Change in Race and Ethnic Stratification: The Roles of Period, Cohort, Immigrant Generation, Socioeconomic Origins, and Gender in Shaping Educational Attainment

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Abstract

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Education has been the primary means of advancement for immigrants and native-born Americans throughout the 20th century. Despite the overall expansion of the educational system in the United States, not all immigrant groups and even native-born minority groups have achieved comparable levels of educational attainment as the majority population. For some groups, such as Hispanic immigrants, native-born Hispanics, Blacks and Native Americans, the attainment gap has persisted throughout the century. Much of the research beginning in the 1990s focused on the second generation, the children of immigrants, and their assimilation to American society through avenues such as educational attainment. To date, no literature has focused on the third generation, the grandchildren of immigrants, which faces different barriers to American assimilation than their second generation counterparts whose parents were immigrants, or first-generation immigrants who arrived from countries of origins with differing levels of educational attainment and opportunities. This dissertation research focuses specifically on how the third generation experiences American assimilation through educational attainment. I use a nationally representative data set, the General Social Surveys, from 1977-2010, with birth cohorts represented from

1880-1985 to assess the conditional probabilities of high school graduation, college entry and college completion for over 45,000 respondents, 16 different “religio-ethnic” groups and four immigrant generations. My results indicate that gaps in educational attainment increase at higher levels of education by generation, socioeconomic status, gender, and religious/ethnic groups and reveal the challenges immigrants and their children and grandchildren face through the process of acculturation to American society.

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DEDICATION

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Education has been the primary means for socioeconomic advancement for immigrants and for native-born Americans. During the 20th century, the US educational system experienced an expansion throughout all levels of schooling, from graded primary and secondary schooling to increased enrollment in higher education after World War II. The increased demand for higher levels of education was the result of the labor needs of the urban/industrial service economy and the desires of many persons for socioeconomic advancement. Despite the overall expansion of the educational system in the United States, not all immigrant groups and even native-born minority groups achieved comparable levels of educational attainment as the majority population. This dissertation will describe, and attempt to explain the gaps in attainment levels between immigrant and ethnic communities, both for immigrant groups that primarily arrived in the early part of the 20th century (mainly of European descent) and those that arrived after 1965 (minority groups from Asian and Hispanic descent).

Many of the immigrants in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were of European descent, since many Asians were shut out from immigration by policies such as the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and other policies specifically excluding Asian immigration. In the 1920s, quotas were also placed on Southern and Eastern European immigrants to restrict continued immigration from these countries. Many of the immigrants from the beginning of the 20th century arrived to the US from mostly rural, agrarian origins with little education. Despite this, the children of immigrants were largely successful in the American educational system (Lieberson 1980). By the 1950s and 1960s, there were only modest gaps in educational attainment levels between European national origin groups and the long resident native born population; any differences that remained were largely due to socioeconomic origins. Other

groups, such as African Americans and Native Americans, were much further behind in the educational system (Duncan, Featherman and Duncan 1972). Consequently, classical assimilation theories were largely based on the experiences of European immigrants and their descendants. To add to the complexity of this theory, Robert Park addresses the African American experience in his description of the cycle of race relations. The basic premise of classical assimilation theory is that successive generations climb in economic and social standing and eventually will be fully assimilated into American culture. This is also referred to as straight-line assimilation theory, where each successive generation is more successful than the previous one.

After 1965, quotas on immigration for certain ethnic groups were lifted and all bans on national origin were eliminated, creating opportunities for Asian immigrants to enter the country. Latinos had been entering the country since the late nineteenth century for different types or work agreements and were not restricted by the legislation of the 1920s. However, there were barriers, including large scale deportation. In fact, the policies of the 1960s were more restrictive with regards to immigration from the Western Hemisphere, subsequently raising the number of illegal immigrants that arrived from Mexico (Massey 2002). Additionally, the new wave of immigrants was socioeconomically diverse with differing levels of educational backgrounds and coming from both the rural and urban areas. Some immigrant groups, particularly from South and East Asia and some of the Latin American communities, exhibit increases in educational attainment from the first to the second generation due to immigrants from these groups arriving with lower levels of educational attainment. Other groups, such as Puerto Ricans (who are not considered immigrants) and Dominicans have above-average levels of high school dropout rates and, at times, did not advance educationally with greater exposure to American society

(Hirschman 2001). Since the characteristics of the immigrants who arrived during this time period were so heterogeneous, the educational outcomes of their children vary widely. As a result, many criticized "classical" assimilation theories which related to European ethnics and attempted to revise the theories to apply to immigrants from broader racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic categories with the creation of segmented assimilation theory. A major critique of classical assimilation theory is that White European immigrants did not face the same barriers of racism and discrimination as the later group of immigrants. Even those who faced discrimination (e.g. Jews, Italians, and Poles) could avoid being perceived as their ethnic identity and rather as a White, Anglo Saxon Protestant, by changing their names or intermarrying into another European community by the time they reached the second generation. I draw from both classical assimilation theory and segmented assimilation to inform my research, particularly to test whether or not immigrant generations have upward or downward mobility with regards to educational attainment.

For my dissertation, I seek to examine the mediating factors in high school completion, college entry and college completion with specific emphasis on the racial, ethnic and generational differences across cohorts as reported in 30 years of annual or biannual surveys. I use data from the General Social Surveys (GSS), nationally representative surveys which employ a "core" set of demographic, behavioral and attitudinal questions that asses the demographics and opinions of Americans over the past four decades. The GSS began in 1972 but did not begin asking grandparents' birthplace until 1977, and since this is one unique feature of the data set, I omitted surveys from 1972-1976. Using "core" questions from the GSS from 1977-2010, I examine a large cross-section of the population and also explore trends in educational attainment over time. Information on 10-year birth cohorts from 1880-1889 to 1980-1985 can be reliably

estimated from retrospective questions in surveys conducted in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Since the GSS asks specific questions about parents' and grandparents' birth (starting in 1977), I am able to divide the sample into four distinct groups: first, second, third and fourth and higher generations, where the first generation is the immigrant. This is a unique contribution to the research on educational attainment and immigrant assimilation, as much of the literature focuses either on the first generation or the second generation or the third and higher generations combined. Few studies have attempted to examine all four generations, with specific focus on the third generation, or the grandchildren of immigrants. Recent literature focuses primarily on the second generation and the differing levels at which they assimilate into American society because few studies ask for the place of birth of grandparents. Since there is little research that distinguishes the third from fourth generations, my dissertation will concentrate on the third generation as a marker for assimilation into mainstream society, particularly through high school and college completion rates and college entrance. The third generation is important to distinguish from the fourth because the third generation is the grandchildren of immigrants, meaning their parents were the children of immigrants. Essentially, this dissertation will compare the third generation with the second generation and the fourth and higher generations.

This dissertation will contribute to the literature on immigration and assimilation to American society through educational attainment. The next chapter will begin with a review of theories of assimilation which will inform the framework of the later empirical chapters. One theory of particular interest is the second generation advantage theory, whereby the second generation is seen to have an advantage over other generations due to the values and norms passed on by hard-working immigrant parents. Since this dissertation includes the first through fourth generations, it is possible to see, first, if this there is evidence for this theory, and

secondly, if there really is a true second generation advantage that diminishes for the third generation. If the advantage does not diminish until the fourth plus generation, it is possible that the advantage is a second/third generation advantage and that the positive values passed from immigrants extends to their grandchildren as well. This idea was previously difficult to test in the absence of a distinct third generation.

Another unique contribution of this dissertation is that the General Social survey asks for religion at age 16, race and ethnicity. As a result, I am able to combine those categories and see if, for example, Black Catholics differ from Black Protestants, and how Jews compare to other White groups who migrated to the United States around the same time period. The combining of these groups, or "religio-ethnic" groups also occurred in an earlier work by Hirschman and Falcon (1985) using early survey years of the General Social Survey.

As previously mentioned, this dissertation will address the factors that influence high school graduation, college entry and college completion, with specific focus on racial/ethnic inequality, immigrant generation status as well as differences in socioeconomic characteristics based on parental background and family conditions when respondents were age 16. I seek to compare different theories of immigrant assimilation using empirical evidence. These theories will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. I will also examine theories of minority group underperformance in higher education and seek to explain which (if any) of these theories are affecting the gaps in educational attainment between minority groups and the White Protestant majority.

The most influential finding of this dissertation is that socioeconomic status mediates the inequalities that exist between ethnic and religious groups in educational attainment. When first

examining bivariate results between religious and ethnic groups, there is a significant difference between some ethnic minority groups such as Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans and White Protestants. When controls for SES are added to the model, the differences between ethnic/religious groups diminish, and for some models, the differences between groups disappear. Specifically, parental educational attainment is an important factor in predicting educational attainment. Across all educational levels, having a parent who graduated from college greatly increased the odds of completing each transition. The effect was significant for both mothers and fathers for most models.

Chapters/Sections

The subsequent sections of the dissertation will consist of a review of the literature on immigration and educational attainment (Chapter 2), a description of the data and weighting (Chapter 3), a description of the variables (Chapter 4) a methods section which will include a multivariate analysis of high school graduation, college entry and college completion across several ethnic groups (Chapter 5), a within-group multivariate analysis for White Protestants, White Catholics and Blacks (Chapter 6) and a Conclusion/Discussion Section (Chapter 7).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Classical Assimilation Theory

Classical assimilation theory largely states that immigrants and minority groups will tend over time, to narrow socioeconomic and cultural gaps with White Anglo culture and behavior. It predicts upward mobility with each successive generation group attaining more success than the previous group. Therefore, the theory, also known as "straight line assimilation" implies that longer residence in the United States is linearly related to assimilation and each successive generation attains more success and assimilates more than the previous generation (Warner and Srole 1945). This can be done through socioeconomic status or through structural assimilation (Gordon 1964). Critics of traditional assimilation theory stated that the diversity of the new wave of immigrants made it difficult to apply one over-arching theme of assimilation. While some scholars debate the applicability of Gordon's theories to modern immigration, Alba and Nee (1997, 2003) largely use his theories to explain the assimilation of modern-day immigrants in American society. They reject the notion that theories used to describe the European assimilation experience cannot also be applied to the Asian and Hispanic assimilation experiences of the late 20^{th} century.

The earliest writings on classical assimilation theory began with Park and Burgess, who defined assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (1969: 735). This was viewed as the beginning of the race-relations cycle, of "contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation" (Park 1950). Competition occurs as a result of the initial contact as groups seek to gain advantages over one another and accommodation occurs

when a social structure is formed as a result of this competition. Some critique Park's theory, claiming that the theory implies that assimilation is inevitable (Lyman 1973, Stone 1985). Since Park does not specify a time span of the race relations cycle, it is impossible to test the long-term outcomes pertaining to his theory. Warner and Srole (1945) apply Park's framework to the second and third generation whites in the mid twentieth century with some degree of success, therefore validating the classical model in early research on ethnic relations.

Milton Gordon (1964) acknowledges that there are separate dimensions of assimilation. The most important dimension of assimilation, "structural assimilation", must occur for other complete assimilation to follow. Gordon defines structural assimilation as, "entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at the primary group level" (1964: 80-81). While structural assimilation is viewed as a catalyst for other forms of assimilation, Gordon does not specify conditions under which descendents of immigrants might interact with the native population (Hirschman 1999).

While Gordon's theory contributed to the assimilation literature by providing a framework for describing the assimilation process for immigrants in the early 20th century, there are some weaknesses in his theory as well. Since Gordon developed many of his concepts based on the experiences of European immigrant groups, many suggest that the more recent, racially diverse wave of immigrants that arrived after 1965 face different barriers and have differing experiences of "assimilation" (Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou 1997, Rumbaut 1999, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Portes and Rumbaut 2006, Kasinitz et al. 2008). Additionally, his theories only explain how minority groups interact with majority groups and not with other minority groups. Gordon thought that those who are White and of Anglo-Saxon Protestant origins established the model of Anglo conformity. This is problematic, particularly in a more racially diverse society,

where this demographic is becoming less of the majority segment of the population. Furthermore, while Gordon addresses structural assimilation, he makes no mention of occupational mobility and economic assimilation. Lastly, it is unclear whether Gordon's hypotheses apply to individuals or groups. While it appears that Gordon measures assimilation on an individual level, he refers to the assimilation of groups rather than individuals. Alba and Nee (1997) further clarify this with the example that individuals can be structurally assimilated but groups may continue to face prejudice and discrimination.

Segmented Assimilation Theory

Segmented assimilation refers to the process by which the children of immigrants, or the second generation, enter into American society. The theory challenges traditional assimilation theories and attempts to explain the process of assimilation through three paths: 1) the classical model of upward mobility, which predicts acculturation and economic integration into the middle-class; 2) downward-mobility, where acculturation occurs to the underclass; 3) economic integration to the middle-class with preservation of the immigrant community values and solidarity (Portes and Zhou 1993). Kao and Tienda (1995) also refer to the third option in the educational attainment literature as "accommodation without assimilation". Thus, the theory predicts into which segment of society immigrant groups assimilate. A contribution of this theory is the idea that minority groups can assimilate to other minority groups, not only to the White majority proposed by the classical assimilation theorists.

Zhou (1997) indicates that segmented assimilation theory examines the interaction between structural and individual factors. The author describes individual factors as aspirations, English language ability, place of birth, age upon arrival, length of residence in the US, and structural factors as place of residence, family socioeconomic structure, and race. Place of

residence can influence an individual by the quality of schooling, which can be worse in inner cities, lessened chances of upward mobility and led to the perpetuation of poverty. Family SES is important in that class can determine the type of neighborhood in which a family lives. Racial status, while closely linked to socioeconomic status, can determine the amount of prejudice and discrimination faced by a group. The introduction of the structural factors in addition to the individual factors allows for a more complete picture of the issues faced by the immigrant population.

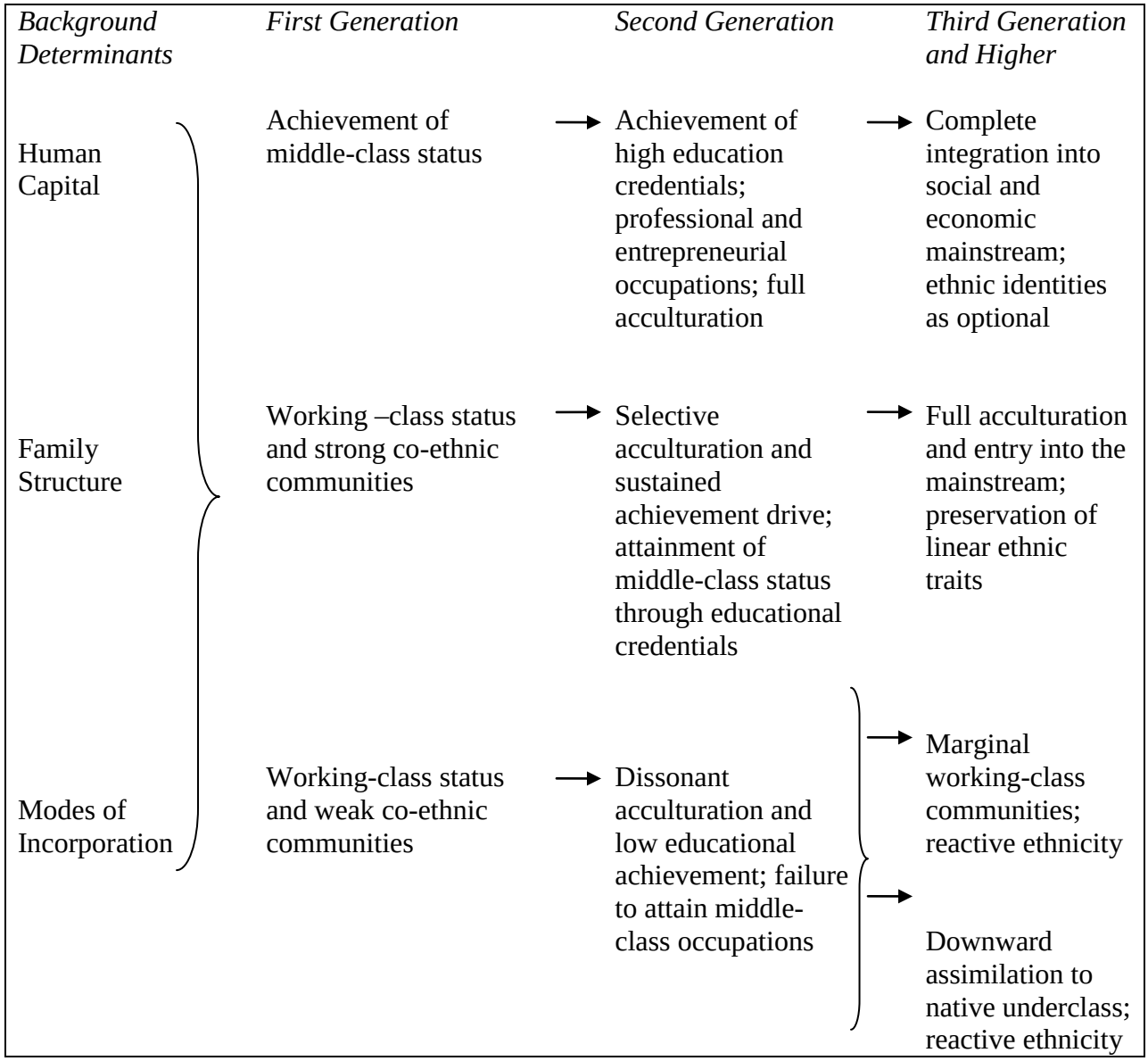
Figure 1 below explains how segmented assimilation theory affects each of the immigrant generations based on certain background determinants. According to the theory, for those individuals who arrive and achieve middle-class status, the second and higher generations will continue to improve socially and economically and could potentially lose part of their ethnic identities. Immigrants who achieve working class status and those who maintain strong co-ethnic communities in the first generation assimilate selectively into mainstream society and theoretically, the third and higher generations become fully assimilated despite maintaining strong co-ethnic traits that arrived with the first generation. Immigrants of working-class status who have weak co-ethnic ties eventually downward assimilate to the native underclass or continue as marginal, working class communities into the third and higher generations.

