

**LIFE AFTER HIGH SCHOOL:
TRANSITIONS TO WORK AND COLLEGE FOR IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN THE NEW
MILLENNIUM***

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ABSTRACT

The acquisition of human capital through school and work is an important determinant of the economic success of immigrant and native-born youth. Using data from three waves of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), this paper examines the different patterns of human capital accumulation chosen by the first and second generation children of immigrants after leaving high school and contrasts these patterns with those of native-born youth. Consistent with segmented assimilation theory, we allow effects to vary by race-ethnicity. Our nationally-representative sample includes 880 first-generation, 1,836 second-generation, and 9,589 native youth who were in 7th-12th grades in 1994 and between the ages of 18-26 by the third (2000-2001) wave of Add Health. We find that the vast majority of Hispanic and White youth, leave high school to work. Relatively few enroll in a 2-4 year college. Asian youth are most likely to leave high school and enter college. Multinomial logits showed that these post-secondary school and work participation patterns varied significantly by country of origin and the forms of capital available to immigrants in their families, schools, and communities.

INTRODUCTION

The acquisition of human capital through school and work is an important determinant of the economic success of all youth. Yet despite positive educational values, aspirations, and expectations, many children of immigrants, especially Hispanic youth, have low rates of high school completion, college enrollment, and college graduation (Glick and White, 2004; Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2006; Swall, Cabrera, and Lee, 2004). Correspondingly, youth who are not enrolled in school have high rates of employment and idleness (BLS 2005; Landale, Oropresa, and Llanes 1998; Mosisa, 2002).

This paper examines the work participation and college attendance patterns of immigrant youth after leaving high school and contrasts these patterns with the native-born youth. We describe differences in work participation and college attendance for three immigrant generations: (1) first-generation (foreign-born children with foreign-born parents), (2) second generation (U.S.-born children with foreign-born parents), and (3) the native (3^{rd+}) generation (U.S.-born children with U.S.-born parents.) Building on theories regarding immigrant assimilation and the educational attainment of immigrant youth, we then evaluate generational differences by race-ethnicity. Our analysis extends the literature on the economic and educational assimilation of immigrant youth in three ways.

First, we focus on the most recent cohort of immigrant youth graduating from high school and entering college between 1996 and 2001. Previous research on educational attainment has relied heavily on longitudinal data from earlier cohorts of youth graduating high school in the mid-1980s and early 1990's. Given the profound demographic changes in the United States that occurred during the last decade, these earlier data did not fully capture the experiences of the children of immigrants and the "new" second generation, populations represented by a plurality

of Asian and Hispanic youth. The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) best represents the newest wave of immigrant youth. A nationally representative study of 7th-12th grade adolescents enrolled in U.S. schools in 1994-95, Add Health contains rich information on the race-ethnicity and immigrant generation of youth, as well as detailed information on the individual characteristics and family, school, and neighborhood contexts that potentially influence pathways to college and work.

Second, we explicitly model the tradeoff between attending college after high school, working full time, and idling with neither a commitment to school nor paid work. Prior studies of college entry have focused on enrollment in two-year vs. four-year colleges but none have contrasted these alternative college pathways with work participation or idleness. By jointly considering these three activities, our model more fully reflects the choices available to young adults no longer attending high school. Moreover, few researchers have studied pathways to college for immigrant youth (Charles, Roscigno, Torres 2006; Feliciano 2005; Fuligni and Witkow 2004; Glick and White 2003; Swail, Cabrera, and Lee 2004). The literature on immigrant youth has focused instead on secondary school experiences. However, with a growing share of immigrant youth now leaving high school and entering young adulthood, researchers must begin to understand what factors promote or inhibit college entry and college completion.

Third, our analysis demonstrates how resources available during adolescence condition the long-term economic success of young adults. We demonstrate how the forms of capital (i.e. human capital, cultural capital, school-level social capital, and community-level social capital) that young adults have at their disposal during adolescence affect their potential to attend college and gain employment in the U.S. Our approach integrates segmented assimilation (Portes, Fernandez Kelley and Haller 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2001) and new assimilation theories

(Alba and Nee 2003) to explain the differential educational success of immigrant and U.S. born youth from four race-ethnic groups – Hispanic¹, Asian, White, and Black.

IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION, WORK, AND COLLEGE ATTENDANCE IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Though criticized by some (Alba and Nee 2003; Beans and Stevens 2003; Waldinger and Perlmann 1998), segmented assimilation theory has quickly become the foremost theory of immigrant assimilation in the United States. The theory accounts for the cultural pluralism of today's society and the differential assimilation trajectories that researchers have observed for immigrants of various racial and ethnic groups. It places the racial-stratification of the U.S. society at center stage and asks not whether immigrants will assimilate but to what segment of society they will assimilate. As a result, it stands in stark contrast to classical assimilation theory which presupposes a dominant mainstream culture to which all newcomers will gradually subscribe (Gordon 1964).

In terms of their education, classic assimilation theory predicts that U.S. born youth with U.S. born parents (i.e. the 3^{rd+} generation) will attain the highest levels of education and first-generation youth born abroad will attain the lowest levels of education. The educational assimilation of immigrant youth increases across generations in part because, as presumed by the theory, cultural assimilation must precede socio-economic assimilation. Thus, educational assimilation is largely dependent on time in the U.S., exposure to U.S. norms and values, and the loss of an individual's or groups' cultural distinctiveness.

Proponents of segmented assimilation theory recognize that individual attributes and cultural exposure are not sufficient to explain observed differences in assimilation trajectories. In addition, the structural contexts of exit from one's home country and entry into the U.S. shape

the assimilation experiences and the socio-economic outcomes of youth (Bankston 2004; Feliciano 2007; Ogbu 1991; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). As a result of these variations in contexts, educational assimilation can increase, decrease, or stagnate across generations.

For example, most immigrant youth move to the U.S. with parents who are considered voluntary labor migrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Documented or undocumented these youth and their parents receive little institutional support for their transitions to the United States. In fact, federal and increasingly state and local laws restrict their access to various support services such as medical or housing assistance (Fix 2007; NCLR 2007). Moreover, these new laws are purportedly engendering a culture of fear that keeps immigrants from engaging with authority figures (e.g., police and teachers) when they need advice or assistance (NCLR 2007). Thus, passive government acceptance of immigrants and active discrimination between citizen and non-citizen residents of the U.S. can promote the marginalization and the downward educational assimilation of immigrants and their children.

In contrast, refugees of political crises and violence (e.g., Hmong, El Salvadorans, and Cubans) or natural disasters (e.g., Hondurans) typically receive active governmental assistance for their transition to the U.S (Rumbaut 1991). This includes access to medical services, housing assistance, and job training programs. Though the resources available to these immigrants may be modest in practice, they can ease the transition and facilitate the process of becoming American (Motomura 2006). Thus, they can promote the upward educational assimilation predicted by classical assimilation theory.

New assimilation theory builds upon segmented assimilation theory by explicitly recognizing that assimilation involves cross-cultural exchanges that can promote the convergence of cultural and socio-economic outcomes (Alba and Nee 2003; Bean and Stevens

2003). Immigrants both shape and are shaped by the communities in which they settle. Consequently, as their numbers grow, a new American mainstream that is neither immigrant nor middle American can emerge (Kasnitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2002). Within this perspective, assimilation need not require the loss of ethnic identity or cultural distinctiveness but can involve the selective adoption and retention of practices from multiple cultures. Thus, new assimilation theory also incorporates elements from both the “selective assimilation” (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou and Bankston 1998) and the “accommodation without assimilation” (Gibson 1988) perspectives.

For our research on educational assimilation, the most valuable contribution of new assimilation theory is its articulation of the mechanisms of assimilation. Alba and Nee (2003) argue that assimilation arises from the “cumulative effect of pragmatic decisions aimed at successful adaptation” (2003:38). The proximate influences on these decisions include various forms of human, cultural, and social capital and assimilation trajectories vary according to the differences in the forms of capital available to immigrants and their descendents. A key idea in this formulation is that forms of capital are fungible. Therefore, surpluses in one form of capital can offset shortages in another form of capital.

For example, immigrant families often choose to settle near kin and friendship networks from their home countries. These co-ethnic kin and friendship networks become a source of social capital that can promote or inhibit the socio-economic advancement of immigrant youth. Co-ethnic contact can promote the work participation of foreign-born youth who speak their native language fluently and can work in co-ethnic businesses serving the immigrant community. Alternatively, when combined with a sense of family obligation or a duty to work and contribute economically to the family, this type of social capital can morph into a social liability that leads

first-generation immigrant youth to forgo college. In contrast, the second generation may shun jobs in traditional co-ethnic family businesses and develop stronger friendship networks across ethnicity and class lines. As a result, their social capital resources can facilitate post-secondary educational progress. Thus, we expect the effects of forms of capital on college and work outcomes in young adults to differ by race-ethnicity and immigrant generation, and we explore this possibility in our research.

Following previous research (Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2007), our analysis considers the influence of four forms of capital – human, cultural, school, and community – on the college attendance, work participation, and idleness of youth transitioning into young adulthood. Thus, our focus is largely on the context of settlement into the United States, how it shapes emerging adulthood for the children of immigrants, and how the influence of each form of capital varies by race-ethnicity. Drawing from previous research, we next discuss how each form of capital is expected to influence college attendance and work participation.

