



California Center for Population Research
University of California - Los Angeles

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Transition to Adulthood:
A Comparison of Black, Hispanic,
and White Immigrant and Native-
Born Youth**

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PWP-CCPR-2016-020

February 22, 2016

*California Center for Population Research
On-Line Working Paper Series*

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A Comparison of Black, Hispanic, and White
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February 19, 2016

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2010 Population Association of America meetings, Dallas, TX. We thank Misty Heggenes, Kristin Turney, Anita Zuberi, and members of the Population Research Institute's Adolescence and Young Adult working group for helpful comments. The research was supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Family Demography Training Grant (No. T-32HD007514) to Pennsylvania State University Population Research Institute, and the California Center for Population Research, UCLA, which receives core support from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R24-HD41022). Seltzer also received support from the National Institute on Aging project P01AG029409 on "Intergenerational Family Transfers of Time and Money."

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Abstract

Parents play a key role in launching their children into adulthood. Differences in the resources they provide their children have implications for perpetuating patterns of family inequality. Using data on 6,962 young adults included in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997, we examine differences in the support parents provide to young adult children by immigrant status and race/ethnicity and whether and how those differences are explained by parent resources and young adult resources and roles. Immigrant status and race/ethnicity are associated with patterns of support in complex ways. We find that racial/ethnic and immigrant disparities in perceptions of support, financial support, and receiving advice from parents about education or employment are explained by family socioeconomic resources. Group differences in whether young adults say they would turn to a parent for advice and coresidence persist after accounting for these factors, however. Young adult resources and roles also shape parental support of young adults in the transition to adulthood, but taking account of these characteristics does not explain immigrant and racial/ethnic group differences. Our findings highlight the need to consider both race/ethnicity and immigrant status to understand family relationships and sources of support.

Introduction

Intergenerational relationships have become increasingly central to family life in recent decades (Bengtson 2001). Life expectancy has grown, elongating the time that multiple generations of family members' adult years overlap (Antonucci et al. 2011). The rise in divorce, non-marital child bearing, and relationship churning mean that for many, intergenerational relationships have replaced nuclear family bonds as stable sources of support (Seltzer and Bianchi 2013). Further, an elongation of the transition to adulthood—marked by extended schooling, delayed entry into marriage, and career instability—has increased the period in which many young adults are dependent upon their families for support (Furstenberg 2010; Settersten and Ray 2010). Public policy has begun to recognize and respond to these trends. For example, a recent change in health care policy allows young people to retain coverage through their parents until age 26 (Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010).

The increasing importance of intergenerational bonds, however, may exacerbate inequality across the life course. Parents' support for their children during the transition to adulthood has been called a hidden source of inequality (Swartz 2008, 2009) because the value of resources parents transmit are conditional on parents' financial, human, and social capital (Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg 1993; Schoeni and Ross 2005; Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 2001; Swartz et al. 2011; White 1994) and because young people who can rely on their parents for support are in a better position to weather periods of low income, unemployment, and relationship instability (Settersten and Ray 2010). Thus, more privileged young people receive additional resources, augmenting their chances of attaining greater educational attainment, economic security, and wellbeing than their disadvantaged peers. At the same time, parents of all social classes expend resources to support their children. Although higher income families

provide greater material support to their young adult children, lower income parents also provide substantial resources, at greater personal cost (Fingerman et al. 2015; Furstenberg 2010). These exchanges have significant repercussions for inequality within both generations, as well as the reproduction of inequality across generations. This exemplifies the concept of “linked lives,” a key tenet of life course theory, which argues that family members’ fates are connected through everyday exchanges and resource transfers (Elder 1998).

This study examines differences in parental support for young people in the transition to adulthood by immigrant generation and racial/ethnic identity, and the parent and child characteristics that contribute to these differences. Immigrants comprise 12% of the U.S. population, and almost 30% of young adults in the United States are first or second generation immigrants (Martin and Midgley 2003; Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). This percentage is expected to increase over time as immigrants continue to enter the United States, settle, and start families. Immigrant families enter a country profoundly structured by race and this racialized structure shapes their identities, social contexts, attainment opportunities, and family interactions (Gans 2007). The proportion of young adults who are racial minorities is also growing rapidly (Johnson and Lichter 2010), now comprising 44% of the 18- to 24-year-old population (Cook et al. 2014). Therefore, it is important to understand how parental support for children varies by both immigrant status and race/ethnicity to provide an accurate picture of how the immigrant experience and racial/ethnic identification shape parental support during this period.

We distinguish between two forms of parental support: perceived support and actual support. *Perceived support* refers to whether young people feel supported by their parents and whether they would turn to their parents for advice. *Actual support* includes economic and social capital that children receive from their parents. Including multiple measures of both types of

support allows us to examine the circumstances surrounding direct resource transfers and the availability of support, whether or not young adult children have asked for or received such support. We investigate how these forms of support differ by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity among first generation, second generation, and non-immigrant White, Black, and Hispanic youth. Our findings demonstrate important differences in the availability and transmission of parental support to young people in the transition to adulthood, which have important implications for immigrant and racial/ethnic inequality.

Parental Support and Assistance in the Transition to Adulthood

Life course theory draws attention to social, historical, and interpersonal contexts in understanding trajectories of human development (Elder 1998). In particular, this theory points to the importance of family members in shaping one's life chances. Young adults experience multiple transitions and often overlapping roles between late adolescence and early adulthood, and therefore frequently rely on parents to guide or support them through decision-making and periods of economic insecurity (Fingerman et al. 2009). This support is an important part of young adults' social capital, or the resources embedded in social relationships that may be accessed and mobilized in times of need (Hofferth, Boisjoly, and Duncan 1999; Lin 2001). The availability of such support, however, is likely to vary by parents' resources and experiences.

Two forms of support are important. First, adult children may receive resources such as financial support, coresidence, and advice. Financial support and coresidence are both ways parents help children weather economic instability (Swartz 2008), and coresidence may substitute for financial assistance among low-income families (Seltzer and Bianchi 2013). Parental advice is a less tangible but no less important resource that can be used to guide young people through major events such as choosing college majors and courses, applying for jobs,

negotiating raises, and stabilizing romantic relationships (Lareau and Weininger 2008; Swartz 2009). Although advice may be garnered through social networks outside the family, parents are likely to be most invested in guiding young adults through their decisions. As recent research shows, young adults rely on parents more now than in the past, and social institutions (particularly colleges) generally assume a high level of parental involvement and support during this period of life (Furstenberg 2010; Settersten and Ray 2010). Furthermore, parental involvement and advice are positively associated with young adult attainment and emotional wellbeing (Fingerman et al. 2012; Lareau and Weininger 2008). This form of parental support, which we refer to as *actual support*, has received extensive attention from family researchers (e.g. Johnson 2013; Turley and Desmond 2011; Mazelis and Mykta 2011; Schoeni and Ross 2005; Zissimopoulos and Smith 2009), although less is known about the provision of actual support among immigrant families in the transition to adulthood.

Perceived support has been less well studied, despite calls to attend to the availability of parental resources, regardless of whether or not they have been mobilized (Brown and Manning 2011; Seltzer and Bianchi 2013; Wong 2008). One reason to study perceived support is that measures of actual support can conflate receipt and need; some young people may have access to parental support but not need it, whereas those who appear to have greater support represent a group that has both support and need. Also, perceived support represents a “latent safety net,” which is important because access to resources—even if not received—can influence young people’s behavior. This may act as a form of insurance offering young people a sense of security that shapes their everyday behavior, goals, and outlook (Harknett 2006, Wong 2008). For example, the perception of a safety net may engender young people to take calculated risks, like pursuing graduate education or beginning a business. Prior research has demonstrated that

perceived support is associated with economic wellbeing, particularly among low-income populations (Harknett 2006; Henly, Danziger, and Offer 2005). Hofferth and colleagues have argued that “‘access’ is a more important construct than actual provision or receipt of assistance” (1999, p. 82). Family researchers have stated the importance of identifying factors associated with perceived support, although few data sources include these measures (Brown and Manning 2011; Seltzer and Bianchi 2013).

Factors in Parental Support

Actual and perceived parental support for young adults is predicated on children’s needs and social roles and parent characteristics and resources (Fingerman et al., 2009; Mazelis and Mykyta 2011; Sarkisian, Gerena, and Gerstel 2007; Swartz et al. 2011), and these factors may be associated with immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity. Below, we discuss prior literature on parental support for young adult children generally, before turning to specific considerations in immigrant and minority families.

Children’s Needs and Social Roles

Elder (1984) has argued that family relationships change in response to family members’ individual development. Prior research supports this by showing that young adults’ circumstances strongly shape their relationships with parents. Children are more likely to receive resources from their parents in response to crises, such as trouble maintaining employment or recent relationship dissolution (Fingerman et al. 2009). Financially stable young adults are less likely to report monetary and housing assistance compared to their less well-off peers. Thus, one line of research suggests that the neediest offspring receive the greatest assistance from parents (Suitor, Sechrist, and Pillemer 2007). Whether neediness is related to perceptions of support, however, is unclear. Neediness may be positively correlated with perceptions of support among

young adults who have received support in the past, and therefore know that their parents are willing to transfer additional resources to them. However, prior research shows that poverty, neighborhood disadvantage, and minority status are all negatively correlated with young adults' perceptions of having a social safety net (Turney and Harknett 2010; Turney and Kao 2009).