Although segmented assimilation theory attempts to provide an improved theory of immigration over classical assimilation theory, there are some critiques of the theory. To begin, segmented assimilation was created because the immigrants from post-1965 legislation are ethnically and socioeconomically diverse. While this is true, one must not discount the ethnic diversity of those arriving during the early part of the twentieth century, despite the ethnic groups being mostly White. Another critique is that segmented assimilation is difficult to test

empirically. A few studies have tested segmented assimilation using educational outcomes (Boyd 2002, Hirschman 2001) but it is difficult to test since segmented assimilation could mean either upward or downward assimilation, or economic or social integration. Hirschman tested immigrant and native-born adolescents between the ages of 15-17. He examined differences between those who arrived before age 7-9 and those who arrived after this age compared to native-born students of the same ethnicities. Since Hirschman had data for age of arrival, it was possible for him to test theories of segmented assimilation for several different groups and the differences between the second generation and the 1.5 generation. These data are not always available, as is the case with the General Social Survey, which I will use for my dissertation.

Furthermore, the post-1965 generation of immigrants has mostly only reached the second or third generations at most. For this reason, it is difficult to predict the long term outcomes of these immigrant groups or compare them to European groups, since those groups have had a century or more to integrate into American culture. Perhaps, given enough time, all immigrant groups will end up with the same outcomes as the European groups (Alba and Nee 1997, 2003). Lastly, most studies on segmented assimilation focus primarily on the second generation but do not extend to the third or fourth generations. This dissertation aims to contribute to the literature on generational educational attainment levels by adding the third generation as a separate category for examination. A discussion of the evidence of segmented assimilation in education will occur later in the dissertation.

Figure 1: Assimilation Across Immigrant Generations (Segmented Assimilation Theory)



From: Paths of Mobility Across Generations, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) (Figure 10.1)

Comparing Immigrant Generations

A major critique of early assimilation theories is that they do not account for the racial diversity that existed in the late 20th century as a result of the mass immigration from Asia and other parts of the world. This critique distinguishes between racial diversity and ethnic diversity. The ethnic diversity that existed among immigrants in the early 20th century created barriers for

the new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. The first white immigrants that arrived were of primarily British and German descent, and were largely Protestant, whereas the immigrants arriving from Ireland (begin to arrive in the 1840s) and Italy (begin to arrive in 1890s) were mostly Catholic and those arriving from Russia and Poland were largely Jewish. The confounding of ethnic and religious differences created a difficult situation for the aforementioned groups and while they were racially categorized as White, their ethnic identity placed them as "in between groups" between Whites and Blacks. Irish were referred to as "low-browed and savage, groveling and bestial, lazy and wild, simian and sensual", references also used to characterize Blacks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Alba 2009:37). Jews, many of whom escaped from anti-Semitism in Europe, faced discrimination and anti-Semitism in the U.S. and resorted to change their names to assimilate to White, Anglo-Saxon society (Hirschman 2005, Lieberson 1980).

Table 1 below (Lieberson 1980) describes the socioeconomic conditions under which new European immigrants arrived. The top of the table refers to the "old" European immigrants such as the Germans and the British. The Irish are included as "old" immigrants due to the similar time of arrival in the United States as the other old groups, but it is clear that while many Irish arrived literate, they arrived very poor. It is also worth noting that while the Irish had been in the United States as long as some of the other immigrant groups in this category, they still faced discrimination due to their religion and ethnic origin, as noted previously. Furthermore, one can assume that the prejudice and discrimination faced by the Irish initially created the disparity between the Irish and the other "old" European immigrant groups, as their socioeconomic characteristics on arrival were very similar.

On the other hand, “new” European immigrants from almost every ethnic group arrived both largely uneducated and very poor. While the Northern Italians differed from the Southern Italians in literacy rates (due to the agrarian state of Southern Italy), all Italians arrived to the United States with very little money. Aside from large ethnic and cultural differences, it is clear from Table 1 that “new” immigrants also entered the United States with high illiteracy rates and very low socioeconomic status, which placed these immigrants at a further disadvantage upon arrival.

Asians, particularly East Asians who have become the “model minority” in educational attainment and socioeconomic status, clearly suffered during the early waves of immigration and it is worth noting that their early experiences somewhat paralleled those of the “new” European immigrants, although most researchers would see the Asian experience as different from that of White immigrants. While the number of Asian immigrants in the early twentieth century was not nearly as large as the wave that arrived in the late twentieth century, those that did arrive experienced institutional discrimination that was unique to ethnic groups within Asian subcategories. The Chinese, who arrived in the mid-1800s as a result of the California Gold Rush, were the first targets of immigration reform, when the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882. Since the Chinese (foreign-born) immigrants in America could not become citizens, for

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Table 1: Characteristics of Old and New Immigrant Groups at the Time of Arrival, 1910

Origin	% Illiterate in native language	% arriving with < $50
Old		
Dutch and	2.7	65
English	0.5	49
French	10.8	52
German	5.7	66
Irish	1.4	81
Scandinavian	0.1	86
Scottish	0.4	56
Welsh	0.6	47
New		
Bohemian and	1.1	82
Croatian and	33.5	96
Dalmatian,	39.3	93
Greek	24.0	93
Hebrew	28.8	87
Italian (north)	7.2	84
Italian (south)	51.8	92
Lithuanian	50.0	95
Magyar	35.0	90
Polish	35.0	97
Romanian	36.5	94
Russian	38.1	93
Slovak	21.3	94

SOURCE: Lieberson, 1980 Table 2.4 (p. 28)

The Japanese, who arrived mainly as agricultural workers, faced similar institutional discrimination as the Chinese, with one major exception. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated the Gentleman's Agreement with the government of Japan which was aimed at

reducing further labor immigration from Japan. Japanese women were still allowed to arrive and this allowed the Japanese to marry and establish families in the early 20th century—distinctly different from the predominately male communities of Chinese immigrants. The agreement to allow Japanese women to immigrate was short-lived, and in 1924 it was ended by Congress. The Japanese continued to face discrimination into the mid-twentieth century, particularly around World War II. In 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which placed people of Japanese descent into internment camps. Many Japanese suffered severe consequences as a result of the internment, losing their property or even suffering death as a result from the stressors related to the internment experience.

Intelligence Testing and Educational Discrimination

Despite the success attained by "new" European immigrants in education, there were significant discriminatory barriers that these groups faced invidious distinctions, including intelligence, that were based on allegedly scientific evidence. In his book, *The Mismeasure of Man* (1996), Gould discusses several theories of scientific racism, from theories of monogenism and polygenism and the practice of craniometry that perpetuated the notion that Blacks (and some whites) were inferior to WASP Whites, to the measurements obtained in IQ testing that were used on immigrants to determine the "hereditary" nature of the inferiority of their intelligence. For example, Gould describes the use of the Yerkes' IQ test for army recruits, which essentially labeled a large portion of society as "morons", as a catalyst for the justification of racial segregation, the exclusion of blacks from higher education, and most importantly for this study, the implementation of immigration restriction for certain ethnic groups. The notion that "new" European immigrants were less intelligent and therefore inferior to old Europeans led to the establishment of policies related to immigrant quotas in the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924.

Concerning higher education, Brodkin (1998) refers to the many ways Jews were excluded from Ivy League universities such as Columbia University, which developed psychological testing based on World War I intelligence tests that measured "innate ability" and "middle class home environment." They also restructured the application for admission by asking for religion, father's name and birthplace, a photo and a personal interview as means of excluding ethnic groups such as Jews, Irish and Italians. While these practices are not sustained today, one can see the effects of selective admission with practices such as mixing test scores with grades and character and the preferences for athletes or children of alumni, many of whom came from Protestant, elite backgrounds (33). It might seem paradoxical that the Jews who were excluded by quotas limiting the percentage of students allowed in higher education throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, obtained so much success in higher education just a generation later. The next section will address the causes of this success for these groups.

The Success of the "New European Immigrants"

How is it that over the course of the twentieth century that the "new" European immigrants became so successful and essentially assimilated to the mainstream White, middle-class culture? Karen Brodkin (1998) attributes the success of the Jews, Italians, Irish and other "new" immigrant groups to the GI Bill of Rights, which allowed access to higher education and housing to a large segment of the European male population. Brodkin refers to this bill as "arguably the most massive affirmative action program in history" (38). She refers to the program as "affirmative action" because it disproportionately assisted male, Euro-origin GI's and excluded, for the most part, women and African Americans. Lieberson argues that progress begins with educational advances in the 1920s and 1930s.

While some argue that one cannot compare the conditions of the ethnic minorities of the early twentieth century to those of the late twentieth century, Alba (2009) argues that the situation of the non-white ethnic minorities resembles that of the white ethnic minority immigrants during the early twentieth century and that over time, conditions will improve for late twentieth-century non-white ethnic minorities as they did for white ethnic minorities of the early twentieth century. Alba claims that Jews, Irish and Italians achieved socioeconomic assimilation largely through what he refers to as "non-zero sum mobility", which occurs when "members of lower-situated groups can move upward without adversely affecting the life chances of the members of well-established ones" (15). He argues that the economic expansion that occurred after World War II created a situation where people were becoming more educated and obtaining better jobs than their parents. Since the gains in educational attainment and employment were universal, ethnic minorities were no threat to the Protestant population, therefore creating a non-zero sum situation. Alba (2009) postulates that similar economic conditions to those that occurred after World War II could also occur with the retirement of the Baby Boomers, creating the availability of many highly-skilled jobs traditionally held by white men. These jobs, Alba claims, will be filled by white women, who have surpassed white men in educational attainment levels, and by minorities such as Latinos and African Americans. Thus, a similar socioeconomic assimilation could occur with non-white ethnic minorities as benefited the white minorities of the early twentieth century. This is, of course, largely contingent upon the lessening of the educational attainment gap, since it was the closing of the educational gap of ethnic minorities and union organization in the early 20th century that allowed those minorities to obtain better jobs.

Race/Ethnic and Immigrant Generation Differences in Educational Attainment

Concerning educational attainment, Asians have the highest probability of school continuation at every level, followed by Whites, Blacks and Hispanics and lastly, Native Americans (Mare 1995). Additionally, family background plays a large role in school continuation decisions. This is true for all groups except Asian groups in Mare's study. Furthermore, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) claim that immigration policy also affects the educational attainment levels for certain ethnic groups. For example, they state that some Asian immigrant groups achieve high levels of education due to the requirements of family reunification or occupational qualifications. Initially, Asians were admitted under the occupational preferences (later they were able to use family reunification), which meant that only those with high levels of educational attainment were admitted.

There are many theories that seek to explain gaps in educational attainment, citing both cultural and structural factors. Early literature from the 1950s points to the cultural theories, where certain groups are more successful than others based on their cultural ethics. Much of this literature drew upon Weber's *The Protestant Ethic* (1930) and his argument that religious motivations influenced economic success. Additionally, Rosen (1959) argued that Jews, Greeks and Protestants had greater motivation for achievement, whereas Blacks, Southern Italians, and French Canadians scored lower on measures for achievement. Gerhard Lenski also studied religious groups in Detroit as a predictor for economic and voting behavior in addition to educational attainment (1961). He finds that Catholics are more likely to drop out of school than Jews and Protestants (including Black Protestants). In these studies, it is interesting to note that all of these groups are considered to be of minority status (non-WASP), so minority status does not necessarily predict a lower level of achievement, as one might postulate would be the case

for later studies. On the other hand, Featherman and Duncan (1973) tested Rosen's ideas and found little support for his conclusions. Additionally, some studies look at social capital, such as the policing of other same-ethnic parents, preventing delinquent behavior (Zhou and Bankston 1998). Furthermore, some studies related to cultural attitudes show that values such as the belief in the importance of education for economic stability or educational achievement to make parents proud was prevalent in studies among Asian American groups (Kao and Thompson 2003).

Another explanation for minority underperformance is based on the theory of oppositional culture, which stems from the work of John Ogbu (1978, 1981). Ogbu distinguishes two types of minority groups: voluntary and involuntary. Voluntary minorities are those from immigrant groups who migrate freely to the United States to improve their living conditions. These are groups such as the Chinese, Koreans, and Punjabi Indians, to name a few. Involuntary minorities are groups who were brought to the United States largely against their will as a result of slavery, colonization or conquest. Groups such as Mexicans, African Americans, Native Americans, and Puerto Ricans belong to this category. Ogbu asserted that involuntary minorities rejected the dominant culture and its institutions because by becoming educated and excelling in school, African American students felt they were "acting white." The consequences of "acting white" led to the psychological process of "racelessness" whereby African American students reject their identity. Tyson et al. (2005) attempted to test Ogbu's theories by conducting interviews in secondary schools in South Carolina. They find, in contrast, that Black students are achievement oriented and that high-achievement students from any racial group are categorized as "nerds" or "geeks" and that these stigmas are a result of school structures. Additionally, Tyson et al. find that high achieving Blacks are faced with the "burden of acting white" (Fordham and

Ogbu 1986) and that similarly, low-income white students are seen as "acting high and mighty" by their counterparts. This suggests that not only are Ogbu's theories motivated by racial inequalities, but by class inequalities as well. While this theory will not be possible to test using the empirical data from this dissertation, it is important to note the contributions it has made to the sociology of education field, particularly for qualitative studies.

Other arguments for the attainment gap cite structural barriers for certain ethnic groups, particularly the parental, school and peer environments for children (Kao and Thompson 2003). Theories of peer influence state that individuals are strongly shaped by their peers with regards to academic aspirations and achievement, especially in adolescence. Sewell, Haller and Portes (1969) examined teacher encouragement, parental encouragement, and friends' college plans, and found that of the three, friends' college plans were the most important factor. Furthermore, Hallinan (1983) found that students were more likely to attend college if their friends also attended college, regardless of their socioeconomic status, and that the peer effect increased from the freshman year to the senior year of high school. This theory, while not tested in the dissertation, would be interesting to examine using a social network analysis to predict the likelihood of attending college based on a respondent's network.

Discrimination or perceived discrimination can also play a role in academic achievement. For example, the pressure of Asian students as the "model minority" can cause Asian students to over-perform. African American students who distrust the system due to their parents' past experiences with discrimination will underperform due to the distrustful schooling environment (Kao and Thompson 2003). This is illustrated in the theory of stereotype threat, developed by Claude Steele (1988). This theory states that certain groups tend to underperform in an academic environment due to "an unconscious fear of living up to negative stereotypes about their group's

intellectual capacity" (Massey 2003). Massey (2003) cites that black students in selective colleges and universities feel that they are at risk of confirming this negative stereotype each time they perform and that many of these students are perceived as having benefited from affirmative action. Again, this theory will not be tested in this dissertation, but is an important facet in the literature on the underperformance of minorities in education.

Other explanations for academic underachievement include attachment theory and school effects. Attachment theory occurs when students drop out of college due to a lack of effective integration and social support (Tinto 1993). This can be a result of minority students feeling isolated or feeling as if they can never fully integrate into the institution. School effects refer to the fact that many minority students attend schools that do not prepare them for rigorous academic success in high school and especially in college. As a result, these students enter underprepared and tend to underperform during later academic transitions.

High School Completion

High school completion levels are high for most groups and increased throughout the three decades surveyed in the General Social Survey (71.2% in the 1980s, 83% in the 1990s, and 85.6% in the 2000s). Despite these high numbers, there are disparities between different racial and ethnic groups. In 2009, 95% of Whites, 89% of Blacks and 69% of Hispanics, and 95% of Asian/Pacific Islanders between the ages of 25-29 had graduated from high school (National Center for Education Statistics Fast Facts). Again, while these numbers also seem relatively high, when Hispanics and Asian/Pacific Islanders are divided into smaller sub-groups, more disparities emerge. For example, Kao and Thompson noted that native-born Mexicans attain higher levels of education than foreign-born Mexicans (2003). Miller notes that in 1980, only 29% of foreign-

born Mexican men and 27% of foreign-born Mexican women graduated high school, reflecting the educational opportunities in Mexico and the selectivity of those who immigrate to the U.S. Native-born Mexicans were much higher, but still lower than their White counterparts, with 68% of men and 64% of women completing high school (1995). Even within the Hispanic sub-group, Mexicans rank last in high school graduation rates. Cubans have the highest rates of graduation, followed by Central/South Americans, Puerto Ricans, and lastly, Mexicans (Miller 1995). Asian Americans possess similar gaps between groups, with the highest graduation rates among the Japanese, followed by the Chinese and the Asian Indians. Southeast Asian groups such as the Laotians, Hmong and Vietnamese rank considerably lower than the aforementioned groups from East and South Asia (Miller 1995). It is important to note that educational disparities arise from unequal opportunities in the US or selective immigration. The very low level of Hispanic educational attainment is primarily to due low educational attainment of immigrants.

