

## **Family Embeddedness During the Transition to Adulthood of Second Generation Immigrants**

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**ABSTRACT.** Within the U.S., nearly all growth in the young adult population over the next forty years will come from immigrants and their U. S.-born children. Immigrant youth vary substantially in their access to family resources, which affects their ability to make a successful transition to adulthood. Utilizing data from the adolescent (2002/2004), young adult follow-up (2006) and later adult follow-up (2012) surveys of the Educational Longitudinal Study, we examined the degree to which second generation immigrant youth were rooted in family relationships and whether these relationships influenced early education and work patterns and later educational attainment. We discovered that second generation immigrant youth varied in the quality of family relationships during adolescence by gender, family and neighborhood characteristics and these relationships significantly influenced their transition to adulthood. The more embedded immigrant youth were in their families, the higher their educational achievement and attainment in early and later adulthood compared to youth with lower levels of embeddedness.

*Keywords:* second generation, family relationships, educational attainment

### **Family Embeddedness during the Transition to Adulthood of Second Generation Immigrants**

Within the United States, nearly all growth in the next forty years of the nation's young adult population (ages 18 to 44) will come from immigrants and their U.S.-born children (Passel & Taylor, 2010). Today, there are approximately 20 million adult children of immigrants representing 14 percent of all adults between 18 to 29 years old in the U.S. Seventeen million second generation immigrant children also, will age into adulthood in the coming decades (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). The transition to adulthood—also termed early adulthood, emerging adulthood and *adulthood*—is a period characterized with specific cultural expectations, psychological identities and social affiliations (Furstenberg, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2005). In the U.S., traditional markers of “adulthood” include living separate from parents, forming a union with another adult, gaining full-time employment, establishing economic independence from family, and for some, enrolling in post-secondary education (Alexander, Entwisle, & Olsen, 2014).

While many immigrant youth encounter similar challenges, they also differ greatly in their ability to make a successful transition to adulthood, including educational and occupational attainment (Fussell & Furstenberg, 2005). These differences may reflect cultural variability across racial and ethnic groups and by generational status in their expectations of what it means to succeed as an adult. They also may be indicative of differential access to resources. The ability to draw upon human, cultural and social capital, including family support, during this developmental period may be particularly important in understanding different pathways immigrant youth take in their transition to adulthood.

Prior work has often focused on parental education and ethnic neighborhood composition as key to understanding immigrant differences in adult outcomes in the U.S. (Portes & Zhou, 2003; Fortuny & Chaudry, 2011; Xie & Gough, 2011). As a result, we know less about how access to potential and actual social and economic resources within families and communities during adolescence may affect immigrants' later status attainment. Ties, or "embeddedness," within the nuclear and extended family may also be a powerful mechanism through which youth create a positive sense of well-being and gain access to resources that, in turn, improve the quality of their transition to adulthood (Jose, Ryan, & Pyror, 2012). The idea of *family embeddedness* used in this study refers to the degree in which youth are rooted in a variety of familial relationships and the ability to utilize the resources available within their social networks. The overall goal of this study is to examine whether embeddedness within immigrant families, including the quality of parent-child communication, family values, and intergenerational relationships shapes the educational and occupational pathways of second generation immigrants during early adulthood. A secondary goal is to examine how these pathways and family embeddedness during adolescence affects educational attainment in adulthood.

### Background

Between the mid-1920s and 1965, the flow of immigrants to the U.S. from Europe slowed substantially. In 1965, immigration reform, propelled a new period of mass immigration comprised primarily of immigrants from Asia and Latin America (Massey & Pren, 2012). In recent decades, the number of children from this new wave of immigrants has grown substantially. Scholars responded by studying how well this new second generation was doing in American schools, and as they aged into adulthood, how well they were represented in the U.S. labor market (Kasinitz, Waters, Mollenkopf, & Holdaway, 2008; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2005). Studies focused on parental human capital as the key to understanding variation in educational and occupational success among second generation adults. Researchers also focused on the social, economic and political changes in the U.S. over the past several decades as important for understanding status attainment among the second generation (Batalova & Fix, 2011; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Xie & Gough, 2011).

Since the 1970s, the U.S. has experienced substantial changes in the labor market, educational system, racial and ethnic relations and immigration policy. These changes have had a profound impact on immigrants and their children. Deindustrialization and the movement toward a service economy proved a major barrier to assimilation and upward mobility for second generation young adults (Perreira, Harris, & Lee, 2007; Portes et al., 2005). In contrast to the industrial economy, jobs in the service sector were highly diverse. American workers needed to either invest in higher education to secure higher skilled jobs or largely relegate themselves to unskilled or semi-skilled service jobs characterized by low wages and few benefits. Many second generation youth, who were faced with this "hourglass" labor market had to "cross *in the span of one generation* the educational gap that took their predecessors, descendants of European immigrants, several generations to bridge" (Portes et al., 2005, p. 1007).

Issues of race and ethnicity also complicated the process of assimilation for second generation immigrants (Perreira et al., 2007). The racial hierarchy in the U.S. is central to identity and profoundly shapes individual access to resources and opportunities (Omi & Winant, 1994). Many contemporary second generation immigrants are considered non-white and their “enduring physical differences” (Portes et al., 2005, p. 1006) can constitute a barrier to assimilation. Portes and Zhou (2003) highlighted the vulnerabilities of second generation immigrants, including prejudice from skin color and neighborhood racial segregation. In addition to the physical differences, second generation immigrants are also more likely to live in racially segregated, high poverty and high unemployment neighborhoods (Lichter, Domenico, Taquino, & Michael, 2010; Portes & Zhou, 2003). This is important given the stronger family ties characteristic of many immigrant families which can make it less likely that youth will move out of these kinds of neighborhoods and ultimately, hinders their labor force participation and other economic outcomes (Alesina & Guiliano, 2010; Lichter et al., 2010). However, other researchers have found that when immigrant youth remain in neighborhoods with more ethnic owned businesses, they may actually face fewer barriers to securing employment (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002; Xie & Gough, 2011).

### **Social Embeddedness**

Social embeddedness refers to the quality and intensity of social relationships youth may draw upon as they enter and complete the successful transition to adulthood. Embeddedness in families and communities is important for all adolescents. However, the presence of weak or strong relationships may be particularly significant for immigrant youth. Prior work has shown minority youth who feel “strongly anchored” in the ethnic identities of their families, peer networks and communities have higher academic achievement and experience greater social and economic mobility compared to youth who are disengaged (Portes & Zhou, 2003; Brown & Chu, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, Wong, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2012). Other studies have linked embeddedness in ethnic networks to greater access to information, as well as educational and occupational opportunities in adulthood (Henry, Knight, & Thornberry, 2012).

