Educational Mobility Among the Children of Asian American Immigrants

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Abstract:

Research has consistently found that the children of Asian American immigrants complete higher levels of educational attainment than other race/ethnic-nativity groups. Recent segmented assimilation theory contends that this pattern is explained—in part—by high levels of educational mobility. The pattern contrasts with the status attainment model's strong parent-offspring education gradient. I formally test and extend on this hypothesis using nationally representative data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health). Results demonstrate that the children of Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese immigrants complete higher levels of educational attainment than other race/ethnic-nativity groups, even after controlling for sociodemographic and geographic/school differences. Additional analysis reveals a flat parent-offspring education gradient for these three populations relative to whites. In contrast, the relationship between parental education and offspring's educational attainment is robust for other race/ethnic-nativity groups. In sum, this study reveals high levels of educational attainment and mobility among the children of Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese immigrants. At the same time, these results confirm the validity of the status attainment model for most race/ethnic-nativity groups.

Introduction

Asian Americans' impressive academic achievements span from the early 20th century (Hirschman and Wong 1986) to the early 21st century (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Hsin and Xie 2014; Kao 1995; Xie and Goyette 2004). Although earlier research emphasized monolithic cultural advantages of Asian Americans (Barringer, Gardner, and Levin 1993; Kitano 1976; Wong 1980), more current research explores historical immigration patterns, and the interplay between marginality, socioeconomic selection, and culture as factors in Asian Americans' education patterns (Hsin and Xie 2014; Kao and Thompson 2003; Lee and Zhou 2015; Liu and Xie 2016; Sakamoto, Goyette, and Kim 2009; Xie and Goyette 2003, 2004; Zhou and Kim 2006). This paper aims to explore and explain Asian Americans' persistent high rates of educational attainment.

The present study draws on the history of immigration and assimilation and uses detailed data on country of origin to examine ethnic variation in Asian Americans' educational patterns. Some research proposes that Asian American education patterns are (largely) uniform due to common experiences of marginalization and racialization as the "model minority" (e.g., Lee and Zhou 2015; Xie and Goyette 2003). Yet, other literature has observed diverse educational outcomes among Asian Americans by ethnicity and generational status (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Kao 1995; Takei, Sakamoto, and Kim 2013).

Second, this study examines Asian Americans' educational mobility patterns. Prior research suggests that the social mobility patterns among different race/ethnic-nativity groups diverge from those of whites, with some marginalized groups—such as blacks and Hispanics—experiencing downward social mobility (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Drawing on a segmented assimilation framework, Lee and Zhou (2015) proposed that

Asian Americans not only have high levels of educational attainment, they also have greater educational mobility than 2.5+ generation whites. In other words, they contend that parental education has a weaker association with educational attainment for Asian Americans than for 2.5+ generation whites. Lee and Zhou's (2015) work suggests that both socioeconomic characteristics and culture play an important role in this pattern, with interactions between immigrant selection and social status, creation of ethnic capital and social networks, and the development of distinct cultural frameworks on the means to socioeconomic success.

In addition, this paper compares Asian Americans' educational attainment and mobility with that of Mexican Americans and blacks, two groups examined in Lee and Zhou's (2015) recent work. These comparisons test if Asian Americans' social mobility patterns are distinct, or merely one of many race/ethnic social mobility pathways (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou et al. 2008). For example, do other race/ethnic groups also have greater mobility than 2.5+ generation whites? Alternatively, do any groups exhibit lower levels of educational mobility than 2.5+ generation whites?

In sum, this paper addresses key questions on Asian Americans' educational attainment and the status attainment process. (1) To what degree is there homogeneity or heterogeneity in educational mobility among Asian Americans? Specifically, which Asian American groups obtain high levels of educational attainment? (2) Do Asian American populations with high levels of educational attainment also have high levels of educational mobility? (3) Lastly, how do Asian Americans' educational attainment patterns compare to other marginalized groups, including the children of immigrant and later generation blacks and Mexican Americans?

Theoretical Framework

This paper's framework merges concepts from several theoretical traditions, discussed as components of a duality of structure (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011; Sewell Jr 1992). I draw on Lee and Zhou's (2015) recent work to test their modified segmented assimilation theory, which contends that the children of Asian American immigrants experience greater social mobility than whites. The authors argue that this social mobility is—in part—the product of a success schema common among Asian Americans.[1] This success schema portrays education as the only means to socioeconomic success. I compare their work with neo-classical assimilation literature, earlier work on segmented assimilation, and classic status attainment theory.

Duality of Structure

The duality of structure (Giddens 1984; Sewell Jr 1992) provides a helpful framework for explaining the race/ethnic-nativity differences in educational attainment. Extending on Sewell's (1992) work and current cognitive theory, Johnson-Hanks et al.'s (2011) Theory of Conjunctural Action contends that both culture and sociodemographic characteristics are not distinct, but rather jointly produce social structures. The authors categorize social structures as materials, schemas, and identities.[2] Materials are real-world interactable objects or events, whereas schemas are stable ways of thinking about materials. Identities are individual-level schemas related to stable self-concepts. In turn, these materials, schemas, and identities influence actions at conjunctures across the life course. The duality of structure framework is used to discuss Asian Americans' distinct educational attainment patterns.

Lee and Zhou's Asian American Success Schema

Recent sociological research argues that culture is not inherent to ethnic groups. Rather, culture/ethnicity is flexible and composed of linked, stable cognitive schemas through which people understand the social world (Brubaker 2004). These schemas are both in the mind and in

the world; they are given stability by external materials and by individual identity (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). Drawing on this perspective, Lee and Zhou (2015) propose that the Asian Americans often define success narrowly; achieving high levels of educational attainment from prestigious institutions and professional jobs, such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, or scientists are the sole means to socioeconomic success (Lee and Zhou 2015). In contrast with Asian Americans— whites, blacks, and Mexicans adopt a diverse set of success schemas, which allow for a variety of educational and career pathways.[3] In addition, many Asian American parents believe that the emphasis on credentials and technical skills for professional jobs may shield their children from labor market discrimination (Lee and Zhou 2015; Xie and Goyette 2003). These visible successes by their children are markers of good parenting and produce status for the parents as well (Lee and Zhou 2015). This success schema manifests in high levels of educational and occupational expectations. For example, Julia, a Vietnamese American who immigrated to the US during childhood, commented on her parent's expectations for her.

> Well, I'm Vietnamese, so my parents' friends, all their friends' kids, are doctors and lawyers and engineers. So they just don't expect me to have a regular nine-to-five job. They expect me to do something, you know? They always come home with stories like, "Oh, you know, this guy's your age, and do you remember him? Well, now he's a doctor," or, "He's going to get his doctorate, his PhD, or medical degree next year (Lee and Zhou 2015:164)."

Julia's comment exemplifies the narrow definition of socioeconomic success for Asian Americans, high levels of educational attainment and prestigious, professional careers.[4]

Lee and Zhou argue that this success frame is partially attributable to the socioeconomic advantage of early Asian American immigrants to the US. Material advantage via resources from these more advantaged immigrants[5] were thus available to later Asian American immigrants from lower socioeconomic status, who then used these ethnic resources, and embraced the success schema of the earlier immigrants.[6] One example of these ethnic resources is Chinese and

Korean language schools, which transfer cultural knowledge and provide supplementary academic training (Zhou and Kim 2006). This inter-socioeconomic resource transfer affords many Asian Americans higher levels of educational mobility than whites. In addition, the authors contend that Asian Americans frequently use co-ethnics with high levels of education and professional careers as their reference for socioeconomic success, reinforcing this focus on educational attainment. These patterns result in high levels of academic achievement, even among highly disadvantaged Asian Americans (Liu and Xie 2016). In short, Lee and Zhou (2015) argue that immigrant selection and ethnic capital (forms of material inequality) are responsible for Asian Americans' success schema formation and their high levels of academic achievement and, in turn, educational attainment.

Lee and Zhou (2015) maintain that the Asian Americans' education pattern is also reinforced by the model minority stereotype, another schema. This model minority stereotype is shared by Asian Americans and other race/ethnic groups. Parents, peers, and teachers may reinforce the model minority stereotype by assuming that Asian American adolescents have academic potential. The authors suggested that this pattern leads to a "self-fulfilling prophecy about Asian American exceptionalism" in school (2015:136); those who assume that Asian Americans are strong students often confer them extra resources which then lead to their academic success. Thus, this model minority stereotype likely transcends ethnic and socioeconomic boundaries among Asian Americans, becoming part of Asian Americans' identities.[7] In sum, I contend that Asian Americans' educational attainment patterns are the product of materials, schemas, and identities. Materials, such as the social status of immigrants and exclusion from labor markets preceded the development of schemas which portray education as the sole means to socioeconomic success. These schemas influence educational behaviors, and

lead to, on average, high levels of educational attainment for Asian Americans. In addition, these educational attainment patterns are reinforced by the model minority stereotype.

Assimilation Models of Social Mobility

Contemporary assimilation theory proposes that immigrant integration into US ways of living leads to the weakening—but not disappearing—role of ethnicity and the convergence of patterns to the US mainstream (Alba and Nee 2003). These assimilation patterns may also apply to culturally-linked success schemas and identities. This pattern is consistent with recent theoretical and empirical work (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Lee and Zhou 2015; Sakamoto et al. 2009), which find that the children of Asian American immigrants, but not the children of Asian Americans who were born in or grew up in the US (henceforth 2.5+ generation), have higher educational attainment than whites. Consequently, if educational attainment is closely linked to cultural/ethnic identity, then increased assimilation—particularly for later generations—may lead to convergence in success schemas with 2.5+ generation whites.

