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Abstract

The transition to adulthood of children of immigrants may differ from peers for socioeconomic (SES) and cultural reasons. The present study uses the Panel Study of Income Dynamics to compare a sample of contemporary immigrant and nonimmigrant adolescents completing high school in 2005-11 as they move into the young adult years. Participation in academic activities and higher achievement levels in secondary school as well as higher SES family background and greater parental educational expectations are associated with later successes. In spite of their initial disadvantages, results show that children of immigrants are integrated into American society, graduating high school, enrolling in college, and being gainfully occupied in work or in school, though they are also less likely to be self-sufficient.

Key words: Immigrants, youth, education, work, delinquency

Running Head: Immigrant Transitions to Adulthood

Based upon criteria that include finishing school, establishing a separate household, and working full time, the transition of youth into young adult roles and responsibilities has been lengthening. Reversing declines of the 1950s, the proportion of young men and women in their mid-20s living with their parents has increased over time; a quarter of white males and one-fifth of white females age 25 lived at home in 2007 (Settersten & Ray, 2010). This is partly due to increased time spent in postsecondary schooling. At the same time access to good jobs for those without higher education has been lowered by reductions in the manufacturing sector (Settersten & Ray, 2010). In 2005, 30% of young men 16 to 24 with only a high school degree were not in school, working, or in the military (Settersten & Ray, 2010). Increased schooling and limited work opportunities for non-college youth limit self-sufficiency.

Although transitions to adulthood have been an object of study for some time, they have been altered by a new set of circumstances: the increased fraction of young adults who come from immigrant families. In 2008 almost 30% of the 68 million young adults 18-34 were foreign born or had a foreign born parent (Passel, 2011). It is estimated that 6 million are here without documents. In addition, 17 million children under age 18 who are immigrants or children of immigrants will be transitioning to adulthood in the next 2 decades. Their transitions to adulthood differ from those of youth of nonimmigrant backgrounds for reasons that include wide disparities in parental human capital, family and neighborhood context, varied cultural traditions, different opportunities during the school years, and acculturation and citizenship (Rumbaut, 1996; Rumbaut & Komaie, 2011). As one example, men and women born in the US to foreign-born parents are more likely to live at home than those born to native-born parents (Berlin, Furstenberg & Waters, 2010). Increased heterogeneity of backgrounds leads to heterogeneity in pathways to adulthood.

Of the many potential pathways through the child and adolescent years, some have more potential for later success in the transition to adulthood than others (Nicholas, Stepick & Stepick, 2008). Successful lifestyle patterns include high academic achievement and involvement in sport. The increased part in our lives taken by electronic communications and by electronic diversions such as computer and video game play over physical play and social activities has also changed our expectations of appropriate activities and trajectories. It has made a third trajectory into adulthood possible – that of the development of electronic products and services.

Of course, the ability to participate in each of these tracks is not independent of one's family of origin and community of residence (Portes & Zhou, 1993; White & Glick, 2009). Some children grow up in families or communities with substantial financial, human, and social capital resources and, as a result, can assist their children through the difficult years. Finally, some parents have expectations that their children will succeed and push their children in any ways they can, regardless of resources.

Even so, some youth are limited by the lack of proper documents. It is estimated that some 6 million young adults are undocumented, most having arrived as children with parents who were not documented. In June 15, 2012, the Obama administration announced that immigrants under age 31 who arrived illegally as children (<16) and met certain conditions would be eligible for deferred consideration of their immigration status for up to two years and then would be eligible for work authorization. These include high school graduation or GED, honorable discharge from the armed forces, and no criminal record. Unknown was how many would be eligible for this new program of deferred action for childhood arrivals in the US.

<http://www.uscis.gov/childhoodarrivals>.

Studies of the high school to college transition have focused on cohorts coming of age in the 1990s. This study examines differences across immigrant generations in college enrollment, involvement in school or work, criminal activity, and self-sufficiency during the period from age 17 to 26 of a recent cohort of youth who completed high school during the period from 2005-2011. We compare first and second generation children of immigrant parents to those of nonimmigrant parents. Additionally, it examines which immigrant youth would be eligible for the deferred action program based upon their behavior if undocumented. Most research to date has focused on describing mainstream youth during these post-high school transitions. This research adds to the literature by focusing on immigrant youth. Additionally, no previous research has had the full socioeconomic background and school experiences of children of immigrant parents from childhood through high school. The present study takes advantage of recent national data first collected when children were in elementary school and subsequent follow-up interviews through high school into young adulthood, comparing them to nonimmigrant youth. Using a person-centered agentic approach it constructs pathways through the adolescent years based upon choice of activities, while also taking achievement into account. Finally, the study examines whether achievement, family background, and cultural factors mediate the influence of immigrant generation on transitions to young adulthood.

Background

Explanations for the Success of Children of Immigrants

With the exception of some Asian immigrants, most immigrant families exhibit substantial economic and educational disadvantage compared to native families (Brandon, 1999; Hofferth, 1999). Once differences in socioeconomic background are controlled, children of immigrants have been shown to perform better academically than children whose parents were

not immigrants (Fuligni, 1997; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Sastry & Pebley, 2010) and this appears to be stronger in recent compared to earlier cohorts of children (White & Glick, 2009).

Considerable research has been conducted since this paradox was first documented, yet it is still not well understood. Some argue that the positive academic attainments of children of immigrants are due to immigrant parental efforts or “optimism” that fuel their achievement compared to children of nonimmigrants (Kao & Tienda, 1995). Immigrant families have been shown to be somewhat better off than others in their home country before coming to the United States (Akresh & Frank, 2008; Crosnoe & Turley, 2011). Parental beliefs and values favoring higher education or focusing on hard work rather than social skills could explain greater achievement in first and second compared with later generation children (Glick, Bates & Yabiku, 2009).

In addition, experiences during the school years are likely associated with later success. Recent research suggests that immigrants, particularly those from Mexico, experience an initial disadvantage in readiness for school (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011), a gap that diminishes over the elementary school years (Glick & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007) such that, by high school, immigrant students are advantaged in achievement over their nonimmigrant peers (Fuligni, 1997; Kao & Tienda, 1995). There are several potential factors related to the apparent catch-up among immigrant children. First, they appear to have fewer behavior problems; their behavior is not as rated as problematic by teachers as that of children of third and higher generation parents (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011). This may improve their chance of learning, their grades, and their chance of getting help from adults when needed. In addition, they may select pathways through school that increase their chances of successfully graduating high school and entering college.