Researchers have also highlighted the importance of positive parent-child relationships, immigrant family cohesiveness and a strong sense of belonging to their community to positive adolescent development (Jose et al., 2012; Baum & Flores, 2011). For example, Qin (2006) found Chinese immigrant youth face unique challenges and risks during adolescence compared to native youth. These stressors included learning a new language and culture, as well as discrimination, neighborhood poverty and segregation. However, Qin (2006) also suggested family embeddedness might act as a buffer for immigrant youth. Indeed, prior research has suggested that preserving family culture, language and ties to immigrant communities can facilitate academic performance and upward mobility among Chinese immigrant youth (Portes & Zhou, 2003).

Studies have also shown parent-child communication, high parental expectations and dense parental networks or intergenerational closure to be important for educational achievement (Kao & Rutherford, 2007; Qin, 2006). Intergenerational closure, or the degree to which parent’s

know their children's friends and parents, has been shown to play an important role in facilitating access to resources and transmitting shared norms and values from the community to children and may act as a protective factor against delinquent behavior and promote academic achievement among immigrant youth (Coleman, 1988; Kao & Rutherford, 2007; Eitle, Wahl, & Aranda, 2009).

Gender is also a salient factor in many immigrant family dynamics and plays an important role in the social mobility of immigrant boys and girls. First and second generation immigrant girls, regardless of ethnic background, attain higher grades and have higher educational aspirations when compared to boys (Qin-Hilliard, 2003). Researchers have theorized that this gender gap in education exists because immigrant girls experience higher educational expectations and more familial support than boys (Qin-Hilliard, 2003; Qin, 2006).

Immigrant communities may also view girls and culture differently and act in ways that try to protect second generation immigrant girls because they are perceived as the "keepers of culture" (Billson, 1995; Soto, 2012). Espiritu (2007) found immigrant girls experience more conflicting messages about their roles and their future. For example, while immigrant parents often push their daughters to achieve academic excellence in high school, they also expect them to be highly dedicated to the family (Espiritu, 2007). Studies have also shown immigrant girls are monitored more frequently by their families and spend more time inside their homes than boys (Qin-Hilliard, 2003; Qin, 2006). The increased monitoring experienced by immigrant girls may provide them with more opportunities to interact with their parents and other adult relatives. Greater family interaction may enable immigrant girls to better develop their ethnic identities, retain their culture, and experience fewer conflicts with their parents compared with immigrant boys (Qin-Hilliard, 2003). For example, immigrant girls may be more willing to accept higher parental expectations for their academic achievement and increased responsibilities to the family compared (Qin, 2006). Lower parental supervision and academic expectations experienced by immigrant boys could increase their exposure to delinquent peers and increase their likelihood of engaging in delinquent behaviors (Qin-Hilliard, 2003).

While prior studies have suggested embeddedness within the family, including improved parent-child relations and communication, may be particularly beneficial for immigrant youth, less is understood about how family embeddedness influences education and work-related outcomes beyond adolescence and into adulthood. Specially, we decompose family embeddedness into: (1) the quantity or intensity of the relationship ties (i.e., parent-child communication) and (2) the quality of potential or actual resources that contextualize the composition of the relationship (i.e., college information). This study extends prior research on second generation immigrants, by examining how family embeddedness may influence work and education outcomes during the critical transition to adulthood and later educational attainment. We pay particular attention to race and gender as powerful forces, which can shape parent-child relationships, educational expectations and the early trajectories of immigrant youth. Utilizing data from the adolescent (2002/2004), young adult (2006) and later adult (2012) surveys of the *Educational Longitudinal Study*, our study focused on three research questions:

- RQ 1: Does neighborhood composition (ethnic and racial, SES, unemployment) including community integration (parent's feel sense of belonging), family background (household arrangements, parent English fluency, parent SES), racial/ethnic background and gender influence family embeddedness among second generation immigrant youth?
- RQ 2: Does family embeddedness during adolescence affect early education, and work patterns during the transition from adolescence to early adulthood (i.e., Ages 19-22)?
- RQ 3: Does family embeddedness during adolescence affect later educational attainment in adulthood (i.e., Ages 25-28) and if so, to what extent do early work, family and education patterns explain this relationship?

## Method

### Data

This study utilized data from all four waves of the Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS) to examine social embeddedness over time among a national sample of second generation immigrants. The ELS, sponsored by the National Center for Education Statistics, began in 2002 as a longitudinal study of a nationally representative sample of high school sophomores in the U.S. In 2004, ELS conducted the first follow-up survey when almost all the participants were in the twelfth grade. In 2006, ELS conducted the second follow-up survey when the majority of youth were enrolled in post-secondary education (up to their second year), working in the labor market, or both working and attending college. In 2012, ELS conducted the third and final follow-up survey when participants were between 25 to 28 years old. Participants who dropped out of high school or finished high school before the first follow-up survey was conducted were included in all follow-up surveys.

### Sample

The sample used for this study was restricted to second generation immigrants: participants who were born in the United States and had at least one biological parent born in a foreign country or in Puerto Rico ( $N = 1,641$ ). In our sample, 50 percent were male ( $n = 825$ ) and 36 percent were Hispanic ( $n = 591$ ). Asian students were over sampled and comprised 35 percent ( $n = 574$ ) of participants. The remaining fifteen percent of the sample participants were non-Hispanic White, and six percent were non-Hispanic Black.

### Family Embeddedness

We used several variables from the baseline and first follow-up student surveys that operationalized family embeddedness as the intensity and quality of relationships within the family from the youth's perspective. These variables included parent-child communication,

family values, maternal educational aspirations, intergenerational closure and access to post-secondary information from family members.

**Parent-child communication.** To measure the quality of parent-child communication, we used a question that asked youth how often they discussed academically related topics with their parents. The topics included courses, school activities; class content; school grades; preparation for ACT or SAT tests; the possibility of going to college; and current events. The response categories of each item were measured as 0 = Never, 1 = Sometimes and 2 = Often. We averaged responses from each of these variables to create an index of the frequency of parent-child discussion across these different school-related topics. Our parent-child index measured how often children talked with their parents about academic related topics and can be indicative of support that youth have regarding their educational goals. The Cronbach's Alpha for this measure was .90.

**Family value: Living close to home.** To measure the strength of family ties and potential familial obligations, we used a question that asked youth how important it was to live "close" to their parents or relatives when they reached adulthood. The response categories were measured on a Likert scale with 0 = Not important, 1 = Somewhat important, and 2 = Very important. The term "close" was not quantified in the survey question. Thus, participant's interpretation of what they thought of as "close" may have varied.

**Maternal college aspiration.** To tap into whether parental values and educational goals were transmitted and understood by youth, we utilized a question which asked youth whether their mother wanted them to attend college after high school (0 = No; 1 = Yes).

**Intergenerational closure.** To measure intergenerational closure or the density of youth's social networks (Coleman, 1988), we used several questions designed to determine the extent to which immigrant parents and youth knew their friends' parents. For the three closest friends identified by participants, they were asked whether 1) they knew Friend 1's parents, and 2) if their parents knew Friend 1's parents (0 = No; 1 = Yes). We summed together these two items for all three friends. This resulted in a scale ranging from 0, where neither the youth nor their parents knew any of their three friends' parents and 6, where both the youth and their parents knew all of their three friends' parents. This measure has a Cronbach's Alpha of .70.