There has also been some research conducted on immigrant generations and high school completion. Rong and Grant (1992) find that high school graduation rates increase for each generation among Hispanics, but for Whites and Asians, there is little difference between the second and third and higher generations. This could be a result of a ceiling effect that is occurring once these groups reach high levels of educational attainment. White and Glick (2000) find that immigrants who arrive as adolescents were more likely to graduate high school than native-born and immigrants who arrived at a young age. These results are in spite of the fact that those who arrived as adolescents usually possessed lower social capital and their parents had lower levels of SES. The differences between groups are explained by access to familial social capital and some attitudinal measures.

One notable study that tests the segmented assimilation theory as it applies to immigrant

youth is by Hirschman (2001). Hirschman examines 15 to 17-year-old immigrants in the United States for nonenrollment rates in high school. The author finds that most Asian immigrant adolescents are as likely, if not more likely, as their native-born peers to be enrolled in high school. Among Latinos, Mexican teenagers have the highest nonenrollment, particularly if they began their education in Mexico. Additionally, those from the Hispanic Caribbean such as Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Cuba have high rates of nonenrollment, somewhat contrary to the findings of Miller (1995). The findings for Hispanic Caribbean groups fit the downward assimilation hypothesis, as many of these groups have been in the United States for several generations and reside in the inner cities, so these students may ultimately be perceived as minorities (African Americans) rather than immigrants. On the other hand, Afro-Caribbeans do not show any enrollment deficits, which is interesting considering they might be perceived as African Americans by Whites. This finding does not fit closely with the segmented assimilation hypothesis. In sum, Hirschman finds that parental SES largely affects student nonenrollment, which is consistent with much of the literature on academic achievement from high school through college graduation.

College Entry

Recent trends in college entry show that in 2008, 44% of Whites, 32% of Blacks, 26% of Hispanics, 58% of Asian/Pacific Islanders, and 21% of Native Americans/Alaska Natives aged 18-24 enrolled in college (National Center for Education Statistics 2010). Trends from 1980-2008 show that enrollment increased for most groups except for the Asian/Pacific Islander group and the Native American/Alaska Native group. Despite this, the enrollment numbers for Asian/Pacific Islanders remain considerably higher than the other groups. Kao and Thompson (2003) note that despite the high attendance rate of Asians, Vietnamese possess lower rates of

college attendance and that foreign-born Asians had the highest attendance rate. The authors also note that among Hispanics, Cubans have higher attendance rates than Mexicans Americans, and the foreign-born Hispanics had the worst rate of college entry, with foreign-born Mexican women possessing the lowest rate at 11% entering college in 1980. The findings for Cubans are consistent with that of Miller (1995). Concerning gender, the rise in enrollment for females has exceeded that for males, with a steady increase over the last 20 years.

The literature pertaining to gaps in college entry between racial and ethnic groups focuses both on race and SES as a factor. For example, Fligstein and Fernandez (1985) note that low college attendance rates for Mexicans are the result of low high school graduation rates, and that when only those who graduate high school are considered in the rate of college entry, Mexican Americans attend college at higher rates than their White counterparts. They also find evidence for the immigrant optimism theory, in that respondents who possess a foreign-born parent are more likely to attend college than those with two native-born parents. Additionally, minorities are more likely to attend community colleges than 4-year institutions (Kao and Thompson 2003) or attend school part-time (Rumberger 1982). Lastly, Hearn (1991) found that SES matters more than race for entry into selective institutions.

College Completion

In 2008, for adults over the age of 25, 33% of Whites, 20% of Blacks, 13% of Hispanic, 52% of Asian Pacific Islanders and 15% of American Indian/Alaska Native obtained at least a bachelors degree (National Center for Education Statistics 2010). The type of college degree obtained also varies between racial and ethnic groups, with Whites earning more Bachelor's degrees and minorities earning more 2-year degrees. For those earning degrees in 2008, 53% of the degrees earned by Whites were bachelor's degrees, compared with 47% for Blacks, 48% for

Hispanics, 54% for Asian/Pacific Islanders and 46% for Native Americans/Alaska Natives. Degrees from community colleges were highest for Hispanics with 36% receiving associates degrees compared to 35% for Native Americans/Alaska Natives, 30% for Blacks, 23% for Whites, and 19% for Asian/Pacific Islanders. Females are more likely to graduate from college than males. The difference is most pronounced for African Americans, where 68% of the degrees conferred in 2008 were to females (National Center of Education Statistics 2010). Factors influencing college graduation range from the influence of parental SES and educational attainment to academic preparation (Camburn1990) to time to graduation, with Black students taking longer to complete college than Whites (Kao and Thompson 2003).

Immigrant Generations and Educational Attainment

Several theories have been discussed to predict the success of each of the immigrant generations. It should be noted that for all theories, the first generation is at a disadvantage due to lack of English skills, although the extent of this disadvantage will be addressed for each theory. To begin, straight-line assimilation (Park 1914 and Gordon 1964) predicts that the first generation will possess the lowest level of educational attainment and that each successive generation will increase in assimilation and attainment. Higher levels of educational attainment are achieved once these new groups reach structural assimilation (Gordon 1964) by the second or third generations. Matute-Bianchi (1986) found evidence for straight-line assimilation studying the Mexican population in California, whereas the most successful Mexican students were the ones who spoke exclusively English in school and participated in mainstream clubs, rather than only those meant specifically for Mexican students.

Segmented assimilation theory, which predicts either upward or downward mobility, predicts mixed results for theories on immigrant generations. For some groups such as Black immigrants, one could predict that the second generation would perform worse than the first generation, and each successive generation would conform to lower-performing African-American levels of educational attainment. On the other hand, the "accommodation without assimilation" part of the theory would indicate that the second generation would outperform the first generation with the benefits of English knowledge. Conversely, the third and fourth plus generations, which presumably would begin to assimilate to American culture, would see decreases in educational attainment. Essentially, this theory provides evidence for a second generation advantage.

A final theory for assimilation is the immigrant optimism theory, which states that since immigrants are self-selected and perhaps very eager to adapt to their new society. They posses optimism in that despite some arriving with a very low socioeconomic status, they expect that their children will experience upward mobility. In contrast, native-born minorities who have spent many generations in the United States may be disillusioned by racism and discrimination and pass on these thoughts to their children (Kao and Tienda 1995). For this reason, the children of immigrants (the second generation) should outperform the children of native-born parents (third generation and higher), also indicating a second-generation advantage based on the immigrant optimism theory.

While most work on immigrant generations uses third plus generation, rather than separating the third generation from the fourth plus generation, there are no preexisting theories on what happens specifically to the third generation. The aforementioned theories all expect that the third (or third plus) generation will be assimilated because the immigrant is two generations

away, and this assimilation will lead to lower levels of educational attainment. I will argue that the third generation is similar to the second generation, and that as an extension to the immigrant optimism theory, the third generation will outperform the first and fourth generations. In fact, it is possible that the third generation might even have a greater advantage than the second generation, as this generation has the benefit of more highly educated parents who are presumably of higher SES. These respondents also have immigrant grandparents, so they still possess contact with the immigrant group and perhaps face similar pressure to succeed from their grandparents that immigrant children face from their parents. In a way, the second and third generation are intertwined and will both likely benefit from advantages in educational attainment. If this theory is, in fact, true, then the second generation advantage theory must also extend to a third generation advantage as well.

Other Variables: Education and Family Structure

McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) find that growing up with both parents largely benefits a respondent over living in a single parent household or compared with living with neither parent for most aspects of socioeconomic status, including educational attainment. The main point of their book is that children who grow up with only one biological parent fare worse, on average, than children who grow up with both biological parents, controlling for parental race and educational background, regardless of whether their parents are married when the child is born, and regardless of whether the resident parent remarries (1994:1). Using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, the authors find that 87% of children living with both parents receive a high school degree by age twenty, and only 68% of children living with a single parent receive high school diplomas. Additionally, they find that children from a single parent household are twice as likely to drop out of high school as those from a two-parent family. This

result was consistent across the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, the High School and Beyond Study and the National Survey of Families and Households. Concerning college, family disruption reduces the chances of enrollment by 5%, and reduces the chances of graduation from college by 7%, net of all variables, such as SES.

While McLanahan and Sandefur mostly classify living with a stepfather as living in a single-parent household, they also discuss the effects of the stepfather on a child. Some difficulties of a mother-stepfather relationship are that stepfathers are less likely to be committed to the welfare of the child than their biological fathers, and sometimes compete with the child for the mother's time; for the child, having a new adult move into the household creates a new disruption; sometimes when the stepfather actively tries to parent the child, the mother does not trust his judgment and can be reluctant to share authority; and children may reject their stepfathers because of resentment to having to share their mothers or due to loyalty to their fathers (29). On the other hand, the authors find evidence that living with a stepfamily was more advantageous for Blacks than for Whites, and that children from Black stepfamilies have a lower high school dropout rate than Black children from single-parent families. This could mean that stepfathers bring economic and social resources to families, including acting as a role model and providing supervision. These resources may be more important to Blacks than to Whites, as they may come from communities which lack some of these resources (77). The authors note, however, that the remarriage rate among Blacks is quite low, and that these results may be an artifact of Black single marries who remarry being more advantaged before they remarry than those who remain single (78).

Martin (2011) also finds that children from single mother households have lower educational attainment than their counterparts living in a two-parent household. She also notes

that as parental education increases, respondents living with single mothers experience a lower boost in educational attainment (measured by achievement test scores, likelihood of attending any post-secondary schooling, and the likelihood of completing a 4-year college degree) and that, in general, children from single-mother households are less likely to be educated than those living in a two-parent biological household.

Beller and Chung (1992) focus on the role of stepfathers in the college entry decision process. They find that while many times having a second parent in the household boosts the income of the family, it does not substitute for the original two-parent household, where potentially more financial resources were available to the children. Additionally, Beller and Chung note that stepfamilies may encourage children to become self-sufficient at a younger age, therefore influencing school decisions such as college entry. Overall, remarriage lessens the detrimental effects of living in a female-headed household, but only slightly reduces the gap in educational attainment for those not living in a two-parent household.

Featherman and Hauser (1976) examined cohorts of US men born during the first half of the twentieth century. They find, similar to my dissertation results, that men from "broken-families", or families other than a two-parent household, achieve fewer years of schooling. Additionally, by examining standardized regression coefficients they conclude that father's education is the most important factor in predicting years of schooling. The authors also find a relative decline in the importance of family structure on educational attainment, meaning that family structure matters less for later cohorts.

Sibships

Concerning sibships, there are theories that large sibship sizes have a negative effect on educational attainment. This is related to the Resource Dilution Hypothesis, which states that because parents possess finite resources, large sibships provide a "dilution" of resources, so individuals from larger families benefit less from money, time, or any other resource provided by parents. Incidentally, large sibships may be correlated with lower socioeconomic status due to either the dilution of resources or the fact that parents who have more children are likely to have other socioeconomic characteristics that result in lower levels of educational attainment. Jaeger (2008) tests the effects of sibship on educational attainment, controlling for mother's and father's sibship size and age at birth of the first child to control for reproductive capacity, which is used to remove the potentially spurious effects of socioeconomic status. The author finds that large sibships are detrimental to children's schooling, despite controlling for SES, which substantiates the Resource Dilution Hypothesis.

Essentially, family structure and sibship size are large determinants in the educational attainment process. I expect my findings to be in line with the aforementioned literature: that respondents living in a two-parent household at age 16 will be more likely to complete transitions than those from any other parental situation, and that respondents with more siblings will also possess less likelihood of completing each educational transition. For family structure, the addition of SES to the model might reduce the effects of having a single mother, since it is noted that single mothers possess less financial resources than those from a two-parent household (including the mother-stepfather household), although it is unlikely that the inclusion of SES will make the differences between the groups disappear. Other issues, such as social capital and time with children are usually also lacking in single-mother households, although

these aspects will not be tested in this dissertation. Concerning sibship, it is expected that respondents from large families will possess a disadvantage for educational attainment in a bivariate relationship, but when controls for SES are added, the disadvantage should be diminished. Based on the review of the literature, it is possible that other factors, such as the Resource Dilution hypothesis, could explain factors beyond SES, such as parental attention and ability to assist with activities such as homework assignments, but, again, this will not be tested in the dissertation.

Class, Race or Class and Race?

One of the main questions of this dissertation is how will social class mediate the differences in racial/ethnic groups with regards to educational attainment? Since social class is an important distinguishing factor between immigrant groups, it is worth noting the effect it has on each of the groups. In Massey's more recent work on segregation, he suggests that there is an interaction between class and race that segregation will stem less from discrimination and more from political decisions about land use (2009). While this dissertation will not specifically test an interaction between class and race, I will argue that class and race are both important when examining educational attainment, and that the differences between races is mediated by class differences. Essentially, to see the full picture of inequality within educational attainment, both class and race should be examined.

Chapter 3: Data and Sample Weights

The data used for this dissertation are from the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). The GSS began in 1972 and in 2010; the 28th round of the survey was conducted. The GSS is the largest project funded by the Sociology Program at the National Science Foundation and is a nationally representative sample. The GSS contains a set of "core" demographic and attitudinal questions, and the core demographic questions will be used as the data for this dissertation. The data are publically available on the internet and can be downloaded at the following website: http://www3.norc.org/GSS+Website/. To conduct my analysis, I downloaded the entire GSS from the website (http://www3.norc.org/GSS+Website/Download/) and later omitted surveys from 1972-1976, using only surveys from 1977-2010. This was done due to the inclusion of the grandparents' birthplace variable added in 1977 that enabled me to distinguish the third generation from the fourth and higher generations, a unique contribution of this dissertation. Appendix A of the GSS codebook contains much of the pertinent information on sampling design and weighting (http://www3.norc.org/NR/rdonlyres/21C53AAC-1267-43B6-A915-A38857DC9D63/1942/GSS_Codebook_AppendixA1.pdf).

Weighting

Black Oversamples: 1982 and 1987

The GSS data file includes weighting variables to adjust the survey population for oversampling of African Americans in1982 and 1987. Black respondents were oversampled in both years with additional funding by the National Science Foundation.

The variable OVERSAMP is used to make the data match the distribution with the regular cross section and reproduce the total number of unweighted cases. So, for example, for the second survey frame of Black oversamples in 1982, the OVERSAMP variable weights the cases so that results represent the proper racial balance of the regular cross section (n=1,506) rather than the overall sample, which contains 1,506 respondents and the additional 354 Black respondents (n=1,860). As a result, the total population estimates are biased to a small degree. The black population and the nonblack pop are representative of the US population, but the un-weighted combined population is not exactly representative of the total US population.

Adults

While the GSS was designed to give each household equal probability of inclusion in the sample, the probability of each adult in the household being interviewed was drastically reduced for those living in larger households, since only one interview was conducted per household. The ADULTS variable was created to weight each interview proportionally to the number of eligible respondents (adults over age 18) in a selected household. Since there is an equal likelihood of inclusion for households (Probability *Ph*), in a household with *n* eligible respondents, each has the probability Ph being in a selected household, and 1/n * Ph of being selected. A more detailed description of this variable can be found in Methodological Report #3 (Stephenson 1978).

In this study, the data are un-weighted. This means that the results slightly over-represent African Americans (in 2 of the 28 rounds of the GSS) and under-represent persons in large households with multiple adults. However, the biases are small and unlikely to affect the research findings reported here.

Form Randomization

The FORMWT variable was used to correct for problems with form randomization procedures for 1978, 1980 and 1982-1985 surveys. There was an overlap between respondent selection and form assignment for these years which created an association between form and age order. This also led to an association between form and variables linked to age order. The FORMWT variable should be used to correct for form randomization issues and correct for assignment bias for the following variables used in this dissertation: EDUC (highest year of school completed), ETHNIC (Country of Family Origin), SEX (Respondents' sex) and RACE (Race of Respondent). A complete list of variables requiring the FORMWT variable is located on the website (http://www3.norc.org/GSS+Website/Publications/GSS+Reports/Methodological+Reports/Methodological+Reports.htm) Methodological Report #36 contains additional information on form randomization (Smith and Peterson 1986).

Weights for the 2004-2010 GSS

For the 2004-2010 GSSs, non-respondents were sub-sampled, adjusting weights to keep the survey design unbiased. This was done in order to reduce response error and non-response bias. The sub-sampling of nonrespondents employed the methods of Hansen and Hurwitz (1946) and has been used in many other surveys. The Non-respondent sub-sampling design of the more recent surveys leads to the necessity of a weighted variable for the 2004-2010 GSSs. The variable PHASE weighs the sub-sampled cases so that they are properly represented. The PHASE variable is ideal for generalizing to households, but not adults, as it does not take into account the number of adults in a household (ADULT variable). The variable WTSS takes into

account both the sub-sampling of non-respondents and the number of adults in a household. This is a more appropriate variable for this dissertation.