These pathways include involvement in extracurricular activities such as sports, studying hard and excelling at their studies, or becoming proficient using computers.

Different Life style Pathways through School

Nicholas and colleagues (Nicholas et al., 2008) propose three groups - constant motivated achievers, persistent strivers, and late bloomers - in describing pathways through school. The first has a strong focus on educational goals and academic achievement. The second group strives but has difficulties with the academic route and has to find another route to success. The third group comes later to success. The results suggest that an early focus on academic achievement is one of the potential pathways to success for immigrants as it has been for the native born. For those for whom academic achievement is not an option, however, alternative pathways need to be found. One such pathway is the social route, through involvement with peers or in the local ethnic community. Family integration into their ethnic community could benefit the child's later achievement (Kroneberg, 2008). Sports can integrate a student both into a community and provide important skills for future success. Parents particularly show an interest in teamwork, in learning to work with others, in physical fitness, and in developing skills that may result in college scholarships (Hofferth, Kinney & Dunn, 2009). Youth who can build ties to other adults than parents wind up better off than those whose ties are restricted to home and family. These ties provide both important supports and mentoring but also ties to the labor market through social networks (Settersten & Ray, 2010). Finally, many immigrant children assist in the work of the family, by caring for younger siblings or doing other types of household chores while the parents engage in paid work (Fuligni & Pederson, 2002).

Relationship between out of school activities and school success

Multiple studies have linked extracurricular activity participation such as academic clubs to higher academic success (Eccles & Barber, 1999) through reinforcement of academic goals. Students who were involved in extracurricular sports activities also had higher math test scores and significantly lower rates of dropping out (Glick & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007; McNeal, 1995). Students who were involved in extracurricular activities were believed to be better integrated into their school and more involved with other students and their adult mentors (Larson, 1994). Student integration into the school has been shown to be related to a lower chance of dropping out and to a lower chance of criminal activity. All these studies have focused on extracurricular activities to the exclusion of informal activities in which children engage at home, such as studying, television viewing, and household work; children of immigrants have been shown to participate less in formal activities than children of native-born parents so their activities may not be taken into account (Simpkins, Delgado, Price, Quach & Starbuck, 2012). No studies have included video games and computer use as significant activities. Given the major increases in the last decade, it becomes increasingly important to include electronic media as a potential avenue for success. After all, Bill Gates and Steve Jobs did not become successful as a result of their academic achievements.

Social capital and school success

Another potential explanation for greater success is that of social capital. Parents provide social capital through linkages to employment and employers and through having two parents at home (Coleman, 1988). Besides monitoring and supervision of students, social capital provides information on opportunities in the work force. Immigrants benefit from more stable families and access to community resources.

Thus multiple avenues lead to youth success. An individual health lifestyle approach provides an integrated ways of understanding the behavior of youth (Cockerham, 2005). These are determined in the present study through examining the combination of formal and informal activities in which young people spend their non-school time.

Relationship between culture and school success

Substantial research supports parental expectations as key to children's success. Parents establish expectations that they communicate to their children, they provide resources (SES), and they demonstrate through their own life styles (occupation, activities) what activities are important. They also communicate cultural values through ethnic foods and customs and model language skills in English or another language. Because of these educational and cultural differences, they may encourage or discourage involvement in certain types of extracurricular activities, and may need to provide materials that help continue in those activities (e.g., transportation, fees, uniforms, computers, video games, etc.). It is likely that class, capital, and culture together influence the success of children of immigrants (Glick, 2010; Quintana, 2006), but their joint effects have not been documented.

Relationship between gender, health, and school success

It is important to control for two characteristics of children: gender and health. Compared with boys, girls receive better grades (Fuligni, 1997), are more likely to graduate high school (82.5% of female vs. 78.1% of male 18-21 year olds), and are more likely to enroll in college immediately after high school (74% vs. 66% of 16-24 year olds who graduated high school in the previous year) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Boys and girls take make different activity choices in their high school years, which may impact their educational opportunities (Crosnoe & Trinitapoli, 2008). Finally, a child who has health problems may have more

difficulty reaching his or her potential. We use birth weight as an indicator of the underlying health of the child (McCormick, Workman-Daniels & Brooks-Gunn, 1996).

Hypotheses

Our model is shown in Figure 1. We hypothesize that immigrant generation will be associated with young adult outcomes – high school graduation, college attendance, involvement in school or work, noninvolvement in criminal activity, and self-sufficiency. Our primary interest lies in examining whether activity life styles and cognitive achievement help explain differences in high school completion and post high school involvement in school and work. We are also interested in the contributions of family SES background, social capital, and culture to explaining generational differences in young adult outcomes. We hypothesize:

1. Children of immigrants will be more likely to successfully enter college, work or study, less likely to have a criminal record, and more likely to be self-sufficient than children of nonimmigrants.
2. Children who specialize in activities related to academic life – through reading, studying, electronic gaming, and less time watching TV – will have a higher likelihood of enrolling in college.
3. Children who are involved in sports and social activities will be less likely to enroll in college and more likely to be self-sufficient. They will be more likely to engage in criminal activity.
4. High test scores on reading comprehension or applied problems will be associated with a greater likelihood of enrolling in college and a lower likelihood of being self-sufficient.

5. Generational differences in young adult outcomes will be partially explained by family SES, social capital, and cultural differences.

Data and Methods

Data

The current study draws upon data through 2011 from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), a longitudinal ongoing survey gathering detailed socioeconomic and demographic data from individuals since 1968. The PSID is a representative sample of U.S. families (Fitzgerald, Gottschalk & Moffitt, 1998). In 1997, the PSID added a refresher sample of 441 immigrant families, conducting interviews in Spanish, English, and other languages. Either the head or wife or their parents had to have arrived in the United States after 1968, when the first wave of the PSID was collected. Also in 1997, the PSID inaugurated the first Child Development Supplement (CDS I), which was administered to the primary caregivers of children aged 0-12 and up to two of their children were assessed using standardized assessments. Interviews were conducted in the preferred language of the parent respondent and assessments were conducted in either English or Spanish. The first wave of the CDS included 3,563 children from 2,380 families, with a response rate of 88%. These same families were recontacted approximately 5 years later. In the second wave (CDS II), conducted in 2002 and 2003, 2,907 out of 3,191 eligible children and adolescents aged 5-18 completed interviews; this represented a response rate of 91%. All children who had reached age 18 and who had completed high school were interviewed for a study of the Transition into Adulthood (TA) in 2005, 2007, 2009, and 2011. This instrument collected information on the current activities and well-being of the young adults and was used to determine the outcomes of the transition to adulthood.