Other social roles and resources may also matter in young people's likelihood to receive resources from parents. Some work shows that parents invest in children deemed "deserving" (Fingerman et al. 2009). Students, for example, report receiving more help than non-students (Fingerman et al. 2012). Married children less frequently receive resources from their parents than single children, and those who are married are less likely to perceive their parents as emotionally supportive (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2008). According to the intergenerational similarity hypothesis (Bengtson and Black 1973; Bucx and van Wel 2008), the shared experience of becoming a parent draws generations together. This new experience may also increase children's reliance on parents' advice and support. Of course, young people's chances of having children, marrying or cohabiting, and enrolling in school may all depend, in part, on parents' support.

Lastly, gender and age may be associated with different types of support. Daughters are less likely to live with their parents in young adulthood (Treas and Batalova 2011), but more likely to receive emotional support or feel close to their parents (Lye 1996; Silverstein, Bengtson, and Lawton 1997). Some research finds no difference by children's gender in financial transfers (Berry 2008). Adult children are also less likely to receive help as they age (Schoeni and Ross 2005).

Parent Characteristics and Resources

Several parent characteristics are associated with actual and perceived parental support of adult children. Higher income families are in a better position to offer their children economic resources (Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg 1993; Schoeni and Ross 2005; Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 2001; White 1994), although income may not be associated with giving emotional support or practical help with childcare or chores. Wealth, defined as the total assets a family possesses minus its debts (Shapiro 2006), may also be a factor. Families with greater wealth are better able to provide financial assistance to their children. Wealth also may be important for perceived support, if young people view parents' financial stability as evidence that parents have the ability to provide monetary support or employment advice. Parents' wealth may enable young people to take risks and invest in higher cost educational opportunities or lower paying jobs that could pay greater dividends in the future (Pfeffer 2007; Pfeffer and Hällsten 2012).

Qualitative research suggests that parents possessing more human capital are more likely to provide advice to young adult children regarding their educational pathways; middle-class parents play a prominent role in guiding their children through the transition to adulthood (Lareau and Weininger 2008). Family structure also matters. Parents who are married to their children's other biological parent are more likely to agree that parents should provide financial support to their adult children than single or remarried parents (Aquilino 2005; White 1992). Children also report feeling closer to and receiving more practical support from married parents, in comparison to divorced parents (Amato, Rezac, and Booth 1995; Kaufman and Uhlenberg 1998). Larger families may dilute the availability of close emotional bonds and resources. Finally, as kin keepers, young women may be more likely to perceive their parents as supportive than young men, although they also may be less likely to need parents' support given higher rates of women's educational attainment in young adulthood (DiPrete and Buchmann 2013).

Intergenerational Relationships in Immigrant and Minority Families

Immigrants and Parent-Child Relationships

There are reasons to expect both more and less actual and perceived support from immigrant parents to their children in comparison to non-immigrant parents. On one hand, close ties among immigrant families reflect cultural values and adaptive strategies developed in response to the immigrant experience (Harrison et al. 1990) and may lead to greater support for young adult children. Research demonstrates that children from immigrant families express greater approval of family interdependence and a greater sense of familial obligation than do native-born youth (Fuligni and Pedersen 2002; Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam 1999; Hardway and Fuligni 2006; Phinney, Ong, and Madden 2000; Tseng 2004).

Most existing scholarship focuses on relationships between teens and their immigrant parents, however. We know little about parents' roles in immigrant children's transition to adulthood (Foner and Dreby 2011; Kasinitz et al. 2008; but see Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). There is some evidence that differences in family solidarity between immigrant and non-immigrant youth persist into young adulthood. One regional study found that, among young people between 1 and 3 years out of high school, immigrants reported feeling a greater sense of familial obligation than non-immigrants (Fuligni and Pedersen 2002). These strong family ties may promote intergenerational exchange. Indeed, some studies suggest that immigrant children are more likely to live with their parents in the transition to adulthood than non-immigrants, either to stay close to their families or as a response to an uncertain economic future (Rumbaut 2005; Tseng 2004). Immigrant children also may be more likely to turn to parents for advice or emotional support—or say they will—due to these strong familial ties.

On the other hand, immigrant families face unique challenges in maintaining intergenerational relationships. Coming to a new country can sever or strain ties, as families span national and continental borders. Recent migrants to the United States often adopt extended family living arrangements that differ from traditional household structures in both the country of origin and the United States (Dreby 2010; Van Hook and Glick 2007). Many children of immigrant parents report being separated from their parents for at least some time during their youth (Suarez-Orozco, Todorova, and Louie 2002). Even when not physically separated, parents and children navigate the acculturation process in separate spheres and acculturate at different rates, leading to a conflict between the cultural values shared by immigrant communities and American individualism (Harris and Chen 2004; Smith 2006; Zhou 1997). Immigrant parents often do not possess the cultural knowledge necessary to help guide their children through educational, work, and romantic relationship transitions. Adult children may be reluctant to turn to their parents for advice if they do not perceive them as knowledgeable about contemporary issues in the U.S. labor market and school system, or if they see their parents as possessing outdated ideas about romantic relationships. They also may resist asking for advice if they feel at odds with their parents' cultural values and knowledge (Zhou 1997).

Lastly, immigrant families may not possess the same economic resources that non-immigrant families possess. Prior research shows less wealth accumulation among immigrants than among the native born (Hao 2007), although among Black families, wealth accumulation is greater for many immigrants than native-born families (Martin 2009). Attention to resource disparities across both immigrant and racial/ethnic groups is an important consideration for understanding how families support their young adult children.

Immigrant experiences and their consequences vary by immigrant generation. Family cohesion is stronger among those families who migrated more recently to the United States (Harris and Chen 2004; Phinney, Ong, and Madden 2000). Generation status affects multiple dimensions of wellbeing, including income and wealth (Card 2009; Hao 2007; Hyde, Pais, and Wallace 2015), educational attainment (Fry 2007), psychological health (Harker 2001), and language knowledge and use (Lutz 2006; Rumbaut 1997). These characteristics may be both a cause and consequence of young adults' relationships with their parents and overall family solidarity.

Racial/ethnic Identity and Parent-Child Relationships

Numerous studies have documented racial/ethnic differences in parent-child relationships and parental support of adult children in the transition to adulthood (e.g. Antonucci et al. 2011; Fingerman et al. 2011; Gerstel 2011; Haxton and Harknett 2009; Sarkisian, Gerena, and Gerstel 2007; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012; Swartz 2009; Treas and Batalova 2011), concluding primarily that White parents offer more financial and emotional support in the transition to adulthood, and Black and Hispanic parents are more likely to lend practical support (e.g. childcare and coresidence). Some studies find that Black, Hispanic, and Asian parents and young adult children are more likely to adhere to cultural norms regarding familism and obligations to provide support across generations than White parents and children (e.g. Bengtson 2001; Coleman, Ganong, and Rothrauff 2006). Others conclude that Black and Latino parents are less likely to provide their young adult children with assistance compared to Whites (Fingerman et al. 2011). These racial/ethnic differences may be due to disparities in parents' financial resources (Bloome 2014; Conley 1999; Oliver and Shapiro 1995), however. Poor White families resemble Black and Latino families in their use of practical support (Gerstel 2011), whereas middle-class

Black and Latino families are more likely to provide financial and emotional assistance to young adults than socioeconomically disadvantaged Blacks and Latinos (Antonucci et al. 2011).

Finally, less is known about parental advice to young adult children by race/ethnicity. Closer emotional bonds reported among White families may encourage advice seeking. However, greater familism among Black and Hispanic families may extend to a greater tendency to turn to family for advice. Although prior research suggests that low-income Black men and women are less likely to ask for and offer informal support in association with job seeking than Whites (Smith 2005), this race difference may not extend to other topics and to information transferred from parents to their children.

Immigrant Status and Racial/ethnic Identity

Studies of racial/ethnic differences in the transition to adulthood often ignore immigrant status, largely because few datasets contain sufficient samples of first and second generation immigrant youth (for exceptions, see Britton 2013; Treas and Batalova 2011). But it is important not to conflate immigrant and racial/ethnic differences. Differences in parent-child relationships may reflect both the immigration experience and the communities they join in the United States (Bean and Stevens 2003; Mollenkopf et al. 2005). In particular, immigrants enter into a previously stratified society where racial/ethnic minorities frequently encounter discrimination in schools (Benner, Crosnoe, and Eccles 2014), the labor market (Pager 2003), and housing (Ewens, Tomlin, and Wang 2014; Kuebler and Rugh 2013), leading to deepening racial and ethnic segregation (Massey and Denton 1998) and economic inequality (Bloome 2014; Hardaway and McLoyd 2009; Kalil and Wightman 2011). For example, wealth inequality among immigrants largely follows pre-established patterns of much lower wealth accumulation among Black and Hispanic families compared to White and Asian families (Hao 2007).