For survey years before 2004, the WTSSALL takes WTSS and applies the ADULT weight to these surveys. This variable essentially maintains the original sample size. The variable WTSSNR is similar to WTSS but adds an area of non-response adjustment. This variable takes into consideration the sub-sampling of non-respondents, the number of adults in the household and differential non-response across areas. WTSSNR also maintains the original sample size. Essentially, the WTSSNR variable can be used for the surveys before 2004 in the same manner as WTSSALL is used for surveys from 2004-2010.

Absence of Post-Stratification Weights

The samples in the GSS closely resemble the Census and other large surveys, but due to factors such as survey non-response, sampling variation, and other factors, the GSS sample deviates from population figures on some variables. The GSS does not calculate post-stratification weights to adjust for the differences, so they are worth noting.

1) Blacks were over-represented in 1972. This survey was the last to use the 1960 NORC sample frame, which under-covered rapidly growing suburban areas.
2) All full-probability samples under-represent males. This is represented by the nonresponse tendency of males, possibly exacerbated by female interviewers (Methodological Report #9: Smith 1979).
3) Block quota samples under-represented men in full-time employment. Even though interviewers were instructed to conduct interviews during times when working people were likely to be at home, such as evenings, late afternoons, and evenings, interviewers

encountered more readily-available men, namely those not working fulltime. (Methodological Report #7: Stephenson 1979).

4) The number of Mormons increased significantly during the 1980 sample frame. This was a result of the addition of the primary sampling unit in Utah.
5) People eighteen years old appear to be under-sampled, although this is not true. Age is determined by those who reached majority by the interview dates in March. As a result, nineteen year olds are classified as: ¾ will turn nineteen by the end of the calendar year and ¼ have turned 19 since the first of the year. For eighteen year olds, only those who have turned 18 since the beginning of the calendar year were included. Therefore, the underrepresentation of eighteen year olds is due to many eighteen year olds actually being reported as nineteen year olds.

For purposes of this dissertation, the first sampling variation (oversampling of Blacks in 1972) is not an issue, as the 1972 survey is not used in the analysis. Additionally, the fourth variation, relating to Mormons, is only somewhat problematic, as Mormons are not represented as a separate religious group in the analysis of the dissertation, but will be classified as "White Protestants" in most circumstances, depending on the race of the respondent. Lastly, the apparent under-sampling of eighteen year olds is not problematic within the confines of this dissertation, since the sample will consist of respondents aged 25 and older. While the aforementioned sampling variations do not present problems for my dissertation, it is still important to note any inconsistencies in the data and sampling techniques.

Chapter 4: Descriptive Results

This chapter will present a description of the data, with particular focus on the dependent variable, educational attainment. The chapter will address educational attainment in terms of (1) mean years of schooling, (2) of high school completion, (3) college entry and (4) college completion. These outcomes are used as dependent variables in the following chapters. I will begin with a short description of the religio-ethnic variables, which will serve as a focal predictor variable for many of the tables present in this chapter.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the religio-ethnic groups combine the respondents' self-identified ethnic affiliation and religious affiliation at age 16 for some categories, such as Blacks and Whites. Asians, American Indians, Hispanics, Irish, and Italians were coded as ethnic divisions regardless of religion, although one can assume that most Italians, Irish, and Hispanics are Catholics. Jews were coded based on religion, regardless of ethnic origin. Table 2 reports the number of respondents by religio-ethnic groups. Most of the Asian groups possess relatively small numbers, as do the group of American Indians. Hispanics seem to have the highest growth rate in the samples, which reflects the changing demographics of the US population. The Mexican group doubles in size, from 285 in the 1980s to 740 in the 2000s. The Other Hispanic group also tripled in size from 83 in the 1980s to 263 in the 2000s. Non-Hispanic Whites classified as "Other Protestants" make up roughly half of the sample, with African Americans (mostly Protestant) comprising the second highest ethnic category.

Table 2: Number of Respondents by Religio-Ethnic Groups, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s

	1980s	1990s	2000s	Totals
African American				
Black Protestant/Other	1,960	1,388	1,938	**5,286**
Black Catholic	146	133	156	**435**
Asian				
Chinese/Japanese	73	60	126	**259**
Filipino	25	46	82	**153**
Indian	17	31	81	**129**
Other Asian	17	49	111	**177**
American Indian	43	69	86	**198**
Hispanic				
Mexican	285	246	740	**1,271**
Puerto Rican	93	93	168	**354**
Other Hispanic	83	98	263	**444**
White Non-Hispanic				
British Protestant	1,568	1,116	1,072	**3,756**
Other Protestant	7,093	5,512	6,963	**19,568**
Irish Catholic	570	485	587	**1,642**
Other Catholic	2,287	1,922	2,064	**6,273**
Italian	655	511	650	**1,816**
Jewish	336	253	290	**879**
Total:	**15,251**	**12,012**	**15,377**	**42,640**

The Changing Demographics of the US

Table 3 displays the demographic makeup of the United States by race and nativity for successive birth cohorts of persons interviewed in the General Social Survey. The trends by birth cohort represent changes in the origins of the American population over the last half century. For the earlier cohorts, non-Hispanic Whites made up the overwhelming majority of the population. For the cohorts before 1920, 88% were non-Hispanic Whites, 11% were non-Hispanic Black, with Hispanics, Native Americans and Asians representing the remaining 1% of the population. By the 1980-1985 cohort, non-Hispanic Whites dropped to 61.5% of the population, non-Hispanic Blacks increased to 19% and native and foreign-born Hispanics saw the most dramatic increase to 7.7% of the population. The increases for Hispanics and non-Hispanic Blacks and the decrease in the White population can be partially explained by the higher levels of fertility for

Blacks and Hispanics and the declining fertility levels for Whites. Hispanics also have a growing number of immigrants arriving from Latin America and Blacks from Africa, whereas immigration from Europe has slowed compared to the earlier cohorts, which saw very high levels of immigration from European countries.

Asians and American Indians remain a small proportion of the population, but native-born Asians increased from 0.1% of the population to 1% and foreign-born Asians increased from 0.3% to 2.3% in the later cohort. The increase for foreign-born Asians reflects the effects of immigration for this particular group, which was restricted for many of the earlier cohorts. Native Americans show little change across decades.

Table 3: Percentage of US Population by Race, Ethnicity, and Nativity, Age 25 and Above, by Birth Cohort

	Before 1920	**1920-1929**	**1930-1939**	**1940-1949**	**1950-1959**	**1960-1969**	**1970-1979**	**1980-1985**	**Total**
Non-Hispanic White	88.0	86.5	82.7	82.0	78.8	74.4	67.5	61.5	**79.9**
Non-Hispanic Black	10.6	11.1	13.0	12.5	14.8	15.3	15.6	19.0	**13.5**
American Indian	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.8	**0.5**
Native Born Asian	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.2	1.0	**0.3**
Native Born Hispanic	0.4	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.6	3.4	5.5	7.7	**2.3**
Foreign Born Asian	0.3	0.2	0.9	1.3	1.0	2.4	3.2	2.3	**1.3**
Foreign Born Hispanic	0.3	0.6	1.3	1.6	2.1	3.5	6.4	7.7	**2.2**
TOTAL POPULATION	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Years of Schooling and Religio-Ethnic Groups

The following section of the chapter will discuss educational attainment. Before examining educational transitions, I will explore the mean years of schooling for birth cohorts and immigrant generations by ethnic group. Table 4 shows the mean years of schooling for each religio-ethnic group by cohort. As expected, mean years of schooling increases for each cohort. For the cohorts before the 1920s, most of the respondents were either Black or White, and

between these two groups, Whites reported much more education than their Black counterparts. Blacks possessed an average of 8 years of schooling compared to a high of 12 years for British Protestants. Among Whites, Jews recorded the highest years of schooling at 13 years; Italians had the lowest level of education with 9 years.

Mexicans first appeared in slightly larger numbers in the 1920-1929 cohort, and it is likely that many of these Mexicans were either immigrants or children of immigrants. The average years of schooling for this group in the 1920 cohort was 8 years and this trend of low levels of schooling continues through every cohort, with the highest levels reaching only 11 years in the 1980-1985 cohort. The overall average years of education for Mexicans is 10.87 years, the lowest of all religio-ethnic groups. This is most likely a result of the fact that there are many immigrants in this group, many of whom received their education in Mexico rather than the United States.

Jews are at the higher end of the spectrum, with an overall average of 15.34 years of education. While Asian Indians and Chinese/Japanese groups had higher overall averages than Jews, there were more Jews in each cohort, therefore it is easier to track their progress over time. Jews possessed the highest average levels of education for almost every cohort until the Asian Indians and Chinese/Japanese began to arrive in the sample, presumably through immigration. This indicates that many of the Asian immigrants who arrived in the US left their country of origin with higher levels of educational attainment, showing some evidence for the immigrant selectivity hypothesis that those who leave their home country are those that are, in some cases, more highly educated.

Concerning the ethnic minority groups, Blacks, American Indians and Hispanics all exhibit lower average levels of educational attainment than Whites, whereas Asians are equal to or exceed those of Whites and Jews. One could argue that these levels are lower due to institutional discrimination (Kao and Thompson 2003) in addition to the aforementioned argument specific to Hispanics that immigrants from countries such as Mexico arrive with lower levels of education than their US counterparts. This is not necessarily the case for African immigrants, who generally arrive with higher levels of education than their US counterparts.

Table 4: Mean Years of Educational Attainment by Birth Cohort and Religio-Ethnic Group, US Population Aged 25 and Over

	Before 1920		1920-1929		1930-1939		1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969		1970-1979		1980-1985		Totals	
Ethnic-Origins	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**
Black Protestant/Other	8.04	458	9.67	493	11.12	634	12.38	891	12.90	1,319	13.12	902	13.25	465	13.08	93	11.94	5,255
Black Catholic	-	11	10.23	22	13.00	30	13.11	82	13.36	135	13.45	116	13.03	33	-	5	13.04	434
Chinese/Japanese	-	5	-	15	14.54	24	15.85	46	15.43	54	16.19	62	15.35	34	-	7	15.47	247
Filipino	-	7	-	9	-	13	14.97	30	15.64	28	14.62	34	15.04	23	-	2	14.36	146
Indian	-	0	-	0	-	8	15.73	22	-	16	16.19	42	16.25	32	-	3	16.24	123
Other Asian	-	4	-	1	-	10	12.80	20	14.09	33	15.42	43	14.29	49	-	5	14.25	165
American Indian	-	13	-	10	9.53	30	11.76	38	12.07	43	12.72	39	13.10	21	-	4	11.43	198
Mexican	-	19	8.06	50	8.94	77	10.61	159	10.99	275	11.55	271	11.60	249	11.37	59	10.87	1,159
Puerto Rican	-	7	-	8	9.64	28	10.81	53	12.20	95	12.55	91	13.21	43	-	9	11.68	334
Other Hispanic	-	8	-	16	11.67	27	11.71	68	12.86	94	12.45	96	12.36	87	-	12	12.16	408
British Protestant	12.32	604	13.04	570	13.59	561	14.50	781	14.52	723	14.59	347	14.93	152	-	13	13.82	3,751
Other Protestant	10.59	2,304	11.74	2,306	12.46	2,448	13.33	3,629	13.53	4,341	13.68	2,896	13.92	1,337	14.00	209	12.85	19,470
Irish Catholic	11.89	149	12.86	181	13.88	198	14.34	319	14.25	430	14.58	248	14.76	98	-	16	13.93	1,639
Other Catholic	10.29	575	11.82	632	12.71	717	13.78	1,172	13.81	1,665	13.98	1,049	14.31	383	14.47	66	13.22	6,259
Italian	9.40	183	11.53	200	12.78	189	13.66	345	13.89	420	14.05	322	14.26	134	-	21	13.08	1,814
Jewish	13.05	129	14.26	113	15.32	114	16.52	166	15.96	204	15.96	89	16.00	57	-	4	15.34	876
Total:	**9.99**	**4,476**	**10.85**	**4,626**	**12.80**	**5,108**	**13.49**	**7,821**	**13.85**	**9,875**	**14.07**	**6,647**	**14.10**	**3,197**	**14.03**	**528**	**13.36**	**42,278**

Years of Education by Immigrant Generation

Since the main foci of this dissertation are on both religio-ethnic groups and immigrant generations, this section will concentrate on the intersection of generation and religio-ethnic groups and mean levels of educational attainment, displayed in Table 5. As discussed in the last section, Mexican immigrants, who arrive with lower levels of educational attainment, appear to be lowering the mean levels of education for the group, whereas Asian immigrants such as Indians and Chinese/Japanese arrive with high levels of education and the overall means for this group are raised as a result. Table 5 shows the mean levels of education for Mexicans increase

from 9.43 years for the first generation to 12.47 for the fourth generation. This rise in educational attainment by generation indicates that, in fact, the high percentage of immigrants lowers the average educational attainment of the Mexican origin population, since the overall average is 10.87 years, nearly two years lower than the levels for the fourth generation. For Indians and Chinese/Japanese, the results are also confirmed that there is an immigrant bias for the higher levels of education. For Indians, the number of respondents is extremely low, with the exception of the first generation, which has an average level of education at a very high 16.26 years. Chinese/Japanese stretch into the third generation, with only a slight decline from 15.89 years to 14.59 years. This decline indicates an immigrant advantage, but also that high levels of education are sustained throughout several generations.

Table 5: Mean Years of Education by Immigrant Status, US Population Aged 25 and Over

	1st Generation		*2nd Generation*		*3rd Generation*		*4th Generation*		**Totals**	
Ethnic-Origins	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**	**Years**	**N**
Black Protestant/Other	12.56	216	13.48	80	12.78	156	11.94	4,267	11.94	5,255
Black Catholic	12.65	104	13.31	26	13.56	25	13.10	256	13.04	434
Chinese/Japanese	15.89	169	14.47	43	14.59	32	-	2	15.47	247
Filipino	14.34	123	-	18	-	3	-	0	14.36	146
Indian	16.26	117	-	6	-	0	-	0	16.24	123
Other Asian	14.41	129	-	19	-	12	-	5	14.25	165
American Indian	-	1	-	8	-	17	11.22	156	11.43	198
Mexican	9.43	454	11.60	329	12.10	219	12.47	113	10.87	1,159
Puerto Rican	10.76	148	12.50	101	-	22	12.85	54	11.68	334
Other Hispanic	11.75	314	13.82	60	-	16	-	16	12.16	408
British Protestant	14.81	120	13.23	167	13.95	514	13.86	2,829	13.82	3,751
Other Protestant	13.74	696	12.77	1,258	13.46	3,552	12.68	11,800	12.85	19,470
Irish Catholic	12.39	46	13.60	149	14.05	649	14.10	712	13.93	1,639
Other Catholic	12.77	569	12.20	1,003	13.63	2,247	13.58	2,051	13.22	6,259
Italian	10.01	138	12.21	516	13.93	810	13.84	231	13.08	1,814
Jewish	14.01	107	14.83	304	16.06	358	15.66	88	15.34	876
Totals:	**12.80**	**3,451**	**13.43**	**4,087**	**13.60**	**8,632**	**13.07**	**22,580**	**13.36**	**42,278**

Italians are a group that arrives with low levels of education that increase steadily over generations. First-generation Italians possess, on average, 10 years of education. This increases to 13.84 years by the fourth generation. This could be an artifact of many of these immigrants belonging to older generations, since many of the Italians arrived earlier in the 20th century when

all groups were less educated. Jews become slightly more educated, from 14 years in the first generation to a high of 16 years in the third generation. This could also be a result of many Jews arriving during the turn of the 20th century, but could also indicate an acculturation process through education for these particular groups.

Differences in the first generation are primarily the result of selective immigration. More recent immigrants who come from more distant locations, such as India and China, generally possess higher levels of education than those who come from closer places, such as Canada or Mexico. The fourth and higher generations reflect those of long resident Americans. Race and ethnic differences in education could reflect several aspects, including SES origins, geographical concentrations, and different orientations toward education. Although the second generation is expected to do better (all other things held constant because of the pressures from immigrant parents), the aforementioned tables do not show any evidence for a second-generation advantage. In fact, there appears to be a greater difference between the second and third generations than the first and second generations. Hispanics are the only group in which there seems to be a great second-generation advantage. It is important to note that figures for generations are confounded by cohort and time period. For example, the first generation includes Italian immigrants from long ago and Mexican immigrants from very recently. As a result, it appears that more recent immigrants are, in fact, experiencing this second-generation advantage.

Mortality Biases

One problematic situation when dealing with the educational attainment estimate across age cohorts is mortality bias, meaning that older groups might possess selective mortality and only the most educated survive to old age. In order to examine this issue, I use the three decades of data to see if the rates of certain cohorts are consistent across years and to what extent the

levels of education rise. Table 6 indicates the ages of the respondents during the years of the GSS surveys. The 1910 cohort is the oldest cohort to appear in all three of the survey decades, so it was the first cohort examined. Since mortality is relatively low between ages 25-50, I exclude cohorts younger than 1940-1949 from this part of the analysis, since the 1950-59 cohort was only between the ages of 41-60 years old during the 2000-2010 GSS surveys.