Unfortunately, from a total sample of 610 immigrant children first interviewed in 1997 or 2002, only a fraction had reached age 18 by the 2011 TA interview.

This study focuses upon 143 first-generation (1.5 generation) and second-generation children under age 13 and their families added to the study in 1997 and 160 comparison children chosen from the core, all of whom were followed from childhood into young adulthood and were interviewed as part of the transition to adulthood study. The comparison group consists of all families of Hispanic and Asian origin who were in the main sample and a random sample of the remaining families of all race-ethnicities, mainly native White and Black families. Random sampling on the control group does not alter the findings but was used to maintain comparable sample sizes and precision of estimates in immigrant and nonimmigrant groups (Szklo & Nieto, 2007). The majority of the Hispanic families (74 percent) were from Mexico and we refer to all as Latinos. We used data from both the 1997 and 2003 waves to maximize the information available on the children. Pooling across the two waves maximized the number of immigrant children we were able to include and reduced potential selection bias. We included only those children who had time diary information (81%), which reduced the sample size. And after selecting only biological, step-, or adopted children, or grandson or daughter of the head of household; there were 303 total children remaining in the final sample.

Young Adult Outcomes

From the Transition to adulthood supplement we include 5 indicators of attainment of adult status: 1) whether the youth had graduated from high school, 2) whether the youth was enrolled in college, 3) whether the youth has been arrested, 4) whether the youth was employed or in school, and 5) the extent to which the youth was self-sufficient. This last is a continuous indicator of the level of self-sufficiency of the youth based upon four questions that ask about the

extent of personal responsibility for making a living, paying the rent, paying the bills, and managing money. The response categories are: 1 = somebody else does this for me all of the time, somebody else does this for me some of the time, 3 = I do this half of the time, 4= I do this most of the time, and 5= I am completely responsible for this all of the time.

Children's Activity Time.

In each year in which the Child Development Supplement was administered, the study collected diaries on the type, duration, and location of children's activities. Two time diaries were collected, one for a randomly chosen week day and one for a randomly chosen weekend day. The time diary was completed by the parents of young children, or by the parents and child together in the case of older children and adolescents, as a 24-hour record of children's activities, the start and end-times for these activities, the people who accompanied the child, and the location of the activities. The time diaries began at midnight on one randomly chosen week day and one randomly chosen weekend day. Excluding secondary activities, the total hours per child for each time diary amounted to 24.

Tallies for the total time children spent on computer games and video games were drawn from time spent on a set of computer-related activities and video game play that occurred at home. Other computer-related activities accounted for little of the time spent (e.g., web surfing, email, and shopping) (Hofferth & Moon, 2011). Television viewing was children's most frequent extracurricular activity. Children's reading time included time spent reading books, newspapers, magazines, or online material, as long as this reading was not for homework, but rather for pleasure (Hofferth & Moon, 2011). The time spent on study and homework, either using the computer or not, was categorized as a child's study time. Time spent on household chores included indoor activities such as setting the table, doing dishes, or making beds, and

outdoor chores such as weeding or trash cleanup. Visiting time included socializing with people other than the child's own household members both at home and at places other than the child's home (e.g. at a party). Time spent on sports included lessons, practices, and sports matches such as football, baseball, and gymnastics in which the child participated. Music included time spent playing, practicing, or taking lessons in a musical instrument or voice. In sum, the following eight children's activities were used for outcome analysis: computer and video game play, television viewing, reading, studying, household work, visiting, sports participation, and music lessons. To estimate the total time spent per week on each of these activities (in hours), the total weekday time was multiplied by 5, and added to the total weekend time multiplied by 2.

In order to identify the particular pathway children took through school, we conducted a latent class analysis of children's activity participation by gender, adjusted for age. All of our analyses showed differences in the types of activities in which boys and girls engage; we constrained the latent activity groups to be similar but allowed the probability of being in each group to differ by gender. We divided time in each of the activities into no participation, and some participation. We tested models with 3 to 5 latent classes. The 3 class model was selected based on parsimony and improvement in fit and the small size of the sample.

Cognitive Achievement.

Children's cognitive achievement was measured using two subsets of the Woodcock-Johnson Revised Test: passage comprehension, a test that measures reading comprehension skills; and applied problems, a test of skill in analyzing and solving practical numerical problems (Woodcock & Mather, 1989). The interviewers were trained and provided with the materials needed to administer this standardized test in the target child's home. The scores of the tests were standardized by child's age, with a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 15. Children 3

and older were eligible for the applied problems subtest, and children 6 and older were eligible for passage comprehension subtest.

Generation

First generation children were born outside the U.S. to foreign born parents, second generation children were born in the U.S. to at least one foreign-born parent, and third generation children were born in the U.S. to U.S.-born parents. All first generation children in our study arrived prior to age 13, often referred to as the 1.5 generation because of their similarity to the second generation. Generation was determined by questions that asked where each of the child's parents and grandparents was born and where each child was born. Families were identified by in-person household screening in areas of high immigrant concentrations (Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1999). A screener was used to establish the birthplace of each respondent and each respondent's parents so that country of origin as well as race-ethnicity is known. To be eligible for the refresher sample, a family had to have had a family member immigrate to the United States after 1968.

Background Variables

Individual Characteristics. Individual characteristics that might influence the child's achievement were used as control variables. Individual characteristics included child's gender and age. Child gender was coded as 0 for boy and 1 for girl. Children's age was included as a continuous variable in terms of years of age, ranging from 5 to 18. Birthweight is the continuous measure of child weight at birth in pounds.

Socioeconomic status. Family SES includes parental education, family income, and family size. Parental education was determined primarily according to mother's education, but father's education was used in the case of single father families. Children of parents who had

completed high school and children of parents with some college education or more were compared with children of parents who had less than a high school education. Poverty ratio is the ratio of household income to the needs standard for a family of that size and composition.

Family size is the number of children in the household.

Social Capital. In this study social capital variables are represented by family structure and parental employment, combined into four categories: (1) two working parents (the comparison category), (2) one or no working parents in a two-parent family, and (3) a single parent (working or not).

Culture

Expectation for Child's Schooling. The child's parent was asked how much schooling he or she expected that the child would complete; responses included high school graduation, some college, college graduation, and graduate or professional degree. This was coded into two dummy variables: (1) obtain a college degree or more versus (0) not complete a college degree and (2) complete some college versus (0) not complete any college. The omitted category is complete high school or less.

