluded)	4.145	1	.03
CLASSLO (CORE & INTERACTION excluded)	5.402	1	.02

Column 1 of Table 5 presents the main effects of immigrants' racial/ethnic backgrounds and social class on the logits (or the log of the odds) for falling into the assimilated group (ASSI1) rather than the subordinate group (ASSI2). The multiplicative coefficients (Gamma coefficients), or the antilog functions of these main effects are presented in column 2 of Table 5. Here the multiplicative coefficients actually represent the weighting factors for the odds that each category of the independent variables will fall into the assimilated group rather than the subordinate group.⁹ The conclusions we draw from

⁷ The categories of PERIPHERAL, CLASSHI, and ASSI2 are the "-1"'s of the effects coding; or the omitted categories, if dummy coding is used.

⁸ The saturated model contains all the independent variables as well as all the possible interaction factors.

⁹ For instance, if we compare the Gamma coefficients for CORE and PERIPHERAL immigrant groups, we find that CORE immigrants have a much

Table 5 can be summarized as follows:

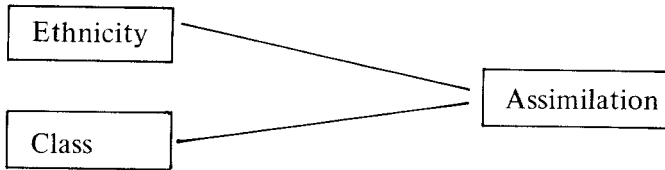
- (1) In controlling for immigrants' social class, membership in the core immigrant groups multiplies the odds for assimilation by 2.08; i.e., it increases the odds to more than double of the average. Membership in the peripheral immigrant groups multiplies the odds for assimilation by 0.48; that is, it lowers 52% (100%—48%) of the odds from the average.
- (2) In controlling for immigrants' race/ethnicity, being a middle/upper class immigrant multiplies the odds for assimilation by 1.77 or increases the odds by 77%. Being a lower/working class immigrant multiplies the odds by 0.57 or lowers 43% of the odds from the average.
- (3) In comparing the effects of race/ethnicity with those of social class, membership in a core immigrant group is apparently more important for either assimilation or subordination than membership in the middle/upper class (108% and 77% increase in the odds respectively). In addition, membership in a peripheral immigrant group has a greater "reverse" effect on assimilation than does membership in the lower/working class (52% and 43% decrease in the odds respectively). Thus it is apparent that to a moderate degree, immigrants' racial/ethnic backgrounds are more important than social class in assimilation or subordination.
- (4) Because of the effects of multiplication, immigrants who meet both the CORE ethnic group and the upper/middle class qualifications have the greatest odds for assimilation, it is thirteen times greater than the odds for the immigrants who are both PERIPHERAL and lower/working class ($0.45 \times 2.08 \times 1.77 : 0.45 \times 0.48 \times 0.57$, or in reduced form 13.83:1.00). Thus the peri-

greater odds than PERIPHERAL immigrants of falling into the assimilated group rather than the subordinated group. The weighting factor for the CORE immigrants' odds of falling into the assimilated group is more than four times greater than that for the PERIPHERAL immigrants (2.08:0.48 or 4.33:1.00).

pheral ethnic and lower/working class immigrants are at the greatest disadvantage with respect to assimilation.

- (5) The interaction relation between ETHNIC and CLASS in the theoretical model does not hold in Table 4. Thus an earlier statement (proposition 3), which suggests that members of a CORE immigrant group tend to have higher social class than those in a PERIPHERAL immigrant group, is not supported by our analysis. The original theoretical model in Figure 1 is modified. (See Figure 3.)

Figure 3: The Relations among Ethnicity, Class and Assimilation



In summary, this study concludes that immigrants' race/ethnicity has a greater influence on adaptation than does their social class in the host society. A CORE ethnic immigrant is more likely to become assimilated than one who merely belong to the middle or upper class. Also, a PERIPHERAL immigrant is more likely to become subordinate than one who is merely a member of the lower or working class. Above all, when social class is considered, race/ethnicity seems to affect adaptation a great deal. When race/ethnicity is controlled, the immigrants' social class in the host society is also important, but to a slightly lesser degree.

Conclusions and Discussion

The first step of analysis allows the study to identify two types of adaptation: assimilation and subordination, a special type of pluralistic adaptation. These two are distinct from each other across the three conceptualized dimensions of assimilation. The study finds a sociologically meaningful structure

Table 5: Coefficients for Effects Coded Logit Model

	Logit (1)	Gamma (2)
Constant	-.80	.45
ETHNIC		
CORE	.73	2.08
PERIPHERAL	-.73	.48
CLASS		
CLASSLO	-.57	.57
CLASSHI	.57	.57

underlying the immigrants' responses to the larger society when both cultural, social, and economic aspects of assimilation are "amalgamated" into one single concept of adaptation. Because the directions of the different aspects of adaptation are consistent in the study, it is reasonable to view immigrant adaptation as a systematic whole. We can assume even further that these three aspects of adaptation are interdependent and reinforce one another. The relations among these aspects certainly warrant for further examination which is beyond the scope of this study.