Table 6: Age of Respondent by Birth Cohort by Year of Interview

	GSS Decade					
	1977-1989		1990-1999		1990-1999	
Cohort	Age	n	Age	N	Age	n
1910-1919	58-79	1922	71-89	808	81-100	306
1920-1929	48-69	2414	61-79	1278	71-90	949
1930-1939	38-59	2256	51-69	1375	61-80	1504
1940-1949	28-49	3279	40-59	2211	51-70	2358
1950-1959	25-39	3514	30-49	3058	41-60	3370
1960-1969	25-29	563	25-39	2704	31-50	3449
1970-1979	-	-	25-29	362	25-40	2906
1980-1985	-	-	-	-	25-30	535

Table 7 compares the mean years of education for four cohorts during the 30-year span of the GSS surveys to determine if selective mortality is an issue for the older cohorts. For the 1910-1919 cohort, there is only a difference of 0.83 years between the first decade of the surveys in the 1980s to the 2000s. This indicates that as the cohort ages from 58-70 to 81-100, there was only a 0.83 difference in the years of schooling reported. For this cohort, there is little evidence of selective mortality, which would imply that there would be a much larger difference in the levels of education as the cohort begins to die. The youngest cohort from the 1940s aged from 28-49 to 51-70 over the 30-year time span. Since mortality is not particularly high during these age ranges, it is not surprising that there was only a gain in 0.3 years of schooling during the 30-year time span of the surveys. Overall, the effects of mortality are predictable, but rather modest,

and there does not appear to be evidence for severe selective mortality for the older cohorts in the sample.

Table 7: Mean Years of Education by Cohort and Year of Survey

	GSS Decade						
	1977-1989		1990-1999		2000-2010		
Cohort	Mean	n	Mean	N	Mean	n	Change in Years
1910-1919	10.65	1,922	11.26	808	11.48	306	**0.83**
1920-1929	11.48	2,414	11.89	1,278	12.12	949	**0.64**
1930-1939	12.25	2,256	12.6	1,375	12.86	1,504	**0.61**
1940-1949	13.23	3,279	13.72	2,211	13.53	2,358	**0.3**

Education Transitions: Sex and Racial-Ethnic Groups

The primary measure of educational attainment in the analyses to follow will involve the educational transitions of high school graduation, college entry and college completion. This offers a descriptive overview of those transitions. Figure 2 displays the percentage of the respondents who are at least high school graduates over a 30-year time period by cohort and sex. For the earliest cohorts (1880-1909), women were graduating from high school at higher rates than men. This could be an artifact of selective mortality by gender (women live longer), in addition to a bit of selective mortality for educational attainment. By the 1910 cohort, graduation levels become equal for both sexes. Levels of high school graduation increase steadily for both sexes until the 1950 cohort, where levels remain steady and even decline a little. Mare (1995) attributes the lowering of high school graduation rates after 1950 to the increase in the number of those belonging to disadvantaged minority populations, particularly African Americans and Hispanics. More specifically, while the rates in the White population have not changed significantly between cohorts, the ethnic and socioeconomic makeup of cohorts, particularly the increased proportion of those belonging to minority groups largely accounts for the reduced high school graduation rates. This is also true for college entry and college completion, which will be discussed later. Despite the slight decreases for later cohorts, the overall rate of graduation

increased from 35.2% for women in the earliest cohorts to 85.1% in the latest and from 25.6% to 85.3% for men.

Figure 2: Percentage of persons completing at least 12 years of school, by sex and year of birth

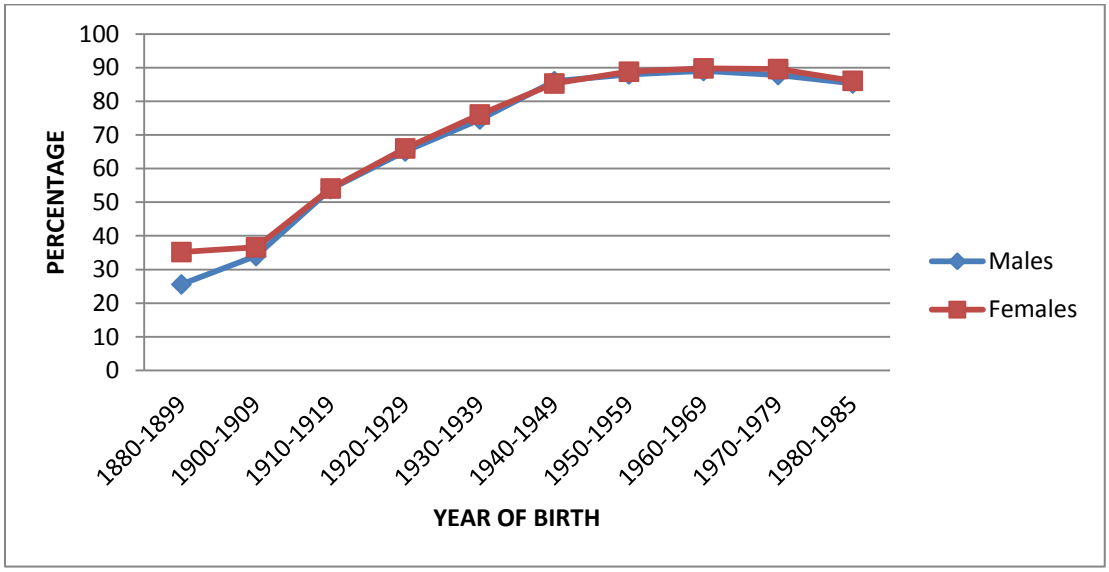


Figure 3 shows the percentage of respondents completing at least some college. Once again, the rates for females exceed the rates of males at the cohorts born before the turn of the 20th century, with 20.3% for females and 13.7% for males. Both groups steadily increase, with males exceeding females in the 1910-1919 cohort. The increase in college entry rates for men began for those born before the Depression and then the differences narrowed after the 1950-1959 cohort. There is a spike in college enrollment for males during the 1940-1949 cohort, which is likely a result of those who were avoiding the Vietnam draft through college entry (Mare 1995). Overall, males increased from 13.7% in the 1880-1899 cohort to 61.6% in the 1980-1985 cohort and women increased from 20.3% in the 1880-1899 cohort to 61.9% in the 1980-1985 cohort.

Figure 3: Percentage of persons completing at least some college, by sex and year of birth

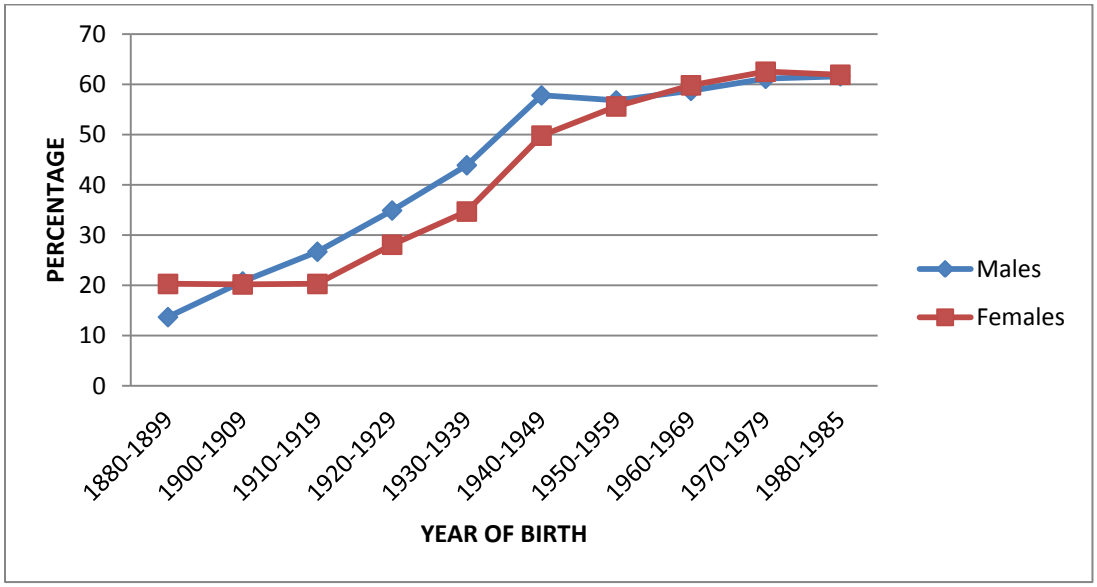
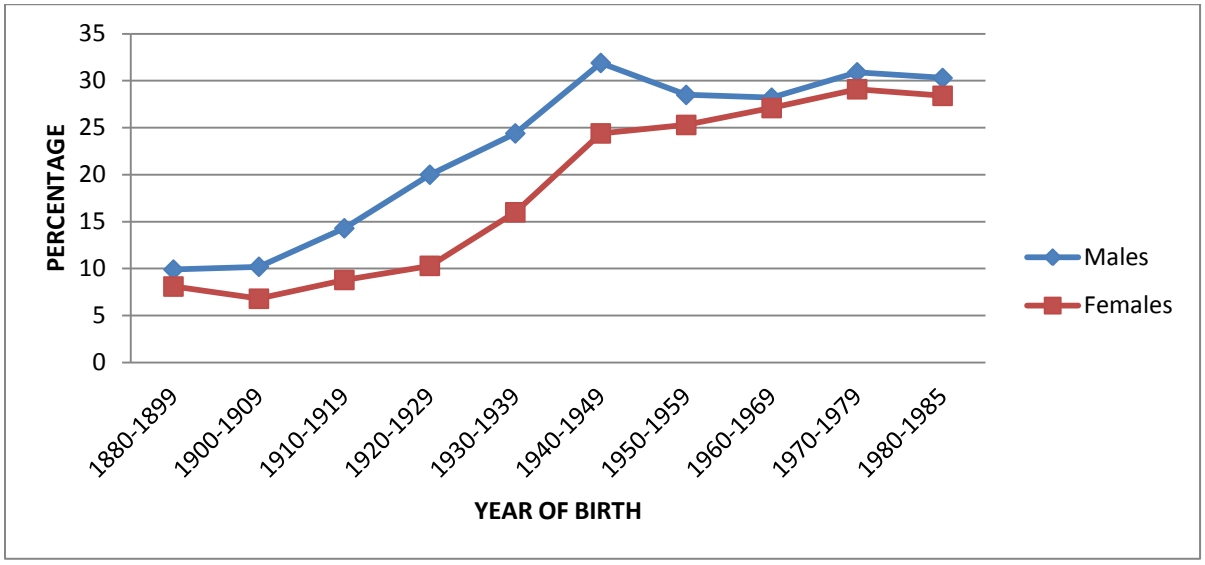


Figure 4 displays the percentage of respondents completing at least a bachelor's degree. Mare (1981) attributes the overall rate of increase in college graduation to "changes in the socioeconomic characteristics of families, long-run technological changes in the economy, the increasingly competitive pressure to maintain one's position in the work force, and the nation's dedication to provide postsecondary education for an ever-growing proportion of the population." Males and females, according to Mare (1995) and Goldin (1990) attend and graduate from college for different reasons. To begin, the changing economy allowed for more diverse professional opportunities for men, whereas woman who had advanced degrees were oftentimes limited to careers such as teaching, library science and nursing (Goldin 1990). As the labor force offered more opportunities to women for more recent cohorts, the rates of graduation have leveled between men and women. Mare (1991) and Goldin (1992) also offer the explanation that despite the disadvantages in the labor market, women often had the opportunity to meet and marry men in college who had similar levels of educational attainment; therefore receiving an increased educational benefit from their husbands' more advanced careers.

Essentially, women may have received an indirect benefit of attending college through marriage. Overall, levels of college graduation increased from 8.1% in the earliest female cohort to 28.4% for the latest cohorts and from 9.9% to 30.3% for males. While males generally possessed higher graduation rates, the greatest difference between males and females existed in the 1920-1929 cohort at 9.7%.

Figure 4: Percentage of persons completing at least a bachelor's degree, by sex and year of birth



Figures 5, 6, and 7 present the differences in the same measure of educational attainment among racial-ethnic groups. Mare attributes the differences between these groups to "socioeconomic differences among these groups, ethnic-racial discrimination in schools and in the economic rewards to schooling, group differences in the timing and immigration to the United States, and group differences in values placed on formal schooling and in strategies that families use to facilitate the schooling of their offspring" (170-171: 1995). There were not enough Native Americans in the sample to examine rates across cohorts, so this group has been omitted from this analysis. Figure 5 displays the high school completion rates by cohort and racial-ethnic background and nativity.

Overall, high school graduation rates achieved some convergence for the later cohorts, with the exception of foreign-born Hispanics, many of whom were presumably educated outside of the country. Foreign-born Hispanics have the lowest rates of high school graduation rates, followed by native-born Hispanics and Blacks. Whites and both foreign and native-born Asians have the highest rates, and these rates are relatively similar throughout the cohorts. For the 1970-1985 cohort, the gap between the ethnic groups widens to show a very large differential across all transitions. Only 54.5% of foreign-born Hispanics possess a high school diploma, compared to 93% of Whites and foreign-born Asians. This differential was exceeded only for the 1880-1929 cohorts, for which there was a nearly 50-percentage-point difference between foreign-born Asians and foreign-born Hispanics.

Mare (1995) also notes that the differences between the foreign-born and native-born Asian population were greater at the turn of the century, but that their differences lessened for more recent cohorts. Hispanics, on the other hand, had the opposite experience, with smaller differences at the turn of the century and wider gaps for more recent cohorts. He attributes these gaps to educational opportunities in their countries of origin and the differences in opportunities to acquire more school once they arrive in the United States.

Figure 5: Percentage of persons completing at least a high school diploma, by racial-ethnic group and year of birth

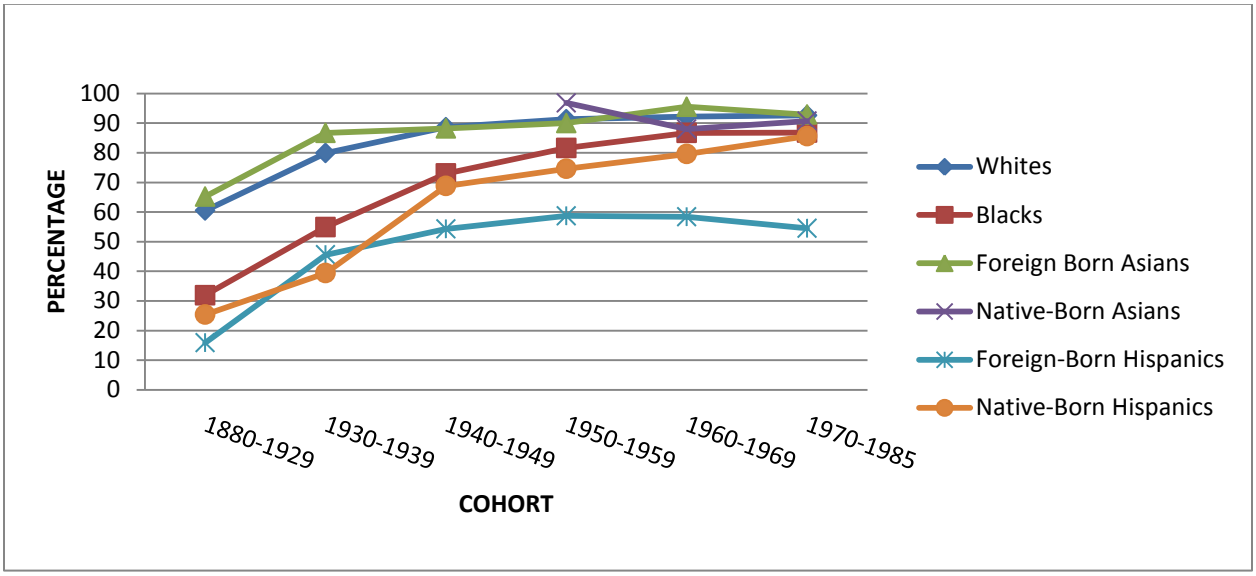


Figure 6 shows the percentage of respondents completing at least some college. Similar to the high school completion rates, college entry rates increased steadily over time for all groups, with an increase in the 1960s. Foreign-born Asians have the highest rates of college entry, followed by native-born Asians and Whites. The results for native-born Asians are comparable to those of Whites, but the low numbers for native-born Asians make it difficult to examine trends over time. The groups with the lowest rates are once again foreign-born Hispanics, followed by native-born Hispanics and Blacks. Similar to the patterns from high school completion, the differences between all racial-ethnic groups were smaller at the turn of the century and widened for later cohorts.