**College entrance information: Family.** To tap into the quality of family embeddedness we used a variable which asked youth whether they had gone to anyone in their family including a parent, sibling, or other relative for information about applying for college (0 = No; 1 = Yes).

### **Individual Characteristics and Family Background**

To explore whether there were racial/ethnic and sex differences in family embeddedness and education and work outcomes in early and later adulthood, we created dummy variables for sex (male=1, females=0) and the following racial categories: Asian, Black, White, Other and Hispanic (reference category). We included several variables from the parent survey that

measured family human capital and household structure. These variables included a categorical measure of mother's highest reported level of education, a categorical measure of total family annual income, a dummy variable indicating parents English fluency (fluent in English=1, not fluent in English=0) and the number of people living in the household.

### Neighborhood Context

**Disadvantage Index.** This study also examined the role neighborhood context in adolescence played in shaping family embeddedness among second generation immigrant youth as well as their transition to adulthood. To create a measure of neighborhood quality, we linked the residential zip-code files of survey participants in the baseline ELS survey in 2002 with 2000 Census level data. To identify adolescents who lived in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods that are potentially isolated from mainstream American society, we created a neighborhood disadvantage index. This index included the percent of residents living in the neighborhood who had 1) incomes below the poverty line; 2) were unemployed; and 3) were foreign-born. The Cronbach's Alpha for the neighborhood disadvantage index was .74.

Figure 1 compares the three factors used to create the neighborhood disadvantage index for non-immigrant youth and second generation immigrant youth in the ELS sample. (See Figure 1). During adolescence, second generation immigrants were slightly more likely to live in more impoverished neighborhoods, but they also lived in neighborhoods with much lower unemployment compared to non-immigrants. Indeed, the percent of unemployment in the neighborhood was almost three times lower among immigrant compared to non-immigrant youth. As expected, second generation immigrant youth were also much more likely to live in neighborhoods with a higher concentration of foreign born residents.

**Community Integration.** Migration exposes families to substantial changes in their social context as they learn to live in a new environment. Immigrant parents and their children often experience a loss of family and peer networks and potential economic, social and physical segregation from mainstream American society. Building a new community in American society is a salient new challenge for immigrant families and it is important to foster social supports and feel a part of a network (Perreira et al., 2007). In addition to our measure of neighborhood disadvantage, we also included a variable from the parent survey that subjectively measured youth's potential access to social networks and resources in the community. Immigrant parents were asked whether they "feel like they are a part of the community" (coded as 1) or "if their neighborhood is just a place to live in" (coded as = 0).

### Early Adulthood Outcomes

We used several variables from the second follow-up student surveys in 2006 when participants were between the ages of 19 and 22 years old to measure traditional markers of success in adulthood. These variables included on-time high school graduation, college enrollment, labor market participation and whether the youth was living outside of their parents' home. Since having a child may influence educational, work and residential outcomes in early

adulthood, particularly for young women, we also included this measure as a control in our analyses of early and later adult outcomes (Lee, 2010).

**On-time High School Graduation.** To measure early educational attainment, we used a dichotomous variable indicating whether the youth graduated on-time from high school where 1=youth graduated on-time from high school (0=did not graduate high school on-time).

**Early Education and Work Status.** To measure early education and work trajectories, we utilized a categorical variable available in the ELS that combined information from multiple survey items that asked participants whether they were working and/or currently enrolled in any type of post-secondary institution. To capture all the possible work and postsecondary experiences, we created a categorical variable where 1= working for pay, not enrolled in a postsecondary institution; 2= working for pay and enrolled in a postsecondary institution; 3= neither working for pay nor enrolled in a postsecondary institution; and 4=not working for pay and enrolled in a postsecondary institution (reference category). The reference category was young adults who were enrolled in post-secondary education but not working for pay.

### **Early Adulthood Family Pattern**

**Living Arrangements in Early Adulthood.** To measure the living arrangements of youth during their transition to adulthood, we used an item that asked young adults about their current residential arrangements. Participants indicated whether they were currently living alone, with a parent or guardian, living with partner in marriage or marriage-like relationship or in another living arrangement including living with a sibling or friend. We recoded these items into four dichotomous variables: whether participants lived 1) with parents; 2) alone; 3) with their spouse; or 4) with others, such as siblings or friends (reference category).

**Having Child in Early Adulthood.** We included a variable from the second follow-up survey that asked participants how many biological children they had. This variable was recoded into a dichotomous variable where 1=participants had at least one biological child (0=none) by 2006 when they were between 19 and 22 years old.

### **Adult Outcome**

**Educational Attainment in Adulthood.** To measure educational attainment in adulthood, we used a measure from the third follow-up survey, which was conducted ten years after the baseline data collection when participants were between 25 and 28 years old. Participants reported the highest level of education they had completed by 2012. The responses ranged from no high school credentials and no post-secondary educational experience (1) to doctoral degree (9).

### **Data Analysis**

We addressed three main questions in our study. First, how do individual characteristics, family background and neighborhood composition and integration influence the quality of family

relationships (embeddedness) among second generation youth? Second, does family embeddedness during adolescence influence education and work patterns during early adulthood when participants are between the ages of 19-21 years old? Third, does family embeddedness during adolescence influence educational attainment measured ten years later in adulthood and if so, do early work, education and family formation patterns explain this relationship?

To answer the first research question, we conducted a series of multiple regression analyses to examine the distinct and collective impact of individual, family and neighborhood characteristics on the intensity and quality of family relationships and resources in adolescence. Five measures of social embeddedness measured at the family level included: (a) parent-child communication, (b) perceived value living close to home, (c) mother's college aspiration, (d) college information from family, and (e) intergenerational closure. The predictors in the models for all five outcomes included sex, race/ethnicity and family background including maternal education, household income, number of people living in the household and a dichotomous measure of whether the youth's parents have low English fluency. The models also included the objective measure of neighborhood disadvantage (index of percent unemployed, percent below poverty and percent foreign-born) and a subjective measure of parent's sense of community. This measure evaluated if the immigrant youth's parents felt they were a part of the community or if the community was "just a place to live."

For the continuous measure of family embeddedness—parent-child communication and whether the participant valued living close to home, which was measured on a Likert scale, ordinary least squares regressions were performed. We estimated binary logistic regression models for the dichotomous outcomes—whether youth believed their mothers aspired for them to attend college and whether the youth obtained college information from a parent or relative. We present the odds ratios to ease interpretation. The measure of intergenerational closure ranged from 1 to 6, with higher values corresponding to an increased number of relationships between the immigrant youth, their parents and their friends' parents. We estimated ordinal logistic models for this outcome.