Human Capital

Previous research has consistently found that parents' human capital, reflected in their education levels, powerfully predicts the educational attainment of their children (Glick and White 2004; Perna and Titus 2005). As children advance in school, parents with less education are not able to offer as much assistance with homework. This effect may be magnified for immigrant parents', whose educational experiences in their home countries do not fully transfer to the U.S. In addition, compared to more highly educated parents, parents with lower educational backgrounds typically have less time and fewer financial resources with which to support the educational advancement of their children. Similarly, family structure and family size affect the investments of time and financial resources that parents are able to contribute to

their children's educations (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994; Painter and Levine 2000). Thus, youth with large or single parent families have less access to parental human capital and are at greater risk of forgoing a college education. In our models, we control for each of these aspects of parental human capital.

Adolescents' human capital reflected in their innate educational abilities, their English language proficiency, and their accumulation of work experience during high school adds to the effects of parental capital on educational attainment. Human capital is cumulative and poor educational performance in the past can both impede the acquisition of additional education and signal lower cognitive ability. Thus, it is not surprising that previous studies have identified positive correlations between GPA and college entry and negative correlations between being held back in high school and college entry (Cho 2007; Glick and White 2004; Goldrick-Rab 2006). Likewise, educational progress requires English fluency and is a critical component of human capital in the U.S (Alba and Nee 2003). Therefore, limited English fluency has been shown to hinder high school completion and can further hinder entry into college and the workplace (Rumbaut 1997; Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2006). Immigrant youth who fail to master English during high school may find their paths to college blocked. In the absence of ethnic labor markets that value foreign language skills, limited English proficiency can also reduce labor market opportunities and leave immigrant youth at risk of becoming idle (Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2007). On the other hand, the capacity to speak two or more languages can greatly enhance the human capital of other immigrant youth and be a highly valued skill in both college and the workplace (Feliciano 2001; Glick and White 2003). Previous research has shown that bilingualism enhances both school performance and labor market opportunities. Though the Add

Health, lacks data on bilingualism, we include measures of both school performance and English language proficiency in our analyses.

Unlike the effects of educational performance and English language proficiency, the effects of work experience on post-secondary education are ambiguous (Donhanue and Tienda 2000; Mortimer 2003; Ruhm 1997). High-intensity adolescent employment (i.e. ≥ 20 hours per week) has been found to reduce academic performance during high school and reduce engagement in extracurricular activities (e.g., sports or music) that are valued by college admission officers. Moreover, youth who work during high school can find it difficult to forgo some or all of their earnings after high school in the hopes that college will lead to more lucrative employment in the future. Thus, adolescent work is likely to inhibit college entry and promote continued work participation after high school completion. Alternatively, adolescent work can enhance youths' time management skills and provide youth with the financial resources to support their education. Towards this end adolescent work experience can facilitate college entry. In our models, we evaluate the effects of working 20 or more hours during high school on the likelihood of entering college, working full-time after high school, or becoming idle.

Cultural Capital

First popularized by Bourdieu (1977), the notion of cultural capital has been extended by Lareau and Horvat (1999) and Portes (2000) to describe family-mediated resources which transmit a set of values and outlooks to children and facilitate their access to education. In research on non-white minority youth, cultural capital has been critical in explaining the reproduction of educational inequality. In the research on immigrant youth, cultural capital has been invoked to explain the high achievement of Asian immigrants and the educational success of second generation youth relative to both their first- and third-generation counterparts (Fuligni

2001; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Kao and Tienda 1995; Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2006). In both cases, parents invest in their children by transmitting to children a sense of optimism or pessimism about their children's potential for socioeconomic advancement, their expectations for their children's educational attainment, and the non-cognitive skills needed to succeed in school and the work place. Parents also invest in their children by monitoring their behavior and friendships, and developing close, supportive relationships that can facilitate communication (Aguiano 2004).

Though research on secondary education has found ample evidence of its importance, few have studied the effects of cultural capital on post-secondary education (Charles, Roscigno, Torres 2007; Glick and White 2004; Kim and Schneider 2005; Perna and Titus 2005). In this study, we incorporate the notion of cultural capital into our models by measuring students' academic disengagement and educational aspirations as well as parents' closeness to and monitoring of their children.

School Capital

Cultural and human capital reflect individual-level attributes and family contexts, school capital pertains to the resources in schools that students can activate to further their educational progress. Previous research has shown that the academic aptitude of peers and their college orientations can affect individual student's college admissions decisions as well as their decisions to attend college (Espenshade, Hale, and Chung 2005; Perna and Titus 2005). In our analysis, we focus on one aspect of a school's social environment – the percent of students in the school who expect to earn a middle-class income. This school-level characteristic measures the collective socialization or peer social capital of the school (Coleman 1990; Ainsworth 2002) and is highly correlated with other measures of peer social capital (e.g., the percent of students in the

school who aim to go to college, and the percent of students in the school who participate in extracurricular activities).

In addition, we control for average class size in a school. Higher average class sizes are typically associated with larger schools. Large schools can influence student achievement in two ways (Lee and Smith 1997; Nettles, Millet, and Ready 2003). First, as school and class size increases, personal relations among peers and teachers can weaken. As a result, teachers have less time to engage each student in learning or provide additional attention to exceptional students. Moreover, students can feel more socially isolated from one another and be less able to draw on each other for support in larger classrooms and schools. Second, larger schools can offer a more diversified curriculum with classes and extracurricular activities tailored to the needs of English Language Learners, advanced placement students, and other types of gifted and talented students. Therefore, while expenditures per pupil may decline in larger schools, the availability of resources (e.g., computers, Advanced placement classes, and variety of extracurricular activities) for students overall may increase. Because of these two competing effects, previous research shows that lower class sizes and smaller schools do not uniformly improve the educational performance of students (Lee and Smith 1997; Nettles, Millet, and Ready 2003). Students can be disadvantaged in both very small and very large schools. Furthermore, the effect of class size on educational performance varies for minority and disadvantaged students.

Community Capital

In addition to social relationships in the schools, social relationships in the broader community can serve to connect youth to educational and employment opportunities. Wilson (1987), Massey (1990), Newman (1999) demonstrate how unemployment, concentrated poverty, and the continued racial-ethnic segregation of communities, especially in inner-city

neighborhoods, contribute to the reproduction of socioeconomic inequality in the U.S. In communities with few employers and large numbers of unemployed adults living in poverty, youth have fewer social connections through which to identify employment opportunities and may come to believe that certain behaviors (e.g. idleness) are normative. From an economic perspective as well, high levels of unemployment in a community signal poor local labor market demand conditions and reduce the probability that youth will find work after high school. Therefore, in our analysis, we measure economic disadvantage in communities using data on both unemployment and poverty rates. Because segmented assimilation theory suggests that the effects of community capital will vary not only by race-ethnicity but by immigrant generation, we also test for this possibility.

Though unemployment and poverty in their communities can clearly disadvantage youth, the presence of a co-ethnic community can facilitate youth's transitions into college and the workplace (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Bachmeier 2007; Izyumov et al. 2002). Co-ethnic solidarity and co-ethnic social networks can help the children of immigrants and their parents learn how to navigate U.S. institutions and access resources that promote their socio-economic well-being. However, the effects of co-ethnic communities on youth outcomes are likely to vary by race-ethnicity and the socio-economic backgrounds of members of these communities. Co-ethnic networks comprised of professionals and entrepreneurs can be particularly helpful to the children of immigrants. Whereas, co-ethnic networks comprised predominately of working-class families will have less ability to facilitate the social mobility of the children of immigrants. In addition, when co-ethnic communities segregate the children of immigrants from the mainstream or impose substantial social obligations, they can obstruct opportunities for educational and occupational advancement (Majka and Mullan 2002, Bankston 2004; Kao 2004). With this

framework in mind, we evaluate the co-ethnic composition of a community and its influence on the work and educational trajectories of youth after high school. Because our theory predicts that the effects of co-ethnic community will differ by race-ethnicity and immigrant generation, we allow for these possibilities in our models.

STUDY DESIGN

Data

We use in-home questionnaire and contextual data from Waves 1 and 3 of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a nationally representative study of adolescents in grades 7 through 12 in the U.S. in 1995. The study used a multistage, stratified, school-based, cluster sampling design, drawn from 80 high schools and their corresponding feeder schools. School contextual data are obtained from an in-school survey administered to every student in adolescents' schools on a particular day between September 1994 and April 1995. Neighborhood contextual data are obtained from 1990 Census data linked to adolescents' addresses. During the third wave of data collection in 2001-02, 76 % of possible respondents (N= 15,170) were re-interviewed. Analyses of non-response at Wave 3 demonstrate that the final sampling weights adequately adjust for any bias from non-response (Chantala, Kalsbeek, Andraca 2003). Further details on the survey and sampling design have been extensively described elsewhere (Harris et al. 2003).

We evaluate the current school and work participation status of respondents at Wave 3, when nearly all of the Wave 1 respondents have completed high school. Respondents who were currently enrolled in high school (N=108) or who were reported by interviewers as having physical disabilities in Wave 3 (N=209) were excluded from this analysis. We also excluded youth who were of Native American heritage or who had missing sampling weights. In addition,

1,458 youth were excluded because of missing data on independent variables of interest for this analysis. Analyses of missing data (available upon request) suggest that any biases from these exclusions are minimal.