Figure 6: Percentage of persons completing at least some college, by racial-ethnic group, nativity and year of birth

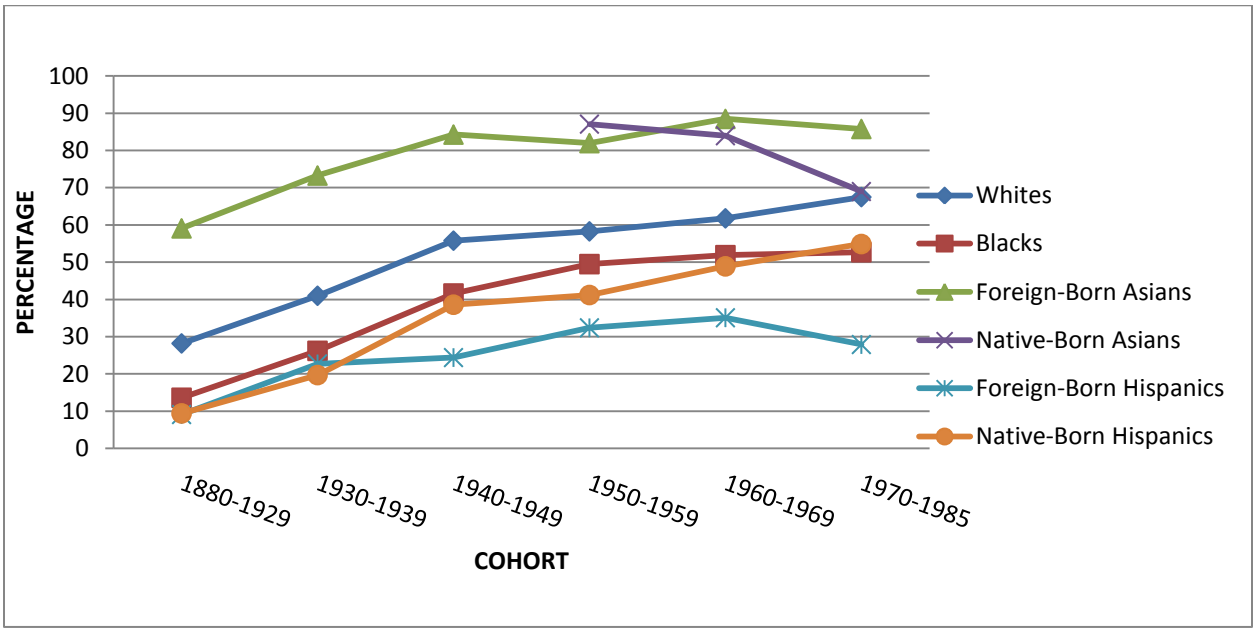
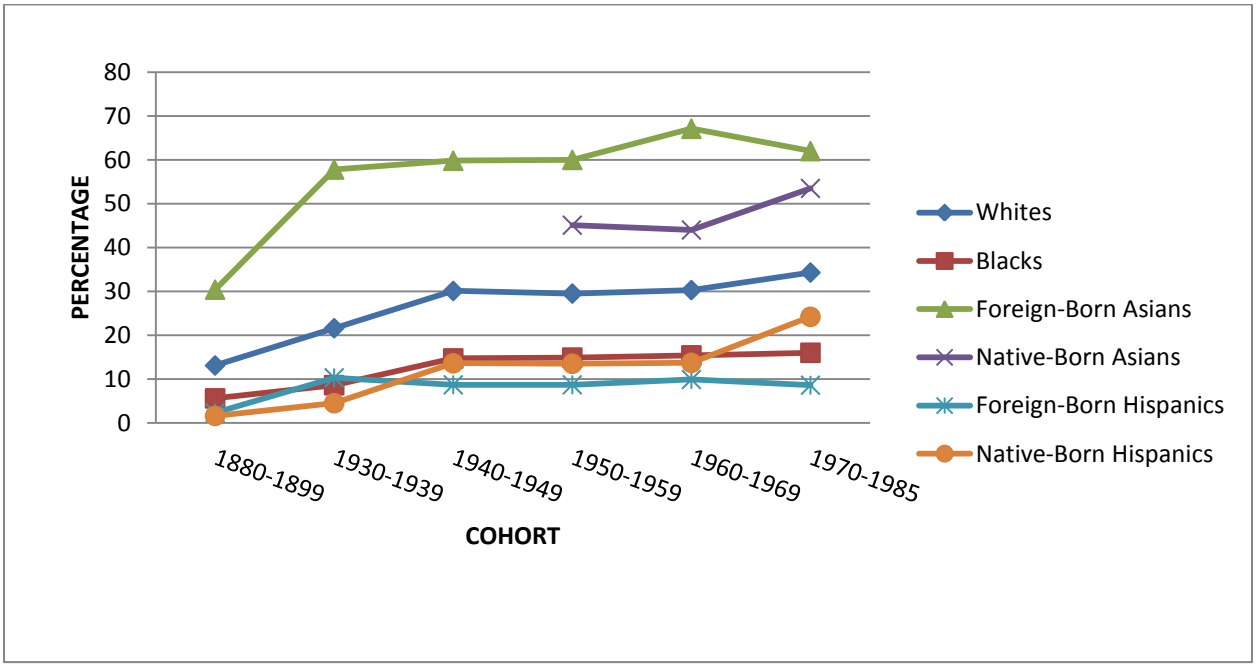


Figure 7 shows college completion rates across racial-ethnic groups and nativity. Between the 1930-39 cohort and the 1960-69 cohort, there seems to be a period of expanding opportunities, particularly for college graduation. For the later cohorts, there is some stagnation in the rates of college completion, as mentioned in the previous section. Once again, foreign-born Asians had the highest rates of college graduation and foreign-born Hispanics had the lowest rates. The rates of both foreign and native-born Asians exceed the rates of Whites. The differences between Hispanic natives and Hispanic immigrants widen for college graduation, with around a 10% difference in graduation rates between these two groups throughout this historical period, with the exception of the youngest cohort. For the first time, the rates for African Americans drop below that of native-born Hispanics. According to Mare (1995), the rates for American Indians are only slightly higher than those of foreign-born Hispanics. As with high school graduation and college entry, the gap between foreign-born Asians and foreign-

born Hispanics widens considerably from the first cohort to the last cohort, but remains a fairly stable gap in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Percentage of persons completing at least a bachelor's degree, by racial-ethnic group and year of birth



Parental Education

One over-arching theme in the educational attainment literature is that levels of education rise as a result of the rising levels of parents' schooling and socioeconomic status (Mare 1995). Since parental education is an important factor in the likelihood of school continuation, I will briefly discuss parental education with relation to respondents' education. There is a very high non-response rate for father's education, particularly for Black respondents. I chose to include respondents with missing values for mother's and father's education and while it is difficult to interpret a "missing" result, it is important they were left in the model so as not do disproportionately exclude members of ethnicities, or immigrant groups where the education of the parent was unknown either due to parental absence or any other external factors.

Table 8: Mother's Highest Degree by Respondent's Highest Degree

	Less than High School		High School		Associates Degree		College Graduate	
Respondents' Level of Education	**Percentage**	**n**	**Percentage**	**n**	**Percentage**	**n**	**Percentage**	n
Less than High School	83.9	5,542	15	990	0.3	23	0.8	51
High School	42.9	7,982	49.7	9,242	2.1	389	5.3	988
Associates Degree	28.3	658	53.1	1,234	7.9	183	10.8	249
College Graduate	20	1,841	51.8	4,762	5.3	490	22.8	2,093

Table 8 shows respondent's level of education as a crosstab with mother's education. Presumably, socioeconomic status and educational attainment are passed from the parental generation to the children, so the more educated a mother is, the more likely her child is to obtain similar levels of educational attainment. Table 8 confirms this assertion. For example, among those who had less than a high school diploma, 84% of their mothers also had less than a high school education, whereas only 0.8% of mothers were college graduates. 50% of the people who graduated from high school also had mothers who were high school graduates. The highest percentage of college graduates were those whose mothers had also graduated from college. Since respondent's education and mother's education are highly correlated with each other, it is expected that this result will also emerge in a regression equation as well.

Table 9 displays the proportion of respondents whose mothers possess each level of educational attainment, by religio-ethnic group. The mothers of nearly half of the Blacks in the survey possess less than a college education, whereas only 5.1% possess a college diploma. Hispanics also have a low rate of mother's college graduation, with only 4.4% total and 2.7% of Mexican mothers with college diplomas. 63.6% of Hispanic respondents' mothers have less than a high school diploma. On the other end, 18.5% of Asians' respondents' mothers completed college and 19.5% of Jewish respondents' mothers completed college.

Table 9: Mother's Level of Education by Religio-Ethnic Group

	Mother's Level of Education											
	Less than High School		High School Graduate		Some College		College Graduation		Don't Know		Totals:	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Blacks	**2,443**	**47.9**	**1,204**	**23.6**	**472**	**9.2**	**262**	**5.1**	**724**	**14.2**	**5,105**	**100**
Black Protestant/Other	2,305	49.0	1,090	23.2	410	8.7	221	4.7	677	14.4	4,703	100
Black Catholic	138	34.3	114	28.4	62	15.4	41	10.2	47	11.7	402	100
Asians	**264**	**39.5**	**166**	**24.7**	**61**	**9.1**	**124**	**18.5**	**54**	**8.1**	**669**	**100**
Chinese/Japanese	91	36.7	76	30.6	24	9.7	37	14.9	20	8.1	248	100
Filipino	59	42.1	23	16.4	13	9.3	33	23.6	12	8.6	140	100
Indian	48	39.7	28	23.1	8	6.6	28	23.1	9	7.4	121	100
Other Asian	66	41.3	39	24.4	16	10.0	26	16.3	13	8.1	160	100
American Indian	**85**	**47.2**	**41**	**22.8**	**10**	**5.6**	**10**	**5.6**	**34**	**18.9**	**180**	**100**
Hispanic	**1,152**	**63.6**	**269**	**14.9**	**103**	**5.7**	**79**	**4.4**	**208**	**11.5**	**1,811**	**100**
Mexican	769	70.1	141	12.9	56	5.1	30	2.7	101	9.2	1,097	100
Puerto Rican	178	56.2	49	15.5	21	6.6	16	5.0	53	16.7	317	100
Other Hispanic	205	51.6	79	19.9	26	6.5	33	8.3	54	13.6	397	100
White Non-Hispanic												
White Protestant	**7,652**	**36.7**	**7,009**	**33.6**	**2,236**	**10.7**	**1,891**	**9.1**	**2,044**	**9.8**	**20,832**	**100**
British Protestant	1,202	33.3	1,218	33.7	481	13.3	453	12.5	258	7.1	3,612	100
Other Protestant	6,450	37.5	5,791	33.6	1,755	10.2	1,438	8.4	1,786	10.4	17,220	100
White Catholic	**3,163**	**35.0**	**3,405**	**37.7**	**945**	**10.5**	**719**	**8.0**	**800**	**8.9**	**9,032**	**100**
Irish Catholic	**358**	**23.1**	**683**	**44.0**	**208**	**13.4**	**13**	**11.7**	**120**	**7.7**	**1,551**	100
Other Catholic	2,135	36.8	2,117	36.5	593	10.2	437	7.5	520	9.0	5,802	100
Italian	**670**	**39.9**	**605**	**36.0**	**144**	**8.6**	**100**	**6.0**	**160**	**9.5**	**1,679**	100
Jewish	**226**	**26.7**	**270**	**31.9**	**111**	**13.1**	**165**	**19.5**	**75**	**8.9**	**847**	**100**
Totals:	**29,659**	**77.1**	**23,213**	**60.3**	**7,283**	**18.9**	**5,894**	**15.3**	**7,045**	**18.3**	**38,476**	**100**

Table 10 displays the results for respondents' father's education by religio-ethnic group. Only 3.8% of Black respondents' fathers graduated from college and only 13.2% graduated from high school. 44.4% of American Indian respondents' fathers did not graduate from high school. A high of 32.9% of Asian respondents' fathers graduated from college, and 27.6% of Jewish respondents' fathers also graduated from college. Overall, Jews and Asians appear to come from more advantaged backgrounds, educationally speaking, and Hispanics, Blacks and Native Americans possess lower levels of educational attainment. As mentioned earlier, group differences in birth cohort may influence these comparisons.

Table 10: Father's Level of Education by Religio-Ethnic Group

	Father's Level of Education											
	Less than High School		High School Graduate		Some College		College Graduation		Don't Know		Totals:	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Black	**1,997**	**39.1**	**674**	**13.2**	**221**	**4.3**	**196**	**3.8**	**2,017**	**39.5**	**5,105**	**100**
Black Protestant/Other	1,887	40.1	589	12.5	186	4.0	157	3.3	1,884	40.1	4,703	100
Black Catholic	110	27.4	85	21.0	35	8.7	39	9.7	133	33.1	402	100
Asian	**163**	**24.4**	**136**	**20.3**	**52**	**7.8**	**220**	**32.9**	**98**	**14.6**	**669**	**100**
Chinese/Japanese	67	27.0	52	21.0	19	7.7	69	27.8	41	16.5	248	100
Filipino	41	29.3	31	22.1	10	7.1	41	29.3	17	12.1	140	100
Indian	18	14.9	24	19.8	5	4.1	62	51.2	12	9.9	121	100
Other Asian	37	23.1	29	18.1	18	11.3	48	30.0	28	17.5	160	100
American Indian	**80**	**44.4**	**25**	**13.9**	**11**	**6.1**	**10**	**5.6**	**54**	**30.0**	**180**	**100**
Hispanic	**907**	**50.1**	**222**	**12.3**	**73**	**4.0**	**12**	**4.6**	**525**	**29.0**	**1,811**	**100**
Mexican	653	59.5	111	10.1	42	3.8	37	3.4	254	23.2	1,097	100
Puerto Rican	103	32.5	46	14.5	10	3.2	13	4.1	145	45.7	397	100
Other Hispanic	151	38.0	65	16.4	21	5.3	34	8.6	126	31.7	397	100
White Non-Hispanic												
White Protestants	**8,251**	**39.6**	**4,510**	**21.6**	**1,668**	**8.0**	**2,487**	**11.9**	**3,916**	**18.8**	**20,832**	**100**
British Protestant	1,286	35.6	786	21.8	348	9.6	590	16.3	602	16.7	3,612	100
Other Protestant	6,965	40.4	3,724	21.6	1,320	7.7	1,897	11.0	3,314	19.2	17,220	100
White Catholics	**3,279**	**36.3**	**2,155**	**23.9**	**812**	**9.0**	**1,122**	**12.4**	**1,664**	**18.4**	**9,032**	**100**
Irish Catholic	**415**	**26.8**	**421**	**27.1**	**178**	**11.5**	**279**	**18.0**	**258**	**16.6**	**1,551**	100
Other Catholic	2,175	37.5	1,370	23.6	493	8.5	693	11.9	1,071	18.5	5,802	100
Italian	**689**	**41.0**	**364**	**21.7**	**141**	**8.4**	**150**	**8.9**	**335**	**20.0**	**1,679**	100
Jewish	**226**	**26.7**	**166**	**19.6**	**71**	**8.4**	**234**	**27.6**	**150**	**17.7**	**847**	**100**
Totals:	**29,500**	**76.5**	**14,911**	**38.7**	**5,513**	**14.3**	**8,194**	**21.3**	**14,627**	**37.9**	**38,556**	**100**

Conditional Probabilities

While this chapter has largely addressed levels of education for the entire population, the following analyses will use conditional probabilities to assess the likelihood of school continuation. For example, when examining college entry, only those who have completed high school will be considered in the "population" and only those who have completed some college will be examined for college completion. This is a standard procedure when using the Mare model and also prevents underestimating the proportion of those who continue to the next level of schooling, since, for instance, someone who does not complete high school cannot go on to complete college. Simply stated, the equations for each transition are as follows:

Equation 1: The Conditional Probability of High School Completion:

$$\frac{\#\text{ of respondents with at least a high school diploma}}{Total\ Population}$$

Equation 2: The Conditional Probability of College Entry:

$$\frac{\#\text{ of respondententents with some college}}{\#\ of\ respondents\ who\ have\ at\ least\ a\ high\ school\ diploma}$$

Equation 3: The Conditional Probability of College Completion:

$$\frac{\#\text{ of respondents with at least a college degree}}{\#\ of\ respondents\ who\ have\ completed\ at\ least\ some\ college}$$

Table 11 displays the probabilities for each level of schooling, conditional upon the completion of (or entry to) the previous level. For the total population, 79.8% have completed high school or attained a higher degree. For those who have graduated from high school, 59.9% have entered college, and for those who have entered college, 48.8% graduated from college.

Table 11: Proportion of the Population Attaining High School Graduation, Some College, and College Graduation, Conditional Upon Completion of the Previous Level of Education

	% ≥ HS Grads	% Some College	% College Grads
Total Population	79.7		
HS Grads		59.9	
Some College			48.8

Table 12 displays the same conditional probabilities by larger ethnic classifications. For high school completion, Jews and Asians have a much higher proportion of high school graduates within their group than Native Americans, Blacks and Hispanics. Furthermore, almost all of the Jews (93.8%) and Asians (90.2%) in the sample graduated from high school. Concerning college entry, Jews and Asians also have a higher percentage of those who enter college for those who graduated high school. As mentioned earlier, the overall average of college

entrants is 59.9%, so Jews (84.2%) and Asians (88.2%) are well above this average. Native Americans, once again, are the lowest group at 56.5%, followed by Hispanics at 55.7% and Blacks at 56.4%. Continuing the trend of higher levels of educational attainment, Jews and Asians have the highest rates of college graduation for those who have entered college. At 73.6% graduating, Jews have the highest rate of college graduation, followed closely by Asians at 71.3%. Native Americans, once again, have the lowest rate of graduates, with only 31.3% of those entering college actually graduating as well. Blacks and Hispanics also have a much lower rate of college graduation, at 32.2% and 33.4%, respectively. Overall, these numbers show that both White Protestants and Catholics generally possess educational attainment levels similar to the mean for high school graduation rates, college entry rates and college completion rates. Jews and Asians generally have higher rates of high school graduation, college entry and college completion than all other groups, and Native Americans, Blacks and Hispanics generally possess lower rates.