To answer the second research question, we conducted hierarchical regression analyses of two outcomes in the transition to adulthood—whether the youth graduated from high school on-time and early employment status and enrollment in postsecondary education. We estimated binary logistic models for the dichotomous outcome of on-time high school graduation. As discussed previously, the early education and employment patterns were captured in a categorical variable where 1 = working for pay, not enrolled in post-secondary; 2 = enrolled, not working for pay; 3 = working for pay and enrolled; 4 = neither working for pay nor enrolled. We conducted multinomial logistic regression analysis for this outcome; enrolled in post-secondary education and not working constituted the reference category. In order to determine whether family background, neighborhood characteristics and the intensity and quality of family relationships independently and collectively influence early work and education outcomes and explain any of the race and sex differences among immigrant youth, we estimated four hierarchical models. In the first model, the baseline model, race/ethnicity and sex was regressed onto the outcome. In the second model, we added maternal education, household income,

number of people in the household and an indicator of whether the parents were low in English fluency. In the third model, we added our two measures of neighborhood context, the neighborhood disadvantage index and the measure of parent's integration into their community. In the final model, we added our five measures of family embeddedness.

To answer the third research question, we conducted hierarchical ordinal logistic regression models of educational attainment in a similar fashion to the models conducted to answer the second question, moving from the most exogenous to the most endogenous variables. We present the odds ratios, which indicate the likelihood of second generation immigrant adults having higher educational attainment (ranging from no high school to advanced, post-bachelor degree). Model 1 was the baseline with individual characteristics. Model 2 incorporated the family and neighborhood characteristics and Model 3 added in the measures of family embeddedness. The final model, Model 4, included early education, work and family formation to examine whether they explained any of the association between family embeddedness during adolescence and adult educational attainment. The work, education and family patterns in early adulthood added to the final models included whether the youth graduated on-time from high school, postsecondary enrollment and work status, and whether they had a child prior to 2006. We also included whether the participants were living with parents, a spouse, alone or with others (reference category) in 2006.

## Results

### Descriptives

Table 1 (see p. 87) includes descriptive statistics for all variables used in our analysis of family embeddedness and early and later adult outcomes. On average, second generation immigrant youth discussed academic related topics with their parents "sometimes" ( $M = 1.08$ ,  $SD = .5$ ) and viewed living close to their parents or relatives as "somewhat important" ( $M = 1.1$ ,  $SD = .64$ ). Overall, the majority of youth also reported their mothers had very high educational aspirations for them. Approximately, 85 percent of youth believed their mothers would like them to attend college. In addition to high educational expectations, a majority of youth also received tangible educational support from their families in the form of information about postsecondary education. Seventy-one percent of immigrant youth reported going to a parent, sibling or other relative for college information. Intergenerational closure measured the diversity of social networks connecting peers and parents, and the possible transfer and reinforcement of norms and values within these networks. The measure ranged from 0=neither youth, nor parents knew any of their friend's parents to 6= youth and their parents knew all of their friend's parents. On average, immigrant youth had a moderate level of closure ( $M=3.3$ ,  $SD=2.0$ ).

As the immigrant youth transitioned into early adulthood and were between 19 and 22 years old, 85 percent had graduated on-time from high school. This rate was higher than the national average of 73 percent that same year (NCES Common Core of Data, 2014). However, there were important racial and ethnic differences in high school completion. For example, only 78 percent of second generation Hispanic immigrants graduated on-time from high school

compared to 92 percent of second generation Asian immigrants (Wu, 2015). As youth transitioned from high school, the majority of participants were enrolled in some kind of post-secondary education. Many of the college attendees were also working for pay at the same time. Approximately, one-third of participants reported that they were enrolled in college and not working at all in the labor market. A relatively small percentage of youth, 6 percent, reported neither working nor going to college. Additionally, 55 percent reported living at home with their parents. A very small minority of immigrant young adults reported having at least one biological child.

By 2012, when the second generation immigrants were between 25 and 28 years old, 33 percent had attained a bachelor's degree, which is much lower than the national average of 59 percent for college students who pursued a degree around the same year.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-nine percent of second generation immigrants enrolled and participated in post-secondary education, but did not attain a credential or degree.

Figure 1 (see p. 86) shows the racial and ethnic differences in the kinds of neighborhoods the second generation immigrants lived in during adolescence. Hispanic second generation immigrant youth were more likely to live in impoverished neighborhoods during adolescence compared to other racial and ethnic immigrant groups. On average, Hispanic youth lived in neighborhoods where almost 1 in 5 households were below the poverty line. They also lived in neighborhoods with the highest concentration of unemployed households. By comparison, White second generation youth (i.e., Eastern European) lived in neighborhoods with the lowest poverty and unemployment rates of all the racial groups and at rates that were almost 50 percent lower than for Hispanic second generation youth.

In terms of ethnic composition of the neighborhood, Hispanic second generation youth lived in neighborhoods where on average 1 in 4 residents were foreign-born. Asian second generation immigrant adolescents had the next highest percent of foreign born, living in neighborhoods where on average, 22 percent of residents were foreign-born.

### **Individual, Family, Neighborhood Context and Family Embeddedness in Adolescence**

Table 2 (see p. 89) presents the results from the regression of Parent-Child Communication onto individual, family and neighborhood conditions. Model 1 shows immigrant daughters, on average, had more discussions with parents compared to sons. Black immigrant youth also engaged in discussions that were more frequent with their parents compared to Hispanic youth. Maternal education was significantly and positively associated with how often parents discussed topics including academics and college preparation with their teens. Household size also mattered, with larger households associated with fewer discussions with parents.

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<sup>1</sup> 2012 graduation rate for first-time, full-time undergraduate students who began their pursuit of a bachelor's degree at a 4-year degree-granting institution in fall 2006 was 59 percent. <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=40>

In examining whether second generation immigrant youth valued living close to home, a few interesting results emerged (Models 2). As mother's educational attainment increased, youth were less likely to value living close to home. On the other hand, as household size increased, youth were more likely to value living close to home. These two findings suggest the value of living close to family may be associated with economic resources, as well as the need for formal and informal sources of social support in households with extended kin.

Model 3 presents the odds ratios for the logistic regression models of whether the youth reported that their mother desired for them to go to college. Again, there were significant differences between boys and girls. Second generation immigrant boys were significantly less likely than girls to report that their mother held college aspirations for them, controlling for family background. Asian immigrant youth reported higher maternal college aspirations compared to Hispanic youth, and this advantage persisted despite controls for family and neighborhood characteristics.

There were also significant gender differences in whether the youth received information about college from their families (Model 4). The results indicated that second generation boys ( $OR=0.73$ ) were significantly less likely than girls to report they received college information from their families. There were no other significant differences in the final model other than the effects of parent's English ability. Immigrant youth were less likely to receive information from their families about college if their parents were not fluent in English.