The final analytic sample included 12,305 young adults ages 18-26 in 2001-2002 who were no longer attending high school. Most independent variables included in this analysis are measured at Wave 1. High school work participation was measured at both Waves 1 and 2.

Analytic Approach

In this analysis, we aimed to describe and explain differences in post-high school work participation and college attendance by immigrant generation and ethnicity. Towards this end, we defined a three category variable that identifies each young adult's current status in Wave 3. We categorized respondents as full- or part-time students, regardless of their work status, if they were attending a 2-year college, a 4-year college, or graduate school. We categorized them as working only if they were not in school and were working full- or part-time or receiving on the job training. Respondents who were neither attending school nor working were identified as idle.

These categories are mutually exclusive and the likelihood of being a full- or part-time student, working only, or being idle is best described using a multinomial logit model where the log odds of a young adult's current status is a function of each young adult's demographic characteristics and their human, cultural, school, and community capital during adolescence.² Because college attendance is the normative outcome of interest, we estimate the odds of working and being idle relative to attending college (the base category). The odds that a young adult is in a given status are obtained by exponentiation of the estimated multivariate logit coefficients.

Measurement of Independent Variables

Demographic Variables. The primary demographic variables of interest are the race-ethnicity and immigrant generation of our respondents. Since Add Health respondents, regardless of age, who have been out of high school for a longer period of time, should be more likely to have completed their schooling and entered the work force fulltime, we control for the number of years that a young adult has been out of high school. We also control for the respondent's current age and sex.

We defined race-ethnicity using the respondent's self-reported ethnic identity in combination with the country of origin for immigrant children or the country of parents' origin for children of immigrants.³ This classification scheme resulted in a nine-category variable of race-ethnic group: (1) African heritage, (2) Central or South American (3) Chinese, (4) Cuban, (5) Filipino, (6) Mexican, (7) Other Asian, (8) Puerto Rican, and (9) European-Canadian. For most of our analyses, these are collapsed into 4 primary race-ethnicity groups (Hispanics, Non-Hispanic Asians, Non-Hispanic Whites, and Non-Hispanic Blacks) and Non-Hispanic Whites are treated as the reference group.⁴

To define immigrant generation, we used data on U.S. citizenship, parent's country of birth, and race-ethnicity from multiple sources within the Add Health dataset. We categorized youth as the first or second generation children of immigrants or as natives (i.e. youth in the 3^{rd+} generation)⁵. For all of our analyses, the native (3^{rd+} immigrant) generation is the reference group. Although it substantially improves upon research that differentiates only between U.S.-born and foreign-born youth, our 3-category measure of immigrant generation is still crude. Previous literature has shown that the age of entry can affect educational attainment as well and that the youth who move to the U.S. prior to adolescence (i.e. at age 12 or under) have more in

common with their second generation peers than with their first-generation parents. Though the number of first-generation youth of European or African heritage are too small to further segment, we take into account previous research and examine the effects of age of migration among our Hispanic and Asian subsamples.

Human Capital. Parents' human capital was measured using the educational attainment of the parent with the highest degree (< high school, high school graduate, some college, college graduate). We also categorized families as two-parent biological families, two-parent step families, single-mother households, single-father households, and other families (i.e. foster families, adolescents in group homes, and emancipated minors). Because fewer than 1% of adolescents were married or had children by Wave 3, we did not control for these factors in our analyses. We retained cases where parents' human capital was missing by including a missing data indicator variable.

To measure adolescents' human capital background, we constructed a variable for the number of siblings, which is related to the distribution of family resources to children. We also created a variable to indicate that an adolescent worked more than 20 hours per week.⁶ To measure their English Language ability or knowledge, we used data from the Add Health Picture Vocabulary Test (AH-PVT), an abbreviated version of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test with age-standardized scores for adolescents. Among the children of immigrants, facility with English also measures language acculturation and may capture a respondent's comfort in a predominantly English-speaking environment, such as school. AH-PVT scores were significantly correlated (.23; $p < 0.000$) with living in a home where English was the primary language spoken.⁷ Among 3^{rd+} generation children, AH-PVT scores control for otherwise unobserved differences in educational ability. To retain respondents with missing data on AH-PVT, we

introduced a mean substitution based on the average test scores of those in the same race and immigrant generation and included an indicator for missing data.

Two other measures of respondents' human capital and educational abilities included Grade Point Average (GPA) and grade retention. GPA was calculated by averaging respondents' grade across four areas of study -- English or language arts, mathematics, history or social studies, and science. An indicator for grade retention was constructed to measure whether respondents were held back in either Waves 1 or 2 of Add Health.

Cultural Capital. Our measures of cultural capital include academic disengagement, educational aspirations, parental control, and parental closeness. Academic disengagement was measured by the following three items: in the past school year, how many times the respondent (1) skipped school, (2) had trouble paying attention in school, and (3) had trouble getting homework done (Johnson, Crosnoe, and Elder 2001). Responses to the first item were collapsed into five categories (0, 1-2, 3-5, 6-9, 10+ days), while responses to the second and third items ranged from 0 to 4. We created a composite scale of academic disengagement by averaging these three items with at least two not missing. We measured educational aspirations using data on a respondent's desire to go to college from 1(=low) to 5(=very high).

Based on well validated Add Health constructs, parental control is measured by the total count of youth activities for which the parent makes all decisions. The index ranges from 0 to 7 where seven indicated that parents set weekday and weekend curfews, monitored the child's friendships, set limits for the amount and type of TV shows watched, and controlled the food choices and dress of their children. Parent-child closeness is measured by the mean response (ranging from 0=low to 4=high) of adolescent reports on the level of closeness, satisfaction, warmth, and satisfaction with communication in the parent-child relationship ($\alpha=.88$). Parent-

child closeness items are asked about both resident mothers and resident fathers. Adolescents who live with only one parent are assigned that parent-specific measure while youth who live with two parents are assigned the average of the mother and father scores.

School Capital. We measure school capital as the average class size of the school and the percent of students in an adolescent's school who expect to earn a middle class income.⁸ Average class sizes were reported by school administrators. Schools with larger class sizes tend to be larger overall and to have more educational resources (e.g. Advanced Placement and Honors classes) for college-bound students but students in these schools may receive less personal attention from teachers (Lee and Smith 1997; Nettles, Millet, and Ready 2003). Therefore, we allow for a non-linear relationship between average class size and college entry.⁹ The percent of students in a school who expect to earn a middle class income is created by aggregating responses from the in-school questionnaire for all students in a given school.

Community Capital. Data on community capital were derived from 1990 census-tract data linked to adolescents' addresses at Wave 1. Due to the high correlation between various measures of neighborhood context, we define a single measure of community capital using a factor score to measure the level of community disadvantage. To obtain this score, we conducted a factor analysis of two measures of community disadvantage – unemployment rates and percent of families living below the 1989 federal poverty level.¹⁰ One factor was identified with factor loadings of .83 on unemployment and .85 on poverty. In addition to community disadvantage, we include a variable on the percent co-ethnic in the community. This indicates the % Hispanic if respondent is Hispanics; % Asian if a respondent is Asian, % black if a respondent is black; and % white if a respondent is white.

Additional Variables. In some of our descriptive analyses, we analyze current work and educational status by high school graduation. High school graduates are defined as those who had received a high school diploma by Wave 3. Dropouts are defined as those who have not received a high school diploma and who are not currently attending high school. Thus, dropouts include those who have completed a GED. We also contrast college aspirations (i.e. how much students want to go to college) with their expectations of how likely it is that they will be able to go to college (i.e. college expectations). Finally, we measure weekly wage rates, occupational status, and adolescent's marital status (married, cohabitating, or single) at wave 3.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

In Table 1, we report the means of key independent variables used in the analysis and evaluate differences in means across immigrant generations. The majority (85%) of respondents were third-generation adolescents and of European-Canadian heritage (69%).¹¹ Hispanic youth make up 24% (N=416) of the first generation, 26% (N=930) of the second generation and only 3% (N=612) of the third-generation. In comparison to the 3^{rd+} generation, 1st generation youth tend to be older, living in larger families, and living in a family where neither parent has completed a high school degree. On average, the first generation also reports lower levels of school and community capital and similar levels of cultural capital.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

Race-Ethnicity and Generation Trends in College Aspirations and Expectations

College aspirations are a key component of cultural capital that likely shapes an adolescent's decision to attend college rather than work or be idle. Hispanic youth typically have the lowest college aspirations of all youth and their low aspirations reflect their low expectations

of being able to attend college (Figure 1). Though their college expectations increase across immigrant generations, the college aspirations of Hispanic youth typically decrease. For both black and Asian youth, the gap between college aspirations and expectations and the decline in college aspirations across immigrant generation is also noticeable.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Race-Ethnicity and Generation Trends in Work and College Attendance after High School

Trends in work participation, college attendance, and idleness after high school vary substantially by young adults' high school graduation status (Figure 2). Among dropouts, few ever return to school to complete their GEDs and go to college. The percentage that does return to school is highest among the 2nd generation children of immigrants (4%) and Asians (6%). No Hispanic students who had dropped out returned to school to complete their GEDs and go on to college.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Among high school graduates, the 2nd generation children of immigrants most often attend college (52%) and 3^{rd+} generation natives most often are working and out of school (47%). Idleness varied little by immigrant generation (10-11%) but was quite substantial (20%) among black high school graduates and black dropouts (38%). Work participation rates were highest (80%) among Asian dropouts. Asian high school graduates also had the highest college attendance rates (55%).