Table 12: Proportion of the Population Attaining High School Graduation, Some College, and College Graduation, Conditional Upon Completion of the Previous Level of Education, by Ethnic Classification

	High School		College Entry		College Completion	
Ethnic Classification	**Percentage**	**n**	**Percentage**	**n**	**Percentage**	**N**
White Protestants	80.8	18,802	58.3	10,957	49.9	5,648
White Catholics	84.5	8,226	61.6	5,065	50.3	2,546
Jews	93.6	823	84.2	693	73.6	510
Blacks	69.6	3,980	56.4	2,243	32.2	723
Hispanics	63.1	1,203	55.7	670	33.4	224
Asians	90.2	617	88.2	544	71.3	388
Native Americans	62.6	124	56.5	70	31.4	22

Variables

Dependent Variables: Educational Outcomes

Educational attainment will be measured using three different outcomes: 1) high school graduation; 2) some college; and 3) college graduation (4-year bachelor's degree or higher). High school graduation is measured from the entire population for those who graduate from high school. Some college is measured by those who have graduated from high school and completed at least 13 years of schooling, regardless of whether the schooling is received in a university, a community college, or a trade school. This also includes those who graduated from college. College graduation is measured by those who possessed at least 13 years of education and graduated with at least a bachelor's degree.

Immigrant Generations

The General Social Survey is unique in that the birthplaces of the respondent, the parents of the respondent and the grandparents of the respondent are asked, so it is possible to examine first, second, third and fourth and higher generation immigrants. This questioning began in 1977 and continued each year until 2010. For purposes of this study, first generation immigrants are those born outside of the United States, regardless of their age at arrival. Second generation immigrants are those who were born in the US, but who possess at least one parent born outside of the US. Third generation immigrants are those who were born in the US, whose parents were born in the US, and who possess at least one grandparent born outside of the US. Fourth generation immigrants are defined as respondents were born in the US, whose parents were born in the US, and whose four grandparents were born in the US. The fourth generation is more specifically defined as the fourth plus generation, since there is no information on the birthplace

of relatives beyond the grandparents. For purposes of this study, I will simply refer to this as the fourth generation.

Racial-Ethnic Origins Classifications

The racial/ethnic/religious categories, or religio-ethnic categories, will follow closely the categories used by Hirschman and Falcon (1985). The GSS uses both racial categories (Black, White, other) and ethnic classifications based on a question "from what countries or part of the world did your ancestors come?" (variable: *ethnic*) Until 1998, racial categories of the respondents were identified by the interviewers and thereafter were identified by the respondents. As interviewer-identified racial identities can be problematic, I have chosen to represent respondents based on their self-identified ethnic groups, rather than their race. Additionally, the respondents provided information on their religious identification at age 16. I combine ethnic identity based on country of origin with religious identification in cases where there may be differences between religious groups. Evidence exists that Jews have higher educational outcomes than other religious groups. Within the White Catholic and White Protestant groups, outcomes are different depending on their racial/ethnic group. It is worth noting that White Catholics are a separate group from Irish or Italians in Chapter 5, in order to examine the differences between these specifically marginalized groups mentioned in the previous chapter. Additionally, many Hispanics are also Catholics, but for purposes of this dissertation, Hispanics will be identified by their ethnicity rather than their religion. This chapter will include a more detailed explanation of the differences between the religio-ethnic groups, and the subsequent chapter will include fewer religio-ethnic groups for simplicity.

Cohort

Respondents over the age of 25 in the year that the survey was conducted were selected, since presumably most people have had the opportunity to graduate from high school and at least enter college by this age. Cohorts are divided by the following categories: 1880-1939, 1940-1959, 1960-1985.

Measures of SES: Parental Education

Parental education will be used as an indicator for socioeconomic status, particularly because other measures, such as parental occupation, are inconsistent across survey years. Separate measures for father's education and mother's education will be used in the model. Prior to the 1988 GSS, parental occupation was measured by prestige scores and after 1988, measures of the Socioeconomic Index (SEI) were used. Due to these inconsistencies, it was not possible to include parental occupation as a measure of socioeconomic status. Instead, measures for parental education, which were consistent across all survey years, were used. While many studies focus on the specific importance of mother's education on educational aspirations (Addington 2005) and educational attainment, this dissertation will focus on the effects of both parents' education.

Mother's and father's education are both measured by highest degree/amount of schooling earned. The categories are: 1) less than high school; 2) high school; 3) some college 4) Bachelors Degree or higher. There are a high number of respondents who did not know the education of one or both of their parents, particularly for some groups such as African Americans, which possess high numbers of missing data on fathers due to broken homes and the high prevalence of single motherhood. These respondents were left in the model and represented

in the "don't know" variable, although it is not possible to accurately interpret the results of a respondent with missing data.

Other SES Variables: Region of Residence at 16, Type of Residence at 16, # of Siblings

Region of residence at age 16 is measured by the following regions: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain, Pacific and Foreign. For purposes of the study, South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central are all considered "Southern." Ultimately, the categories used in the regression analysis are: Northeast, Midwest, West, South and Foreign. There should not be a collinearity problem for the "Foreign" residence at age 16 and the 1st generation immigrant group because the "Foreign" category includes the first and the 1.5 generation, meaning respondents who moved to the United States at a young age. The question of generation only examines whether or not a respondent was born in the United States, whereas the foreign category looks at where they were living at age 16. This means that someone listed as 1st generation (being born outside of the US) could be living in one of the regions of the United States at age 16, and therefore wouldn't be correlated with the "Foreign" status. Table 13 in the appendix is a crosstab of each of the generations by region of residence at age 16. As expected, the majority of the foreign born were also living out of the country at age 16 (70%), but this does not indicate that there is multicollinearity with the two variables, since 30% of the foreign born were living in the US at age 16. This is an indicator of the 1.5 generation, although since age at arrival is not included in the data set, this generation is not used in the analysis.

Table 13: Cross Tab of Generation and Region Variable, Percent of Generation Represented in Each Region

	Generation							
	1st	**n**	**2nd**	**n**	**3rd**	**n**	**4th**	**n**
Northeast	10.4	352	41.4	1,607	31.7	2,731	13.8	3,114
Midwest	5.3	180	28.1	1,092	36.7	3,162	22.1	6,102
South	4.0	136	6.7	261	7.9	685	34.8	7,840
West	10.2	344	21.6	838	23.2	1,998	24.1	5,425
Foreign	**70.0**	**2,357**	2.3	88	0.5	43	0.3	61

Type of residence at age 16 is measured by the following categories: in open country but not on a farm, on a farm, in a small city or town (under 50,000), in a medium size city (50,000-250,000), in a suburb near a large city, in a large city (over 250,000).

Number of siblings is measured as a continuous variable. I measure this variable as 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6+.

Family structure is measured using the following variables: living with a mother and father at age 16, living with a single mother at age 16, living with a mother and stepfather at age 16, and other family configuration at age 16.

Summary

This chapter is a descriptive analysis of the General Social Surveys from 1977-2010 with regards to the educational attainment of immigrant generations and religio-ethnic groups over time. The changing ethnic structure of the United States largely contributed to the changes in the overall rates of high school graduation, college entry and college completion rates, with the greatest disparities showing between Hispanic immigrants with the lowest rates and Asian immigrants with the highest rates at all levels. For native-born groups, the rates of high school completion have converged over time. Entry into and completion from college rose rapidly until the 1970s, when the rates begin to stagnate, particularly for college completion rates. On the other hand, the college completion rates for women rose much more quickly for men in the

younger cohorts. These rates for females will continue to rise and are already exceeding the rates for men.

Concerning immigrant generations, there does not appear to be an advantage for the second generation over their immigrant parents, particularly for Asian groups, many of whom arrive very educated. The exception to this is Mexicans, who do, in fact, show a large advantage for the second generation. The third and fourth generations show an even greater educational advantage than the second generation.

Chapter 5: Multivariate Analysis

The Mare Model

The main method used to analyze school continuation decisions is the Mare model (Mare 1980), which employs a set of conditional probabilities to estimate the likelihood of continuing to the subsequent schooling transition. The Mare model was a significant contribution to the study of the Sociology of Education because it uses conditional probabilities, where each transition is restricted to those who have completed the previous transition. Using conditional probabilities is important for analyzing school continuation decisions because, as Mare states, the effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable would be confounded if those who were ineligible for each transition were left in the model. As noted earlier in the dissertation, three transitions will be measured: 1) High school graduation; 2) College entry conditional upon graduation from high school and 3) College graduation conditional upon college entry. Statistically speaking, the Mare model applies logistic regression models and the equation for such models is:

Equation 4: The Mare Model

$$log_e\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1-p_{ij}}\right) = \beta_{ij} + \sum_k \beta_{jk} X_{ikj}$$

Where p_{ij} is the probability that the *ith* individual will make the *jth* transition, X_{ijk} is the value for the *ith* individual completing the *jth* transition on the *kth* independent variable, and β_{ij} are parameter estimates from the data (Mare 1980: Equation 2.1). Mare's model primarily focused on parental background characteristics such as education and income. The model for my dissertation will also include parental background characteristics, although immigrant generation and religio-ethnic categories will be my main concern. This is an extension of Mare's work and

will contribute both to the stratification literature on SES and racial/ethnic differences in education.

Hypotheses

There are several hypotheses to test in this section. The hypotheses will be divided into three distinct sections based on models related to: 1) Cohort 2) Immigrant Generation and 3) SES. The first question is whether there is a trend toward narrowing of race/ethnic gaps in educational attainment across birth cohorts? These trends are capturing some effect of being in an early versus a later cross-section of the population. With expanding opportunities for schooling, I expect that there will be reductions in race and ethnic inequality in schooling, particularly in the completion of high school. I expect that much of the observed (bivariate) race and ethnic differences in access and graduation in higher education will be because of differences in SES and family composition.

Concerning the immigrant generation hypothesis, some of the main questions are: Does immigrant generation composition explain ethnic differentials for some groups for some time periods for some educational attainment levels? And is there a trend toward narrowing of race/ethnic gaps in educational attainment across birth cohorts within immigrant generations? Recall the first generation educational levels are a function of immigrant selectivity and opportunities in the US. On the other hand, opportunities in the US are only important for immigrants that arrive as children. Age of arrival to the United States is not a question in the GSS, although it is evident that with each successive cohort, there is a larger percentage of immigrants in the sample. For Asian immigrants, it is expected that levels of educational attainment will be higher than their US-born counterparts, whereas groups from Mexico might possess lower levels, since research suggests that many travel to the US for low-level

employment. Portes and Rumbaut (2006) suggest that Mexicans travel to the US for the low-level jobs due to the proximity to the destination. On the other hand, some Mexican immigrants also might immigrate due to enhanced educational opportunities. The second generation, or the children of immigrants, should follow the immigrant optimism hypothesis, which argues that immigrant parents (because of experiences) really push their children to excel. In this chapter I will also test if the second generation advantage persists to the third generation, or, if as noted in the previous chapter, there is truly a second generation advantage as a result of being the child of an immigrant and not yet becoming assimilated into American society.

Also, since the first chapter of this dissertation addresses the differences between the waves of immigrant groups, I would like to examine the differences between ethnic groups from the European waves of immigration versus the post-1965 groups: Do the Jews, Irish and Italians fare worse than their White Protestant counterparts, and at what point is parity reached between the groups? Additionally, for later immigrant groups, how do Foreign and Native Born Asians and Hispanics fare in comparison to White Protestants, from earlier waves of immigration? Is there a narrowing between the groups over time? Does the closing of the gap resemble that of the European immigrants? Based on the data in the previous chapter, it is worth noting that immigrants from many countries appear to be more selective than in the past, and many more highly-educated and wealthier individuals are migrating to the US. How will this affect immigrant generation hypotheses with regards to educational attainment? Lieberson, in *A Piece of the Pie*, finds that Jewish second generation was doing better than other groups back in the 1920s and 1930s. Other European groups, such as the Italians and Irish, also made progress. Blacks also made progress, but Blacks still lagged behind the other groups. According to the US Census data, Black men over age 35 completed a median of 8.2 median years of school,

compared 1969 (Lieberson 1981). The next lowest group for the 35 plus category is the Italian group, at 10.3 years. On the high end, the Russians (which included a substantial amount of Jewish immigrants) completed 12.4 median years of schooling, a 4-year difference from Blacks. Lieberson notes that a large reason for the difference is that many of these immigrants lived in the North and Blacks lived in the South, with poor schools and limited access to schooling due to discriminatory policies towards Blacks. The question is whether or not African Americans and recent Mexicans, especially second generation, will also succeed despite the disadvantages in previous generations. Alba and Nee (2003) think that minority groups are making progress due to the changing composition of American demographics and expanding opportunities across racial and ethnic groups. I believe this will be the case with African Americans and Mexicans as well, particularly if these groups are equal in social class to their White counterparts.

One of the main questions of this dissertation concerns the SES hypothesis: Does SES explain the differences between religio-ethnic groups/generations? Also, when examining the effects of parental education, I seek to answer the question: Is educational attainment a function of socioeconomic origins? In other words, what does it mean if all race and ethnic differences are really due to variation in SES (or class)? Does it matter if inequality is a result of a person's ethnicity or because of social class? Massey (2010) addresses this in his work, and much of his literature on stratification and inequality shift from racial and ethnic differences to class differences. If class differences in education are more pronounced than racial/ethnic differences, one could also argue that it is also the interaction between class and race that is affecting the inequality between groups. Class differences between groups and the interaction of class and group membership are two different things and this chapter will primarily examine the class differences between groups. For example, historically, African Americans have been

underrepresented in higher education, particularly among college graduates. If social class is passed from one generation to the next and you are an African American whose parents did not graduate from college, are you then even more disadvantaged because both your class and your race affect your educational outcomes? In other words, have the gaps in attainment between racial and ethnic groups been replaced by class differences or are they augmented by these differences? The answers to these questions will primarily be discussed in the multivariate sections below.

High School Graduation

Figure 8: Bivariate Odds Ratios of High School Graduation for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

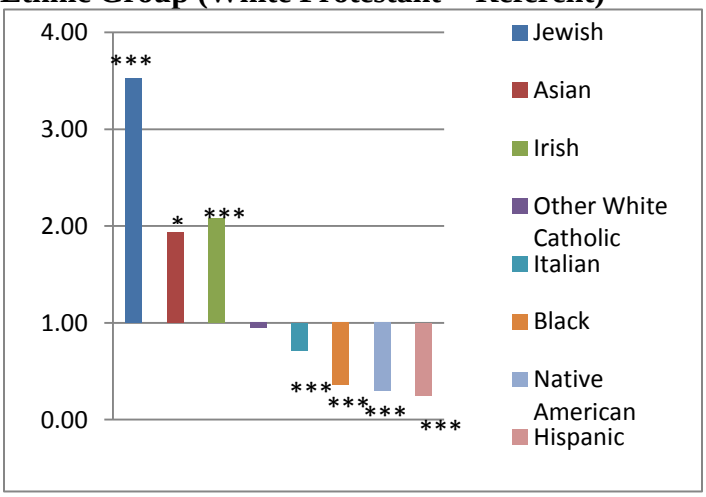


Figure 9: Bivariate Odds Ratios of High School Graduation for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

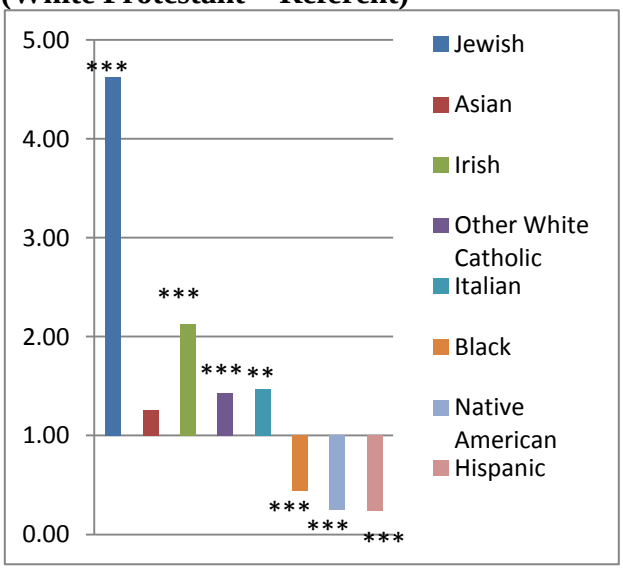
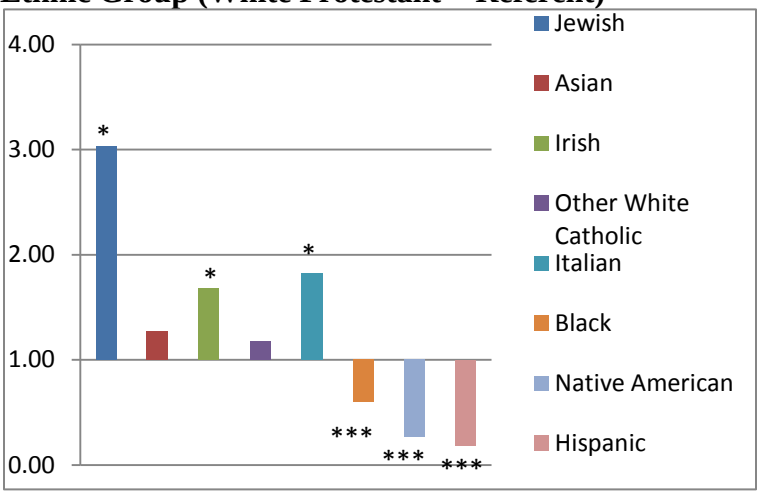


Figure 10: Bivariate Odds Ratios of High School Graduation for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)



Bivariate Results: Religio-Ethnic Differences

Since the high school graduation rate is approaching about 85-90% for the White Protestant majority in the youngest cohort, it is difficult for any group to have an advantage over Whites (Figure 5). On the other hand, some groups are still slightly disadvantaged with regards to high school graduation. Jews (graphs located in the Appendix to this chapter) are more likely to graduate from high school than White Protestants across all cohorts, whereas Asians are more likely to graduate for the oldest and youngest cohorts. Italians begin less likely to graduate than White Protestants in the oldest cohort, but exceed the likelihood of high school graduation for the younger two cohorts. Groups that lag behind Whites in high school graduation are Blacks, Native Americans and Hispanics. The gap persists for these groups across all cohorts. It is worth noting that the statistical significance is partially due to small sample size for some groups such as Asians and Native Americans. The other big finding is that White ethnics, such as Italians and other White Catholics, went from disadvantaged (Figure 8) to advantaged (Figures 9 and 10)

relative to White Protestants. In essence, the aforementioned White ethnic groups began the twentieth century with lower educational attainment than White Protestants, but seemingly caught up to the high (almost universal) rates of high school graduation by the middle of the twentieth century. This indicates the upward mobility of these groups, and also could indicate a form of structural assimilation (Gordon 1964).