English Proficiency. English proficiency is the average of one parent's rating of their reading and writing skills in English. Items are "How well do you read newspapers and books in English?" and "How well do you write letters in English?" Answers were coded 1=not at all, 2=a little, 3=some, 4=well, and 5=very well. Here the preferred parent was the mother, but the father was used if the mother's English proficiency was missing or the parent was a single father.

Race-ethnicity. Dummy variables were created for each racial-ethnic group, and in this study Black, Latino, and Asian groups were compared to those of European background or White, unspecified. Race was determined by the race-ethnicity of the child in the household

reported by the primary caregiver. If that was not available, the ethnicity was determined by information on the household head. In 2 cases there was a discrepancy between race-ethnicity of parent and child; the race-ethnicity of parent was selected; these may have been adopted children and the background of parent was of more importance to our analyses.

Analysis Plan

For the PSID-CDS data we first show means of background variables and activities by generation (Table 1). The results of the latent class analysis are presented in Table 2. A multinomial logistic model shows the association between background characteristics and the latent activity classes (Table 3). In the multivariate analysis (Tables 4 and 5), young adulthood outcomes - some college, working or in school, had been arrested, and whether would be eligible for deferred action if undocumented, and self-sufficiency – are regressed on the mediators - activity patterns and academic achievement (Models 1-2) in a hierarchical manner. As variables are added, the size and significance of coefficients of activity, achievement and generation are examined. A decline in a coefficient suggests that the added variables “explain” or mediate some of its association with the outcome. Model 3 adds the main independent variable, generation. Model 4 adds child characteristics, family SES, and social capital. Model 5 adds culture – race-ethnicity, educational expectations, and language use at home. Robust standard errors that adjust for multiple children in a family were used to calculate significance levels.

Results

Descriptive Results

Table 1 presents the characteristics of the sample by generation. The ages of the young adults are similar across the three generations, with 96-97% age 17 to 21 and only 3-4% age 22

to 26. Most had finished high school - 97% of the first, 92% of the second and 88% of the third generation. First generation immigrant children were more likely than the third generation to currently be in college (77% compared to 56%) and more likely to ever have attended college (90%, compared to 70%). Only 5% of the first generation was not working or studying, compared with 22% of the third. Almost all of the first generation children (95%) would be eligible for the Dream Act, if undocumented. This is because only a small fraction of first generation youth (5%) had a criminal record compared with a sizeable fraction (26%) of the third generation. Few had been in the military (3%, not shown). Finally, the difference in self-sufficiency across generations is small.

Children of immigrants are more disadvantaged than children of nonimmigrants; their parents were more likely to have completed less than a high school education, their family incomes were lower, and family size was larger. With regard to social capital, children of immigrants were more likely to have two parents, but also were more likely to have only one parent working than children of native-born parents.

Immigrant children's parents' educational expectation were very high; 85% of parents of first generation and 69% of parents of second generation children expected them to complete college, compared with 57% of parents of third generation children. Parental English proficiency was lower among children of immigrants. Finally, as expected, first and second generation immigrant children were likely to be of Latino and Asian origin.

Activities differed across generations; first generation immigrant children spent less time playing video games and more time watching television and studying than nonimmigrant children. Second generation children spent more time studying and less time playing sports than

nonimmigrant children. Second generation immigrant children demonstrated lower achievement than third generation children, but first generation immigrant children did not.

Latent Class Analysis of Activities

Table 2 shows the results of the latent class analysis of activities. Using 8 activities, children can be grouped into 3 latent groups or pathways, which we have labeled as 1) home and family, 2) academic, and 3) sports and visiting. These activity classes are based upon an LCA in which activities were allowed to vary by gender, and age of child was included as a covariate. Children in group 1 participate at high levels in household work and television viewing; they also spend time studying but participation in other activities is low. Children in group 2 are characterized by a high probability of playing games (boys), reading, and studying, and a low probability of watching television. This is consistent with research that has found a positive association of computer game use with other achievement-oriented activities (Hofferth & Moon, 2011). Children in group 3 have a high probability of playing sports (boys) and visiting (girls). Among boys, 34% were in the home and family class, 10% were in the academic class, and 57% were in the sports and visiting group. Among girls, 63% were in the home and family class, 4% were in the academic class, and 33% were in sports and visiting.

Multinomial Logistic Analysis of Activity Class

Children were assigned to the most likely class based upon their activities. We first examined which variables link to this activity classification. Generation is important. Second generation immigrant children were marginally more likely than third generation children to be in the academic compared with the home class once background variables were controlled (Table 3). Older children and girls were less likely to be in the academic class than younger children

and boys. Parental education was consistently important. Children whose parents had completed some college or more were more likely to be in the academic class compared with the home class. Generation was no longer significantly related to being in the academic group after parental expectations, race-ethnicity, and language were added.

Immigrant generation was not linked to children being in the sports-social class. Not surprisingly, girls were less likely to be in the sports-social class than in the home class. Education of parents continued to be important in distinguishing sports participants from others. Children whose parents had completed high school but had not attended college, were more likely to be in the sports-social class than in the home class.

Relationship between activities, achievement, immigrant generation and young adult outcomes

Table 4 reports the results of regressing young adult outcomes on activities, achievement, immigrant status, and background variables.

High School Graduation. Being in the sports-social class was associated with a marginally lower probability of high school graduation, compared with being in the home class (Model 1). The academic group was neither more nor less likely to graduate. As expected, high reading comprehension was linked to a greater chance of graduating from high school. Once academic achievement was included in the model (2), the specific activity pattern was not related to high school graduation. In Model 3, first generation students were marginally more likely to graduate, and second generation students were significantly more likely to graduate than third and later generation students.

Of the background factors, parent education was linked to a greater likelihood of graduation. Having a higher ratio of income to the poverty line was associated with a marginally higher chance of graduating. Generation retained a significant association with graduation in this

model (4). After cultural values were added (Model 5), the coefficients for generation were no longer significant. The parental expectation that the child would complete college was associated with a significantly higher chance of high school graduation.

College enrollment. Youth who were on the academic path were almost 5 times as likely to be enrolled in college as those on the home path. Not surprisingly, the most important variable linked to college attendance was the child's reading comprehension test score. This remained significant after all controls were added to the model. Including achievement reduced the odds ratio of the academic pathway to about 3, and it was no longer significant, suggesting that the academic pathway was at least partially due to the higher achievement of those on this path. However, after immigrant generation was added to the model (3), the coefficient of the academic path was marginally significant, indicating that the academic path continued to explain some of the variation in college enrollment. The coefficient once again dropped to nonsignificance with the addition of family background variables.