Portes and Zhou (1993) offer an alternative framework to the assimilation perspective, explaining that social mobility varies by immigrant group, directly influenced by the racial/ethnic hierarchy of the US. Some groups end up following mainstream—presumably 2.5+ generation white—social mobility patterns, while others experience downward mobility. This segmented assimilation perspective, however, has primarily concentrated on black and Hispanic immigrant groups, and their downward mobility (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Lee and Zhou (2015) and Lee and Kye (2016) extend on classic segmented assimilation theory. The authors acknowledge variation in social mobility among immigrants, but suggest that Asian Americans may follow distinct assimilation patterns, featuring higher levels of social mobility than whites due—in part—to their success schemas and the materials

which support them. At the same time, Asian Americans have not assimilated to the same degree as European immigrant groups from the 19th and early 20th century in other respects, such as residential patterns, language, or intermarriage (Lee and Kye 2016).

A Segmented Assimilation Model for Asian Americans

To examine this updated segmented assimilation model, the present study tests Asian Americans' social mobility patterns against those of 2.5+ generation whites, who made up the majority of the population for classical status attainment models (Blau and Duncan 1967; Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969). The classic status attainment model contends that parental education is a strong predictor of their offspring's educational attainment. Lee and Zhou's (2015) recent work contends that the children of Asian Americans immigrants break with the classical status attainment model because they have greater educational mobility than whites. Through education-focused cultural schemas of success and available ethnic materials, many Asian Americans from disadvantaged backgrounds are able to achieve higher levels of educational attainment than 2.5+ generation whites from similar socioeconomic backgrounds (Lee and Zhou 2015).

Heterogeneity among Asian Americans

Although Lee and Zhou's (2015) work acknowledges diversity among Asian Americans, they contend that their theory applies generally to Asian Americans. Past research, however, observes variation in educational attainment among Asian American ethnic groups (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Xie and Goyette 2004), a product of distinct immigrant selection and experiences within the US. For example, immigration timing and generational status vary by ethnicity. The majority of Asian American immigration occurred after the passing of the Immigration and National Act in 1965, which removed many legal barriers to immigration from

Asian countries (Xie and Goyette 2004). Japanese Americans are the primary exception to this pattern, as many immigrated in the 19th and early 20th century to settle, with men eventually bringing their wives and children (Bonacich and Modell 1980; Xie and Goyette 2004).

Assimilation patterns also vary by ethnicity. For example, substantial Korean and Chinese communities centered around major urban centers (e.g., New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, or Chicago) and "ethnoburbs" with large amounts of ethnic organizations (Zhou and Kim 2006). In contrast, Japanese ethnic communities on the West Coast formed prior to the war were broken up when a large population of Japanese Americans were detained in internment camps during World War II and dispersed after the war (Bonacich and Modell 1980). Partially in an active effort to avoid discrimination, many Japanese Americans in the post-World War II US quickly assimilated into predominant US patterns, with declining Japanese language skills and frequent intermarriage with whites (Bonacich and Modell 1980; Tinker 1982; Xie and Goyette 2004). Similarly, Vietnamese Americans, owed to many of their initial refugee statuses, were dispersed throughout the US in urban areas (Lee and Zhou 2015; Xie and Goyette 2004).

The degree of assimilation by ethnic group can be observed in measures such as intermarriage rates and household language patterns. Japanese and Filipino Americans have the highest rates of intermarriage with non-Asians (Min and Kim 2009) and the highest rates of English-speaking in their households (Kim and Min 2010). Vietnamese and Indians, on the other hand, have the lowest rates of intermarriage and English-speaking in their households (Kim and Min 2010; Min and Kim 2009). Chinese and Koreans fall in between these two groups regarding marriage and language assimilation patterns. Assimilation theory suggests that Asian Americans from more assimilated ethnic groups would exhibit educational patterns to 2.5+ generation whites (Alba and Nee 2003). Consequently, these material markers of assimilation—residence,

language skills, and intermarriage—may be associated with specific success schemas. Individuals from more assimilated ethnic groups may have more similar success schemas to whites than individuals from less assimilated ethnic groups, on average.

Variation in family socioeconomic background is a key determinant of heterogeneity in Asian Americans' educational attainment. Socioeconomic inequality among Asian Americans falls clearly along ethnic lines. For example, the parents of young Korean, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Indian Americans—native born and immigrants—have similar or often substantially higher levels of education and income than whites in the US and their co-ethnics in their native country. In contrast, Vietnamese Americans have lower levels of education and income than whites, but higher socioeconomic backgrounds than their co-ethnics in Vietnam (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Hernandez and Darke 1999; Lee and Zhou 2015; Xie and Goyette 2004).[8] This paper tests if the high levels of educational attainment and mobility described in their work apply to different Asian American ethnic groups.

Further Comparisons by Race/Ethnicity and Nativity

This paper includes several race/ethnic-nativity groups to provide comparison for Asian Americans. Past research clearly demonstrates disadvantage in educational attainment among blacks and Mexican Americans in the US due to patterns of historical disadvantage (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Kao and Thompson 2003; Lee and Zhou 2015). Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that black and Mexican immigrants are generally segmented into low socioeconomic statuses in the US. Thus, the children of black and Mexican immigrants may experience downward social mobility. However, it is necessary to acknowledge heterogeneity by nativity status. For example, black immigrants from some nations have higher levels of educational attainment than 2.5+ generation whites and blacks (Hernandez and Darke 1999; Thomas 2009).[9]

Confounders in the Association between Race/Ethnicity-Nativity and Educational Attainment

Unobserved Geographic and School Heterogeneity

Controlling for sociodemographic characteristics provided in survey data is insufficient for comparing Asian Americans with 2.5+ generation whites because of potential omitted geographic variables. First, Asian Americans are more likely to live in or nearby large urban areas than 2.5+ generation whites (Xie and Goyette 2004). In addition, there may be geographic heterogeneity among Asian Americans. For example, Koreans, Chinese, and Indian Americans often live in metropolitan areas—such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, or New York City—with ample options for higher education (Kiang, Tseng, and Yip 2016; Lee and Zhou 2015; Xie and Goyette 2004; Zhou and Kim 2006). In contrast, other groups, such as Vietnamese Americans, may live in less advantaged areas (Lee and Kye 2016; Lee and Zhou 2015; Xie and Goyette 2004). In addition, unobserved socioeconomic inequality may precede selection into different residences and schools. For example, a Chinese American from the Chicago area may have more opportunities for higher education than an equivalent 2.5+ generation white who lives in Wyoming or Oklahoma. Comparing individuals who attended the same school during adolescence may provide more accurate comparisons of educational attainment by race/ethnicity-nativity.

Other Control Variables

Controlling for other factors related to race/ethnic stratification patterns helps provide accurate estimates of the relationship between race/ethnic-nativity and educational attainment. For example, Asian Americans have lower fertility than other race/ethnic groups (Martinez, Daniels, and Chandra 2012). Many Asian American immigrants are from East Asian countries—

such as Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan—with particularly low levels of fertility (Jones 2007). In addition, birth order and family size, which are inherently related to fertility, are associated with decreased educational attainment (Booth and Kee 2009). Similarly, Asian Americans have reduced propensity for early childbearing (Monte and Ellis 2014), and ethnic Chinese and Koreans (in Asia) delay childbearing relative to Asians from other ethnic backgrounds (Rindfuss and Hirschman 1984). While it is possible that maternal age at birth leads to differences in the allocation of resources within a family (Powell, Steelman, and Carini 2006), it is more likely that maternal age at birth is a fertility timing selection factor (selecting more resourced parents) in offspring's educational attainment (Barclay and Myrskylä 2016; Fishman and Min 2018). In addition, Asian Americans have lower rates of non-marital births than other race/ethnic groups (Martinez et al. 2012). Likewise, non-married status at birth is associated with reduced educational attainment (Addo, Sassler, and Williams 2016).

Sex selection may also play a confounding role. Asians from several countries, China, South Korea, and India, have strong male preference for offspring (Das Gupta et al. 2003). However, women generally have higher greater educational attainment than men (DiPrete and Buchmann 2013). Thus, if more Asian Americans are men, then estimates of Asian Americans' (relative to white) educational attainment may be biased downward. In subsequent analyses, accounting for these confounders provides an accurate assessment of Asian Americans' educational attainment and mobility.

Conceptual Model

This paper tests and extends on Lee and Zhou's (2015) segmented assimilation model of Asian American's educational attainment patterns. The authors contend that the children of Asian American immigrants achieve higher levels of educational attainment and mobility than

2.5+ generation whites, partially influenced by a common success schema. This hypothesis would be supported if all Asian American ethnic groups have higher levels of education than 2.5+ generation whites even after controlling for sociodemographic and school/geographic characteristics. Alternatively, classic assimilation theory suggests that more assimilated Asian American ethnic groups have more similar success schemas on educational attainment to 2.5+ generation whites than less assimilated ethnic groups. Consequentially, Asian Americans from more assimilated ethnic groups (e.g., Filipinos and Japanese Americans) may obtain lower levels of educational attainment than those from less assimilated ethnic groups (e.g., Vietnamese and Indian Americans).

Next, the analysis examines educational mobility patterns (see Figure 1). Because of the focus on educational, rather than income or occupational, mobility the parental education-offspring's education relationship is constrained to direct associations, unmediated by income and occupation. Models which exclude parental income and occupation are estimated as a sensitivity analysis. Lee and Zhou's segmented assimilation hypothesis would be supported if the association between parental education and offspring's educational attainment is weaker for the children of Asian American immigrants than for 2.5+ generation whites.