Model 5 presents the final set of coefficients from the ordinal logistic regression model for intergenerational closure. There were significant differences between boys and girls with second generation boys having a decreased likelihood than girls of experiencing greater intergenerational closure ( $OR=0.67$ ). Additionally, Asian immigrant youth had less intergenerational closure compared to Hispanic youth ( $OR=0.73$ ). Like the results for college information, youth whose parents had low English fluency experienced less intergenerational closure than youth whose parents had moderate or high fluency. Our results also supported prior studies that demonstrated social cohesion and informal control within community relationships were important for immigrant youth. The positive coefficient for community integration indicates that immigrant parents who felt they belonged in their neighborhood were more likely to know the parents of their children's friends, controlling for other family characteristics. This suggests that the more embedded families felt in their neighborhoods may have directly and indirectly fostered ties between their children and other adults in the community.

### **Family Embeddedness in Adolescence and Early Adulthood Education Patterns**

The first step in our analysis of contemporary second generation immigrant youth was to examine how embeddedness in the family varied by sex and racial and ethnic background. We also analyzed the degree to which family socioeconomic characteristics and neighborhood composition shaped the nature of embeddedness in families among these youth. We now turn to the second part of our analysis, which examined how family embeddedness and community

integration during adolescence mattered during the transition to early adulthood for the second generation in the U.S.

Table 3 (see p. 90) presents the results from the hierarchical logistic regression analysis of the impact of family embeddedness on high school graduation (on-time) among second generation immigrants. The likelihood of graduating on-time from high school was significantly higher among girls, youth with more educated mothers and higher household incomes. As with family embeddedness, immigrant adults who lived in larger households during adolescence were less likely to graduate on-time from high school ( $OR=0.85$ ), although this effect became non-significant once our measures of family embeddedness were added to the final model (Model 4). Community context also mattered for high school graduation. Immigrant youth whose parents reported feeling as if they were a part of their neighborhoods were significantly more likely to graduate on-time from high school compared to youth whose families did not feel integrated in their neighborhoods ( $OR=1.7$ ).

The results in the final model (Models 4) showed that parent-child communication was the only measure of family embeddedness that was significantly associated with graduating on-time after taking into account individual, family and neighborhood factors. Immigrant youth who communicated more often with their parents about school courses, grades, and current events, were significantly more likely to graduate on-time compared to youth who experienced fewer discussions with parents ( $OR=2.7$ ), after controlling for family socioeconomic background, sex, race and ethnicity and neighborhood conditions. In addition, while family embeddedness did little to explain the socioeconomic differences in high school graduation, it did reduce the Asian-Hispanic gap by one-third and the Black-Hispanic gap substantially. This suggests that family embeddedness and parent-child communication, in particular, may be especially important in understanding racial and ethnic differences in early educational outcomes.

Table 4 (see p. 91) presents the multinomial logit analysis of the association between family embeddedness and college enrollment and work status in early adulthood. We examined four patterns of work and enrollment in post-secondary education, young adults could be 1) enrolled only in post-secondary education; 2) working and enrolled in post-secondary; 3) working only; 4) and neither working nor enrolled in any type of post-secondary institution. Young adults, who reported only going to college and not working, were arguably in the most privileged early adulthood status and constituted the reference category in our analyses. However, the majority of second generation immigrants were working while they were going to college simultaneously. Importantly, we will see in the next analysis of adult educational attainment, there were no penalties in terms of eventual educational attainment for young adults who worked while they attended college.

The results indicated that male immigrant youth were significantly more likely to report “working, not enrolled in college” compared to only being enrolled in college ( $OR=2.1$ ). Compared to Hispanic immigrant youth, Asian youth were more likely to be enrolled in college and/or working. As we would expect, immigrant youth with mothers that were more educated and from higher income families were significantly more likely to be enrolled in college full-

time. Again, appearing as a strong influence in early adulthood patterns, young adults who grew up in larger households were significantly more likely to be disconnected and not working or going to school compared to being solely enrolled in post-secondary in early adulthood ( $OR=1.3$ ).

Parent-child communication emerged again as significant in predicting early adult success (Model 2 and Model 6). Second generation young adults who had more frequent school-related discussions with their parents when they were teenagers were significantly less likely to just work ( $OR=0.26$ ) or to report neither working nor going to college ( $OR=0.30$ ) compared to being solely enrolled in college during early adulthood. However, youth who placed a high value on living close to home were significantly more likely to be working after high school ( $OR=1.7$ ) and neither working or going to school ( $OR=3.2$ ). Mother's aspiration for youth to attend college was also significant and positive for immigrant young adult's enrollment in college. Youth who believed that their mother aspired for them to attend college were significantly less likely to be working only ( $OR=0.54$ ) or neither working or going to college ( $OR=0.32$ ), versus being enrolled solely in post-secondary education.

In examining whether family embeddedness explained any of the sex, race or family socioeconomic differences in early education and work outcomes, the results from Model 2 show that family embeddedness reduced to non-significance the female advantage of being only enrolled in college versus only working. The Asian-Hispanic gap between being enrolled in college compared to being enrolled and working was reduced slightly with the addition of family embeddedness measures (Model 5).

### **The Long Influence of Family Embeddedness Educational Attainment in Adulthood**

In the final part of our analysis, we examined whether family embeddedness measured during adolescence was associated with adult educational attainment, ten years later. Table 5 presents the odds ratios from ordinal regression analysis of the relationship between the intensity and quality of family relationships in adolescence and educational attainment 10 years later. The results in Model 1 show significant gender and racial/ethnic differences in educational attainment. Specifically, second generation immigrant men were significantly less likely to complete higher levels of education compared to women ( $OR=0.64$ ). Asian, Black and White immigrants were also significantly more likely to complete higher levels of education compared to Hispanic adults.

Model 2 added family background and neighborhood characteristics to the regression. Maternal education, family income and household size were significantly related to adult educational attainment. On average, immigrant youth who grew up in families with higher incomes ( $OR=1.2$ ), had mothers with more education ( $OR=1.1$ ) and in smaller households ( $OR=0.86$ ) completed more education by the time they reached adulthood. However, there were no differences between second generation immigrants who grew up in disadvantaged compared to non-disadvantaged neighborhoods.

As with on-time high school graduation and early work and post-secondary enrollment, parent-child communication continued to exert a positive impact on second generation immigrant youth well into adulthood. Second generation immigrants who experienced better communication with their parents during adolescence achieved higher educational attainment in adulthood ( $OR=2.0$ ), controlling for family background, individual characteristics and neighborhood factors (Model 3). The addition of all the family embeddedness measures to the model also reduced the Black-Hispanic educational gap by 24 percent. Furthermore, it is clear that early adult work and education patterns were very important for adult educational attainment (Model 4). Youth who graduated on-time from high school were significantly more likely to achieve higher educational attainment ( $OR=2.9$ ). On the other hand, youth who were primarily working or detached (unemployed and not enrolled in college) right after high school had significantly lower educational attainment in adulthood. This suggests youth may have experienced barriers when trying to return to an education pathway after a delay or disconnection with schooling early on in the transition to adulthood.

Once these early adult work and school patterns were added to the model, the parent-child communication variable was reduced by 30 percent. This decrease suggests that part of the positive impact of higher quality relationships with parents on educational attainment may be due to helping youth make a successful transition to early adulthood. This included graduating from high school on-time and enrolling in post-secondary education after high school--regardless whether the youth were also working simultaneously. (See Table 5).