From our initial tabulations, 77% of first, 64% of second, and 56% of third generation youth were enrolled in college at the time of interview. Immigrant generation remained a critical factor linked to college matriculation in the multivariate models. Even after controlling for family background – SES and other factors – first and second generation youth were more likely to be enrolled in college than those of the 3rd or later generations. Once race, parental educational expectations, and language proficiency were included, generation was no longer significantly linked to college entrance; its OR was substantially reduced for immigrant children.

Criminal history. Being on the sports and social path was associated with a marginally higher likelihood of having a criminal record (Model 1) but being on the academic path had no significant association. The association with sport-social class declined with the addition of

controls (Model 2). First and second generation children have a lower chance of having a criminal record (Model 3). Generation remains significantly associated with criminal record with background variables included, but once cultural variables are added these associations decline to nonsignificance. Girls are consistently less likely to have a criminal record.

Working or Studying. Types of extracurricular activities before graduation were not associated with whether the youth is working or studying as a young adult. Reading comprehension score was associated with a greater chance of working or studying. First and second generation immigrants were more likely to be working or studying, an association that becomes stronger once SES and other background variables were controlled (Model 4). Family structure and employment were associated with whether the youth was gainfully occupied. Youth growing up in a two-parent family in which only one or neither parent was employed were less likely to be gainfully occupied as young adults. After cultural variables were added in model 5, the generational association became insignificant.

Self-Sufficiency. Children who were in the academic path in school scored significantly lower on the self-sufficiency index than children who were on the home and family pathway (Table 5). These youth were most likely still enrolled in school; earlier results showed that children on the academic path were more likely to be enrolled in college. After adding academic achievement, the academic path coefficient declined slightly but remained significant. Adding immigrant generation in Model 3 did not alter the size of coefficients but the applied problem test score became statistically significant. Children from immigrant families were less likely to be self-sufficient than those from nonimmigrant families. Adding controls for background factors reduced slightly the influence of academic pathway and increased the impact of

immigrant generation. Self-sufficiency was lower for first and second generation children, children from higher income families (marginal), and children from smaller families.

Finally, in Model 5 cultural values and expectations were added. Children of parents who held high educational expectations had marginally lower levels of self-sufficiency and those whose parents were more English proficient had lower self-sufficiency scores. Finally, children from Latino and Asian families tended to be less self-sufficient. When these variables were added to the model, the generation variables are no longer significant. Again, this suggests that much of the influence of generation operates through culture and expectations.

We conducted additional analyses separately for boys and girls. The results for boys were the same as for the entire sample. For girls, in addition to the negative association of academic class with self-sufficiency, there was a positive and significant association of being in the sports and social class with self-sufficiency (not shown).

Discussion

This paper has compared factors related to the transition to adulthood for first (1.5) and second generation immigrant children compared with third and later generation children. The results clearly support the argument that youth who arrived as children without documents deserve a pathway to citizenship. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, the results indicate that children of immigrants are completing high school and attending college at high rates, and have both a very low probability of having a criminal record and a high probability of being gainfully occupied compared with children of nonimmigrants. Because they are highly likely to be enrolled in school and because of strong family ties, however, they are *less rather than more* self-sufficient; this result is not surprising in light of the average age of the sample of 19 years.

Where do children's activity pathways through school fit in this puzzle? Using diaries of children's activities over two days of a week during their childhood, we developed three latent paths – home and family, academic, and sports and social. The academic pathway was linked to later college enrollment. Thus Hypothesis 2, linking academic activities in secondary school and post-secondary enrollment, was supported. The sport-social pathway, in contrast, was linked to a lower chance of graduating high school and a higher chance of criminal activity across boys and girls; however, the sports-social pathway was linked to a higher score on the self-sufficiency scale for girls. Because the sports and social pathway, compared with the home-based pathway, was only marginally linked to academic outcomes and was strongly linked to later self-sufficiency only for girls, Hypothesis 3 was only marginally supported.

As hypothesized in Hypothesis 4, reading comprehension was consistently related to later outcomes. Insofar as the academic pathway was shown to be linked to higher test scores, the academic pathway is indirectly linked to success later on. Because activities and test scores were measured at the same time points, it was not possible to disentangle causality.

Finally, Hypothesis 5 was supported. Generational differences remained significant until cultural variables – race-ethnicity, parental educational expectations, and English proficiency were added to the models. Parental educational expectation was the key cultural mediator for high school graduation (positive) and criminal record (negative). For self-sufficiency, in contrast, race-ethnicity and English proficiency were the important mediators. Children of Asian and Latino background were less self-sufficient; however, those from families with greater English proficiency were also less self-sufficient, probably because they were enrolled in school.

Limitations of the Study

A number of study limitations should be recognized. First, these outcomes were measured soon after youth left high school. More time needs to pass before measuring the well-being of these young adults. Second, the sample is small; again, as more immigrant youth transition to adulthood, the size of the group will increase. Third, we captured children's activities over two days in an average week. Capturing activities over several years would provide a richer characterization of children's activities. For all these reasons, the results are suggestive rather than definitive. However, data limitations are outweighed by its national coverage, the representations of children of Latino and Asian backgrounds, and the extensive nature of data on the children, obtained concurrently from childhood into young adulthood.

Conclusions

One of the important objectives of this study was to examine the part played by culture in young adult outcomes for children of immigrants. Based upon the indicators we had – race-ethnicity, parental educational expectations, and English language proficiency - we show that culture does explain quite a bit of the generational difference. Once these variables were included in the model, generation was no longer significant. Because of the small sample size we were unable to include specific aspects of culture such as values and preferences other than educational expectations, but we see that educational expectations are quite powerful. Parental background influences both activity pathways and test scores; these, in turn plus parental expectations for children's education are important determinants of college enrollment. To the extent that they are able to complete college and those who are undocumented are able to work legally, immigrant youth are well-prepared to make significant contributions to American society in the coming decade.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for All Variables by Generation