A more in-depth look at college attendance shows substantial variation by both ethnicity and immigrant generation in the type of college young adults are enrolled in after high school. Hispanics in every generation are most often enrolled in a 2-year college or vocational degree program. In fact, 59% of 1st generation Hispanic youth who are attending college are in a 2-year

rather than a 4-year program. Among other first generation youth, 67% of Asians, 70% of blacks, and 85% of whites are attending a 4-year college. By the 3^{rd+} generation, the percentage attending a 4-year college have barely begun to converge by race-ethnicity.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

Among those who attend college, work participation also differs substantially by race-ethnicity and immigrant generation (Figure 3). Eighty-five percent of Hispanic first-generation youth work full- or part-time while attending college. On average, Asian youth are the least likely to work while attending college. But, 1st generation youth of every race-ethnicity tend to combine work and school rather than solely attending college like their native-born peers.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Among those who work and do not attend college, Table 2 shows that wage differences and occupational differences between high school graduates and dropouts develop quickly. High school graduates earn significantly more than dropouts (\$367/wk vs. \$416/wk) within just 5 years of completing high school. They are also more likely to find jobs in managerial or professional occupations and sales or administration. High school dropouts are primarily employed in the service sector or work as physical laborers in industries such as manufacturing and construction.

Forms of Capital and Their Effects on Work and College Attendance after High School

Previous research suggests that generational status clearly does *not* influence educational attainment or work participation uniformly among race-ethnic groups (Perreira, Harris, Lee 2006a, 2006b). Therefore, in our multivariate analyses, we define a 12 category variable based on both race-ethnicity (4 categories) and immigrant generation (3 categories). This formulation allows us to simultaneously test for differences across ethnic groups and immigrant generations.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

Our primary hypothesis is that these differences across race-ethnicity are explained by differences in access to various forms of capital. To identify how each form of capital (human, cultural, school, and community) affects work participation and idleness relative to college attendance by immigrant generation and race-ethnicity, we estimate a baseline model (Table 3, Model 1) on immigrant generation and ethnicity (while controlling for age, sex, and years out of high school). We then add sets of variables corresponding to human capital (Table 3, Model 2); cultural capital (Table 3, Model 3); school capital (Table 3, Model 4); and community capital (Table 3, Model 5) to the baseline. When a set of variables is added to the model, increases in the coefficients on ethnicity-generation indicate that the variables correspond to protective factors that *suppress* differences in work participation and college attendance or idleness and college attendance. A decrease in the coefficients indicates that the set of variables added correspond to risk factors that *accentuate* differences by ethnicity and generation.¹²

The baseline model (Table 3, Model 1) shows that 1st and 2nd generation youth in every race-ethnic group but Hispanic are less likely than U.S.-born white natives to work after high school rather than attending college. Compared to U.S.-born white natives, Hispanic and black U.S.-born natives are more likely to be idle vs. attending college. When human capital characteristics are entered into the equation (Table 3, Model 2), the coefficients on ethnicity-generation decrease and become significantly negative for Hispanic first- and second-generation youth. This indicates that the Hispanic children of immigrants possess lower levels of human capital, which place them at risk of working or being idle and not attending college. Similarly, lower levels of human capital resources reduce the likelihood that U.S.-born black natives will attend college rather than working after high school. Given the very modest increases in

ethnicity-generation coefficients when cultural capital variables are introduced into the model, cultural capital appears to have no substantial affect on the likelihoods of working, being idle, or attending college after high school (Table 3, Model 3). Like human capital, the absence of social capital in schools (Table 3, Model 4) and communities (Table 3, Model 5) in which children of immigrants live tends to place them at risk of forgoing a college education. However, compared to the absence of human capital resources the lack of school- and community-capital resources explains less of the ethnicity-generation difference in work participation and idleness.

Forms of Capital within Race-Ethnicity Groups

To further explore the effects of forms of capital on dropout rates, we estimate separate models for each of the four race-ethnicity groups (Table 4). Within the models for Hispanics and Asians, we allow for variation in college attendance by country of origin and age of migration among the first generation.¹³ Within these two populations, we also test for differences in the effects of community capital by immigrant generation.¹⁴

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

Hispanics. Most Hispanic youth, especially U.S.-born natives, forgo college after high school and work (Table 4, Model 1). However, this is not true for Cubans. Cuban youth are significantly more likely to go to college than their Mexican, Central-South American or Puerto Rican counterparts. Living in a step-parent family with many siblings exacerbates the risk that young Hispanic adults will forgo college and move directly into the workforce after school. Low GPAs, low educational aspirations, and low levels of parental control at home also contribute to the likelihood of working rather than attending college. Finally, Hispanic youth from disadvantaged communities (i.e. communities with high poverty and unemployment rates) are 1.5 times more likely to work after high school than to attend college.

In additional models (not shown), we evaluated differences in college attendance, work, and idleness by age of immigrant generation and differences in the effects of community capital by immigrant generation. We found that, all else equal, Hispanic children who move to the U.S. between the ages of 0-13 (i.e. the 1.5 generation) are the least likely to work full-time ($OR_{1^{st} \text{ generation}} = .75$; $OR_{1.5 \text{ generation}} = .54$, $p < .05$; $OR_{2^{nd} \text{ generation}} = .60$, $p < .05$; $OR_{3^{rd+} \text{ generation}} = 1.00$) or become idle ($OR_{1^{st} \text{ generation}} = .32$; $OR_{1.5 \text{ generation}} = .30$, $p < .01$; $OR_{2^{nd} \text{ generation}} = .46$, $p < .05$; $OR_{3^{rd+} \text{ generation}} = 1.00$) rather than attending college. However, we found no significant differences in the effects of community capital by immigrant generation.

Asians. Among Asians, we found no differences in work, college attendance, or idleness by country of origin. However, the second generation children of Asian immigrants were significantly more likely to work rather than attend college than first-generation. As with Hispanic youth, low GPAs and low educational aspirations contributed to the likelihood of working rather than attending college. In addition, parental closeness contributed to the likelihood of working rather than attending college. These close parental relationships potentially reflect young Asian adults' sense of obligation to assist their families financially (Fuligni 2001). In contrast to Hispanics, we found no association between community disadvantage and current work participation, college attendance, or idleness. We also found no differences in outcomes by the age of migration. However, we did find that the effects of co-ethnic concentration varied significantly by immigrant generation. In the native 3^{rd+} generation, high coethnic Asian concentrations were associated with an increased likelihood of working ($OR=2.92$) or becoming idle ($OR=6.11$, $p < .1$) after high school. On the other hand, high coethnic concentrations among the first generation were associated with a lower probability of working full-time ($OR=.13$, $p < .05$) or becoming idle ($OR=.07$) after high school. Thus, the

immigrant advantage of living in an ethnic enclave is evident among the Asian children of immigrants.

Blacks. Among blacks, parents' education and working 20 hours per week or more contributed more to the risk of forgoing college than it did for either Hispanics or Asians. Parents' education and respondents' grade retention rates also contributed significantly to the likelihood that Black youth would become idle after high school. Surprisingly, community disadvantage did not affect the likelihood of idleness or work participation vs. college attendance.

Whites. Most of the same factors affecting the current work, college, or idleness status of other race-ethnicities also contribute significantly to the current status of white youth. However, it is only among whites that the effects of school and community capital both become influential. White youth in more homogeneously white communities are more likely to be working or idle after high school and to not have enrolled directly in a college. In addition, those who grow up in a disadvantaged community are more likely to be working or idle vs. attending college after high school. Finally, those who attend high school with youth who expect to go to college and to earn middle class incomes are less likely to work or be idle after high school.

CONCLUSION

Overall, this analysis supports a segmented assimilation model. We observe substantial variation in work participation and college attendance across race-ethnicity. Among Hispanic youth, education and work trajectories also differ by country of origin.

These different educational and work trajectories reflect the forms of capital that the children of immigrants and U.S. natives have available to them during adolescence. A pattern of downward socioeconomic assimilation is most evident among Hispanic and black youth.

Hispanic youth are most disadvantaged by a lack of human capital resources related to family structure, limited English proficiency, and residence in areas with high unemployment and poverty rates. High levels of cultural capital as measured by educational aspirations and parental control offset some of this disadvantage and help to promote college attendance, especially among first-generation Hispanic youth. Like Hispanics, black youth are at risk of forgoing college and entering into the labor market immediately after graduating from high school. However, it is their parents' educational backgrounds that most disadvantage them. In addition, work participation during high school is more strongly associated with the decision to forgo a college education among blacks than among any other race-ethnicity.

ENDNOTES

¹ The terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” are used interchangeably to refer to persons of all races of Latin American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Dominican heritage. The terms white, black, and Asian are used to refer to Non-Hispanic population groups.

² Because we are interested in how conditions during adolescence affect pathways to college and work, the models presented in this paper are not conditioned on high school completion. Models conditioned on high school completion are available upon request in Appendix 1. There are no substantive differences between the unconditional and conditional models.

³ By using country of parents’ origin in combination with self-reported ethnic identification, we were able to determine ethnicity with greater specificity for the children of immigrants. For native-born youth with native-born parents, cross-checking with parent’s race-ethnic background also allowed greater specificity. In a handful of cases where parents’ were of different race-ethnic backgrounds and students had reported multiple ethnic identities, we assigned students to the mother’s ethnic identity.