Lastly, the study tests if educational mobility varies among other race/ethnic-nativity groups. One possibility is that most race/ethnic-nativity groups have distinct educational mobility patterns, consistent with segmented assimilation theory. Specifically, segmented assimilation theory contends that the children of black and Mexican immigrants may experience downward mobility. Alternatively, educational mobility may be consistent across race/ethnic-nativity groups, supporting classic status attainment theory.

Figure 1 about here

Data

This paper uses data from Waves I and IV of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health). Add Health includes information from an in-school survey (1994-1995). This large-scale survey was followed by four Waves of in-home interviews. Wave I (Grades 7-12; 1994-1995) and II (Grades 7-12; 1996) were collected during adolescence. Wave III (2003-2004) and IV (2007-2008) were obtained during emerging (age 18-26) and young adulthood (age 24-32), allowing for effective analysis of change across various life stages. Individuals who do not live with their resident mothers are excluded to ensure that this study is not concentrating on adoptive children, who may experience different effects of ethnicity than those who live with their biological mother.

Several attributes of Add Health make it uniquely suitable for this study. First, Add Health provides nationally representative data with a rich set of sociodemographic and contextual variables. Second, Add Health's school-cluster design allows for analyses which account unobserved geographic and school differences. Third, Add Health's (relatively) large numbers of Asian Americans and low attrition rates allow for exploration of heterogeneity by place of origin. The study features a Chinese oversample. In Wave I, there were 291 and 501 1.5-2.0 generation Chinese and Filipino respondents, respectively. Of these respondents, 189 (65%) and 303 (60%) were retained in were retained in Wave IV. A higher percentage of 2.5+ generation whites were retained (70%).[10] Add Health also includes large numbers of Filipinos, and smaller numbers of Koreans, Japanese, Indians, and Vietnamese respondents. A multiple imputation (10 rounds) procedure is used to recover missing cases, yielding a final sample size of 11,141 cases.[11]

Measures

First, I categorize race/ethnicity into eight groups: white, black, Korean, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, and Mexican. To capture the interaction between race/ethnicity and nativity, I divide each of these groups by nativity: 1.5-2.0 generation and 2.5+ generation. Those labeled as 1.5-2.0 generation are the children of immigrants. They were either born in the US or moved to the US during childhood. Those who are 2.5+ generation have parents who were born in the US or moved to the US during childhood. Due to attrition, there are insufficient numbers of 2.5+ generation Koreans, Indians, and Vietnamese to create separate categories. This categorization strategy is based on Feliciano and Lanuza's (2017) recent work on educational attainment among immigrants.[12]

The outcome is adult educational attainment, measured in years of education completed by the respondent in Wave IV. This variable was created using an established coding strategy for Add Health's Wave IV education variable from Kane et al. (2013). Models are also estimated using bachelor's degree completion and an ordinal measure of degree completion (less than high school, high school, some college, bachelor's, and more than a bachelor's) as outcomes. Each outcome is treated as linear.[13]

Parental socioeconomic characteristics in Wave I is measured as maternal and paternal educational attainment, maternal and paternal occupation, and household income. Parental education is measured in categories: less than a high school degree, high school degree (referent), some college, bachelors, and more than bachelors. Parental education is obtained from the parent survey. Because not all parents fill out this survey, structurally missing cases are imputed from the respondent's report of resident parents' education. After this process, very few cases are missing (see Table 1). Parental occupation is divided into seven ordinal categories: professional 1 (referent) (doctor, lawyer), professional 2 (teacher, librarian, nurse), manager,

white collar/office worker, blue collar, military/farm/other, and unemployed. This categorization is roughly based on the measure used by Feliciano and Lanuza (2017), but with greater detail for high status occupations. The variable for household income is obtained from the parent survey. The income variable is transformed to the cubed root to account for right skew, while maintaining meaningful zeros.

Birth order and family size are measured using techniques highlighted in Booth and Kee's (2009) recent work. Birth order is indexed to purge its correlation with family size. [14] Family size is transformed with a natural log to account for right skew.

Information on parental status is obtained from Wave I. First, I measure maternal age at birth – typically obtained from the parent survey.[15] Maternal age is broken into six categories: 20 or under (referent), 21-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41+. Mother's relationship status in Wave I is divided into three categories: married (referent), cohabiting, or single. Cross-tabulations for each variable are found in the appendix.

Methods

Linear regression models are estimated to examine the relationship between race/ethnicity-nativity and educational attainment. First, I estimate several linear regression models of educational attainment of *i*, individuals, within *j*, schools, such that

$$EdYr_{ij} = \alpha + \beta_0 + \beta_1 RaEthNat_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

$$EdYr_{ij} = \alpha + \beta_0 + \beta_1 RaEthNat_{ij} + \boldsymbol{\beta_2 SocioDem_{ij}} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (2)$$

where Model 1 is the bivariate model, including information on race/ethnicity-nativity with 2.5+ generation whites serving as the reference group. Model 2 introduces sociodemographic control variables for respondent's age, birth order, family size, mother's age at birth, mother's relationship status, parent's education, parent's income, and parent's occupation.

Prior literature in sociology and economics utilized school fixed effects to account for unobserved heterogeneity at the middle/high school-level (De Witte and Csillag 2014; French et al. 2015; Hsin and Xie 2014; Jargowsky and El Komi 2011; Jonsson and Mood 2008; Liu and Xie 2016).[16] Thus, Model 3 introduces school fixed effects, α_j, such that

$$EdYr_{ij} = \alpha_j + \beta_0 + \beta_1 RaEthNat_{ij} + \mathbf{\beta_2 SocioDem_{ij}} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (3)$$

where individuals are compared with their peers who attended the same school in middle/high school, offering an improved counterfactual to cross-sectional models.[17] Lee and Zhou's argument that the children of Asian American immigrants (1.5-2.0 generation) have higher levels of educational attainment than 2.5+ generation whites would be supported each Asian American ethnic group completes more years of education even after accounting for sociodemographic and school differences. This result would suggest that common aspects of Asian Americans' culture, such as a success schema, drive high levels of educational attainment.

Separate models include interactions between race/ethnicity-nativity and parental education such that,

$$EdYr_{ij} = \alpha_j + \beta_0 + \beta_1 RaEthNat_{ij} + \beta_2 ParEd_{ij} + \beta_3 RaEthNatij \text{ x } ParEd_{ij} + \mathbf{\beta_4 SocioDem_{ij}} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (4)$$

where the association between race/ethnicity-nativity and education years varies by parental education. For parsimony, full results are displayed only for Asian American ethnic groups with high levels of education (aggregated). Analyses are repeated using bachelor's degree completion (linear probability model) and ordinal degree completion as outcomes. Models which exclude parental income and occupation are also estimated. All models apply Add Health's survey weights from Wave IV and use robust standard errors to account for clustering on schools.

Results

Table 1 displays educational attainment patterns by race/ethnicity-nativity. First, results from models which use years of education as an outcome are estimated. Model 1, the bivariate model, finds educational advantages relative to 2.5+ generation whites among most 1.5-2.0 generation Asian American groups—except for Japanese Americans. Indians obtain the most years of education (3.46), followed by Chinese (2.45), Koreans (1.63), Vietnamese Americans (1.32), and Filipinos (.60) relative to 2.5+ generation whites. 1.5-2.0 generation whites also complete more years of education than 2.5+ generation whites. In contrast, 2.5+ generation blacks and Mexican Americans complete less years of education than 2.5+ generation whites. Model 2 controls for sociodemographic characteristics which attenuate differences for 1.5-2.0 generation Chinese, Indians, and Filipinos (to non-significance), demonstrating that these groups benefit from sociodemographic selection. 1.5-2.0 generation Vietnamese have a larger educational advantage after controlling for sociodemographic differences, suggesting that they are socioeconomically disadvantaged relative to 2.5+ generation whites. After introducing these control variables, differences between 1.5-2.0 generation whites, 2.5+ generation blacks, and Mexican Americans with 2.5+ generation whites are attenuated. In fact, 1.5-2.0 generation Mexican Americans obtain .39 more years of education than whites in Model 2, net of control variables.

Including school fixed effects in Model 3 attenuates 1.5-2.0 generation Koreans, Chinese, and Indians' (to non-significance) educational advantage, but has little influence on Vietnamese Americans. These findings suggest that 1.5-2.0 generation Koreans, Chinese, and Indian Americans' educational attainments benefit from geographic and/or school selection. The results demonstrate the importance of assimilation patterns, as more assimilated groups—Japanese and Filipino Americans—have slightly higher or similar levels of education to whites, while less

assimilated groups—Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans—have considerably higher levels of education than whites. Furthermore, the above analysis observes substantial variation in sociodemographic, geographic, and school selection by place of origin. Among the groups with large educational advantages relative to whites, Indians and Chinese, followed by Koreans and Filipinos, benefit from advantaged sociodemographic and residential patterns. In contrast, 1.5 2.0 generation Vietnamese American educational attainments may be reduced by their disadvantaged backgrounds.

Last, these findings—specifically from Model 3—demonstrate the relative uniformity of the Asian American educational advantage for among 1.5-2.0 generation Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese Americans, which may suggest a common relationship with educational attainment. Results from models of bachelor's degree completion (Model 4) and ordinal degree completion (Model 5) offer similar results. Only Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans (and possibly Indian Americans) obtain higher levels of education than 2.5+ generation whites after accounting for sociodemographic and school characteristics. In addition, the null relationship between ethnicity-nativity with educational attainment for Filipino and Japanese Americans supports assimilation theory over Lee and Zhou's claim of a common Asian American pattern.

Table 2 displays interaction models of educational attainment to test if Asian American ethnic groups which obtain high levels of education also have high levels of educational mobility. Interactions between 1.5-2.0 generation Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese (KCV) Americans (aggregated) with parental education are shown for models with education years, bachelor's completion, and degree completion as outcomes.