Variables	1st generation				2nd generation				3rd generation		
	N	Mean/%	Std	vs. 3rd	N	Mean/%	Std	vs. 3rd	N	Mean/%	Std
Young Adult (17-26)											
Girl	39	54%	0.51		104	61%	0.49	*	160	46%	0.50
Child age	39	19.03	1.16		104	18.96	1.03	*	160	19.29	1.36
Age 17-21	39	97%	0.16		104	97%	0.17		160	96%	0.21
Age 22-26	39	3%	0.16		104	3%	0.17		160	4%	0.21
Graduated HS	39	95%	0.22	**	104	91%	0.28	*	160	82%	0.39
Currently in college	39	77%	0.43	*	104	64%	0.48		160	56%	0.50
Working or studying	39	95%	0.22	***	104	83%	0.38		160	78%	0.41
Ever criminal record	39	5%	0.22	***	104	10%	0.30	***	160	26%	0.44
Self-sufficient	39	12.26	3.93		104	12.09	4.47	+	160	13.06	4.22
Family Background/SES											
Parent education											
less than high school	39	59%	0.50	***	104	61%	0.49	***	160	20%	0.40
high school	39	3%	0.16	***	104	19%	0.40	*	160	33%	0.47
some college or more	39	38%	0.49		104	20%	0.40	***	160	48%	0.50
Income/poverty ratio	39	2.00	1.45	***	104	2.53	2.28	**	160	3.38	2.57
Number of children in the HH	39	2.62	1.29	+	104	2.61	1.33	*	160	2.27	1.04
Social Capital											
Family structure											
two parent working	39	36%	0.49		104	40%	0.49		160	49%	0.50
one or neither parent working	39	51%	0.51	***	104	46%	0.50	***	160	24%	0.43
single parent family	39	13%	0.34	+	104	13%	0.34	**	160	27%	0.44
Culture											
Race/ethnicity											
White	39	10%	0.31	***	104	6%	0.23	***	160	45%	0.50
Black	39	0%	0.00	***	104	7%	0.25	***	160	36%	0.48
Latino	39	69%	0.47	***	104	71%	0.46	***	160	18%	0.39
Asian	39	21%	0.41	**	104	16%	0.37	***	160	1%	0.11
Parent expectation for child's education											
4-year college or more	39	85%	0.37	***	104	69%	0.46	*	160	57%	0.50
Parent English proficiency	39	2.24	1.56	***	104	2.80	1.58	***	160	5.00	0.00
Mediators											
Child Activities (Weekly hours)											
Video games	39	1.05	2.43	*	104	1.63	3.86		160	2.49	5.77
Computer games	39	0.74	2.51		104	0.99	4.57		160	0.91	3.84
Television	39	21.41	15.36	**	104	13.40	9.17		160	13.95	10.85
Visiting	39	2.91	5.61		104	2.55	5.06		160	3.02	6.27
Read	39	0.96	2.04		104	1.32	2.67		160	0.88	2.01
Study	39	5.93	5.98	*	104	6.42	7.69	***	160	3.30	4.45
Household work	39	3.50	4.77		104	2.90	3.93		160	2.61	3.42
Sports	39	2.33	4.28		104	2.32	4.32	*	160	3.69	6.47
Music	39	0.31	1.16		104	0.40	1.77		160	0.39	1.37
Academic achievement											
Passage comprehension	34	101.41	13.00		93	98.62	14.06	**	148	104.54	14.86
Applied problems	34	104.18	17.72		92	102.02	17.54	*	149	107.78	17.62

*** p< .001, ** p< .01, * p< .05, + p<.10 two-tailed test

	Baseline model with 3 classes ^a			Measurement invariance ^b			No measurement invariance ^c						
	All children			All children			Boys			Girls			
	1	2	3	Group	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
	Class Membership Probabilities												
	0.41	0.09	0.50	Boy	0.31	0.13	0.55	0.34	0.10	0.57			
				Girl	0.96	0.04	0.00				0.63	0.04	0.33
Item Response Probabilities													
Non-activity													
Games	0.88	0.73	0.76		0.95	0.58	0.54	0.84	0.62	0.57	0.92	0.99	0.95
Reading	0.86	0.25	0.88		0.84	0.09	0.99	0.88	0.07	0.93	0.79	0.14	0.93
Study	0.32	0.20	0.46		0.36	0.25	0.46	0.36	0.33	0.45	0.17	0.19	0.70
Household work	0.15	0.84	0.94		0.54	0.80	0.72	0.26	0.81	0.86	0.48	0.97	0.68
TV	0.09	0.65	0.13		0.11	0.50	0.16	0.09	0.67	0.17	0.12	0.91	0.05
Visiting	0.88	0.90	0.87		0.85	0.95	0.91	0.87	0.94	0.91	1.00	0.66	0.62
Sports	0.80	0.76	0.77		0.85	0.66	0.66	0.74	0.60	0.70	0.81	0.99	0.91
Music	0.89	0.72	1.00		0.92	0.79	0.99	0.92	0.67	1.00	0.88	0.99	1.00
Any activity													
Games	0.12	0.27	0.24		0.05	0.42	0.46	0.16	0.38	0.43	0.08	0.01	0.05
Reading	0.14	0.75	0.12		0.16	0.91	0.01	0.12	0.93	0.07	0.21	0.86	0.08
Study	0.68	0.80	0.54		0.64	0.75	0.54	0.64	0.67	0.56	0.83	0.81	0.30
Household work	0.85	0.16	0.06		0.46	0.21	0.28	0.74	0.19	0.14	0.52	0.03	0.32
TV	0.91	0.35	0.87		0.89	0.50	0.84	0.91	0.33	0.83	0.88	0.09	0.95
Visiting	0.12	0.10	0.13		0.15	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.06	0.09	0.00	0.34	0.38
Sports	0.20	0.24	0.23		0.15	0.34	0.34	0.26	0.40	0.30	0.19	0.01	0.09
Music	0.11	0.28	0.00		0.08	0.21	0.01	0.08	0.33	0.00	0.12	0.01	0.00
Covariate of Child Age													
B	-	-0.10	0.07	Boy	-	-0.08	0.06	-	-0.09	0.09			
Odd ratio	-	0.90	1.07		-	0.93	1.06	-	0.92	1.09			
				Girl	-	0.09	0.03				-	-0.19	-0.07
					-	1.10	1.03				-	0.82	0.93

^a A baseline latent class model with three classes with covariate of child age.

^b Adding child's sex as a grouping variable, all parameters constrained to be equal across the variable of child's sex.

^c Adding child's sex as a grouping variable, all parameters freely estimated across the variable of child's sex.