⁴ Although panethnic categories can mask important differences by country of origin (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), models estimated separately by country of origin results in estimates with substantially larger standard errors and do not provide meaningfully different results. Therefore, we do not report them in this paper.

⁵ Although all Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens by birth, we define Puerto Rican children and first, second and third generation immigrants depending on whether they and their parents were born in Puerto Rico or on the U.S. mainland (Rivera-Batiz and Santiago 1996).

⁶ In analyses not shown, we found that differences between no work and working ≤ 20 hours per week were never significant. Therefore, we collapsed the two into a single category.

⁷ Add Health does not have data on the bilingualism. Bilingual children would be expected to have higher AH-PVT scores than those who primarily speak a language other than English.

⁸ In analyses not shown, we found that the percent of students in the school who expect to go to college

was highly correlated ($r = .45$) with the percent of students who expect to earn a middle class income.

Similarly, average class size was highly correlated with the number of students in the school ($r = .43$) and the % of students engaged in school activities ($r = -.47$).

⁹ To account for non-linearity in the effects of average class size, we include tested models with a squared term and models with a categorical measure of average class size. We found evidence of a non-linear relationship such that youth in both very small (under 25 students) and very large (over 30 students) were more likely to forgo college and work after high school. Students in schools with medium-sized classes (25-30 students) were the most likely to enter college.

¹⁰ We also considered including percent of families who were married with children in this factor analysis. However, the specificity of the factor was reduced when this item was included.

¹¹ Central-South Americans youth are typically Nicaraguan (19%), El Salvadorian (14%), or Honduran (12%). Other Asian youth are typically South Korean (21%), Vietnamese (19%), or American Samoan (13%).

¹² Although there are no formal statistical tests for differences in coefficients between logit models with different covariates, large changes in coefficients (especially sign changes) can be considered substantively meaningful.

¹³ Differences by parents' nativity among the second generation were never significant in initial models and were excluded in the final analyses.

¹⁴ The relatively small number of white and black children of immigrants argues against testing additional immigrant generation and interaction effects within these two populations.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Independent Variables

	Full Sample	Immigrant Generation		
		First	Second	Third+
<i>N</i>	12,305	880	1,836	9,589
Percentage of Full Sample		5%	11%	85%
Demographic Characteristics				
Mexican	6.6%	24.1%	25.5%	3.2%
Central-South American	2.8%	21.2%	8.9%	1.0%
Puerto Rican	1.2%	1.4%	5.0%	0.8%
Cuban	0.7%	4.5%	3.9%	0.1%
Chinese	0.6%	4.6%	2.8%	0.1%
Filipino	1.4%	12.7%	6.3%	0.2%
Other Asian	2.4%	20.5%	9.8%	0.5%
African	15.7%	3.4%	5.8%	17.6%
European-Canadian	68.5%	7.6%	32.0%	76.6%
Female	48.9%	48.7%	47.2%	49.1%
Age (Mean)	21.75	22.30	21.71	21.72
Years out of High School	3.86	4.22	3.86	3.84
Human Capital				
Two-Parent Family	61%	66%	71%	60%
Step-Parent Family	12%	13%	7%	13%
Single Mother	20%	14%	16%	21%
Single Father	3%	3%	4%	3%
Other Family Structure	3%	5%	2%	4%
Number of Siblings at Home (Mean)	1.4	1.9	1.7	1.3
Parent is high school dropout	11%	32%	21%	8%
Parent is high school graduate	30%	17%	22%	31%
Parent has some college	21%	13%	17%	22%
Parent is college graduate	35%	31%	34%	36%
Adolescent works 20 or more hrs/week	18%	15%	19%	18%
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Mean)	102.1	89.1	101.0	103.0
GPA	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.8
Grade retention	25%	28%	23%	25%
Cultural Capital				
Academic Disengagement (Mean)	0.99	0.91	1.02	0.99
Educational Aspirations (Mean)	4.46	4.60	4.49	4.45
Parental Closeness (Mean)	3.24	3.15	3.23	3.25
Parental Control (Mean)	1.88	2.15	2.03	1.84
School Capital				
% students expect middle class income (Mean)	63.3%	61.6%	62.7%	63.5%
Average class size (Mean)	25.7	29.2	27.3	25.3
Community Capital				
Proportion Coethnic (Mean)	0.76	0.40	0.50	0.81
Disadvantaged Factor Score (Mean)	0.00	0.15	-0.05	-0.01

Note : All variables other than continuous variables are in percentage.

Percentages and Means are based on weighted data.

Missing values on the AHPVT (*N* =565), parental education (*N* =422), and school characteristics (*N* =360).

Figure 1. College Aspirations and Expectations, by Race-Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation

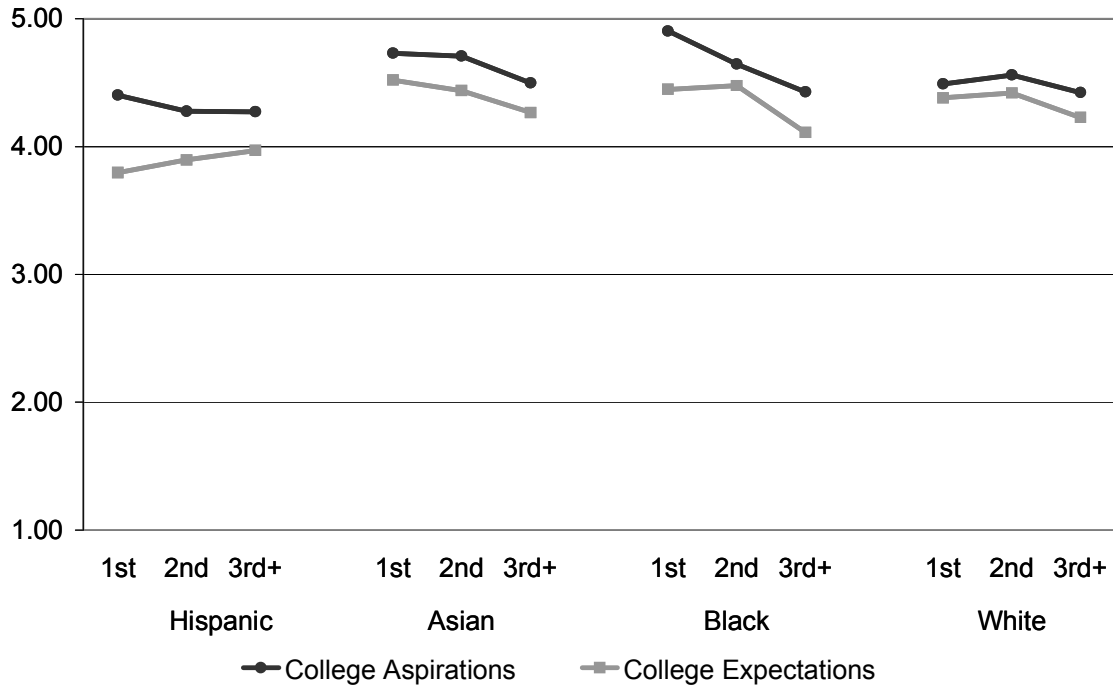
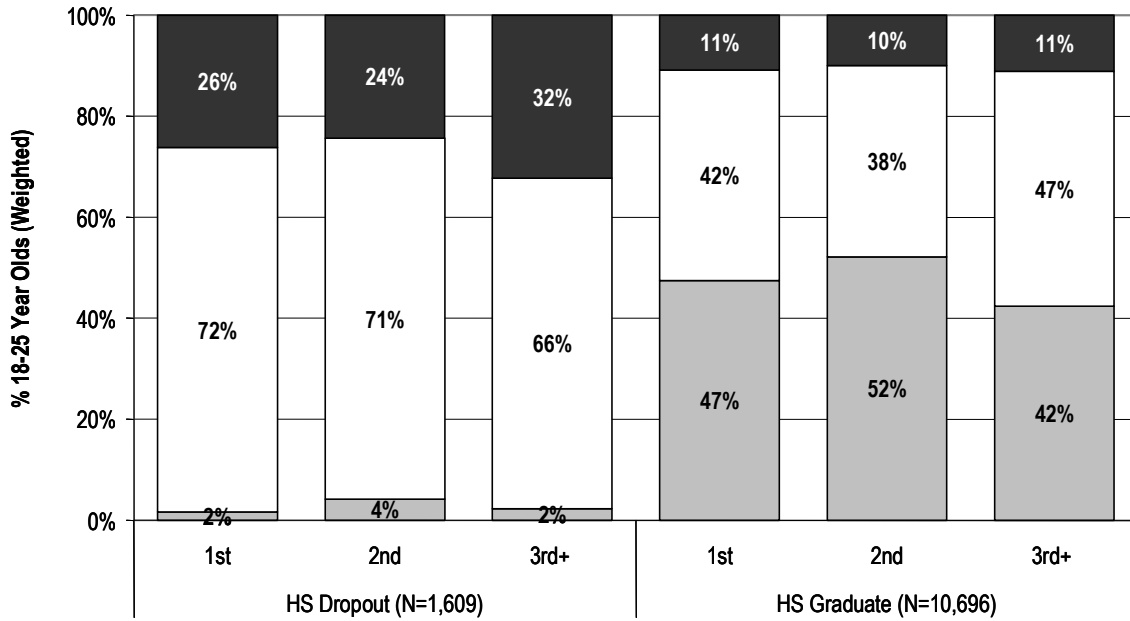
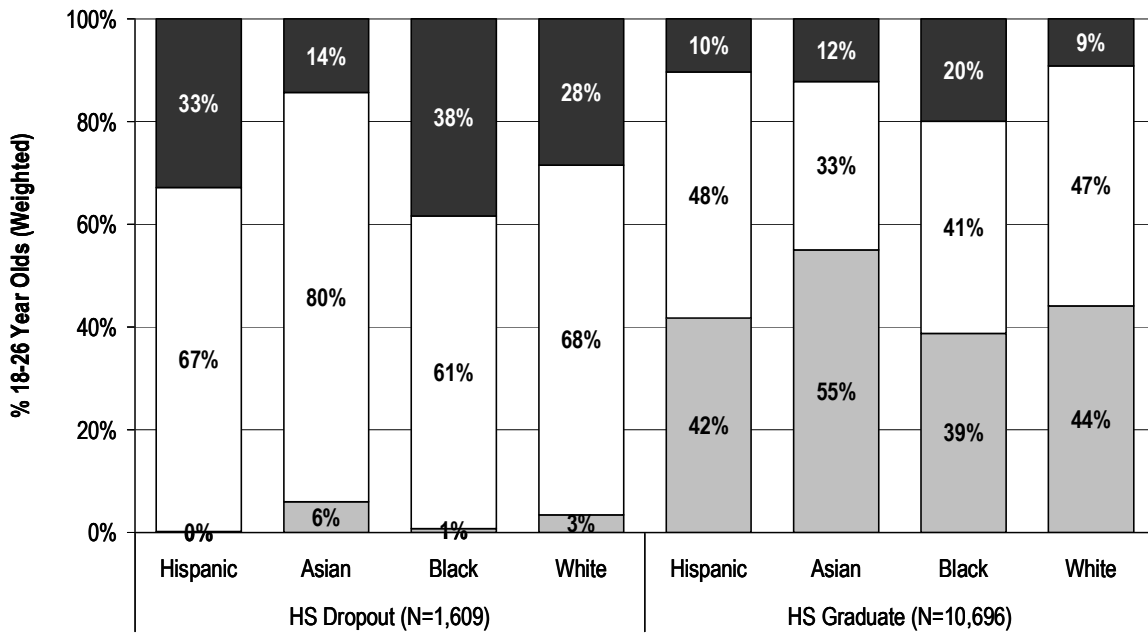