Table 2 about here

The models reveal a clear parent-offspring education gradient for 2.5+ generation whites. For example, 2.5+ generation whites whose parents have less than a high school degree complete 2.19 less years of education, are 35 percent less likely to complete a bachelor's degree, and finish 1.09 less degrees than 2.5+ generation whites whose parents have more than a bachelor's degree. In contrast, the models reveal significant interactions between 1.5-2.0 generation KCVs and parental education, demonstrating a much weaker gradient. For example, 1.5-2.0 generation KCVs whose parents have less than a high school degree have no noticeable disadvantage in educational attainment relative to 2.5+ generation whites and 1.5-2.0 generation KCVs with parents who have more than a bachelor's degree. Models which exclude parental income and occupation (see Table A3 in appendix) also feature weak parent-offspring education gradient for 1.5-2.0 generation KCVs relative to 2.5+ generation whites. In sum, the analysis suggests that 1.5-2.0 generation Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese follow the segmented assimilation pattern described by Lee and Zhou, with persistently high levels of education and high levels of educational mobility.

Models which interact parental education with race/ethnicity-nativity were estimated for each race/ethnic-nativity group. Significant interactions between race-nativity and parental education are observed for 2.5+ generation blacks. The relationship between parental education and offspring's educational attainment is still relatively strong for 2.5+ generation blacks, demonstrating no major deviation from the classic status attainment model. In addition, 1.5-2.0 generation blacks and Mexican Americans do not experience downward mobility, contrasting with segmented assimilation theory. When breaking down Asian Americans by ethnicity, we observe higher levels of educational mobility for 1.5-2.0 generation Asian Americans (aggregated), 1.5-2.0 generation Koreans and Vietnamese Americans, and 2.5+ generation

Filipinos and Chinese Americans than for 2.5+ generation whites. Although the education years model does not find a significant interaction—the coefficient was in the correct direction, however—for 1.5-2.0 generation Chinese Americans, the bachelor's degree and ordinal degree completion models feature the high mobility pattern. Although several Asian American ethnic-nativity groups have higher levels of educational mobility than 2.5+ generation whites, only 1.5-2.0 generation Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans have high levels of educational attainment and mobility, fitting the pattern described in Lee and Zhou (2015) and Liu and Xie (2016).

Extensions and Robustness Tests

Sensitivity Analyses

First, enrollment patterns were examined. The educational attainment patterns observed in this paper were observed among those enrolled and those not currently enrolled in school (83% of the sample). Similar percentages of 1.5-2.0 generation Asian Americans (81%) and 2.5+ generation whites (85%) were not currently enrolled in school. Ultimately, enrolled and non-enrolled individuals were kept in the analysis to maintain accurate heterogeneity within ethnic groups.

Second, mother and father's education replaced highest parental education in interaction models. These models revealed the same patterns as those from the primary analysis.

Third, regressions were estimated which interacted parental income and occupation with race/ethnicity-nativity. Models using yielded inconsistent results for Asian Americans (Appendix Tables A5 and Table A6). No clear downward mobility pattern is revealed for 1.5-2.0 generation blacks or Mexican Americans. Therefore, the null hypothesis, that the association between

parental income and occupation with educational attainment do not vary by race/ethnicity-nativity, cannot be dismissed.

Fourth, block-level median income was included in models instead of school fixed effects. This inclusion had less influence than the school fixed effects, demonstrating that the relationship observed in school fixed effects models is driven by residential and/or school selection, rather than selection on contextual sociodemographic differences.

Fifth, binary outcome models were re-estimated using logit and logit fixed effects estimators. The patterns observed in the linear probability models remained unchanged. In general, patterns observed in the primary analysis are consistent with those found in the sensitivity analysis.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper explores Asian Americans' educational attainments among a cohort of young adults. First, analysis revealed that the children of Korean, Chinese, Indian, and Vietnamese American immigrants, but not other Asian American groups, obtained considerably higher levels of educational attainment than 2.5+ generation whites. This pattern persisted even after controlling for sociodemographic and school/geographic characteristics for the children of Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese immigrants. In general, more assimilated Asian American ethnic groups (Filipinos and Japanese Americans) obtained lower levels of education than less assimilated ethnic groups (e.g., Korean, Chinese, Indian, and Vietnamese Americans), supporting contemporary assimilation theory.

Second, the analysis examined educational mobility patterns among these Asian American ethnic-nativity groups. Although a strong parent-offspring education gradient was observed for 2.5+ generation whites, this gradient is weak to non-existent for the children of

Korean, Vietnamese, and Chinese American immigrants. Thus, these three ethnic-nativity groups have high levels of educational attainment and mobility, offering partial support for Lee and Zhou's theory.

Third, the educational patterns of children of Asian American immigrants were compared with those from other race/ethnic-nativity groups. Although the analysis revealed marginally higher levels of educational mobility among 2.5+ generation blacks than among 2.5+ generation whites, most race/ethnic-nativity groups had similar educational attainment patterns—featuring high levels of stratification by parental education. More importantly, the analysis did not find clear evidence that the children of black and Mexican immigrants experience downward educational mobility. These findings contradict segmented assimilation theory's (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997) arguments on social mobility, that the children of immigrants from different race-ethnic groups have distinct socioeconomic attainment patterns. In contrast, the analysis finds a strong parent-offspring education gradient, consistent with the classic status attainment model (Blau and Duncan 1967; Sewell et al. 1969).

These education patterns are indicative of the dual role of material and schematic structures on educational attainment (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011; Sewell Jr 1992). Consistent with Lee and Zhou's (2015) work, the educational attainment of the children of Asian American immigrants is not only boosted by materials, such as socioeconomic and geographic/school selection, but also (likely) by differences in schemas on socioeconomic success. The estimates for the children of Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese immigrants converge (B = 1.2-1.7) in the hypothesized model, providing indirect support for the existence of a common schema. Common success schemas among Asian American immigrants and their children link education to success and inter-socioeconomic social networks may lead to a weaker parent-offspring education

gradient relative to whites. The weak gradient suggests that materials and schemas associated with ethnicity-nativity make up for human capital deficits. This pattern does not likely stem—primarily—from increased allocation of financial resources to education (see Table A5 in appendix). In contrast, whites—and other race/ethnic-nativity groups—may have reduced educational mobility because high levels of education are not viewed as the only means to success, and inter-socioeconomic social networks may be less common than among Asian Americans.

Why might this pattern apply only to the children of Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese immigrants? The first explanation is that these ethnic groups each have a strong connection with Confucian culture (Hsin and Xie 2014; Rindfuss and Hirschman 1984; Wang 2002), which may play a key role in educational attainment patterns (Hsin and Xie 2014; Liu and Xie 2016).[18] Confucian philosophy teaches that people are highly malleable and can improve themselves through practice and hard work. These culture schemas may buffer the negative effects of socioeconomic disadvantage on educational attainment (Liu and Xie 2016). Confucian values are foundational in East and Southeast Asian countries, but are less influential in India or the Philippines (Liu and Xie 2016; Wang 2002; Xie and Goyette 2003). Yet, the children of Japanese American immigrants, who have a similar cultural background (Wang 2002), did not experience any noticeable educational advantages relative to 2.5+ generation whites. The analysis also found that Filipino Americans—who have a different cultural background (Liu and Xie 2016; Wang 2002)—may have high levels of educational mobility but have similar levels of educational attainment to 2.5+ generation whites. Although the general pattern suggests Confucian values may play an important role in Asian Americans' educational patterns, these inconsistencies provide evidence against a monolithic Confucian culture effect. Second,

immigrant selection may be responsible for the observed pattern. The immigrant selection explanation, however, is inconsistent with inequality in family background between Chinese and Vietnamese Americans (Lee and Zhou 2015) and educational attainment patterns in recent work on immigrant selection (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). One possibility is that many immigrants from China, Korea, and Vietnam come to the US for educational opportunities, while this is uncommon for other Asian American ethnic groups. Third, Lee and Zhou's theory may only be generalizable to specific Asian American ethnic groups. Lee and Zhou's (2015) interviewed Chinese and Vietnamese Americans and may have captured a phenomenon distinct to these two ethnic groups and Korean Americans. Most likely, the observed educational patterns are—as Lee and Zhou contend—the product of a myriad of events, schemas, and materials, which together form Asian Americans' perspectives on success and, in turn, influence educational attainments. Neither simple cultural or socioeconomic explanations suffice. Regardless of the interpretation, results from this study demonstrate that Lee and Zhou's (2015) hypothesized pattern holds for these three ethnic-nativity groups.

This research inspires questions which are relevant to status attainment, immigration and education research. First, the analysis demonstrates that educational mobility patterns vary by race/ethnicity-nativity. Results suggest that the high levels of educational attainment and mobility patterns of the children of Vietnamese, Korean, and Chinese immigrants relative to whites, is an exception to the rule. In contrast, the educational attainment and mobility patterns of most other race/ethnic-nativity groups are (generally) like those of 2.5+ generation whites. These results offer limited support—for the children of Asian American immigrants only—for segmented assimilation theory, but stronger support for the classic status attainment model, which contends that socioeconomic characteristics are strong predictors of educational

attainment. In sum, most race/ethnic-nativity groups follow similar stratification patterns. Several Asian American groups, however, feature distinct patterns consistent with segmented assimilation.

This paper also provides important knowledge for analysis of education patterns. First, school fixed effects can control for geographic heterogeneity at a fine-grained-level (De Witte and Csillag 2014; French et al. 2015; Hsin and Xie 2014; Jargowsky and El Komi 2011; Jonsson and Mood 2008; Liu and Xie 2016). For example, results from this paper suggest that proximity to metropolitan areas with large amounts of colleges and universities may be responsible for a large portion of the educational advantage of the children of Korean, Chinese, and Indian Americans. Future education research should utilize this technique when examining race/ethnic-nativity differences with studies based on school designs, such as Add Health, the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, the National Education Longitudinal Study, and the Education Longitudinal Study.