Furthermore, minority and non-minority immigrant and non-immigrant young adults may differentially draw on family support. For example, one study of native- and foreign-born parents of young children found that perceived social support was lower among both foreign-born and minority parents than native-born Whites (Turney and Kao 2009). Another study of coresidence found evidence of both racial/ethnic and immigrant differences, with Asian, Black, and Hispanic youth more likely to live with parents than White youth, and immigrant youth more likely to coreside than non-immigrant youth (Britton 2013). Paying attention to both immigrant and racial/ethnic background will elucidate how membership in these overlapping but distinct social categories shape the resources available to young people.

The Current Study

We examine parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood for immigrant and non-immigrant families and by race/ethnicity. We ask two questions: 1) What are the patterns of parent-child relationships during the transition to adulthood among immigrant and non-immigrant, racial minority and non-minority groups? and 2) What factors explain these patterns? Our paper uses nationally representative, longitudinal data that allow us to control for adolescent parent-child relationship quality and family structure. Accounting for early parent-child relationship quality reduces the chance that differences in parental support at the transition to adulthood are merely artifacts of earlier relationships, but instead reflect group differences and social processes that continue to shape intergenerational ties throughout life. We provide a broad view of parent-child relationships by examining both perceived and actual support.

Data and Methods

We use the National Longitudinal Study of Youth 1997 (NLSY97), a large, nationally-representative survey of youth from the birth cohorts 1980-84 who were living in the United

States in 1996. The first wave of data was collected in 1997 when the respondents were 12 to 18 years old, and they have been re-interviewed annually since then. The NLSY97 study was designed to document the transition from adolescence to adulthood and from school to work, and includes prospective data collected on first generation, second generation, and non-immigrant youth from adolescence to young adulthood. It also includes data collected from a resident parent or guardian at the first interview, which we exploit to identify parents' educational attainment, household poverty status, parents' wealth, family structure, and immigrant status. The first wave of the NLSY97 survey included 8,984 respondents from slightly less than 7,000 households (all eligible siblings were interviewed).

Interviews were conducted in person in the first wave. Sensitive information, including relationships with parents, was collected using Audio Computer-Assisted Self-Interview (ACASI) technology. Spanish language interviews were conducted with 297 parents and 96 youth respondents. Subsequent interviews were conducted primarily through a combination of in-person interviews and ACASI software, although some respondents were interviewed over the phone. The dependent variables we consider were measured in the 2005 and 2006 interviews, when respondents were ages 20 to 26. In 2005, 81.7% of the original sample completed an interview. In 2006, 84.1% completed an interview. Although some outcome variables were available in multiple years, they were not all measured in the same years. We chose to use outcome measures from 2005 and 2006 because these years best captured the prime transition to adulthood ages (20 to 26) and this was the only two-year combination that contained all of the relevant parent-child relationship measures.

We define the analytic sample as youth who were living with at least one biological or adoptive parent at the first wave; were Black, White, or Hispanic; and participated in the 2006

survey¹. We restrict our multivariate analyses to respondents who have valid responses on the dependent variables and met the above criteria (substituting a 2005 wave restriction for the 2006 wave in analyses of dependent variables obtained in this year). Missing data were imputed using multiple imputation, with estimates averaged across ten imputed datasets (Allison 2002). The analytic sample was 6,962 in 2006 and 6,743 in 2005.

Dependent Variables: Perceived Support

In 2006, young adult respondents were asked to report how supportive they felt each parent, their mother and father, was toward them (1=not at all supportive, 2=somewhat supportive, and 3=very supportive). Because both indicators were highly skewed (children reported that 68% of fathers and 77% of mothers were very supportive), we constructed a dichotomous indicator of high supportiveness where 1=one or both parents were very supportive and 0=neither parent was very supportive. We elected to use the highest response, rather than an average, because children consistently report feeling closer to their mothers (Lye 1996; Swartz 2009). Averaged values, therefore, could appear artificially low for children who reported answers for both parents compared to those who reported only on mothers.

We also included two measures of whether the respondent reported, in 2005, that he or she would ask his or her parents for advice regarding “friendships or close personal relationships” or “employment, education, or training.” Both questions asked respondents who they *would* turn to for advice on each topic rather than who they actually *had* turned to in the past. A follow-up question asked whom they would turn to first. Respondents were not asked whom they would ask for advice after the first person they named. Respondents who selected their parents first were coded 1 and 0 otherwise. To account for any relationship between the size

of respondents' networks and their likelihood of turning to parents for advice, we control for the total number of people they say they would turn to for advice for each respective outcome.

Dependent Variables: Actual Support

We examine three measures of resources from parents, all measured in 2006. Coresidence is coded 1 when respondents reported living with one or both parents in 2006 and 0 otherwise.

We consider coresidence to be a form of support from parents to children because, as prior research shows, young adult coresidence with parents is typically a response to children's needs in the transition to adulthood (Mykyta and Macartney 2011; Swartz et al. 2011).

The NLSY97 survey also asked respondents whether they had received any money from family members or friends in the past year, and followed up with questions asking if they had received at least \$100 in the past year from each of 21 different individuals. We combined responses that indicated both parents, mother or father only, parent and stepparent, or stepparent only to create an indicator of whether the respondent received at least \$100 from their parent(s) in the prior year (1) or not (0). Unfortunately reports about amounts of support were reported in total rather than separately for each donor so we cannot examine the amount of financial transfers from parents to youth.

We examine the receipt of social resources by combining three measures of who the respondent talked with most often about questions they had regarding schooling, job, or finances in the previous year. These were asked as six different survey questions, where for each topic (schooling, job, and finances) the respondent was first asked whether they had "talked with anyone about questions [they] had" and were next asked, if they said yes, whom they consulted most often. This is similar to questions asked in 2005, except that in 2006 respondents were asked to report whom they actually consulted, indicating the transfer of information or advice.

We created an indicator of whether the respondent said he or she had spoken to a parent most often about at least one of the topics. There is a difference, of course, between having no one else to turn to and having ties to someone other than parents. Therefore, we explored alternative models in which the dependent variable was a three-category measure of whether the respondent reported consulting most often with parents, other ties, or no one (reference). Results from this multinomial logistic regression are highly consistent with those presented here. The results of the alternate specification are available in the online supplement.

Immigrant Status and Race/ethnicity

We treat youth born outside the United States as first generation immigrants. To classify second generation youth we take account of both biological parents' immigration status, as well as the resident biological parent's spouse where applicable.² The NLSY97 does not collect information about date of entry into the United States, and therefore we are unable to identify youth in the 1.5 generation. Non-immigrant youth are U.S.-born youth with U.S.-born parents. This classification scheme is consistent with prior research on immigrant youth using the NLSY97 (Bronte-Tinkew et al. 2006).

Race/ethnicity was identified by the household informant's report (in Wave 1) of the youth as: Black, Hispanic, or White. Identification of Hispanic or Latino identity took preference over race for this variable so that youth who were identified as Black or White are not Hispanic or Latino. "Other" racial/ethnic groups (including Asians) comprised less than 4% of the sample, so we did not include them in our analyses. The household informant's identification of the youth's race/ethnicity is potentially problematic, but it is the only measure available for all respondents. In 2002, the survey included questions asking youth their racial/ethnic identity that were similar to those asked of the household informant at the baseline survey. A cross-tab of the

two measures revealed that, starting with baseline racial/ethnic identification, 97% of Whites, 97% of Blacks, and 90% of Hispanics were identified as the same race/ethnicity in both measures. Among those who were identified by the household informant as Hispanic in 1997, nearly 7% self-identified as non-Hispanic White in 2002. Supplemental analyses substituting the 2002 race/ethnicity measure for the 1997 version for the subset of respondents interviewed in 2002 produced consistent results to those presented here.

Finally, we created a categorical variable combining immigrant and racial/ethnic identity. Because our sample size was very small for first generation immigrants, we combined White and Black first generation immigrants into one category. Therefore, respondents are categorized as: (1) 1st generation White or Black, (2) 1st generation Hispanic, (3) 2nd generation White, (4) 2nd generation Black, (5) 2nd generation Hispanic, (6) non-immigrant White, (7) non-immigrant Black, or (8) non-immigrant Hispanic.

Explanatory Variables

Demographic variables and parent and family characteristics were all measured at Wave 1. Age in years is a continuous variable measured at the first interview when respondents were 12 to 18 years old. We include a dichotomous indicator of whether the respondent was female (1) or male (0). An indicator of two-parent family structure distinguishes youth living with two biological or adoptive parents (1) from those in other family configurations (0). We also control for the number of full, half- and stepsiblings in the family. Birth order is measured as: oldest or only child (reference), middle child, or youngest child. Household poverty ratio compares household income to the federal poverty level, taking household size into account. This measure provides a better estimate of household resources than income alone because it adjusts for the number of people dependent upon that income. We also include a measure of wealth quartile to

account for additional sources of economic wellbeing in the household of origin. We base the quartiles on the sample distribution of net household worth in 1997, which was computed by survey staff from parents' reports of assets and debts. We chose this ordered categorical measure of wealth so that the findings were not skewed by very high or very low values. Overall, wealth in this sample was slightly lower than average household wealth of the U.S. population in 1998 (Wolff 2010), which is expected because parents in the sample were still relatively young in 1997. Parents' education is coded according to the highest attaining parent, as: (1) no degree (reference category), (2) high school graduate, (3) some college/AA/junior college, or (4) bachelor's degree or more. Finally, we include a measure of high parental supportiveness, as evaluated by the respondent in Wave 1 and coded identically to the 2006 perceived supportiveness outcome variable.