Figure 2. College Attendance, Work Participation, and Idleness after High School

a. By Immigrant Generation



b. By Race-Ethnicity



■ In College □ Working Only ■ Idle

Figure 3. Type of College and Work Participation Rates among Young Adults in College

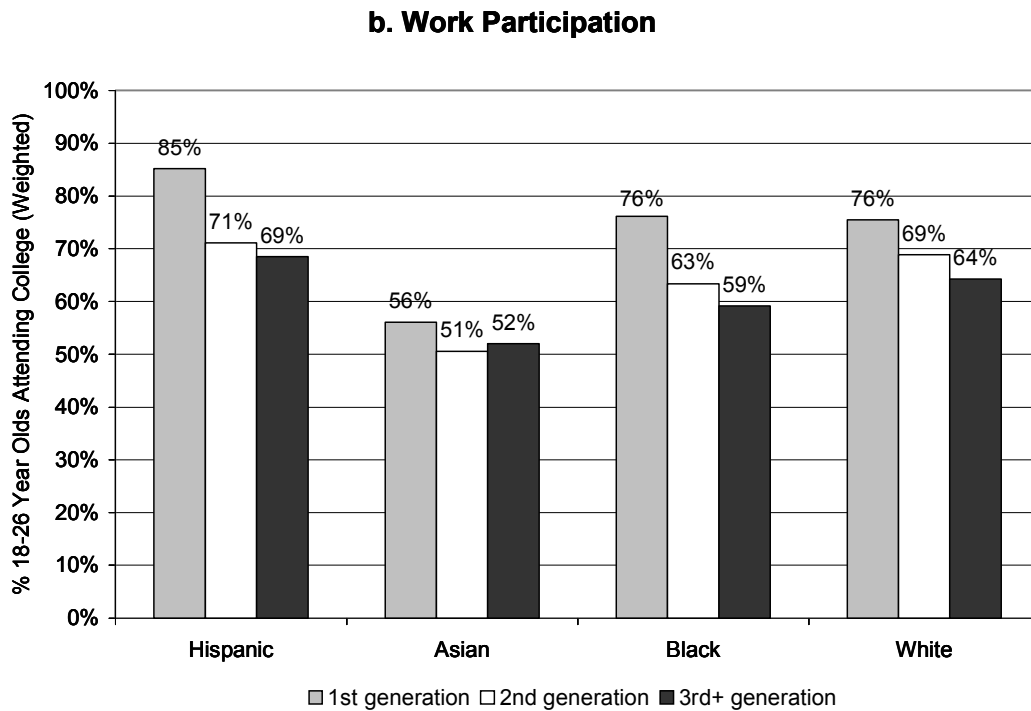
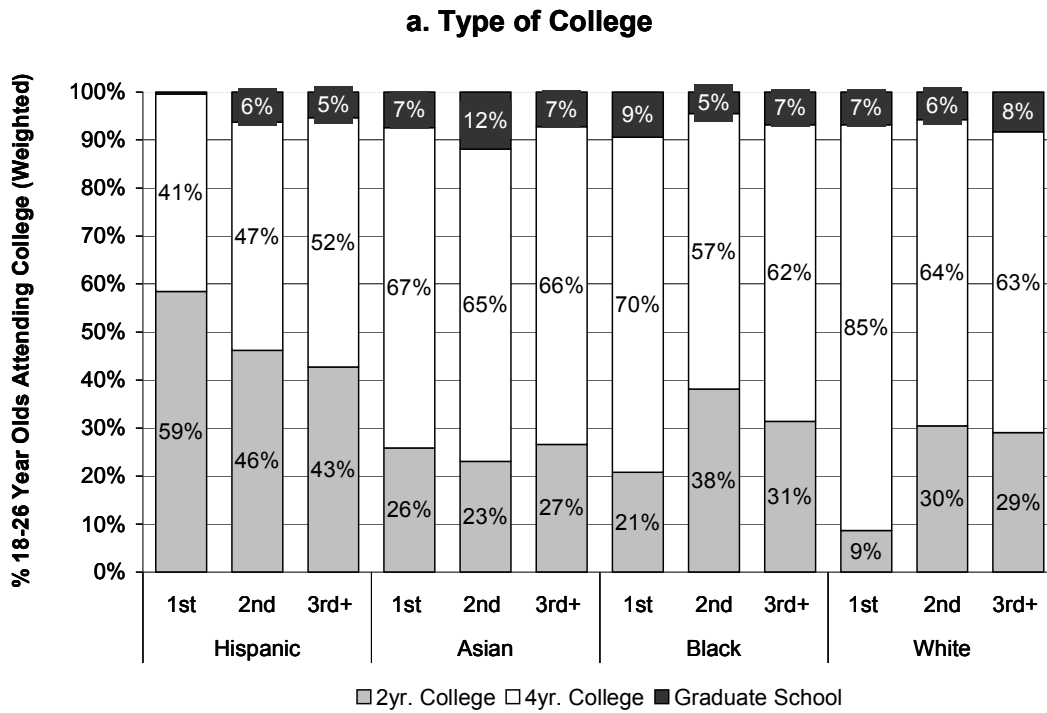


Table 2. Wages and Occupation of Young Adult Workers Not In School

	HS Dropouts	HS Graduate
Years since left High School	3.5	4.5
Mean Weekly Wages	\$ 367 (8.46)	\$ 416 (6.16)
Occupations		
Management, professional, and related	10%	29%
Sales and office	20%	24%
Service	30%	22%
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance	24%	13%
Production, transportation, and material moving	15%	11%
Military	1%	2%
N	1,048	4,807

Standard error in parentheses

Table 3. Parameter Estimates of Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Current Activities, Full Sample