In addition, this paper provides insights for future immigration research. First, these findings demonstrate that Asian American immigrants are generally selected on high levels of socioeconomic status. There is, however, substantial heterogeneity in this selection by ethnicity/country of origin. The analysis above suggests that Indians and Chinese are the most socioeconomically selective of these immigrant groups, followed by Koreans and Filipinos. Vietnamese have lower levels of socioeconomic status than whites, although they are selected on higher levels of socioeconomic status than the average individual from Vietnam (Lee and Zhou 2015). These differences are clearly born out in educational attainment patterns.

Last, this paper offers several insights for policymakers. First, the view of all Asian Americans as model minorities contradicts this paper's findings. For example, 2.5+ generation

Asian Americans and the children of Asian American immigrants from some ethnic groups have similar levels of education to 2.5+ generation whites after controlling for sociodemographic and school/geographic characteristics. Consequently, policymakers should not assume that all Asian American populations have high levels of educational attainment. Second, the example of Asian American successes in educational attainment provide useful insights for increasing the educational mobility of less advantaged immigrant groups. While the unique circumstances and substantial familial resources available to Asian American families cannot be replicated among more disadvantaged immigrant groups, more detailed examination of mechanisms for educational attainment among Asian Americans may provide useful information for policy interventions for other, less advantaged immigrant groups. Moreover, models estimated in this paper suggest that the removal of structural barriers for blacks and Mexican Americans should result in increased education parity with 2.5+ generation whites.

Conclusion

This study observes a distinct stratification pattern among the children of Korean, Vietnamese, and Chinese American immigrants, featuring high levels of educational attainment and mobility, lending partial support for Lee and Zhou's (2015) recent segmented assimilation theory. In contrast, most other race/ethnic-nativity groups have—generally—similar educational attainment and mobility patterns to 2.5+ generation whites, after accounting for sociodemographic and school differences. Although results from the children of some Asian American ethnic-nativity groups break with patterns of social reproduction specified in classic status attainment studies (Blau and Duncan 1967; Sewell et al. 1969), the analysis offers limited evidence of variation in stratification patterns for other race/ethnic-nativity groups. Future work will benefit from exploration of financial, extracurricular—such as ACT/SAT preparation

courses and tutoring—, and schematic mechanisms for Asian Americans' educational attainment patterns. Among a diverse set of stratification outcomes of race/ethnic-nativity groups, the patterns of the children of Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese immigrants stand out. These patterns are not only surprising because of their high levels of educational attainment, but also because many of the most disadvantaged Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans complete bachelor's and graduate degrees.

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[1] Lee and Zhou refer to this concept as a "success frame." To my knowledge, this concept of cognitive frames is interchangeable with the Theory of Conjunctural Action's concept of schemas. For consistency, I refer to a "success schema."

[2] Although Lee and Zhou (2015) make reference to cognitive frames, this paper uses the world "schema" to be consistent with the Theory of Conjunctural Action (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011).

[3] Lee and Zhou contend that whites and blacks (to a lesser extent) have individualistic success schemas that focus on self-reliance. The authors suggest that the individualistic focus on 2.5+ generation whites and blacks is associated with a lack of a "reference group" for success. In contrast, Lee and Zhou contend that Mexican Americans use their parents and peers as reference groups. Many Mexican Americans often view a high school degree as a marker of socioeconomic success because it exceeds the educational attainment of their parents and peers.

[4] Xie and colleagues propose an alternative explanation, contending that a combination of historical labor market exclusion and culture lead Asian American parents to choose to push their children into professional careers. This explanation could be interpreted as cultural variance in the utility function for educational attainment.

[5] One important component of immigrant selection, which has been often ignored is contextual selection, or socioeconomic selection relative to one's country of origin (Feliciano and Lanuza

2017). The children of Asian American immigrants, in general, have parents with high levels of contextual attainment. Contextual selection, however, does not explain why Asian Americans would have higher educational attainment than 1.5-2.0 generation blacks or Central/South Americans.

[6] Factors aside from immigrant selection may also influence educational attainment patterns. For example, native-born Chinese and Japanese American men and women had higher levels of educational attainment than Whites already had higher levels of educational attainment than Whites in the 1920s and 1930s (Hirschman and Wong 1986).

[7] Lee and Zhou also acknowledge some negative effects of the Model Minority Stereotype on Asian Americans, such as high levels of external and internal pressure to perform academically and underrepresentation in upper management.

[8] Estimates from 1980 and 1990 closely approximate the socioeconomic statuses of the parents of the Add Health respondents (Xie and Goyette 2004).

[9] Thomas (2009) finds that this pattern only holds for household heads. The of education of the spouses of household heads among black immigrant families is lower than the education of the spouses of Native-born black household heads.

[10] I ran models which adjust for the propensity for attrition. These models yielded similar results to those in primary analysis.

[11] I began with 16,734 cases with information on race/ethnicity-nativity. First, I dropped cases missing educational attainment from Wave IV (N=12,884). Second, I dropped respondents who did not live with their biological mother in Wave I were dropped (N=11,723). Third, I dropped respondents missing school fixed effects (N=11,561) and respondents with less than five

attendees in their high/middle school (11,541). Last, I dropped cases missing survey weights from Wave IV (N=11,141).

[12] Also encapsulated within these measures of race/ethnicity-nativity are parent's contextual attainment relative to immigrant's place of origin. This pattern of high selective contextual family background is consistent among most Asian American groups, and evokes a similar influence on educational attainment patterns (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017).

[13] Due to weaknesses in non-linear models for estimating interaction terms (Mood 2010) and the incompatibility of logit models with dummy variables or mean differencing for fixed effects, I treat these variables as linear. Use of a linear model is relatively unproblematic because 32 percent of the sample completed a bachelor's degree and the ordinal measure of degree completion is normally distributed.

[14] The authors use a birth order index to purge the correlation between birth order and sibsize and to model birth order as a continuous variable for resource allocation. The index, *B*, is the ratio ($B=R/M$) of the respondents' birth order, *R*, to the mean birth order, *M*, of her living biological siblings, *S*. The mean birth order is calculated as ($S+1$)/2. Birth order and family size are top coded at 10. This index has a mean of 1 and ranges from .18 (first birth of 10 siblings) to 1.82 (tenth birth of 10 siblings).

[15] I use the respondents' report of their mothers age for mothers structurally missing from the parent survey.

[16] One weakness of the school fixed effects approach is that it does not allow for purposeful residential/school selection to serve as a mechanism for Asian Americans' high levels of educational attainment. Although Lee and Zhou (2015) suggested that Asian American parents

may select residence to benefit their offspring's academic chances—thus serving as a mechanism—it is difficult to determine if this pattern is purposeful or circumstantial.

[17] I applied school fixed effects by adding each school as a separate dummy variable. The relatively small number of schools (132) and large sample size (N=11,141) made this approach feasible.

[18] Many Vietnamese American immigrants have a Chinese ethnic background (Lee and Zhou 2015; Xie and Goyette 2004).

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Figure 1: Conceptual Model of Segmented Assimilation in Educational Attainment