Table 3. Multinomial Logistic Regression^a, All

Variables	Academic												Sports/social											
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR
Constant	-1.81	0.31	***		-0.94	2.03			1.82	2.98			0.00	0.17			0.80	0.91			1.75	1.25		
Immigrant Generation (3rd generation)																								
1st generation	-1.03	1.07	0.36		0.46	1.23	1.59		-0.61	1.48	0.54		0.06	0.38	1.06		0.38	0.46	1.47		0.52	0.64	1.68	
2nd generation	-0.27	0.51	0.76		1.26	0.69	+ 3.53		0.38	0.99	1.46		-0.41	0.27	0.66		-0.01	0.34	0.99		0.16	0.49	1.17	
Child age (age 5-18)					-0.31	0.12	* 0.73		-0.33	0.13	** 0.72						-0.01	0.05	0.99		-0.01	0.05	0.99	
Girls					-1.65	0.58	** 0.19		-1.52	0.60	* 0.22						-1.45	0.27	** 0.24		-1.47	0.28	** 0.23	
Birth weight					0.11	0.20	1.12		0.10	0.21	1.10						-0.10	0.09	0.91		-0.08	0.09	0.92	
Parent education (less than HS)																								
high school					0.71	1.04	2.03		0.77	1.13	2.16						0.82	0.37	* 2.27		0.81	0.39	* 2.25	
some college or more					1.80	0.82	* 6.06		1.82	1.01	+ 6.18						0.51	0.37	1.66		0.64	0.41	1.89	
Income/poverty ratio					0.12	0.10	1.13		0.07	0.11	1.07						-0.04	0.07	0.96		-0.04	0.08	0.96	
Number of children in the HH					-0.08	0.28	0.92		-0.08	0.29	0.93						0.09	0.13	1.09		0.06	0.13	1.07	
Family structure (two parent working)																								
one and neither parent working					0.68	0.67	1.98		0.39	0.72	1.48						0.06	0.31	1.07		0.08	0.33	1.08	
single parent family					0.87	0.68	2.38		1.25	0.77	3.47						0.06	0.37	1.06		0.08	0.39	1.08	
Child race (White omitted)																								
Black									-1.30	1.00	0.27										-0.18	0.41	0.84	
Latino									-0.82	0.94	0.44										-0.64	0.43	0.53	
Asian									1.10	0.99	2.99										-0.36	0.63	0.70	
Parent expectation (up to some college)																								
4-year college or more									0.02	0.82	1.02										-0.43	0.32	0.65	
Parent English proficiency									-0.39	0.37	0.68										-0.12	0.16	0.89	

*** p< .001, ** p< .01, * p< .05, + p< .10 two-tailed test

N=294

^a The baseline category is 'Home and Family'.

High school graduation	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR
Constant	2.16	0.29	***		-4.74	1.56	**		-6.82	1.79	***		-5.63	2.18	**		-2.97	2.61		
Childhood activity patterns (Home and Family)																				
Academic	0.41	0.92		1.51	-0.33	0.96		0.72	-0.09	0.98		0.91	-0.17	1.03		0.85	-0.25	1.00		0.78
Sports/social	-0.71	0.37	+	0.49	-0.63	0.39		0.53	-0.49	0.40		0.61	-0.52	0.43		0.59	-0.56	0.44		0.57
Academic achievement																				
Reading comprehension					0.05	0.02	*	1.05	0.06	0.02	**	1.06	0.04	0.02	+	1.04	0.03	0.02		1.03
Applied problems					0.02	0.02		1.02	0.03	0.02		1.03	0.02	0.02		1.02	0.02	0.02		1.02
Immigrant Generation (3rd generation)																				
1st generation									1.30	0.73	+	3.66	1.58	0.78	*	4.84	0.36	1.15		1.43
2nd generation									1.37	0.49	**	3.92	1.48	0.56	**	4.39	0.69	0.86		2.00
Girls													0.33	0.42		1.39	0.33	0.42		1.39
Birth weight													0.00	0.12		1.00	0.00	0.12		1.00
Parent education (less than HS)																				
high school													0.62	0.53		1.86	0.48	0.54		1.61
some college or more													1.19	0.67	+	3.28	0.89	0.68		2.42
Income/poverty ratio													0.20	0.17		1.22	0.20	0.18		1.22
Number of children in the HH													0.00	0.18		1.00	-0.02	0.18		0.98
Family structure (two parent working)																				
one or neither parent working													0.15	0.54		1.17	-0.09	0.54		0.92
single parent family													-0.71	0.53		0.49	-0.94	0.56	+	0.39
Child race (White omitted)																				
Black																	0.56	0.62		1.75
Latino																	-0.15	0.67		0.86
Asian																	-0.69	1.18		0.50
Parent expectation (up to some college)																				
4-year college or more																	1.02	0.46	*	2.77
Parent English proficiency																	-0.30	0.28		0.74
*** p< .001, ** p< .01, * p< .05, + p<.10 two-tailed test																				
N=266																				

Currently enrolled in College	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR
Constant	0.42	0.18	*		-5.87	1.23	***		-7.59	1.40	***		-6.43	1.66	***		-5.70	2.00	**	
Childhood activity patterns (Home and Family)																				
Academic	1.58	0.71	*	4.86	1.05	0.75		2.85	1.30	0.77	+	3.66	1.19	0.80		3.29	1.13	0.81		3.10
Sports/social	0.01	0.26		1.01	0.12	0.28		1.12	0.26	0.29		1.30	0.33	0.32		1.39	0.36	0.33		1.44
Academic achievement																				
Reading comprehension					0.04	0.01	**	1.04	0.05	0.02	**	1.05	0.04	0.02	*	1.04	0.04	0.02	*	1.04
Applied problems					0.02	0.01	+	1.02	0.02	0.01	+	1.02	0.01	0.01		1.01	0.01	0.01		1.01
Immigrant Generation (3rd generation)																				
1st generation									1.43	0.50	**	4.19	1.80	0.56	**	6.04	0.58	0.78		1.78
2nd generation									0.99	0.33	**	2.70	1.35	0.39	***	3.85	0.37	0.58		1.45
Girls													0.33	0.33		1.40	0.34	0.33		1.41
Birth weight													-0.02	0.10		0.98	-0.05	0.10		0.96
Parent education (less than HS)																				
high school													-0.01	0.42		0.99	0.20	0.45		1.22
some college or more													1.12	0.48	*	3.07	1.18	0.51	*	3.24
Income/poverty ratio													0.18	0.11		1.19	0.22	0.12	+	1.24
Number of children in the HH													-0.04	0.14		0.96	-0.02	0.14		0.98
Family structure (two parent working)																				
one or neither parent working													0.03	0.36		1.04	-0.13	0.38		0.88
single parent family													0.24	0.43		1.27	0.35	0.45		1.42
Child race (White omitted)																				
Black																	-0.04	0.46		0.96
Latino																	0.69	0.52		2.00
Asian																	0.56	0.83		1.74
Parent expectation (up to some college)																				
4-year college or more																	0.29	0.35		1.33
Parent English proficiency																	-0.22	0.20		0.80
*** p< .001, ** p< .01, * p< .05, + p<.10 two-tailed test																				
N=266																				