We also consider the role of youths' resources and roles in parent-child relationships. For all outcome variables, we use information about the respondent's resources and roles obtained from 2005 in models predicting outcomes in that year, and from 2006 otherwise. Educational attainment is measured using the same coding scheme as parents' educational attainment. We control for whether the respondent is a student, employed, and has a child. Marital status distinguishes those who are single (reference) from those who are married and those who are cohabiting.

Plan of Analysis

We examine differences in the ways immigrant and non-immigrant White, Black, and Hispanic families launch their children into adulthood, and whether these disparities are explained by parents' resources or children's resources and roles in adulthood. Descriptive statistics are weighted to provide nationally representative estimates of the population in 2006. In

all models we obtain robust standard errors by specifying clusters of siblings in the data. We use logistic regression to investigate the relationship between the explanatory variables and our outcome variables. We first estimate differences between first and second generation and non-immigrant Black, Hispanic, and White young adults, controlling for age and gender. Our second model adds controls for family resources and prior parental support. In our final model, we add controls for children's resources and roles in adulthood to account for how early family, school, and work transitions shape parents' perceived and actual supportiveness. Coefficients in logistic regressions cannot be compared directly across nested models because the variance of the latent variable represented by the dichotomous outcome variable is not identified, and fluctuates among models. Therefore, we use the Karlson, Holm, and Breen (2012) test to determine the magnitude of changes. We report coefficient changes across models where significant. Finally, we tested alternative models for each outcome with different racial/ethnic and immigrant group reference categories (not shown) and report those findings, where statistically significant.

Results

Table 1 displays weighted percentages for the six measures of parental support by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity. Note that even when we combine first generation Whites and Blacks, there are only 66 cases in this category. Although we keep this group in the analysis we do not discuss differences between this and other groups. Given the large number of categories, we do not report statistically significant differences in the table, but in supplemental analyses we used logistic regression to identify significant differences between non-immigrant Whites and all other groups. Second generation Black, second generation Hispanic, and non-immigrant Black youth were somewhat less likely to report their parents were supportive of them than non-immigrant Whites. First generation Hispanic and non-immigrant Black youth are more

likely than other immigrant and racial/ethnic groups to say they would turn to their parents for relationship advice. Hispanics of any immigrant status are significantly less likely than Whites to say they would turn to their parents for advice on education or employment-related matters. There is almost no difference between the percentages of non-immigrant Black and White youth who report that they would turn to their parents for education or employment advice. Turning to actual support, coresidence is more common among non-Whites and immigrants. Hispanic parents are less likely than parents in other racial/ethnic groups to provide financial support. First and second generation Hispanics are less likely to report financial support than non-immigrant Whites. Finally, Hispanics and non-immigrant Black young adults are less likely to have discussed school, job, or finances with their parents compared to non-immigrant Whites, whereas second generation White youth are more likely to report this outcome.

[Table 1 here]

Table 2 presents weighted percentages and means for each explanatory and control variable by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity. Second generation Black youth and non-immigrant Black and Hispanic youth are much less likely to be living with both biological parents at the first interview than youth in other groups. First and second generation Hispanic youth and non-immigrant Black youth are the most disadvantaged as measured by poverty status, wealth, and parental education. Second generation Black youth report particularly low parental support in adolescence, compared to youth in other groups.

[Table 2 here]

Children's attainment and family status in early adulthood also vary by immigrant generation. Hispanic youth of any immigrant background and non-immigrant Black youth have the lowest educational attainment of all groups and are the most likely to be a parent by 2006.

Non-immigrant Black youth are the most likely to be not working at all, while first and second generation non-White youth are the most likely to be working full-time. Although marriage is relatively rare at these ages, Hispanics of any generation and non-immigrant Whites are the most likely to be married.

Perceived Support

Table 3 presents the results from the logistic regression analyses predicting perceived support. We first examine three models predicting whether respondents said that either of their parents was very supportive of them. For these models and all subsequent analyses, we will focus on the primary immigrant and racial/ethnic groups of interest. We discuss findings from our control variables at the end of this section.

Model 1 displays the association between immigrant and racial/ethnic status and supportiveness, controlling for age and gender. Second generation Black ($b = -0.46, p < .05$) and Hispanic ($b = -0.32, p < .01$) youth and non-immigrant Black youth ($b = -0.19, p < .05$) report significantly less perceived parental support than non-immigrant White youth. After controlling for family background factors in Model 2, these differences are reduced to non-significance, except among non-immigrant Black youth, who are significantly more likely to report high parental supportiveness ($b = 0.22, p < .05$). Results are consistent in the third model.

Supplementary analyses of Model 3 show that non-immigrant Black youth reported higher supportiveness compared to all second generation youth, and these differences are even greater than those comparing non-immigrant Black youth to non-immigrant Whites.

Next, we examine young adults' reports of whether they would turn to a parent for advice on relationships. First generation Hispanic youth have about 40% higher odds of saying they would turn to their parents for relationship advice than non-immigrant white youth ($b = 0.34, p <$

.01). Non-immigrant Black youth report 68% higher odds of saying they would go to their parents for relationship advice than non-immigrant White youth ($b = 0.52, p < .001$). Controlling for family background factors in Model 2 and youth's resources and roles in Model 3 does not change these associations. Supplemental analyses using different reference categories for Model 3 show that second generation immigrant youth of any racial/ethnic background are less likely to say they would turn to their parents first for relationship advice than either first generation Hispanic youth or non-immigrant Black youth. Non-immigrant Hispanics are also significantly less likely to say they would turn to their parents first for relationship advice compared to first generation Hispanics and non-immigrant Blacks.

[Table 3 here]

The final models in Table 3 show results from a logistic regression predicting whether young adults say they would first turn to a parent for advice on employment, education, or training. The first model shows that first generation Hispanic immigrants are 56% less likely ($b = -0.81, p < .001$) to say they would turn to their parents for advice compared to non-immigrant White youth. Second generation Hispanic youth are also 50% less likely than non-immigrant White youth to report this ($b = -0.70, p < .001$). Non-immigrant Black youth ($b = -0.12, p < .10$) and non-immigrant Hispanic youth ($b = -0.46, p < .001$) are, respectively, 11% and 37% less likely to say they would turn to their parents for help than non-immigrant White youth. The size of all of these coefficients attenuates after controlling for family background factors, but the only substantive change is for non-immigrant Black youth. After controlling for family background factors, non-immigrant Black youth are significantly more likely to say they would turn to their parents first for employment or education related advice than non-immigrant White youth, although this reduces to nonsignificance in Model 3. Alternative models (not shown) indicate

that non-immigrant Black youth are significantly more likely to say they would turn to their parents for educational and employment advice than Hispanic youth of any immigrant generation. Thus, controlling for all factors, Hispanics from any generation are particularly unlikely to say they would turn to their parents for employment or education advice, while non-immigrant Black and White youth are particularly likely to do so.

Actual Support

Table 4 reports the coefficients for models predicting actual support: coresidence; monetary support; and whether the child discussed school, job, or finances with his or her parents. Model 1 for coresidence shows that immigrant and non-immigrant minority youth have significantly higher odds of living with their parents in young adulthood than non-immigrant White youth. The comparative odds are largest for second generation Hispanic youth, who are 2.4 times as likely to report living with their parents as non-immigrant White youth ($b = 0.88, p < .001$) and smallest for non-immigrant Hispanic youth, whose odds are 1.5 times as high ($b = .39, p < .001$). Both immigrant status and race/ethnicity appear to matter. Minority youth are more likely to coreside with parents than White youth and the odds are higher for first and second generation youth than non-immigrant youth. These differences increase for non-immigrant Black youth after family background factors are included. In the third model, the positive association between non-immigrant Black youth (vs. non-immigrant White youth) and coresidence shrinks somewhat. Supplemental analyses show first and second generation Hispanic youth are significantly more likely to live with parents than all other immigrant and racial/ethnic groups; both groups are approximately twice as likely to live with their parents as second generation Whites, non-immigrant Blacks, and non-immigrant Hispanics.

[Table 4 here]

In the next panel, the first model predicting receiving financial support from parents shows that Hispanic youth of any immigrant status are significantly less likely to receive money from their parents than non-immigrant White youth. This difference is largest for first generation Hispanic youth, who have about 47% lower odds of receiving money from their parents ($b = -.64, p < .001$) and smallest for non-immigrant Hispanic youth, who have 25% lower odds ($b = -.29, p < .05$). These differences disappear once family background factors are taken into account, however. In addition, after differences in family background are taken into account, non-immigrant Black youth have 52% higher odds of receiving monetary support from parents than non-immigrant White youth ($b = 0.42, p < .001$). Supplemental analyses of Model 3 using other groups as reference categories show that non-immigrant Black youth are significantly more likely to receive money from parents than Hispanics of any immigrant generation. Again, these differences between non-immigrant Black youth and Hispanic youth of any generation are approximately the same size as those between non-immigrant Black and non-immigrant White youth.