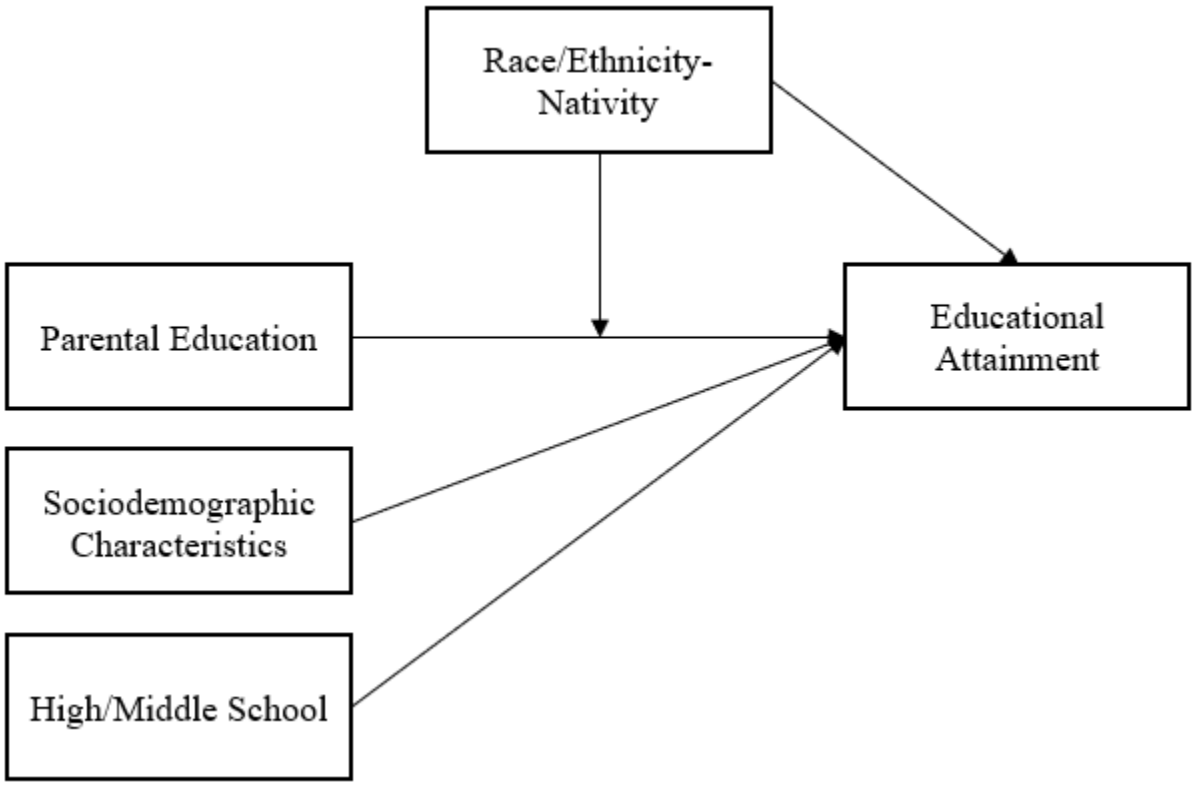


Table 1: Linear Regression of Educational Attainment on Race/Ethnicity-Nativity

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Race/Ethnicity-Nativity (2.5+ White)															
1.5-2.0 Korean	1.63	0.59	**	1.63	0.57	**	1.23	0.62	*	0.22	0.11	+	0.55	0.28	*
2.5+ Chinese	-0.15	0.40		-0.01	0.34		0.30	0.39		0.14	0.08	+	0.22	0.19	
1.5-2.0 Chinese	2.45	0.44	***	1.91	0.37	***	1.33	0.37	***	0.18	0.05	**	0.52	0.11	***
2.5+ Japanese	0.45	0.33		-0.18	0.28		0.40	0.38		0.12	0.09		0.15	0.16	
1.5-2.0 Japanese	0.45	0.45		-0.73	0.36	*	-0.72	0.46		0.02	0.14		-0.24	0.27	
2.5+ Filipino	0.41	0.52		0.42	0.45		0.56	0.46		0.07	0.12		0.27	0.21	
1.5-2.0 Filipino	0.60	0.26	*	0.31	0.25		0.35	0.33		0.02	0.06		0.09	0.11	
1.5-2.0 Indian	3.46	1.02	**	2.08	1.03	*	1.42	0.98		0.21	0.11	+	0.33	0.28	
1.5-2.0 Vietnamese	1.32	0.38	***	1.63	0.45	***	1.56	0.44	***	0.37	0.10	***	0.69	0.15	***
1.5-2.0 White	0.66	0.23	**	0.32	0.19	+	0.25	0.17		0.04	0.03		0.09	0.07	
2.5+ Black	-0.75	0.09	***	0.03	0.08		0.03	0.10		-0.01	0.02		0.02	0.04	
1.5-2.0 Black	0.65	0.40		0.48	0.33		0.49	0.34		0.03	0.05		0.22	0.14	
2.5+ Mexican	-0.95	0.21	***	-0.22	0.21		-0.06	0.22		-0.05	0.03	+	-0.11	0.09	
1.5-2.0 Mexican	-1.09	0.14	***	0.39	0.16	*	0.28	0.19		0.03	0.03		0.12	0.08	
Outcome	Education Years			Education Years			Education Years			BA Completion			Degree Completion		
Controls	No			Yes			Yes			Yes			Yes		
School FE	No			No			Yes			Yes			Yes		

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

N = 11,141

Notes: Control variables include birth order, sibsize, maternal age at birth, mother's relationship status, family income, parental education, and parental occupation.

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

Table 2: Linear Regression of Educational Attainment with Interaction of Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Education

	Education Years			BA Completion			Degree Completion		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Race/Ethnicity-Nativity (2.5+ White)									
1.5-2.0 KCV	1.13	0.66	+	0.03	0.06		0.12	0.13	
Parent's Education (>BA)									
BA	-0.74	0.14	***	-0.14	0.03	***	-0.29	0.05	***
Some College	-1.14	0.14	***	-0.25	0.03	***	-0.55	0.06	***
HS	-1.44	0.14	***	-0.30	0.03	***	-0.71	0.06	***
<HS	-2.19	0.21	***	-0.35	0.03	***	-1.09	0.08	***
Race/Ethnicity x Education (2.5+ White x >BA)									
1.5-2.0 KCV x BA	-0.15	0.82		0.11	0.14		0.17	0.23	
1.5-2.0 KCV x Some College	-0.10	0.93		0.27	0.15	+	0.56	0.34	
1.5-2.0 KCV x HS	0.08	0.76		0.31	0.12	*	0.64	0.23	**
1.5-2.0 KCV x <HS	1.98	0.89	*	0.36	0.12	**	1.15	0.26	***
Controls	Yes			Yes			Yes		
School FE	Yes			Yes			Yes		

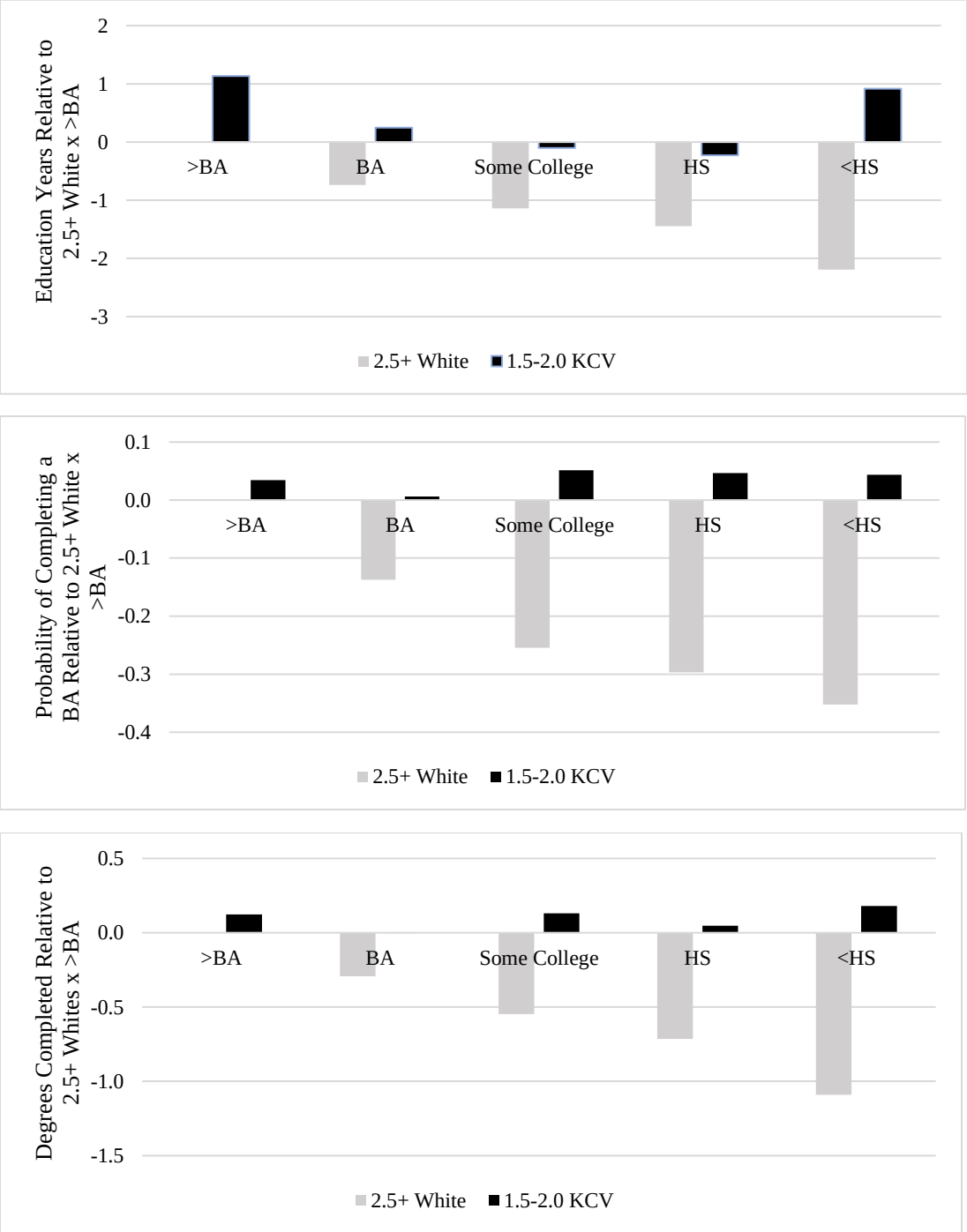
Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

N = 6,855

Notes: KCV represents Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans. Control variables include birth order, sibsize, maternal age at birth, mother's relationship status, family income, parental education, and parental occupation. Eleven cases from the original sample were dropped due to insufficient school cluster size.

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

Figure 2: Linear Regression of Educational Attainment with Interaction of Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Education



Notes: KCV represents Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans. Results obtained from Models 1, 2, and 3 in Table 2. Reference group is 2.5+ generation whites whose parents have obtained more than a bachelor's degree.

Table 3: Interaction Models by Race/Ethnicity-Nativity: Does the Race/Ethnic-Nativity Group have Greater Educational Mobility than 2.5+ Generation Whites?

Outcome	Education Years	BA Completion	Degree Completion
1.5-2.0 White	No	No	No
2.5+ Black	Yes	Yes	Yes
1.5-2.0 Black	No	No	No
2.5+ Mexican	No	No	Yes
1.5-2.0 Mexican	No	No	No
2.5+ Asian	No	No	No
1.5-2.0 Asian	Yes	Yes	Yes
1.5-2.0 Korean	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.5+ Chinese	Yes	Yes	Yes
1.5-2.0 Chinese	No*	Yes	Yes
2.5+ Japanese	No	No	No
1.5-2.0 Japanese	No	No	No
2.5+ Filipino	Yes	Yes	Yes
1.5-2.0 Filipino	No*	No*	Yes
1.5-2.0 Indian	No	No*	No*
1.5-2.0 Vietnamese	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Models estimated are equivalent to those in Table 2. The interactions for 2.5+ generation blacks were relatively weak in each model. In the education years model, 1.5-2.0 Chinese Americans' interaction term was in the correct direction but was not significant. 1.5-2.0 generation Filipino Americans' interaction terms were significant at the .10 alpha level. Both 1.5-2.0 generation Chinese and Filipino Americans' interaction terms were significant when estimating unweighted models. Interactions for Indian Americans were significant for those with parents with less than a high school degree but were in the opposite direction for respondents with parents who completed only a high school degree. Only 2.5+ generation Japanese Americans had less educational mobility than 2.5+ generation whites.