	Baseline: Model 1	Human Capital: Model 2	Cultural Capital: Model 3	School Capital: Model 4:	Community Capital: Model 5	All: Model 6
Work Only vs. Attending College						
Hispanic						
1st generation	0.12	-0.79 ***	0.15	-0.09	-0.08	-0.71
2nd generation	-0.01	-0.77 ***	-0.10	-0.13	-0.15	-0.70 ***
3rd generation	0.32 *	-0.20	0.26	0.24	0.29	-0.13 ***
Asian						
1st generation	-1.03 ***	-1.06 ***	-0.87 ***	-1.13 ***	-1.08 ***	-0.91 ***
2nd generation	-0.64 ***	-0.54 ***	-0.57 ***	-0.67 ***	-0.61 **	-0.43 **
3rd generation	-0.3	-0.37	-0.31	-0.58 *	-0.15	-0.36
Black						
1st generation	-1.12 **	-1.71 ***	-0.87	-1.27 **	-1.19 *	-1.52 **
2nd generation	-0.87 **	-1.41 ***	-0.78 **	-0.94 ***	-1.03 ***	-1.27 ***
3rd generation	0.08	-0.59 ***	0.12	-0.11	-0.27	-0.64 ***
White						
1st generation	-0.58	-0.37	-0.48	-0.49	-0.47	-0.26
2nd generation	-0.52 ***	-0.49 ***	-0.47 ***	-0.48 ***	-0.47 ***	-0.47 ***
3rd generation (reference)						
female	-0.35 ***	-0.25 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.35 ***	-0.37 ***	-0.23 ***
current age	0.40 ***	0.23 ***	0.37 ***	0.43 ***	0.40 ***	0.24 ***
years out of high school	-0.02	0.16 ***	-0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.16 ***
Idle vs. Attending College						
Hispanic						
1st generation	0.22	-0.99 ***	0.22	-0.16	-0.18	-0.98 ***
2nd generation	0.25	-0.66 ***	0.07	-0.01	-0.09	-0.73 **
3rd generation	0.68 ***	-0.03	0.59 **	0.52 **	0.49 *	-0.04
Asian						
1st generation	-0.42	-0.51	-0.21	-0.6 **	-0.64	-0.39
2nd generation	-0.52 *	-0.39	-0.43	-0.59 *	-0.59	-0.33
3rd generation	0.17	-0.01	0.1	-0.27	0.34	-0.07
Black						
1st generation	-1.35	-2.15 **	-1.04	-1.61 *	-1.59 *	-1.95 **
2nd generation	-0.1	-0.89	0.0	-0.24	-0.49	-0.83
3rd generation	0.90 ***	-0.09	0.94 ***	0.58 ***	0.22	-0.32
White						
1st generation	-0.07	0.19	0.06	0.07	0.14	0.48
2nd generation	-0.44 *	-0.40	-0.37	-0.37	-0.36	-0.31
3rd generation (reference)						
female	0.0	0.14	0.13	0.0	-0.03	0.19 **
current age	0.31 ***	0.1	0.29 ***	0.37 ***	0.32 ***	0.14 **
years out of high school	-0.12 *	0.16 ***	-0.11 *	-0.05	-0.11 *	0.16 ***
Model Statistics						
N	12305	12305	12305	12305	12305	12305
F	16.46	22.38	18.26	21.53	16.54	21.26

*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Note: Standard errors and coefficients on human, cultural, school, and community capital not shown due to space limitations. Full regressions are available upon request in Appendix 1.

Table 4. Parameter Estimates of Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Current Activities , by Race/Ethnicity

	Hispanic Model 1	Asian Model 2	Black Model 3	White Model 4
Work Only vs. Attending College				
First generation	-0.57 *	-0.31	-1.02 *	-0.23
Second generation	-0.51 **	0.20	-0.80 **	-0.42 **
Third generation and beyond (reference)				
Mexican (reference)				
Central-South American	-0.07			
Puerto-Rican	-0.03			
Cuban	-0.48 **			
Chinese (reference)				
Filipino		-0.22		
Other Asian		-0.20		
Female	-0.02	-0.17	-0.43 ***	-0.23 ***
Current age	0.27 ***	0.19	0.22 ***	0.25 ***
Years out of high school	-0.05	0.36	0.11	0.20 ***
Two-Parent Family (reference)				
Step-Parent Family	0.73 ***	0.64 *	0.34	0.44 ***
Single Parent	0.36 *	0.84 **	0.10	0.22 **
Other Family Structure	0.36	1.80 ***	0.60 *	0.93 ***
Number of Siblings at Home	0.18 **	0.07	0.09	0.00
Parent high school graduate or dropout	0.13	0.58 *	0.49 **	0.65 ***
Parent has some college	-0.31	-0.36	0.11	0.26 ***
Parent is college graduate (reference)				
Adolescent works 20 or more hrs/wk	0.02	-0.44	0.42 **	0.20 **
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test	-0.02 **	-0.01	-0.01 *	-0.01 ***
GPA	-0.63 ***	-0.79 ***	-0.49 ***	-0.84 ***
Grade retention	0.52 **	-0.06	0.50 ***	0.27 **
Academic Disengagement	0.03	-0.08	0.06	-0.03
Educational Aspirations	-0.26 **	-0.79 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.24 ***
Parental Closeness	-0.04	0.38 *	-0.02	0.04
Parental Control	-0.18 ***	-0.12 *	-0.02	-0.01
% students expect middle class income	-0.03	-0.08 **	-0.04	-0.04 ***
Average class size	-0.02	-0.03	-0.01	-0.02 **
Proportion Coethnic	-0.13	-0.16	-0.13	0.63 **
Disadvantaged Factor Score	0.43 ***	-0.14	0.06	0.18 ***
PVT missing	0.45 *	1.29 **	0.32	-0.08
Family structure missing	0.32	0.76	0.98 **	1.12 ***
School variables missing	0.21	--	-0.67 **	-0.20
Constant	1.82	5.69	1.05	0.61

(Continued)

	Hispanic Model 1	Asian Model 2	Black Model 3	White Model 4:
Idle vs. Attending College				
First generation	-1.19 ***	-0.22	-1.86 **	0.61
Second generation	-0.77 **	-0.47	-0.68	-0.20
Third generation and beyond (reference)				
Mexican (reference)				
Central-South American	0.18			
Puerto-Rican	-0.08			
Cuban	-1.36 **			
Chinese (reference)				
Filipino		0.31		
Other Asian		-0.13		
Female	0.52 **	0.45	-0.22	0.21 *
Current age	0.11	0.04	0.25 ***	0.08
Years out of high school	0.16	0.07	-0.08	0.25 ***
Two-Parent Family (reference)				
Step-Parent Family	-0.04	-0.05	0.23	0.70 ***
Single Parent	0.37	1.06 **	0.07	0.47 ***
Other Family Structure	0.71	0.78	0.76 *	1.78 ***
Number of Siblings at Home	0.07	0.21 *	0.12 **	0.03
Parent high school graduate or dropout	0.32	0.21	0.69 ***	0.63 ***
Parent has some college	-0.41	-0.27	0.46 *	0.46 ***
Parent is college graduate (reference)				
Adolescent works 20 or more hrs/wk	-0.35	0.25	0.04	-0.32 *
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test	-0.03 ***	0.00	-0.02 **	-0.01 **
GPA	-0.91 ***	-1.27 **	-0.64 ***	-1.02 ***
Grade retention	0.29	0.62	0.42 *	0.68 ***
Academic Disengagement	-0.02	-0.25	0.22	0.12 *
Educational Aspirations	-0.37 ***	-0.69 ***	-0.30 ***	-0.28 ***
Parental Closeness	0.05	0.35	0.24 *	-0.03
Parental Control	-0.03	-0.17	-0.02	0.06
% students expect middle class income	-0.07 **	0.00	-0.07 ***	-0.05 ***
Average class size	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	-0.03 *
Proportion Coethnic	0.34	0.20	-0.20	1.39 ***
Disadvantaged Factor Score	0.31	0.26	0.10	0.48 ***
PVT missing	0.43	1.54 ***	-0.25	-0.07
Family structure missing	-0.25	0.26	0.89	1.09 ***
School variables missing	0.17	--	-0.28	-0.33
Constant	7.85 **	3.91	2.43	3.62
Model Statistics				
N	1958	1027	2612	6701
F	15.46	16.14	24.67	17.14

*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Note: Standard errors not shown due to space limitations.

Appendix 1

Table 3A. Parameter Estimates of Multinomial Logit Predicting Current Activities, Full Sample

	Baseline: Model 1	Human Capital: Model 2	Cultural Capital: Model 3	School Capital: Model 4:	Community Capital: Model 5	All: Model 6
Work Only vs. Attending College						
Hispanic 1st generation	0.12	-0.79 ***	0.15	-0.09	-0.08	-0.71
Hispanic 2nd generation	-0.01	-0.77 ***	-0.10	-0.13	-0.15	-0.70 ***
Hispanic 3rd generation	0.32 *	-0.20	0.26	0.24	0.29	-0.13 ***
Asian 1st generation	-1.03 ***	-1.06 ***	-0.87 ***	-1.13 ***	-1.08 ***	-0.91 ***
Asian 2nd generation	-0.64 ***	-0.54 ***	-0.57 ***	-0.67 ***	-0.61 **	-0.43 **
Asian 3rd generation	-0.3	-0.37	-0.31	-0.58 *	-0.15	-0.36
Black 1st generation	-1.12 **	-1.71 ***	-0.87	-1.27 **	-1.19 *	-1.52 **
Black 2nd generation	-0.87 **	-1.41 ***	-0.78 **	-0.94 ***	-1.03 ***	-1.27 ***
Black 3rd generation	0.08	-0.59 ***	0.12	-0.11	-0.27	-0.64 ***
White 1st generation	-0.58	-0.37	-0.48	-0.49	-0.47	-0.26
White 2nd generation	-0.52 ***	-0.49 ***	-0.47 ***	-0.48 ***	-0.47 ***	-0.47 ***
White 3rd generation (reference)						
Female	-0.35 ***	-0.25 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.35 ***	-0.37 ***	-0.23 ***
Current age	0.40 ***	0.23 ***	0.37 ***	0.43 ***	0.40 ***	0.24 ***
Years out of high school	-0.02	0.16 ***	-0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.16 ***
Two-Parent Family (reference)						
Step-Parent Family		0.43 ***				0.47 ***
Single Mother		0.26 ***				0.24 ***
Single Father		0.04				0.01
Other Family Structure		0.74 ***				0.7 ***
Number of Siblings at Home		0.05				0.04
Parent is high school dropout		1.09 ***				0.9 ***
Parent is high school graduate		0.7 ***				0.53 ***
Parent has some college		0.27 ***				0.18 **
Parent is college graduate (reference)						
Adolescent works = 20 hrs/week		0.21 ***				0.20 ***
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test		-0.01 ***				-0.01 ***
GPA		-0.78 ***				-0.75 ***
Grade retention		0.41 ***				0.38 ***
PVT missing		0.09				0.13
Family structure missing		1.20 ***				1.04 ***
Academic Disengagement			0.23 ***			0.00
Educational Aspirations			-0.51 ***			-0.26 ***
Parental Closeness			-0.01			0.03
Parental Control			0.01			-0.05 **
% students expect middle class income				-0.08 ***		-0.04 ***
Average class size				-0.02 ***		-0.02 ***
School variables missing				-0.55 ***		-0.24 *
Proportion Coethnic					0.02	0.08
Disadvantaged Factor Score					0.33 ***	0.09 **
Constant	-8.04 ***	-2.21 **	-5.38 ***	-2.9 **	-8.03 ***	1.64