The final set of models in Table 4 estimate whether respondents reported discussing schooling, jobs, or finances most often with a parent (compared to no one or someone else) in the past year. Results from Model 1 indicated that first generation Hispanic youth ($b = -0.50, p < .01$), second generation Hispanic youth ($b = -0.71, p < .001$), non-immigrant Black youth ($b = -0.23, p < .01$), and non-immigrant Hispanic youth ($b = -.20, p < .10$) have significantly lower odds of discussing these topics with a parent than non-immigrant White youth. Second generation White youth have 48% higher odds ($b = .39, p < .05$) of discussing these matters with their parents than non-immigrant White youth. Most of these differences are reduced in size or become non-significant after accounting for family background characteristics. Once again, we

find that the direction of the association becomes positive for non-immigrant Black youth. After accounting for family resources, non-immigrant Black youth have 34% higher odds of discussing schooling, jobs, or finances with their parents than non-immigrant youth ($b = 0.29, p < .001$). In the final model, young adult life course factors account for nearly all immigrant and racial/ethnic differences. Supplemental analyses showed that second generation Hispanic youth were significantly less likely to report discussing these matters with their parents compared to non-immigrant Hispanic youth. This stands out as the only significant difference between racial/ethnic and immigrant groups.

Figure 1 uses predicted probabilities to summarize differences in parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood by race/ethnicity and immigrant status. This figure depicts the results from the supplemental models as well, showing how all of the groups discussed compare to one another for each outcome. Some themes emerge. First, we find stark differences by group in the probability of coresidence and respondents saying they would turn to their parents for relationship advice. Coresidence is highest among Hispanics across immigrant statuses, and higher among non-Whites compared to Whites within immigrant generation. Second, respondent reports that they would turn to parents for relationship advice are particularly common among first generation immigrant youth of any race/ethnicity and non-immigrant Black respondents. Third, we show that non-immigrant Black youth stand out in several respects. As noted in discussions of the supplemental analyses, non-immigrant Black youth were particularly likely, compared to other groups, to report that their parents were supportive of them, that they would go to their parents for relationship advice, and that they received money from parents. Finally, responses to hypothetical questions result in higher predicted probabilities overall,

compared to responses about actual help, probably reflecting differences in need or perceived need.

[Figure 1 here]

It is useful to note the patterns that emerge in the associations between control and outcome variables. We found that being from a two-parent family, parents' education, and perceived parental supportiveness in adolescence were positively associated with most outcomes. Controlling for family background also altered many of the associations between racial/ethnic and immigrant group status and perceived and actual support measures. Supplemental analyses (not shown) indicated that parental education, poverty status, and wealth explained most of these changes across models.

Youths' resources and roles mattered for perceived and actual support. Educational attainment was positively associated with youth perceptions of parental supportiveness, but negatively associated with saying they would turn to parents for relationship or education or employment advice. Being married or cohabiting was negatively related to youth saying they would turn to parents for relationship or career-related advice, while having a child was associated with lower perceived supportiveness. Turning to actual support, not working full-time was positively associated with coresidence and educational attainment was negatively associated with coresidence, as were all family transitions. Educational attainment and working less than full-time were positively associated with receiving financial assistance and discussing schooling, jobs, or finances with a parent, while being a parent was negatively associated with these outcomes. Being in a marital or cohabitating relationship was negatively associated with getting advice from parents compared to being single.

Finally, young women were less likely to report parental supportiveness, to say they would turn to parents for advice, and to coreside with parents and more likely to report receiving money. This aligns with previous literature showing young men are more likely to live with parents than young women (Ward and Spitze 2007). To examine this further, we conducted supplemental analyses (not shown) examining differences in young adult roles and resources by gender. Young women had higher levels of education and were much more likely to be married or have children than young men, consistent with prior literature (DiPrete and Buchmann 2013; Settersten and Ray 2010). These factors were negatively associated with turning to parents for advice and coresidence. Differences in supportiveness remained after accounting for adult roles, however. Associations between adult roles and monetary support are less clear for explaining daughters' advantage, but it may be that their higher educational attainment outweighed the negative association between being a parent and receiving monetary support. Finally, young women were more likely to report that they consulted with their parents regarding school, job, or finances than young men, after accounting for gender differences in adult roles. Unfortunately, small sample sizes limit our ability to investigate gender differences within immigrant and racial/ethnic groups. However, it appears that many—but not all—gender differences arise within the transition to adulthood when young women graduate college, marry, and have children at faster rates than young men.

Conclusion

Life course theory, as encapsulated in the concept of “linked lives,” suggests that parent-child relationships have long-term and evolving consequences for both generations' wellbeing (Elder 1984; 1998). Parents can ease the transition to adulthood for young people by providing emotional support, financial assistance, and practical help in times of need. Children whose entry

into adulthood is guided by their parents have a strong advantage relative to other youth, which may translate into greater educational or occupational attainment and financial stability (Lareau and Weininger 2008; Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993). Parents also benefit from strong relationships with their children. Ties to family members are an important source of social capital, and as parents get older, adult children are a potential source of care if parents become infirm. Not all consequences are positive, however. The importance of parental resources for adult children's life chances is a key mechanism for intergenerational inequality (Swartz 2008, 2009). Furthermore, parents' own financial wellbeing may be put at risk when providing support to adult children, and this is particularly problematic for low-income families (Settersten and Ray 2010). The risks may be especially great for immigrant and racial/ethnic groups, because Black, Hispanic, and immigrant groups have fewer resources and less wealth than White and non-immigrant families, on average (Bloome 2014; Conley 1999; Hao 2007; Oliver and Shapiro 1995).

In addition to the import of our findings for a life course perspective on economic inequality, we contribute to the literature on parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood and immigrant and racial/ethnic differences in social support networks. We examine how both immigrant and racial/ethnic identities shape these family relationships at a key period in the life course. Our study also differentiates between perceived and actual support for young adult children, which addresses both the availability of a latent safety net and its use (Seltzer and Bianchi 2013; Wong 2008).

Our findings reveal striking baseline patterns of parent-child relationships by immigrant and racial/ethnic group membership across a range of outcomes. Overall, these models show that neither immigrant status nor race/ethnicity alone dominate as an explanatory factor in young

people's relationships with parents. For example, first-generation Hispanics and non-immigrant Blacks had notably higher odds of saying that they would turn to their parents for advice on relationships, but Hispanics and Blacks of other immigrant statuses were no more likely than non-immigrant Whites to report they would seek relationship advice from parents. We argue that these findings lend support to our approach; it is important to examine immigrant status and race/ethnicity simultaneously in order to understand group patterns in family processes.

We also found that family resources explained differences by immigrant status and race/ethnicity for many, but not all, outcomes. Family resources explained nearly all immigrant and racial/ethnic variation in parental supportiveness; monetary support; and discussion of school, jobs, or finances, and notably reduced the differences between these groups when predicting whether the respondent said they would turn to a parent first when seeking education or employment related advice. Interestingly, these were the same outcomes in which associations between being a non-immigrant Black youth and the outcome became positive and significant in the second model and supplementary analyses revealed that socioeconomic factors explained this suppressor effect. Therefore, we draw two conclusions. First, family and economic resources explain many immigrant and racial/ethnic differences in parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood. Notably, most of the outcomes for which family resources play a strong role are those that depend on parental financial and social capital. Offering advice regarding work or schooling requires knowledge of the occupational and educational structure. Supporting adult children requires discretionary income or savings. Parental supportiveness is less obviously tied to whether parents possess social or economic capital, but it may be that the provision of other kinds of support influence young adults' perceptions of parent supportiveness overall. Our second conclusion is that when the provision of help requires family resources, non-immigrant

Black families are particularly likely to provide help when they have the resources available, despite an overall deficit in the availability of those family resources.

Despite the importance of family resources in reducing the association between racial/ethnic and immigrant status and these outcome variables, we were surprised that wealth was largely unassociated with parents' support of adult children. Wealth was positively related to respondents reporting that they had turned to their parents for advice regarding school, job, or finances, but was mostly unrelated to other outcomes. This may be explained, in part, by parents' age when wealth was measured. Parents reduce debt and accumulate wealth as they age. Whether parents' wealth in 1997 was substantial enough to launch their young adult children depends on parents' ages and labor force experiences. Household poverty ratio, an indicator of the ratio of income to poverty, adjusted by household size, and parents' educational attainment were more directly associated with parental support to adult children. This may be because parents rely on income flows to support their children, especially during this life stage when their wealth may be more limited than later in life after they have accumulated more resources. Young adult children also may see income and education as markers of their parents' knowledge and ability to help them. Finally, wealth may be more highly correlated with the amount of money that parents give to young adults rather than whether or not parents give any money to their children.

Unfortunately, the NLSY97 data do not include the amounts of money parents provide.

Differences by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity for two parent-child outcomes did not change after controlling for either family resources or young adult roles and resources. These outcomes were relationship advice and coresidence. Turning to parents for relationship advice was more likely among first generation Hispanics immigrants and non-immigrant Black youth. Coresidence was strongly associated with racial/ethnic identity regardless of immigrant

status. Whites reported coresidence at notably lower rates than Black and Hispanic respondents across all models. Both coresidence and relationship advice are likely to depend on cultural factors and shared values, and this may explain why nativity and racial/ethnic differences in parents' social or economic capital do not explain the group differences we observe in these outcomes. Parents do not need to own a home for them to share a home with their children, and parents need no specialized knowledge to offer advice about personal relationships.