Family patterns in early adulthood also had a significant effect on adulthood educational attainment. Second generation immigrant young adults who lived with their parents, compared to living with others (e.g. friends, siblings) were significantly less likely to have higher educational attainment ( $OR=0.38$ ). Living with a spouse compared to living with others ( $OR=0.19$ ) and having had a child early ( $OR=0.47$ ) also significantly decreased the likelihood of attaining higher education.

### Discussion

The goal of our study was to examine whether and how family embeddedness during adolescence shapes key education and work outcomes during the transition to adulthood and later educational attainment among a national, longitudinal sample of second generation immigrants. Unique to this study was the inclusion of neighborhood context, including neighborhood disadvantage and community integration during adolescence as well as the attention paid to racial and gender differences. Overall, there were three main findings from our study. First, family and neighborhood context, including mother's educational attainment, household size, neighborhood disadvantage and community integration influence the quality of family relationships among second generation immigrant youth. Second generation immigrant adolescents had more frequent academic discussions with their parents when their mothers had higher educational attainment, greater economic resources and lived in households with fewer people. This is significant given the enduring positive relationship we found between parent-child communication on work and educational outcomes during the transition to adulthood.

Further, we found youth whose parents have low English fluency were also less likely to know their friends' parents (i.e., intergenerational closure) and to seek out and receive information about college from their families. Our results also demonstrate the importance of the neighborhood in shaping the quality of family embeddedness, particularly intergenerational closure among immigrant families. For example, immigrant families that felt they belonged in their neighborhood were more likely to know the parents of their children's friends.

Second, our results show important variation in both the intensity and quality of family relationships between males and females and between some racial groups. During adolescence, second generation girls were more socially embedded within their families. For example, girls reported speaking more frequently with their parents on topics such as schoolwork and college compared to boys. Second generation immigrant girls were also more likely than boys to report their mother aspired for them to go to college and to get information about college enrollment from their parents, siblings or relatives. In general, we found few differences by racial group. However, second generation Asian youth were significantly more likely than Hispanics to believe their mother desired for them to go to college but experienced lower levels of intergenerational closure. Black immigrant youth had significantly better communication with their parents, compared to Hispanic youth.

Third, among second generation immigrants, there is an enduring advantage of beginning the transition to adulthood strongly embeddedness in parental relationships and communities that serve as a source of social and potentially academic support. There are many ways parents can be involved in their adolescent's lives that are important in shaping positive development, such as setting expectations and rules; communication; monitoring and checking on homework; or participating in the school. Immigrant parents who are unfamiliar with the school system may take a hands-off approach in trusting the school to prepare their children academically. On the other hand, they may also lend support by talking with their children at home and stressing the value of education (Auerbach, 2006). Our findings show parental involvement in the form of parent-child communication, in particular, to be continually significant for immigrant youth in supporting early and later educational attainment. Youth with higher levels of family and community embeddedness were more likely to begin the transition to adulthood having completed high school on-time and enrolled in some kind of post-secondary education. High school completion and early college entry, in turn, had a substantial impact on eventual educational attainment measured ten years later.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

While the ELS data over sampled Asian students, the small number of participants within ethnic groups who were second generation immigrants limited our study. As a result, we were unable to conduct meaningful comparisons by country of origin or within sub-groups of Hispanics. Our results showed wide disparities between Hispanic and Asian second generation immigrant in early education and work outcomes. Some of these differences reflect variation in social embeddedness during adolescence, family background and neighborhood characteristics. However, other studies have shown more variation within Asian and Hispanic immigrant groups

than between, highlighting the importance of exploring these differences by immigration origin and history (Passel, 2011; Takaki, 2012). Future research should explore further difference in family embeddedness and adulthood transitions among sub-groups of Asian and Hispanic second generation immigrants.

The ELS data provided us with an invaluable longitudinal and quantitative picture of a recent cohort of second generation youth as they aged into adulthood. However, we were limited to measures available in the surveys of participants and their parents. Our measure of parent-child communication was solely based on academic related topics. Further research should examine whether discussions related to non-school related topics are equally beneficial for youth.

Further, while our study suggests positive parent-child relationships during later adolescence are important in predicting higher educational attainment, we did not disaggregate postsecondary schooling by school type. Research on the educational trajectories of immigrant youth would benefit from a focus on the stratification of higher educational institutions as they are related to differential economic returns in the labor market (Alexander et al., 2014). Access to college has broadened with a large number of opportunities and a range of postsecondary destinations—particularly in the present day “college for all” ideal. Immigrant young adults and their parents may have differing expectations for college, for example a private four-year college away from home, a public four-year college, a local community college, or a post-bachelor certificate. These expectations are tied to the economic resources and the needs of the household, as well as cultural values and family closeness. Future studies should examine the connection of family embeddedness to expectations and enrollment in different types of postsecondary institutions and their impact on adult status attainment, including earnings.

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Figure 1. Comparison of Youth’s Neighborhood Conditions by Immigration Status and Race and Ethnicity (ELS, 2002)

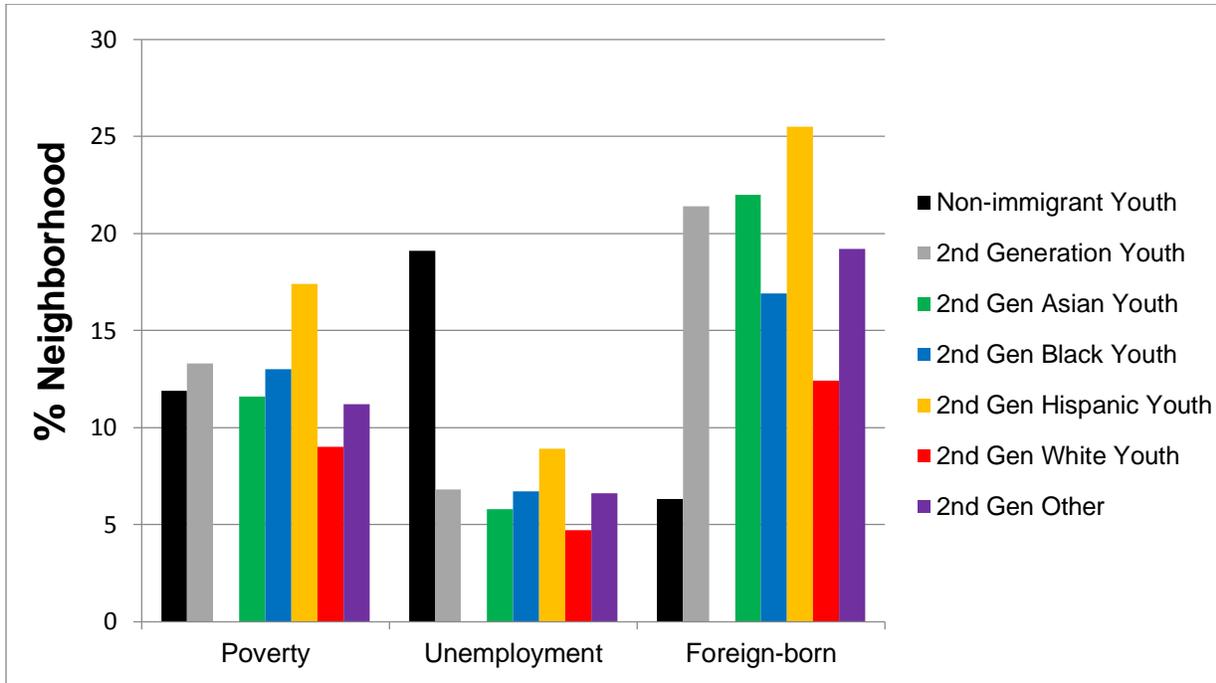


Table 1.