Criminal history	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR
Constant	-1.93	0.26	***		0.75	1.28			2.44	1.41	+		1.79	1.79			1.85	2.25		
Childhood activity patterns (Home and Family)																				
Academic	0.63	0.61		1.88	0.99	0.64		2.69	0.91	0.66		2.49	0.61	0.71		1.84	0.71	0.72		2.04
Sports/social	0.59	0.35	+	1.80	0.55	0.35		1.74	0.42	0.36		1.52	0.03	0.39		1.03	0.01	0.39		1.01
Academic achievement																				
Reading comprehension					-0.01	0.02		0.99	-0.02	0.02		0.98	0.00	0.02		1.00	0.00	0.02		1.00
Applied problems					-0.02	0.01		0.99	-0.02	0.01		0.98	-0.02	0.02		0.98	-0.01	0.02		0.99
Immigrant Generation (3rd generation)																				
1st generation									-1.43	0.69	*	0.24	-1.36	0.75	+	0.26	-0.54	1.04		0.59
2nd generation									-1.44	0.45	**	0.24	-1.27	0.49	**	0.28	-0.51	0.75		0.60
Girls													-1.48	0.41	***	0.23	-1.48	0.41	***	0.23
Birth weight													0.01	0.11		1.01	0.01	0.11		1.01
Parent education (less than HS)																				
high school													0.34	0.50		1.40	0.34	0.52		1.41
some college or more													-0.21	0.56		0.81	0.01	0.60		1.01
Income/poverty ratio													-0.13	0.12		0.88	-0.11	0.12		0.89
Number of children in the HH													0.10	0.17		1.11	0.07	0.17		1.07
Family structure (two parent working)																				
one or neither parent working													-0.11	0.47		0.90	-0.10	0.48		0.90
single parent family													0.26	0.47		1.30	0.18	0.50		1.19
Child race (White omitted)																				
Black																	0.17	0.51		1.19
Latino																	-0.89	0.64		0.41
Asian																	-0.66	1.06		0.52
Parent expectation (up to some college)																				
4-year college or more																	-0.74	0.43	+	0.48
Parent English proficiency																	-0.08	0.27		0.92
*** p< .001, ** p< .01, * p< .05, + p<.10 two-tailed test																				
N=266																				

Working and/or studying	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR	B	SE	p	OR
Constant	1.36	0.22	***		-4.36	1.36	**		-5.57	1.51	***		-5.47	1.92	**		-3.18	2.28		
Childhood activity patterns (Home and Family)																				
Academic	1.20	0.90		3.33	0.63	0.92		1.88	0.82	0.93		2.28	0.94	0.99		2.55	0.87	0.99		2.39
Sports/social	0.03	0.32		1.03	0.15	0.33		1.16	0.27	0.34		1.31	-0.02	0.38		0.98	-0.07	0.38		0.93
Academic achievement																				
Reading comprehension					0.04	0.02	*	1.04	0.04	0.02	*	1.04	0.04	0.02	*	1.04	0.04	0.02	*	1.05
Applied problems					0.02	0.01		1.02	0.02	0.01		1.02	0.02	0.02		1.02	0.01	0.02		1.01
Immigrant Generation (3rd generation)																				
1st generation									1.61	0.72	*	4.98	2.25	0.77	**	9.50	1.02	1.01		2.77
2nd generation									0.68	0.37	+	1.98	1.36	0.47	**	3.90	0.47	0.70		1.60
Girls																				
Birth weight													-0.08	0.37		0.92	-0.11	0.38		0.90
Parent education (less than HS)																				
high school													0.75	0.48		2.11	0.94	0.50	+	2.55
some college or more													0.83	0.56		2.30	1.01	0.57	+	2.74
Income/poverty ratio																				
Number of children in the HH													0.23	0.14		1.25	0.24	0.15	+	1.28
Family structure (two parent working)																				
one or neither parent working													-0.93	0.44	*	0.39	-1.10	0.45	*	0.33
single parent family													-0.27	0.50		0.77	-0.07	0.52		0.94
Child race (White omitted)																				
Black																	-0.45	0.55		0.64
Latino																	-0.33	0.61		0.72
Asian																	-0.18	1.04		0.84
Parent expectation (up to some college)																				
4-year college or more																	-0.08	0.41		0.93
Parent English proficiency																				
																	-0.42	0.24	+	0.66
*** p< .001, ** p< .01, * p< .05, + p<.10 two-tailed test																				
N=266																				

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	B	p	B	p	B	p	B	p	B	p
Constant	12.26	***	15.38	***	17.28	***	15.71	***	18.79	***
Childhood activity patterns (Home and Family)										
Academic	-2.91	**	-2.33	*	-2.37	*	-2.18	*	-2.12	+
Sports/social	0.80		0.78		0.59		0.48		0.27	
Academic achievement										
Reading comprehension			0.01		0.00		0.01		0.02	
Applied problems			-0.04	+	-0.04	*	-0.03		-0.02	
Immigrant Generation (3rd generation)										
1st generation					-1.47	*	-1.92	*	-1.22	
2nd generation					-1.63	**	-1.69	**	-0.77	
Girls							-0.14		-0.23	
Birth weight							-0.26		-0.29	+
Parent education (less than HS)										
high school							-0.19		0.07	
some college or more							-0.47		0.21	
Income/poverty ratio							-0.18	+	-0.13	
Number of children in the HH							0.60	*	0.58	*
Family structure (two parent working)										
one or neither parent working							-0.67		-0.77	
single parent family							-0.05		-0.11	
Child race (White omitted)										
Black									0.27	
Latino									-2.44	*
Asian									-3.37	***
Parent expectation (up to some college)										
4-year college or more									-1.04	+
Parent English proficiency									-0.69	*
R²	0.05		0.07		0.10		0.15		0.22	
*** p< .001, ** p< .01, * p< .05, + p<.10 two-tailed test										
N=266										

Figure 1: Model of the Association between Immigrant Background, Family Background, and Young Adult Outcomes