Finally, we expected young adult resources to be associated with how parents' perceived them as "deserving" of support and we expected that some role transitions and life difficulties might signal particular vulnerability and neediness to which parents would respond (Fingerman et al. 2011). We also expected entry into committed relationships and parenthood to limit perceived and actual parental support, in part because the need for parents' support would be offset by support from a partner. Our expectations were largely confirmed. Two forms of actual support—financial assistance and school and work advice—responded both to young adult educational "deservingness" and work status needs. Young adults' needs, but not their educational attainment were, positively correlated with coresidence. Both educational attainment and working less than full-time were negatively correlated with young adults saying they would seek parents' advice, however. Youth characteristics that signal deservingness, but not need, are associated with perceptions of parental support. Lastly, all major family transitions—marriage, cohabitation, and having a child—strongly influenced the tenor of intergenerational relationships, usually resulting in less support flowing from parent to adult child.

There are several limitations to the current study. Among immigrants, there are important differences in cultural background and circumstances upon arrival in the United States by country of origin (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). Although NLSY97 data provide a unique

opportunity to study immigrants by racial/ethnic background during the transition to adulthood, the study does not include sufficient sample sizes of these young people divided by country of origin. Furthermore, information regarding how immigrants arrived in the United States (e.g., refugee status, documentation, etc.) could improve our models of immigrants' transitions to adulthood. We hope future surveys will provide the opportunity to look more closely at immigrant young adults by country of origin and context of arrival.

Small sample size within immigrant and racial/ethnic groups also limits our ability to explore gender as a moderator; subgroup size is problematic in evaluating interaction effects because the variance of interaction effects is much larger than the variance of main effects, and therefore precision is much lower (Greenland 1993). We urge future exploration of the intersection of gender, race/ethnicity, and immigrant identities in the transition to adulthood. We would also have liked to use more detailed outcome measures, including the amount of money given to children by parents and whether parents were sources of advice at all, rather than only the first or primary source. Finally, immigrant young adults differ from non-immigrant young adults in their high degree of obligation toward family members (Fuligni and Pedersen 2002; Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). Therefore, there are likely numerous differences in the actual and perceived support that young adults provide to their parents by immigrant generation and race/ethnicity. Unfortunately, our data did not contain any measures of adult children's transfers to parents. This limits our ability to fully portray parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood, and is a much needed area of study.

We also are unable to fully explore the meanings that parents and children attach to the intergenerational transfers we examine here. There are nuanced aspects to parent-child relationships that our data do not capture. Prior research has largely focused on attitudes of

familism and interdependence among immigrant youth (e.g. Phinney, Ong, and Madden 2000; Tseng 2004). This approach could be extended throughout the transition to adulthood. We need to incorporate better measures of parent-child relationships that consider feelings of ambivalence, pride and disappointment, and conflict from both members of the dyad, to better assess the complex intergenerational relationships that arise in response to generational differences in acculturation and ethnic identity.

Findings from this study hold important implications for our understanding of the transition to adulthood for all youth. Almost 30% of young adults are now immigrants or the children of immigrants (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010) and 44% are racial minorities (Cook et al. 2014). These proportions are expected to increase over the next decade. As the United States becomes more demographically diverse, immigrant and minority families' practices may shift societal norms regarding the transition to adulthood. For example, a substantial increase in the rate of coresidence with parents in young adulthood may make this practice increasingly normative. These changes would hold implications for college attendance, romantic relationship formation and progression, and financial stability during this period. Alternatively, immigrants and minorities could continue to experience markedly different transition to adulthood pathways than the pathways of young adults who are not immigrants. These divergent pathways could exacerbate preexisting disparities between minority and non-minority and immigrants' and non-immigrants' attainment and financial stability in the transition to adulthood.

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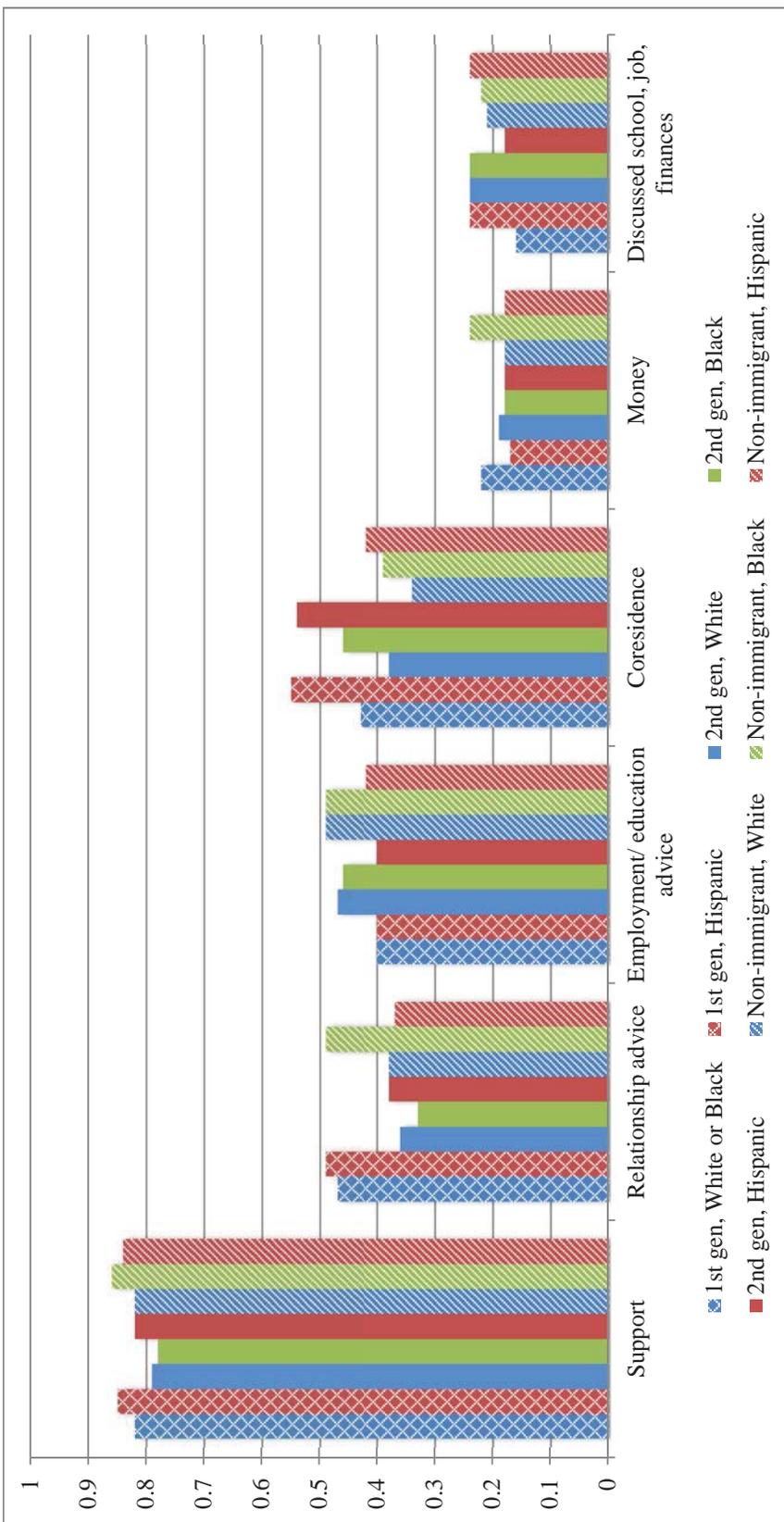


Figure 1: Predicted probabilities of parental support by immigrant status and race/ethnicity

Table 1: Percentage distributions of measures of parental support by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity

	1st generation White or Black	1st generation Hispanic	2nd generation White	2nd generation Black	2nd generation Hispanic	Non-immigrant White	Non-immigrant Black	Non-immigrant Hispanic
Measures of parental support								
Parental supportiveness	87.45%	81.75%	83.51%	80.91%	80.28%	84.69%	82.31%	82.12%
Relationship advice	46.40%	45.15%	34.86%	29.45%	36.49%	37.67%	50.63%	37.25%
Employment/education advice	48.66%	34.60%	50.76%	52.07%	36.52%	51.01%	49.69%	41.58%
Coresidence	45.20%	50.57%	36.76%	49.24%	52.01%	32.24%	43.25%	38.94%
Monetary support	27.91%	11.67%	24.93%	22.30%	13.70%	20.54%	20.94%	17.34%
Discussed school, job, or finances	24.91%	17.15%	30.94%	25.28%	13.80%	23.90%	19.71%	20.40%
Weighted %	1.04%	2.44%	4.17%	1.06%	5.52%	66.19%	13.78%	5.81%
Unweighted N and % of sample	66 0.95%	307 4.41%	206 2.97%	114 1.64%	660 9.47%	3334 47.88%	1691 24.29%	584 8.39%