*Descriptive Statistics for Variables Used in the Analyses of Family Embeddedness and Transition to Adulthood: Education Longitudinal Study (ELS 2002-2012)*

<b>Variable Name</b>	<b>Metric</b>	<b>M / %</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<i>Quality of Social Relationships Variables Measured in Adolescence (Ages 15-18, 2002)</i>					
Parent-Child Communication	0=Never; 1=Sometimes; 2=Often	1.08	.50	0	2
Family Value: Living Close to Home	0=Not important; 1= Somewhat important; 2=Very important	1.12	.64	0	2
Mother's Aspiration for Youth to Attend College	0=No; 1=Yes	85.12%	.35	0	1
College Entrance Information: Family	0=No; 1=Yes	71.78%	.45	0	1
Intergenerational Closure	0=neither youth, nor the parents knew any of their friend's parents; 6=youth and their parents knew all of their friend's parents	3.30	2.00	0	6
<i>Individual, Family and Neighborhood Characteristics</i>					
Male		50.27%			
Asian, Hawaiian or Pacific Islander		35.21%			
Black, non-Hispanic		6.19%			
Hispanic		36.25%			
White, non-Hispanic		15.70%			
Mother's Educational Level	1=Did not finish high school; 2=Graduated from high school or GED; 3=Attended 2-year school, no degree; 4=Graduated from 2-year school; 5=Attended college, no 4-year degree; 6=Graduated from college; 7=Completed Master's degree; 8=Completed PhD, MD, advanced degree	25.47% 22.45% 7.38% 8.97% 8.60% 20.38% 5.37% 2.38%	2.10	1	8
Annual Family Income	13 categories that increase in \$5,000 increments; 1=None; 2=\$1,000 or less; 3=\$1,001-\$5,000;	8.66	2.50	1	13

8=\$200,001 or more

Variable Name	Metric	M / %	SD	Min	Max
Household Composition		3.59	1.50	1	6
Neighborhood Disadvantage		.00	2.40	-3.80	10.50
Community Integration	0=Neighborhood “just a place to live”; 1=Feel they are “a part of the community	64.96%	.47	0	1
<i>Education, Work and Family Patterns Measured in Early Adulthood (Ages 19-22, 2006)</i>					
Early Adulthood Enrollment and Work Pattern	1=Working for pay, not enrolled; 2=Enrolled, not working for pay; 3=Working for pay and enrolled; 4=Neither working for pay nor enrolled	1.85	1.10	1	4
On-Time High School Graduation	0=No; 1=Yes	14.00% 85.92%	.34	0	1
Living Arrangements	0=Living with others (reference category); 1=Living with parents; 2=Living with a spouse; 2= Living alone	14.70% 37.32% 29.32% 18.66%	.49	0	1
Having a Child	0=No; 1=Yes	5.83%	.23	0	1
<i>Outcome Variables Measured in Adulthood (Ages 25-28, 2012)</i>					
Educational Attainment	1=No HS credential, no PS attendance; 2=HS credential, no PS attendance; 3=Some PS attendance, no PS credential; 4=Undergraduate certificate; 5=Associates degree; 6=Bachelor’s degree; 7=Post-Baccalaureate certificate; 8=Master’s degree; 9=Doctoral degree	2.46% 6.49% 29.16% 9.10% 8.35% 33.11% 2.00% 7.53% 3.06%	1.90	1	9

Table 2

*Regression Analysis of Family and Neighborhood Context on Social Relationships: Family Domain*

	<i>Parent-Child Communication</i>	<i>Value Living Close to Home</i>	<i>Mother College Aspiration (1=yes)</i>	<i>College Info from Family (1=yes)</i>	<i>Intergenerational Closure</i>
<b>Variable</b>	Model 1 <i>B (SE)</i>	Model 2 <i>B (SE)</i>	Model 3 <i>OR (SE)</i>	Model 4 <i>OR (SE)</i>	Model 5 <i>OR (SE)</i>
Male	-.14 (.03)**	-.05 (.03)	.63 (.11)*	.73 (.11)*	.62 (.06)***
Asian	-.00 (.03)	-.03 (.04)	1.84 (.45)*	1.32 (.25)	.73 (.09)*
Black	.16 (.08)*	-.10 (.08)	1.32 (.68)	1.51 (.68)	.92 (.25)
White	.04 (.04)	-.09 (.06)	.86 (.25)	.82 (.19)	1.2 (.22)
Other	-.11 (.08)	-.13 (.06)	1.40 (.57)	1.00 (.30)	.96 (.21)
<b><i>Family Characteristics</i></b>					
Mother's Education	.02 (.00)*	-.02 (.00)*	.99 (.05)	1.10 (.05)	1.0 (.03)
Household Income	.00 (.00)	-.00 (.00)	1.00 (.04)	1.00 (.05)	.98 (.02)
# People Household	-.03 (.01)*	.04 (.01)*	.97 (.06)	1.01 (.05)	.96 (.03)
Parent Low English Fluency	-.08 (.05)	-.02 (.04)	.63 (.14)	.67 (.14)*	.75 (.10)*
<b><i>Neighborhood Context</i></b>					
Disadvantage Index	-.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.98 (.04)	1.00 (.03)	.95 (.02)
Community Integration	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)	1.12 (.22)	1.11 (.15)	1.5 (.02)***

<sup>†</sup>p<.10. \*p<.05. \*\*p<.01. \*\*\*p<.001

Table 3

*Logit Regression Analysis of Social Relationship on On-Time High School Graduation (odds ratio, N=1624)*