Appendix

Table A1: Cross-tabulation of Respondents' Characteristics by Race/Ethnicity/Nativity

	2.5+ White	1.5-2.0 White	2.5+ Black	1.5-2.0 Black	2.5+ Mexican	1.5-2.0 Mexican	2.5+ Asian	1.5-2.0 Asian	Total
Education Years	14.45	15.11	13.70	15.13	13.51	13.39	14.79	15.95	14.30
BA Completion	0.35	0.48	0.22	0.42	0.15	0.17	0.50	0.58	0.32
Degree Completed									
<HS	0.07	0.05	0.13	0.06	0.14	0.16	0.04	0.00	0.08
HS	0.25	0.20	0.32	0.16	0.35	0.34	0.23	0.14	0.26
Some College	0.34	0.26	0.33	0.36	0.36	0.33	0.23	0.28	0.33
BA	0.22	0.31	0.12	0.19	0.10	0.12	0.43	0.35	0.20
>BA	0.13	0.18	0.10	0.24	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.23	0.12
Female	0.50	0.48	0.51	0.50	0.48	0.48	0.41	0.47	0.50
Parity Index	1.00	0.97	1.01	0.93	1.04	0.94	0.98	1.03	1.00
Sibsize	2.44	2.84	2.53	2.67	2.88	3.94	2.55	3.12	2.56
Maternal Age at Birth									
18	0.18	0.11	0.35	0.17	0.26	0.23	0.11	0.06	0.21
23	0.36	0.30	0.31	0.40	0.33	0.38	0.28	0.26	0.35
28	0.31	0.38	0.22	0.21	0.24	0.24	0.33	0.40	0.29
33	0.12	0.17	0.09	0.18	0.12	0.09	0.24	0.18	0.12
38	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.03
43	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Mother's Relationship Status									
Married	0.79	0.84	0.41	0.66	0.67	0.81	0.74	0.89	0.73
Cohabiting	0.05	0.03	0.11	0.06	0.09	0.04	0.07	0.01	0.06
Single	0.16	0.12	0.48	0.28	0.25	0.15	0.19	0.10	0.21
Income ($1,000)	51.14	59.48	28.78	47.98	35.99	25.88	65.67	53.88	46.98
Parent's Education									
<HS	0.07	0.11	0.15	0.11	0.23	0.66	0.00	0.10	0.11
HS	0.37	0.24	0.47	0.18	0.38	0.21	0.38	0.21	0.37
Col	0.21	0.18	0.18	0.23	0.21	0.07	0.16	0.14	0.20
BA	0.20	0.22	0.12	0.23	0.11	0.04	0.21	0.31	0.18
>BA	0.16	0.26	0.08	0.26	0.07	0.02	0.25	0.24	0.14
Parent's Occupation									
Professional 1	0.06	0.13	0.02	0.12	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.13	0.06
Professional 2	0.17	0.15	0.18	0.24	0.09	0.04	0.24	0.11	0.17
Manager	0.11	0.10	0.06	0.04	0.09	0.04	0.13	0.09	0.10
White Collar/Office	0.23	0.19	0.19	0.15	0.23	0.08	0.29	0.20	0.22
Blue Collar	0.28	0.27	0.28	0.30	0.33	0.55	0.18	0.33	0.29
Military/Farm/Other	0.11	0.10	0.14	0.10	0.10	0.18	0.12	0.12	0.11
Unemployed	0.04	0.05	0.15	0.06	0.11	0.10	0.01	0.01	0.06

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

N = 11,141

Notes: Missing cases are not imputed for Table A1.

Table A2: Cross-tabulation of Asian Americans Respondents' Characteristics by Ethnicity-Nativity

	1.5-2.0 Korean	2.5+ Chinese	1.5-2.0 Chinese	2.5+ Japanese	1.5-2.0 Japanese	2.5+ Filipino	1.5-2.0 Filipino	1.5-2.0 Indian	1.5-2.0 Viet.
Education Years	16.08	14.30	16.90	14.90	14.90	14.86	15.05	17.91	15.59
BA Completion	0.66	0.42	0.74	0.48	0.56	0.39	0.40	0.90	0.69
Degree Completed	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.00
<HS	0.17	0.19	0.05	0.27	0.24	0.11	0.21	0.08	0.10
HS	0.17	0.31	0.21	0.25	0.20	0.46	0.38	0.02	0.21
Some College	0.37	0.39	0.38	0.39	0.56	0.26	0.27	0.50	0.62
BA	0.29	0.03	0.37	0.08	0.00	0.13	0.13	0.40	0.07
>BA	0.42	0.44	0.46	0.49	0.56	0.41	0.49	0.29	0.62
Parity Index	1.10	0.99	0.97	0.98	1.07	0.99	1.05	0.97	1.08
Sibsize	1.00	2.67	2.02	2.63	2.79	2.72	2.59	3.39	2.38
Maternal Age at Birth									
18	0.00	0.37	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.14	0.07	0.09	0.11
23	0.53	0.19	0.21	0.33	0.28	0.40	0.23	0.51	0.17
28	0.23	0.24	0.50	0.35	0.53	0.20	0.34	0.31	0.56
33	0.09	0.17	0.20	0.22	0.18	0.26	0.20	0.09	0.11
38	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.16	0.00	0.04
43	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mother's Relationship Status									
Married	0.83	0.63	0.95	0.72	0.75	0.87	0.86	0.97	0.86
Cohabiting	0.07	0.04	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.09	0.01	0.00	0.00
Single	0.11	0.33	0.05	0.22	0.25	0.04	0.13	0.03	0.14
Income ($1,000)	55.46	51.56	62.83	75.30	53.45	45.92	50.03	59.93	38.28
Parent's Education									
<HS	0.00	0.13	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.04	0.12	0.24
HS	0.34	0.43	0.17	0.41	0.27	0.21	0.17	0.01	0.30
Col	0.28	0.11	0.09	0.13	0.02	0.35	0.18	0.03	0.05
BA	0.12	0.22	0.24	0.14	0.23	0.23	0.50	0.17	0.18
>BA	0.26	0.11	0.33	0.32	0.49	0.10	0.11	0.68	0.22
Parent's Occupation									
Professional 1	0.09	0.03	0.19	0.03	0.13	0.00	0.05	0.51	0.00
Professional 2	0.01	0.23	0.08	0.17	0.43	0.23	0.14	0.22	0.06
Manager	0.06	0.05	0.17	0.10	0.25	0.25	0.05	0.18	0.02
White Collar/Office	0.05	0.30	0.22	0.35	0.18	0.26	0.28	0.09	0.20
Blue Collar	0.36	0.15	0.29	0.15	0.01	0.16	0.38	0.00	0.40
Military/Farm/Other	0.44	0.11	0.06	0.18	0.00	0.11	0.07	0.00	0.32
Unemployed	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

N = 11,141

Notes: Missing cases are not imputed for Table A2.

Table A3: Linear Regression of Educational Attainment with Interaction of Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Education (Models Exclude Parental Income and Occupation)

	Education Years			BA Completion			Degree Completion		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Race/Ethnicity-Nativity (2.5+ White)									
1.5-2.0 KCV	0.80	0.73		-0.02	0.06		-0.01	0.14	
Parent's Education (>BA)									
BA	-1.00	0.13	***	-0.18	0.02	***	-0.38	0.05	***
Some College	-1.68	0.13	***	-0.34	0.02	***	-0.74	0.05	***
HS	-2.11	0.13	***	-0.40	0.02	***	-0.96	0.05	***
<HS	-3.18	0.19	***	-0.50	0.03	***	-1.47	0.07	***
Race/Ethnicity x Education (2.5+ White x >BA)									
1.5-2.0 KCV x BA	-0.02	0.87		0.13	0.14		0.23	0.23	
1.5-2.0 KCV x Some College	0.17	1.00		0.31	0.16	+	0.66	0.36	+
1.5-2.0 KCV x HS	0.14	0.81		0.32	0.11	*	0.66	0.24	**
1.5-2.0 KCV x <HS	2.31	0.94	*	0.41	0.12	**	1.30	0.28	***
Controls	Yes			Yes			Yes		
School FE	Yes			Yes			Yes		

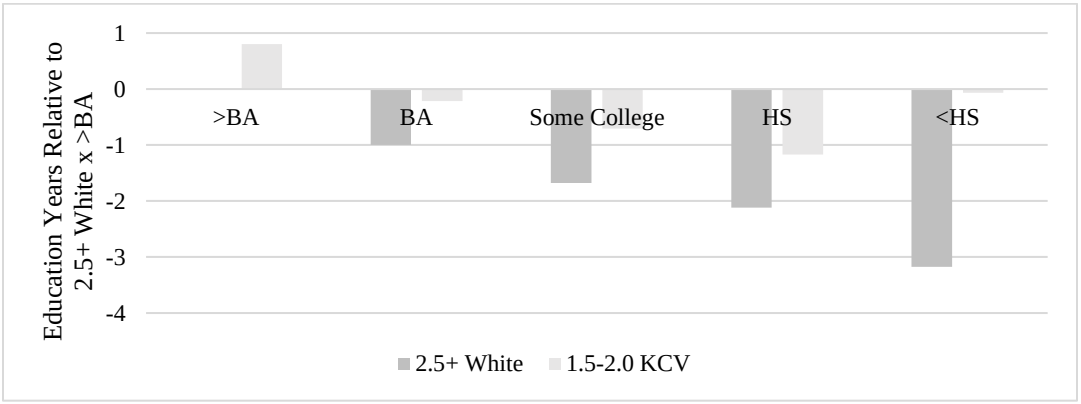
Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