Table 2: Weighted percentages and means for control variables, by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity (N=6,962)

	1st generation White or Black	1st generation Hispanic	2nd generation White	2nd generation Black	2nd generation Hispanic	Non-immigrant White	Non-immigrant Black	Non-immigrant Hispanic
Demographics								
Age of youth, years (1997)	14.43 (0.19)	14.31 (0.08)	14.41 (0.10)	14.11 (0.15)	14.44 (0.06)	14.35 (0.02)	14.37 (0.04)	14.38 (0.07)
Female (<i>reference=male</i>)	37.01%	48.60%	49.01%	46.61%	47.17%	49.14%	48.99%	44.20%
Parent and family characteristics (1997)								
Two-parent family (<i>reference=single parent or step-parents</i>)	66.36%	62.05%	62.88%	45.50%	63.14%	60.52%	30.31%	48.83%
Total number of full-, half-, and step-siblings	1.41 (0.19)	2.31 (0.12)	1.52 (0.10)	1.29 (0.13)	2.06 (0.07)	1.41 (0.03)	1.64 (0.05)	1.52 (0.07)
Birth order								
<i>Oldest or only child (reference)</i>	54.26%	44.42%	53.83%	50.62%	43.80%	55.25%	55.48%	52.90%
Middle child	15.36%	35.90%	18.86%	21.23%	32.15%	17.87%	22.32%	21.26%
Youngest child	30.38%	19.68%	27.31%	28.15%	24.05%	26.88%	22.20%	25.83%
Household poverty ratio	3.33 (0.42)	1.48 (0.16)	4.58 (0.29)	2.81 (0.25)	1.90 (0.10)	3.65 (0.06)	1.97 (0.06)	2.59 (0.12)
Household wealth								
Lowest quartile	22.25%	47.95%	10.34%	23.39%	33.58%	14.01%	36.83%	27.21%
Second quartile	21.93%	27.53%	17.74%	25.19%	26.48%	21.29%	32.46%	28.20%
Third quartile	20.63%	15.91%	27.58%	34.32%	25.19%	28.43%	20.68%	25.66%
Highest quartile	35.18%	8.59%	44.34%	17.10%	14.75%	36.27%	10.04%	18.92%
Highest parental education								
<i>Less than HS graduate (reference)</i>	9.78%	61.85%	4.77%	10.41%	47.44%	7.91%	20.56%	23.80%
High school graduate	17.48%	16.10%	20.64%	23.10%	25.05%	29.32%	41.48%	30.40%
Some college/AA/Jr college	14.49%	12.80%	30.60%	34.33%	17.14%	28.24%	24.89%	28.42%
College degree	58.26%	9.25%	43.99%	32.17%	10.37%	34.53%	13.07%	17.39%
Parent very supportive, 1997								
<i>(reference=somewhat or not at all supportive)</i>	82.19%	82.58%	82.52%	63.46%	78.23%	83.49%	81.95%	82.12%
Child's resources and roles (2006)								
Student (<i>reference=not enrolled in school</i>)	27.97%	17.44%	19.29%	25.21%	16.28%	21.03%	15.89%	19.29%
Respondent education								
<i>Less than HS graduate (reference)</i>	5.93%	23.72%	2.51%	4.20%	15.73%	8.06%	15.87%	12.80%

High school graduate	28.11%	38.78%	28.58%	27.54%	37.56%	34.76%	42.97%	43.01%
Some college/AA/Jr college	28.25%	30.05%	39.52%	37.77%	36.46%	33.48%	32.08%	33.65%
BA/BS or more	37.71%	7.45%	29.39%	30.49%	10.25%	23.70%	9.08%	10.55%
Employment								
Not working	28.00%	20.49%	17.14%	22.21%	18.93%	20.18%	31.12%	23.41%
Works part-time	16.21%	13.14%	22.81%	12.46%	13.79%	17.27%	14.86%	16.33%
Works full-time (reference)	55.80%	66.37%	60.05%	65.33%	67.29%	62.56%	54.02%	60.26%
Has a child (reference=no child)	14.42%	49.29%	25.72%	33.93%	41.92%	28.01%	51.58%	38.00%
Marital status								
Single (reference)	67.39%	50.28%	61.89%	76.09%	54.72%	53.54%	72.01%	56.00%
Cohabiting	14.20%	20.20%	18.12%	10.61%	21.93%	20.62%	16.49%	18.60%
Married	18.41%	29.51%	19.98%	13.30%	23.36%	25.84%	11.50%	25.40%
# of available ties for relationship discussion	3.97	3.47	5.62	5.69	3.79	5.63	3.92	4.86
# of available ties for employment discussion	4.94	3.88	6.35	6.33	4.32	6.12	4.37	5.54
Unweighted N	66	307	205	114	660	3332	1691	584

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Youth, 1997

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

Table 3: Coefficients from logistic regressions predicting perceived supportiveness of parents to young adults

VARIABLES	Parental supportiveness ^a			Relationship advice ^b			Employment/education advice ^b		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity									
1 st Generation White or Black	-0.04 (0.37)	0.05 (0.37)	-0.07 (0.36)	0.31 (0.25)	0.37 (0.26)	0.39 (0.26)	-0.34 (0.27)	-0.30 (0.27)	-0.41 (0.27)
1 st Generation Hispanic	-0.14 (0.16)	0.20 (0.18)	0.22 (0.19)	0.34** (0.12)	0.44** (0.13)	0.48*** (0.14)	-0.81*** (0.13)	-0.35* (0.15)	-0.41** (0.15)
2 nd Generation White	-0.08 (0.20)	-0.19 (0.21)	-0.18 (0.22)	-0.11 (0.17)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.17)	0.01 (0.15)	-0.10 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.16)
2 nd Generation Black	-0.46* (0.23)	-0.20 (0.26)	-0.27 (0.26)	-0.28 (0.22)	-0.20 (0.22)	-0.23 (0.22)	-0.16 (0.19)	-0.03 (0.21)	-0.15 (0.22)
2 nd Generation Hispanic	-0.32** (0.12)	-0.03 (0.14)	-0.04 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.02 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.70*** (0.09)	-0.30** (0.10)	-0.38*** (0.10)
Non-immigrant White	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>Ref</i>
Non-immigrant Black	-0.19* (0.09)	0.22* (0.10)	0.27** (0.10)	0.52*** (0.06)	0.54*** (0.07)	0.46*** (0.07)	-0.12+ (0.06)	0.21** (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)
Non-immigrant Hispanic	-0.17 (0.13)	0.11 (0.13)	0.12 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.46*** (0.10)	-0.23* (0.10)	-0.29** (0.10)
Demographic characteristics of youth									
Age	-0.04+ (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)
Female (<i>vs. male</i>)	-0.36*** (0.07)	-0.30*** (0.07)	-0.35*** (0.07)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.08+ (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.15** (0.05)	-0.12* (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)
Family background (1997)									
Two-parent family (<i>vs. single parent or step-parents</i>)		0.53*** (0.08)	0.47*** (0.09)		0.02 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)		0.21*** (0.06)	0.24*** (0.06)
Number of siblings		0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)		-0.05* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)		-0.04+ (0.03)	-0.04+ (0.03)
Birth order		<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Oldest child									
Middle child		-0.00	0.02		-0.07	-0.10		0.01	-0.01

Youngest child	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Household poverty ratio	0.14+	-0.07	-0.12+	-0.09	-0.14*	-0.14*
	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)
	0.05+	0.00	0.07***	0.00	0.07***	0.07***
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Household wealth						
Lowest quartile	-0.31+	-0.08	-0.13	-0.13	-0.03	-0.03
	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Second quartile	-0.21	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.06
	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Third quartile	-0.12	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.16	0.16
	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Highest quartile	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Highest parental education						
Less than high school	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
High school graduate	0.08	0.10	0.11	0.11	0.28**	0.28**
	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Some college/AA/Jr college	0.11	0.05	0.11	0.11	0.48***	0.52***
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)
BA/BS	0.40**	-0.06	0.03	0.03	0.65***	0.71***
	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Parent very supportive, 1997	0.79***	0.49***	0.53***	0.53***	0.38***	0.38***
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Child's resources and roles						
Student (<i>vs. not enrolled in school</i>)						
Respondent education	0.18	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.12	-0.12
Less than high school	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
High school graduate	0.06	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Some college/AA/Jr college	0.23+	-0.29**	-0.29**	-0.29**	-0.07	-0.07
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
BA/BS	0.73***	-0.49***	-0.49***	-0.49***	-0.29*	-0.29*
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.10)

Employment	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Not working	0.02 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.08)
Works part-time	0.11 (0.10)	-0.11+ (0.06)	-0.11+ (0.06)	-0.15* (0.06)
Works full-time	<i>ref</i>	<i>Ref</i>	<i>Ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Has a child (<i>vs. no child</i>)	-0.23** (0.08)	0.01 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)
Marital status	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Single				
Cohabiting	0.09 (0.09)	-0.21** (0.07)	-0.21** (0.07)	-0.50*** (0.07)
Married	0.13 (0.09)	-0.65*** (0.08)	-0.65*** (0.08)	-0.98*** (0.08)
# of available ties	----	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.00)
Constant	2.46*** (0.31)	1.25*** (0.39)	1.20** (0.39)	1.49*** (0.29)
Observations	6,791	6,791	6,791	6,697