The second step of the analysis finds a slightly modified model of prior knowledge of assimilation. As expected, the social class and the race/ethnicity of immigrants have significant effects on adaptation, but it appears that race/ethnicity has more influence than social class on immigrants' responses to American society. The lack of interaction between race/ethnicity and class is also unexpected. These findings have two implications for the field of race and ethnic relation.

First, the lack of significant interaction between race/ethnicity and social class needs to be explained. If race/ethnicity is such an important factor in assimilation or subordination, why it does not have a significant impact on immigrants' social class? Why doesn't the peripheral immigrant group have more working- or lower-class immigrants than the core immigrant group? Doesn't this finding implies that American

society is so "ethnicity-blind" that immigrants can move upward or downward freely in the social hierarchy regardless of their race/ethnicity?

For several reasons, the answers to these questions may not be so self-evident as the statistics suggest. First, even though we know that little difference exists between the peripheral and the core immigrants regarding their distributions within social classes, we have no knowledge at all about their "prices in the labor market." The "split labor market theory" (Bonacich 1972) suggests that it is the different prices of labor for a constant level of skill or productivity that induces racial and ethnic antagonism. This study has no basis for assuming that immigrants belonging to a similar social class also receive similar payment for their work. On the contrary, it is very likely that members of the core immigrant group may receive more payments in their work than that for those peripheral immigrants in a similar social class, which is largely determined by a similar level of occupation.

Second, immigrants, especially Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Indians, and Cubans, are likely to form a type of "middleman minority" group (Bonacich 1973). They occupy an intermediate rather than a low-status position in the society, and many of them engage in trading or commerce in family business. Because of their sojourning attitude, their high adaptive qualities, such as thrift, many of the peripheral immigrants have been able to survive pressure, for the larger society often forces members of native minorities, such as American Indians and Blacks, to the bottom of the social-economic order. Because this "middleman" phenomenon is especially prevalent among the peripheral immigrants, it is likely to balance out the effect of race/ethnicity on social class.

So long as either one of the theories, split labor market theory and the middleman minority theory, is true, we cannot use social class as an useful indicator of the way these immigrants are treated by the larger society. Thus the theory stated earlier about the effects of race/ethnicity on social class does not necessarily hold true here.

Third, because of the lack of information about the "mobility rates" of these two kinds of immigrant groups, we do not know how they compare with each other in regard to their "life chances." This study cannot infer inter- or intra-generation mobility from social class; as a result, there is no basis for concluding that race/ethnicity has lost its influence on immigrants' chances of success in American society.

Another important finding is that race/ethnicity has a greater effects on adaptation than does social class. Many previous studies, which took only one particular racial/ethnic group as their focus, often concluded that immigrants' social class was one of the most important factors in determining the degree of assimilation (e.g., Doan 1977; Ex 1966; Gallo 1974; Johnston 1965; Kim 1980; Montero 1979). When this study examines immigrants with a variety of origins, however, it finds that racial/ethnic origin is even more important than social class in determining immigrants' assimilation or subordination.

As this finding suggests, race/ethnicity can account for immigrants' feelings of distrust, apathy, alienation, and powerlessness to a greater degree than can social class. This conclusion confirms the notion that racial/ethnic boundaries still persist in today's society. American society may be tolerant, but it is not integrated yet. We can also say that American society has not yet become an "achieving" society. Immigrant's "ascribing" characteristics, such as race/ethnicity, still carries a great deal of weight in determining their positions in the larger society, even if they manage to escape the pressures that might force them to drop to the lowest level of the society. The adaptation experiences of the peripheral immigrants illustrates this point well.

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各地移民在美國適應的種類： 階級與種族影響力的探討

張 茂 桂

摘 要

本文比起其他的移民研究有兩個特點：(1)以數學的「羣聚方式」建立一個多層面的適應的概念；(2)選用不同來源的移民團體，而不只是某一個特殊的移民團體，作為分析的對象，來研究階級以及種族對適應類型的影響。

本文分析美國一九七八年的“General Social Survey”的資料。當同時考慮文化、社會以及經濟適應各層面時，本文發現各地之移民在美國的適應可有兩種類型：一可稱之為同化型，一可稱之為附屬型。此外，本文亦發現種族的類別，比階級的次序，對於適應有更大的影響力；二者之間缺少顯著的互動。

這個發現似乎驗證了亞、非及南美西班牙語系的移民在美國受到的歧視程度，超過歐洲及加拿大的移民。