	Model 1 OR (SE)	Model 2 OR (SE)	Model 3 OR (SE)	Model 4 OR (SE)
<b><i>Individual Characteristics</i></b>				
Male	.59 (.08)**	.58 (.08)**	.58 (.10)*	.67 (.15)+
Asian	3.22 (.60)***	2.8 (.55)***	3.17 (.85)**	2.71 (.65)**
Black	2.00 (.65)*	1.51 (.56)	1.91 (1.1)	.88 (.65)
White	2.83 (.68)***	1.94 (.51)*	1.37 (.43)	1.06 (.41)
Other	1.42 (.40)	1.04 (.34)	1.01 (.41)	.88 (.38)
<b><i>Family Characteristics</i></b>				
Mother's Education		1.16 (.05)**	1.10 (.06)*	1.06 (.06)
Household Income		1.20 (.03)***	1.10 (.04)*	1.01 (.05)
# People in Household		.85 (.04)**	.86 (.05)*	.89 (.07)
Parent's Low English Fluency		.94 (.16)	.92 (.05)	1.02 (.28)
<b><i>Neighborhood Characteristics</i></b>				
Disadvantage Index			1.03 (.03)	.99 (.04)
Community Integration			1.52 (1.0)*	1.73 (.39)***
<b><i>Intensity and Quality of Family Relationships</i></b>				
Parent-Child Communication				2.73 (.72)***
Valuing Living Close to Home				.92 (.21)
Mother College Aspiration for Youth				1.44 (.37)
College Entrance Info from Family				1.72 (.60)
Intergenerational Closure				.98 (.05)

+p<.10. \*p<.05. \*\*p<.01. \*\*\*p<.00

Table 4

*Multinomial Logit Analysis of Social Relationships on Early Adulthood Education and Work Status in 2006: Family Domain (odds ratio, N=1624)*

Independent Variables	Working, not enrolled vs. Enrolled, not working <sup>1</sup>		Working and enrolled vs. Enrolled, not working <sup>1</sup>		Not working, not enrolled vs. Enrolled, not working <sup>1</sup>	
	Model 1 OR (SE)	Model 2 OR (SE)	Model 3 OR (SE)	Model 4 OR (SE)	Model 5 OR (SE)	Model 6 OR (SE)
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>						
Male	2.10 (.50)**	1.42 (.41)	.78 (.12)	.79 (.14)	1.55 (.50)	.91 (.37)
Asian <sup>2</sup>	.16 (.05)***	.31 (.11)*	.54 (.10)*	.63 (.13)*	.22 (.08)**	.22 (.10)**
Black <sup>2</sup>	.13 (.14)+	.05 (.00)	.85 (.35)	.81 (.36)	.02 (.00)	.00 (.00)
White <sup>2</sup>	.76 (.30)	.97 (.49)	.90 (.24)	1.00 (.31)	.39 (.22)	.38 (.26)
Other <sup>2</sup>	.63 (.31)	1.00 (.57)	.92 (.31)	1.00 (.38)	.03 (.00)	.00 (.00)
<b>Family Characteristics</b>						
Mother's Education	.78 (.05)**	.82 (.06)*	.94 (.04)	.94 (.04)	.71 (.07)**	.82 (.10)
Household Income	.77 (.04)***	.80 (.05)*	.92 (.03)*	.92 (.04)	.76 (.05)***	.74 (.06)***
# People in Household	1.32 (.10)**	1.10 (.11)	1.10 (.06)*	1.10 (.06)	1.41 (.16)**	1.30 (.18)*
Parent's Low English Fluency	1.10 (.10)	1.00 (.12)	1.10 (.07)	1.00 (.08)	1.30 (.16)	1.42 (.21)
<b>Neighborhood Characteristics</b>						
Disadvantage Index	1.00 (.05)	1.10 (.07)	1.0 (.04)	1.00 (.04)	.93 (.07)	.92 (.09)
Community Integration	.94 (.24)	.79 (.24)	.84 (.14)	.76 (.15)	.57 (.18)+	.51 (.21)
<b>Intensity and Quality of Family Relationships</b>						
Parent-Child Communication		.26 (.09)***		.74 (.15)		.30 (.13)**
Valuing Living Close to Home		1.73 (.48)*		1.00 (.17)		3.27 (1.3)**
Mother College Aspiration for Youth		.54 (.19)+		1.10 (.29)		.32 (.14)*
College Entrance Info from Family		.58 (.29)		1.0 (.23)		.69 (.32)
Intergenerational Closure		1.00 (.08)		1.0 (.04)		.93 (.10)

<sup>1</sup> Compared to young adults who were "Enrolled, Not Working"

<sup>2</sup> Compared to Hispanic young adults

+p<.10. \*p<.05. \*\*p<.01. \*\*\*p<.001

Table 5

*Ordinal Regression Analysis of Adulthood Educational Attainment by Social Relationships in Adolescence: Family Domain*  
(odds ratio, N=1624)

Independent Variables	Model 1 OR (SE)	Model 2 OR (SE)	Model 3 OR (SE)	Model 4 OR (SE)
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>				
Male	.64 (.06)***	.54 (.06)***	.62 (.07)***	.65 (.09)**
Asian <sup>1</sup>	3.00 (.35)***	2.67 (.40)***	2.67 (.42)*	1.75 (.30)*
Black <sup>1</sup>	2.81 (.54)***	2.52 (.78)**	1.92 (.62)*	.96 (.35)
White <sup>1</sup>	2.62 (.38)***	1.80 (.39)*	1.80 (.44)	1.49 (.36)
Other <sup>1</sup>	2.27 (.43)***	1.82 (.45)*	2.00 (.55)*	1.90 (.54)*
<b>Family Characteristics</b>				
Mother's Education		1.10 (.03)**	1.10 (.03)*	1.00 (.04)
Household Income		1.22 (.03)*	1.22 (.03)*	1.10 (.03)*
Number of People in Household		.86 (.03)*	.89 (.03)*	1.00 (.05)
Parent's Low English Fluency		1.22 (.18)	1.20 (.25)	1.31 (.25)
<b>Neighborhood Characteristics</b>				
Disadvantage Index		.95 (.02)	.96 (.02)	.97 (.03)
Community Integration		1.10 (.14)	1.10 (.16)	1.00 (.16)
<b>Intensity and Quality of Family Relationships</b>				
Parent-Child Communication			2.03 (.34)*	1.49 (.26)*
Valuing Living Close to Home			.82 (.09)	1.00 (.14)
Mother's Aspiration for College			1.44 (.28)	1.10 (.21)
College Info from Family			1.37 (.31)	1.00 (.22)
Intergenerational Closure			1.10 (.03)	1.00 (.03)
<b>Early Adulthood Education and Work Pattern</b>				
On-Time High School Graduation				2.97 (.88)*
Employed Only <sup>2</sup>				.11 (.03)*
Employed and Enrolled <sup>2</sup>				.92 (.04)
Unemployed and Not Enrolled <sup>2</sup>				.37 (.07)*
<b>Early Adulthood Family Pattern</b>				
Living with Parents <sup>3</sup>				.38 (.06)**
Living Alone <sup>3</sup>				.95 (.30)
Living with Spouse <sup>3</sup>				.19 (.11)*
Having a Child				.47 (.18)*

<sup>1</sup> Compared to Hispanic adults

<sup>2</sup> Compared to Enrolled Only <sup>3</sup> Compared to Living with Others

†p<.10. \*p<.05. \*\*p<.01. \*\*\*p<.001