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Youth, 1997

^a Outcome variable and children's resources and roles obtained from 2006 survey

^b Outcome variable and children's resources and roles obtained from 2005 survey

Note: Model 1 controls for child age at Wave 1 in 1997 and gender; Model 2 adds controls for two-parent family, number of siblings, birth order, household poverty, parental wealth, parental education, and early supportiveness (all from Wave 1 survey in 1997); Model 3 adds controls for youth respondent student status, education, employment, parent status, and marital status (measured in 2006 for parental supportiveness models and 2005 for advice models)

Table 4: Coefficients from logistic regressions predicting actual support from parents to young adults

VARIABLES	Coreidence			Monetary support			Discussed school, job, or finances		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity									
1 st Generation White or Black	0.67* (0.27)	0.70* (0.27)	0.49+ (0.28)	0.33 (0.28)	0.36 (0.29)	0.23 (0.29)	-0.03 (0.32)	-0.10 (0.33)	-0.32 (0.34)
1 st Generation Hispanic	0.81*** (0.13)	0.85*** (0.15)	1.07*** (0.17)	-0.64*** (0.18)	-0.08 (0.19)	-0.04 (0.19)	-0.50** (0.17)	0.20 (0.18)	0.23 (0.19)
2 nd Generation White	0.22 (0.15)	0.25 (0.16)	0.17 (0.17)	0.23 (0.17)	0.11 (0.18)	0.08 (0.18)	0.39* (0.16)	0.26 (0.17)	0.19 (0.18)
2 nd Generation Black	0.73*** (0.21)	0.82*** (0.21)	0.61** (0.23)	-0.03 (0.23)	0.12 (0.24)	0.01 (0.24)	0.22 (0.21)	0.43+ (0.23)	0.24 (0.24)
2 nd Generation Hispanic	0.88*** (0.10)	0.90*** (0.11)	1.03*** (0.12)	-0.49*** (0.12)	-0.03 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.13)	-0.71*** (0.12)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.16 (0.14)
Non-immigrant White	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>						
Non-immigrant Black	0.51*** (0.07)	0.63*** (0.07)	0.24** (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.41*** (0.09)	-0.23** (0.08)	0.29*** (0.08)	0.11 (0.09)
Non-immigrant Hispanic	0.39*** (0.10)	0.44*** (0.10)	0.41*** (0.12)	-0.29* (0.13)	-0.00 (0.13)	0.01 (0.13)	-0.20+ (0.11)	0.20+ (0.12)	0.20 (0.12)
Demographic characteristics of youth									
Age	-0.24*** (0.02)	-0.24*** (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.02)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.02)	-0.17*** (0.02)	-0.11*** (0.02)
Female (<i>vs. male</i>)	-0.38*** (0.05)	-0.37*** (0.05)	-0.16* (0.06)	0.10+ (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.20** (0.07)
Family background (1997)									
Two-parent family (<i>vs. single parent or step-parents</i>)		0.38*** (0.06)	0.43*** (0.07)		0.11 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)		0.23** (0.07)	0.18* (0.08)
Number of siblings		-0.05+ (0.03)	-0.05+ (0.03)		-0.09** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)		-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Birth order		<i>ref</i>	<i>Ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Oldest child									
Middle child		-0.03	-0.05		-0.02	-0.02		-0.22*	-0.24*

Youngest child	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Household poverty ratio	0.13*	0.10	-0.08	-0.24**	-0.28***	-0.28***
Household wealth	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Lowest quartile	-0.01	-0.02	0.07***	0.04*	0.03	0.03
Second quartile	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Third quartile	-0.08	-0.08	-0.24+	-0.37**	-0.31*	-0.31*
Highest quartile	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Highest parental education	-0.09	-0.09	-0.23+	-0.21*	-0.15	-0.15
Less than high school	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
High school graduate	-0.07	-0.08	0.03	-0.20*	-0.18+	-0.18+
Some college/AA/Jr college	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)
BA/BS	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Parent very supportive, 1997	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Child's resources and roles						
Student (<i>vs. not enrolled in school</i>)	0.05	-0.00	0.14	0.23+	0.20	0.20
Respondent education	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Less than high school	0.00	-0.06	0.23+	0.56***	0.50***	0.50***
High school graduate	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Some college/AA/Jr college	-0.10	-0.34**	0.55***	1.12***	0.93***	0.93***
BA/BS	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Parent very supportive, 1997	0.17*	0.21**	0.11	0.22*	0.19*	0.19*
Child's resources and roles	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Student (<i>vs. not enrolled in school</i>)	-0.09	-0.09	-0.01	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08
Respondent education	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Less than high school	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
High school graduate	-0.12	-0.12	0.25+	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05
Some college/AA/Jr college	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
BA/BS	-0.12	-0.12	0.51***	0.17	0.17	0.17
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
	-0.37**	-0.37**	0.85***	0.34*	0.34*	0.34*

Employment	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Not working	0.39*** (0.07)	0.51*** (0.08)	0.27** (0.08)
Works part-time	0.34*** (0.09)	0.28** (0.09)	0.15 (0.09)
Works full-time	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	
Has a child (<i>vs. no child</i>)	-0.21** (0.08)	-0.26** (0.08)	-0.31*** (0.08)
Marital status			
Single	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Cohabiting	-2.05*** (0.09)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.62*** (0.09)
Married	-2.19*** (0.10)	-0.12 (0.09)	-1.33*** (0.11)
Constant	2.87*** (0.26)	2.55*** (0.30)	0.37 (0.30)
Observations	6,607	6,607	6,960
	6,607	6,925	6,960
	6,607	6,925	6,960

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Youth, 1997; outcome variable and children's resources and roles obtained from 2006 survey
Note: Model 1 controls for child age at Wave 1 in 1997 and gender; Model 2 adds controls for two-parent family, number of siblings, birth order, household poverty, parental wealth, parental education, and early supportiveness (all from Wave 1 survey in 1997); Model 3 adds controls for youth respondent student status, education, employment, parent status, and marital status (measured in 2006)

¹ In total, 2,022 youth were excluded: 318 were not Black, White, or Hispanic; 414 were not living with a parent at the first wave; and 1,290 did not participate in the 2006 survey. There were no statistically significant differences in participation in 2006 by immigrant status. Whites, men, and those whose parents had lower education levels were less likely to have participated in 2006. Although it is unusual for White respondents to have higher attrition rates, this has been reported in other studies of the NLSY97 data (Aughinbaugh and Gardecki 2007).

² Only 33 youth were identified as immigrants solely on the basis of the spouse of the resident biological parent.

Supplemental table: Multinomial logistic regression predicting whether respondent discussed employment, education, or training with their parents, other ties, or no one (N=6,941)

VARIABLES	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Parents vs. no one	Other ties vs. no one	Parents vs. no one	Other ties vs. no one	Parents vs. no one	Other ties vs. no one
Immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity						
1 st Generation White or Black	0.00 (0.36)	0.06 (0.28)	-0.09 (0.36)	0.01 (0.28)	-0.36 (0.38)	-0.09 (0.31)
1 st Generation Hispanic	-0.64*** (0.18)	-0.28* (0.13)	0.18 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.15)	0.20 (0.20)	-0.07 (0.15)
2 nd Generation White	0.64*** (0.19)	0.42* (0.18)	0.48* (0.20)	0.35+ (0.18)	0.41+ (0.21)	0.37* (0.19)
2 nd Generation Black	0.33 (0.25)	0.26 (0.23)	0.56* (0.27)	0.28 (0.23)	0.31 (0.27)	0.19 (0.24)
2 nd Generation Hispanic	-0.78*** (0.13)	-0.17+ (0.10)	-0.08 (0.14)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.14 (0.15)	0.02 (0.11)
Non-immigrant White	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Non-immigrant Black	-0.30*** (0.08)	-0.15* (0.07)	0.29** (0.09)	0.00 (0.08)	0.16 (0.10)	0.10 (0.08)
Non-immigrant Hispanic	-0.27* (0.12)	-0.16 (0.10)	0.20 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.11)	0.19 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.11)
Demographic characteristics of youth						
Age	-0.15*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Female (<i>vs. male</i>)	0.18** (0.07)	0.28*** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.07)	0.29*** (0.05)	0.26*** (0.07)	0.12* (0.06)
Family background (1997)						
Two-parent family (<i>vs. single parent or step-parents</i>)			0.17* (0.08)	-0.12+ (0.07)	0.07 (0.08)	-0.21** (0.07)
Number of siblings			-0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Birth order						
Oldest child			<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Middle child			-0.21+ (0.11)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.21+ (0.11)	0.06 (0.09)
Youngest child			-0.18* (0.08)	0.12+ (0.07)	-0.21* (0.09)	0.14* (0.07)
Household poverty ratio			0.05** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Household wealth						
Lowest quartile			-0.45*** (0.13)	-0.16 (0.13)	-0.34** (0.13)	-0.07 (0.13)
Second quartile			-0.27* (0.12)	-0.11 (0.11)	-0.17 (0.12)	-0.04 (0.11)