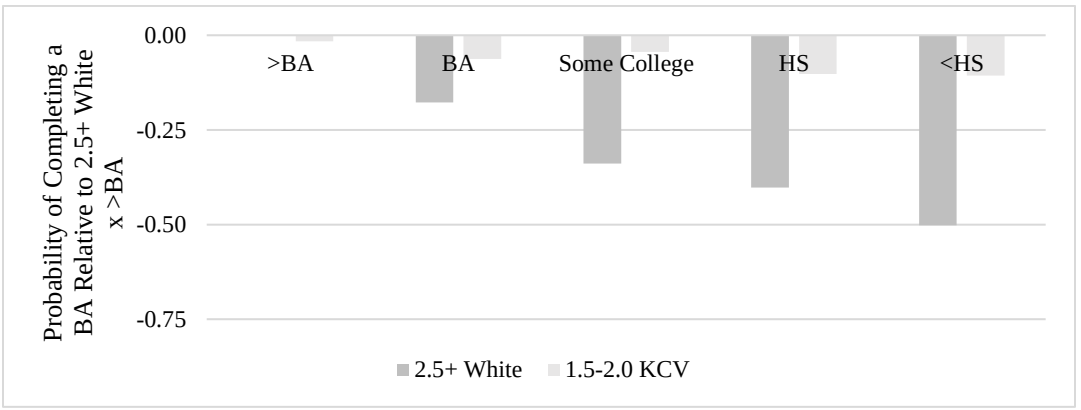
N = 6,855

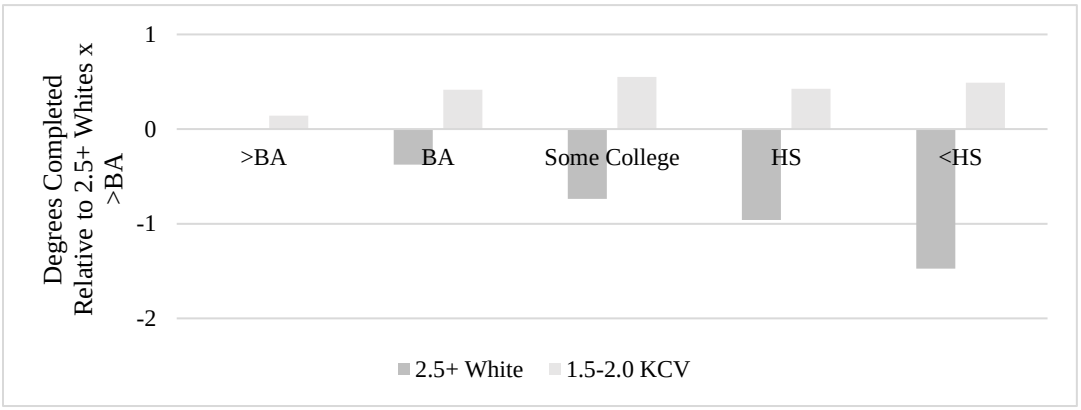
Notes: KCV represents Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans. Control variables include birth order, sibsize, maternal age at birth, mother's relationship status, family income, parental education, and parental occupation. Eleven cases from the original sample were dropped due to insufficient school cluster size.

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

Figure A1: Linear Regression of Educational Attainment with Interaction of Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Education (Models Exclude Parental Income and Occupation)







Notes: KCV represents Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans. Results obtained from Models 1, 2, and 3 in Table 2. Reference group is 2.5+ generation whites whose parents have obtained more than a bachelor's degree.

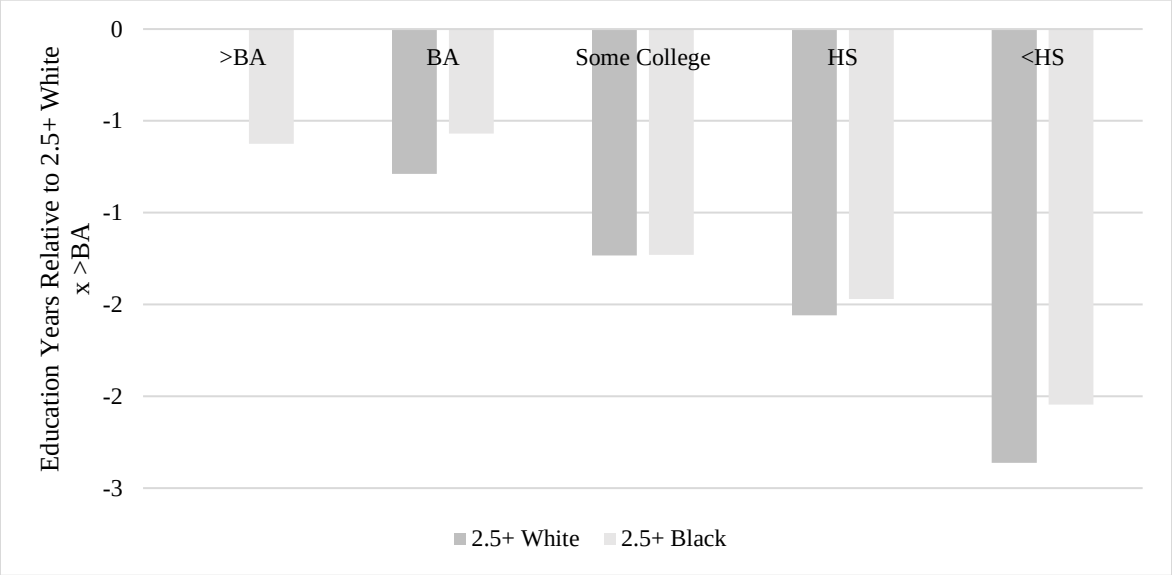
Table A4: Linear Regressions of Educational Attainment with Interaction of Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Education for 2.5+ Generation Whites and Blacks

	Education Years			BA Completion			Degree Completion		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Race/Ethnicity-Nativity (2.5+ White)									
2.5+ Generation Black	-0.62	0.23	**	-0.13	0.05	**	-0.23	0.09	*
Parent's Education (>BA)									
BA	-0.79	0.14	***	-0.14	0.03	***	-0.30	0.05	***
Some College	-1.23	0.14	***	-0.27	0.03	***	-0.57	0.05	***
HS	-1.56	0.14	***	-0.31	0.03	***	-0.74	0.05	***
<HS	-2.36	0.20	***	-0.37	0.03	***	-1.14	0.08	***
Race/Ethnicity x Education (2.5+ White x >BA)									
2.5+ Black x BA	0.84	0.28	**	0.11	0.06	+	0.31	0.11	**
2.5+ Black x Some College	0.63	0.25	*	0.11	0.05	*	0.24	0.11	*
2.5+ Black x HS	0.71	0.24	**	0.14	0.05	**	0.27	0.10	**
2.5+ Black x <HS	0.94	0.32	**	0.17	0.05	**	0.40	0.13	**
Controls		Yes			Yes			Yes	
School FE		Yes			Yes			Yes	

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

N = 9,075

Figure A2: Linear Regression of Educational Attainment with Interaction of Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Education for 2.5+ Generation Whites and Blacks



Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

N = 9,075

Table A4: Linear Regression of Educational Attainment with Interaction of Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Income

	Education Years			BA Completion			Degree Completion		
	B	SE		B	SE		B	SE	
Race/Ethnicity-Nativity (2.5+ White)									
1.5-2.0 KCV	1.12	1.27		0.57	0.20	*	1.42	0.39	**
Parental Income$^{1/3}$	0.44	0.05	***	0.07	0.01	***	0.17	0.02	***
Parental Income$^{1/3}$ x 1.5-2.0 KCV	0.08	0.38		-0.10	0.05	+	-0.25	0.10	*
Controls	Yes			Yes			Yes		
School FE	Yes			Yes			Yes		

Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health

N = 6,855

Notes: KCV represents Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese Americans. Control variables include birth order, sibsize, maternal age at birth, mother's relationship status, family income, parental education, and parental occupation. Eleven cases from the original sample were dropped due to insufficient school cluster size.

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

Table A6: Interaction Models by Race/Ethnicity-Nativity with Parental Income: Does the Race/Ethnic-Nativity Group have Greater Mobility than 2.5+ Generation Whites?

	Years	BA	Degree
1.5-2.0 White	No	No	No
2.5+ Black	No*	Yes	No
1.5-2.0 Black	No	No	No
2.5+ Mexican	Yes	Yes	Yes
1.5-2.0 Mexican	No*	No*	No*
2.5+ Asian	No	No	No
1.5-2.0 Asian	No	No*	Yes
1.5-2.0 Korean	No	No	Yes
2.5+ Chinese	No	No	No
1.5-2.0 Chinese	No	Yes	Yes
2.5+ Japanese	No	No*	No
1.5-2.0 Japanese	No	No	No
2.5+ Filipino	No	No	No
1.5-2.0 Filipino	No	No	No
1.5-2.0 Indian	No	No*	No
1.5-2.0 Vietnamese	No	No	No

Notes: Stars denote relationships significant at the .10 alpha level. No race/ethnic-nativity groups have positive interactions with parental income.