(Continued)

	Baseline: Model 1	Human Capital: Model 2	Cultural Capital: Model 3	School Capital: Model 4:	Community Capital: Model 5	All: Model 6
Idle vs. Attending College						
Hispanic 1st generation	0.22	-0.99 ***	0.22	-0.16	-0.18	-0.98 ***
Hispanic 2nd generation	0.25	-0.66 ***	0.07	-0.01	-0.09	-0.73 **
Hispanic 3rd generation	0.68 ***	-0.03	0.59 **	0.52 **	0.49 *	-0.04
Asian 1st generation	-0.42	-0.51	-0.21	-0.6 **	-0.64	-0.39
Asian 2nd generation	-0.52 *	-0.39	-0.43	-0.59 *	-0.59	-0.33
Asian 3rd generation	0.17	-0.01	0.1	-0.27	0.34	-0.07
Black 1st generation	-1.35	-2.15 **	-1.04	-1.61 *	-1.59 *	-1.95 **
Black 2nd generation	-0.10	-0.89	0.0	-0.24	-0.49	-0.83
Black 3rd generation	0.90 ***	-0.09	0.94 ***	0.58 ***	0.22	-0.32
White 1st generation	-0.07	0.19	0.06	0.07	0.14	0.48
White 2nd generation	-0.44 *	-0.40	-0.37	-0.37	-0.36	-0.31
White 3rd generation (reference)						
Female	0.0	0.14	0.13	0.0	-0.03	0.19 **
Current age	0.31 ***	0.1	0.29 ***	0.37 ***	0.32 ***	0.14 **
Years out of high school	-0.12 *	0.16 ***	-0.11 *	-0.05	-0.11 *	0.16 ***
Two-Parent Family (reference)						
Step-Parent Family		0.52 ***				0.55 ***
Single Mother		0.41 ***				0.37 ***
Single Father		0.42 **				0.40 *
Other Family Structure		1.33 ***				1.26 ***
Number of Siblings at Home		0.08 **				0.07 *
Parent is high school dropout		1.21 ***				0.88 ***
Parent is high school graduate		0.83 ***				0.58 ***
Parent has some college		0.52 ***				0.37 ***
Parent is college graduate (reference)						
Adolescent works = 20 hrs/week		-0.26 **				-0.24 *
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test		-0.02 ***				-0.01 ***
GPA		-1.02 ***				-0.95 ***
Grade retention		0.73 ***				0.64 ***
PVT missing		0.01				0.07
Family structure missing		1.08 ***				0.84 ***
Academic Disengagement			0.39 ***			0.10 *
Educational Aspirations			-0.62 ***			-0.31 ***
Parental Closeness			0.02			0.06
Parental Control			0.09 ***			0.01
% students expect middle class income				-0.13 ***		-0.07 ***
Average class size				-0.03 ***		-0.03 ***
School variables missing				-0.66 ***		-0.25 **
Proportion Coethnic					-0.15	-0.03
Disadvantaged Factor Score					0.55 ***	0.23 ***
Constant	-7.48 ***	0.38	-4.79 ***	0.45	-7.34 ***	5.23 ***
Model Statistics						
N	12305	12305	12305	12305	12305	12305
F	16.46	22.38	18.26	21.53	16.54	21.26

*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Note: Standard errors not shown due to space limitations. Full regressions are available upon request.

Table 4A. Parameter Estimates of Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Current Activities Conditional on High School Completion, by Race/Ethnicity

	Hispanic Model 1	Asian Model 2	Black Model 3	White Model 4
Work Only vs. Attending College				
First generation	-0.56 *	-0.21	-0.91	-0.23
Second generation	-0.50 **	0.24	-1.00 ***	-0.48 ***
Third generation and beyond (reference)				
Mexican (reference)				
Central-South American	-0.14			
Puerto-Rican	0.04			
Cuban	-0.53 **			
Chinese (reference)				
Filipino		-0.31		
Other Asian		-0.29		
Female	0.00	-0.20	-0.43 ***	-0.21 ***
Current age	0.54 ***	0.18	0.31 ***	0.29 ***
Years out of high school	-0.31 **	0.41	0.01	0.16 **
Two-Parent Family (reference)				
Step-Parent Family	0.70 **	0.61	0.20	0.43 ***
Single Parent	0.28	0.61	0.06	0.18 *
Other Family Structure	0.18	1.62 ***	0.44	0.87 **
Number of Siblings at Home	0.19 **	0.02	0.08	0.00
Parent high school graduate or dropout	0.00	0.49	0.45 **	0.59 ***
Parent has some college	-0.35	-0.42	0.11	0.25 **
Parent is college graduate (reference)				
Adolescent works 20 or more hrs/wk	-0.02	-0.66	0.50 ***	0.18 *
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test	-0.01 *	-0.01	0.00	-0.01 **
GPA	-0.51 ***	-0.70 ***	-0.44 ***	-0.79 ***
Grade retention	0.28	-0.20	0.36 **	0.13
Academic Disengagement	-0.02	-0.05	0.06	-0.06
Educational Aspirations	-0.27 **	-0.71 ***	-0.20 **	-0.23 ***
Parental Closeness	-0.05	0.37 *	-0.03	0.02
Parental Control	-0.18 ***	-0.09	-0.04	-0.02
% students expect middle class income	-0.01	-0.07 *	-0.03	-0.03 **
Average class size	-0.01	-0.02	0.00	-0.02 **
Proportion Coethnic	-0.21	0.38	-0.23	0.63 *
Disadvantaged Factor Score	0.47 ***	-0.09	0.10	0.18 **
PVT missing	0.49 *	1.51 ***	0.31	-0.04
Family structure missing	0.10	0.73	1.00 **	1.01 ***
School variables missing	0.10	---	-0.72 **	-0.21
Constant	-4.88	4.40	-2.48	-1.04

(Continued)

	Hispanic Model 1	Asian Model 2	Black Model 3	White Model 4:
Idle vs. Attending College				
First generation	-1.42 ***	-0.28	-1.75 *	0.87
Second generation	-0.78 **	-0.53	-0.52	-0.16
Third generation and beyond (reference)				
Mexican (reference)				
Central-South American	0.03			
Puerto-Rican	0.17			
Cuban	-1.20 *			
Chinese (reference)				
Filipino		0.49		
Other Asian		0.10		
Female	0.51 *	0.39	-0.10	0.22 *
Current age	0.56 ***	0.01	0.40 ***	0.22 **
Years out of high school	-0.28	0.10	-0.20	0.14
Two-Parent Family (reference)				
Step-Parent Family	0.21	-0.08	0.25	0.73 ***
Single Parent	0.41	0.89 **	-0.04	0.50 ***
Other Family Structure	0.23	0.75	0.79 *	1.72 ***
Number of Siblings at Home	0.07	0.21 *	0.08	0.04
Parent high school graduate or dropout	0.31	0.15	0.62 ***	0.58 ***
Parent has some college	-0.55	-0.27	0.35	0.49 ***
Parent is college graduate (reference)				
Adolescent works 20 or more hrs/wk	-0.26	0.43	0.00	-0.30
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test	-0.02 **	0.00	-0.01	0.00
GPA	-0.74 ***	-1.26 **	-0.51 ***	-1.04 ***
Grade retention	-0.14	0.69	0.21	0.39 **
Academic Disengagement	-0.11	-0.22	0.21	0.12
Educational Aspirations	-0.34 ***	-0.58 **	-0.26 ***	-0.26 ***
Parental Closeness	0.10	0.41 *	0.21	0.00
Parental Control	0.05	-0.20	-0.02	0.05
% students expect middle class income	-0.05	-0.01	-0.08 ***	-0.05 **
Average class size	-0.04	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04 **
Proportion Coethnic	0.59	-0.37	-0.14	1.19 **
Disadvantaged Factor Score	0.38 *	0.19	0.05	0.48 ***
PVT missing	0.68	1.26 **	-0.37	-0.05
Family structure missing	-0.79	0.31	0.74	0.71 *
School variables missing	0.16	---	-0.47	-0.32 *
Constant	-2.61	3.97	-0.81	0.68
Model Statistics				
N	1744	988	2396	6286
F	9.34	34.81	16.98	15.26

*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Note: Standard errors not shown due to space limitations.