Generations

Figure 11: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation by Generation, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

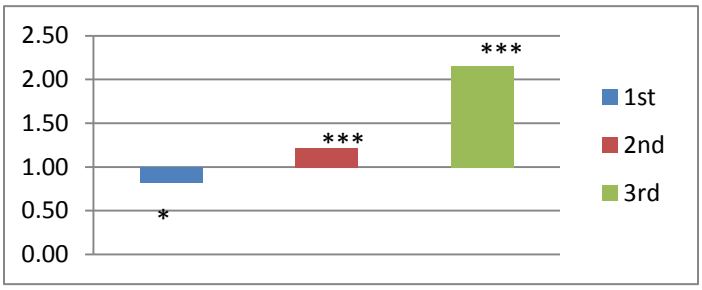


Figure 12: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, by Generation, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

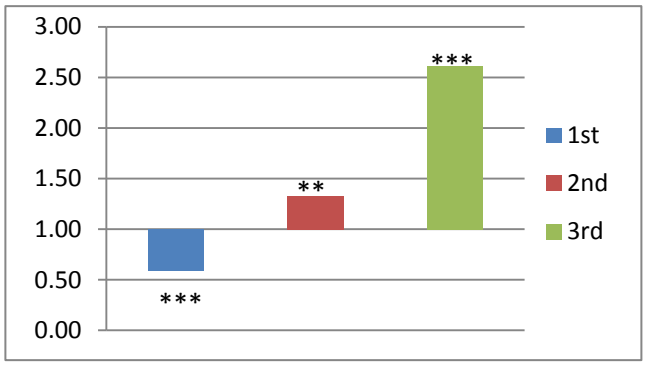
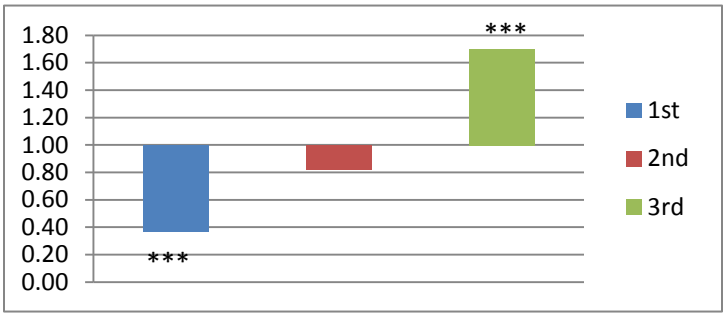


Figure 13: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation by Generation, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



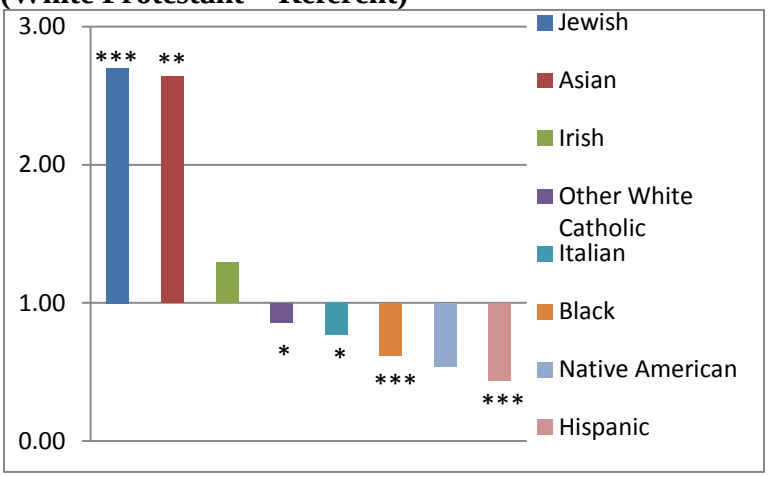
Concerning generations, the third generation is significantly more likely to graduate from college than the fourth generation across all cohorts. The second generation is more likely to graduate for the older two cohorts, but the difference disappears for the youngest cohort. The

first generation is disadvantaged compared to the fourth generation with high school graduation. This disadvantage persists throughout all cohorts.

Other Variables

Results from the following section are located in Table 14 (Chapter Appendix). Concerning parental education, the more education each of a respondent's parents possessed, the more likely they were to graduate from high school. This difference is particularly evident for respondents whose parents did not possess a high school diploma, as the likelihood of high school graduation is dramatically reduced for this group. This indicates a large difference in social class (via parental education) in the likelihood of high school graduation. This difference in social class is likely to persist and affect all groups in the full model containing all controls. Females and males are equally as likely to graduate from high school across all generations.

Figure 14: Odds of High School Graduation, Net of All Variables*, 1880-1939 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)



***Variables: Generation, Gender, Mother's Education, Father's Education, # of Siblings, Family Structure, Region of Residence, Size of Residence**

Figure 15: Odds of High School Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

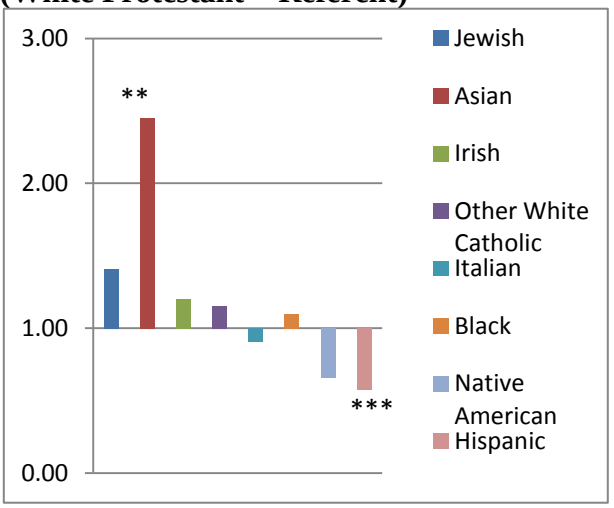


Figure 16: Odds of High School Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

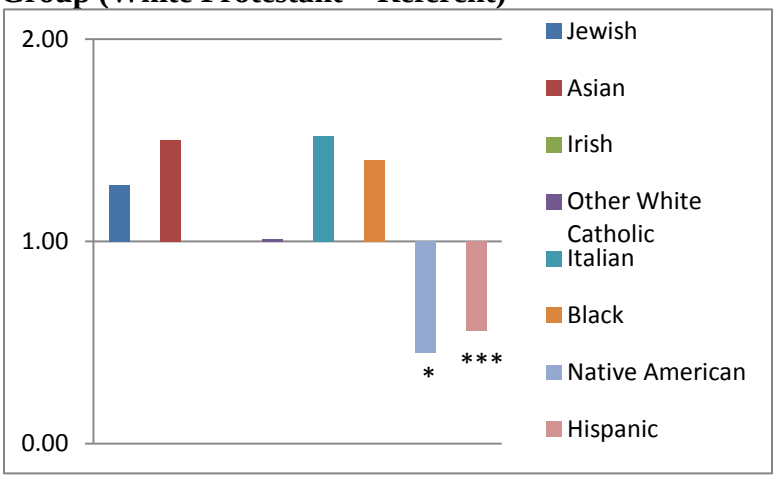


Figure 17: Odds of High School Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)

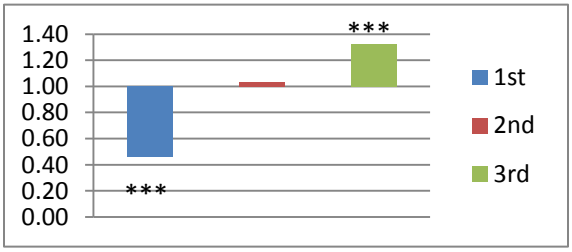


Figure 18: Odds of High School Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)

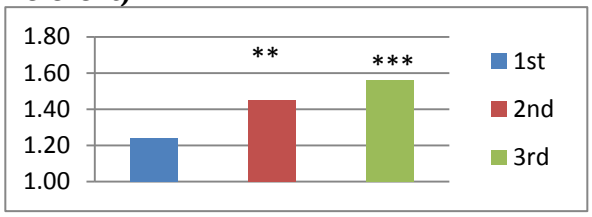
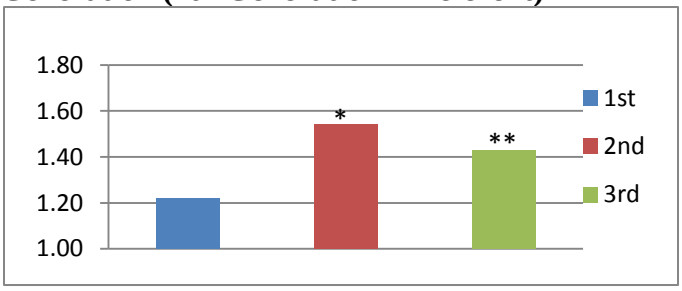


Figure 19: Odds of High School Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)



High School Graduation: Multivariate Results

The following multivariate section presents models which include the "net" relationship between the predictor and educational transitions, while all other variables are held constant. In all of the following sections, the variables are: Religio-Ethnic Group, Generation, Gender, Mother's Education, Father's Education, Number of Siblings, Family Structure, Region of Residence, and Size of Residence.

1880-1939 Cohort

For religio-ethnic groups, there are small changes from the bivariate relationships; however, it is interesting to note how the addition of socioeconomic factors influences the likelihood of high school graduation for certain groups. For example, in the bivariate model, Jews are 3.52 times more likely to graduate from high school than White Protestants, but when controlling for socioeconomic characteristics, the odds of graduation decrease to 2.70. This is a relatively modest decrease, but it also indicates the broader pattern of social class mediating the differences between groups. Similarly, for Hispanics, the odds of graduation in the bivariate model are 0.25 and 0.44 for the full model. This indicates that parent's social class is mediating the differences in high school graduation between groups. This trend will undoubtedly continue for each cohort and for each educational transition, and will be discussed further in later sections of this chapter.

The second generation loses its significance, net of all variables. The first and the third generations remain significant, with the first generation less likely to graduate than the fourth generation and the third generation more likely to graduate. This indicates that there is no second generation advantage, but rather the third generation is the only one with the advantage. This

follows closely with the argument that the immigrant optimism theory can extend to the third generation.

Socioeconomic characteristics also influence high school graduation. Parental education strongly predicts high school graduation, and respondents whose parents possess more education are more likely to graduate than those with less education. For this cohort, respondents from single mother households are equally as likely to graduate as those who were living with both a mother and father at age 16.

1940-1959

When controlling for socioeconomic factors and background characteristics, the differences among most religio-ethnic groups disappear for this birth cohort. This is the result of the statistical model, but the key point is that group differences are a function of other group characteristics. The only groups that retain significance are Asians, who are significantly more likely to graduate from high school, and Hispanics, who are significantly less likely. This could, perhaps, indicate that social class is more strongly affecting these groups than ethnicity, per se. For example, Jews from this generation more than likely come from much higher social statuses than other groups, and Hispanics from lower statuses, indicating that social class is more strongly affecting the results than ethnicity. That said, since many of the high school graduation rates are so high (close to 90% for Whites) for the youngest cohort, the differences between groups, while significant, still represent high graduation rates for most groups.

Additionally, the observed bivariate differences between the first and fourth generations disappear, meaning that socioeconomic characteristics are partially explaining the differences in the likelihood of graduation between immigrants and the fourth generation. There is a lower rate

of high school completion of immigrants, since high school attainment is likely to be outside US, but this is not because of immigrant status, but because of their overall SES. Females are also more likely to graduate than males in this model. This is perhaps indicating a trend of women equaling and exceeding the educational attainment of men for the younger cohorts.

Concerning socioeconomic characteristics, parental education, continues to be a strong predictor of respondents' likelihood of high school graduation, with more education associated with a higher likelihood of graduation. When controlling for all characteristics, respondents from single mother households are equally as likely to graduate as those who were living with both a mother and father at age 16.

1960-1985

Net of all variables, the differences between most religio-ethnic groups and White Protestants disappear, with the exception of Native Americans and Hispanics, whose likelihood of graduation remains significantly lower. The second and third generations remain significantly more likely to graduate than the fourth generation, and females become more likely to graduate than males. The addition of other socioeconomic and background characteristics does not affect parental education, which remains significant at all levels (Table 15), with higher education being associated with higher likelihood of high school graduation. Living in a family structure with a mother and stepfather lowers the likelihood of high school graduation, but the differences between single mother households and two-parent household disappears in the multivariate model.

Summary: High School Graduation

While high school graduation has become almost universal across the US population, there are still disparities which exist for some groups due to social class. To begin, the addition of socioeconomic characteristics to the model across all cohorts shows that socioeconomic status is the key mediating factor for the likelihood of high school graduation. Meaning, many differences exist between religio-ethnic groups, family structures, and immigrant groups, but SES mediates the differences between these groups. This is illustrated through the closing of the gap between the religio-ethnic groups across all cohorts. Since there has been an overall upward shift in high school graduation for the US population, the advantaged groups have less "relative advantage" for more recent cohorts. This may be because these groups cannot exceed high school graduation rates of 90-100%. Other groups, such as Hispanics, have seen increased graduation rates over time, yet still have a net disadvantage after controlling for social class. This disadvantage could be due to a number of factors including racism (or perceived racism), or the language barrier for Hispanic students. While these measures are not part of the model as covariates, studies have suggested that these are some reasons for the gap (Kao and Thompson 2003).

Additionally, the fourth generation seems to be the least advantaged of the generations, with a lower likelihood of high school graduation than the first, second and third generations for the younger two cohorts. The children and grandchildren of immigrants are more likely to graduate from high school than the great grandchildren of immigrants (4^{th} generation), net of everything, for a variety of reasons. The first generation deficit is likely due to immigrant selectivity, namely many of those who immigrate are doing so for employment opportunities rather than educational opportunities, which could lower the likelihood of graduation for those

who have low levels of educational attainment or less developed education systems in their home countries. One can also draw from the second generation advantage, whereby the children of immigrants possess an advantage over others due to the work ethic passed down to them by their immigrant parents. This advantage likely does not disappear by the third generation, as seen in the aforementioned results. By the fourth plus generation, it is possible that the generation becomes "Americanized" and the work ethic of immigrants is no longer a prevalent theme in the life of the respondent. It is difficult to describe the 4th plus generation as "disadvantaged" since they are the largest proportion of the sample and represent a wide variety of social classes and ethnic backgrounds. Rather, it is more pertinent to note that the second and third generations possess an advantage over most of the population (the fourth generation) which is perhaps due to their exposure to an immigrant as either a child or a grandchild, and for the second generation, this could also be due to lack of exposure to American culture. This is consistent with the literature on crime and health as well, where longer exposure to American culture leads to higher incidences of health issues and higher crime. This is also apparent in the Hispanic Paradox in health, where longer duration in the United States leads to poorer health.

Gender has varying effects across cohorts. For the 1880-1939 cohorts, males and females are equally as likely to graduate from high school. The two later cohorts show a slight advantage for females over males for high school graduation. This is part of the emerging advantage of women in schooling. Women are edging ahead of men with regards to high school graduation for a number of reasons. This could possibly be a result of the difficulties some males face in a classroom with behavioral problems, issue surrounding motivation for boys, or cultural differences (Kao and Thompson 2003). Although, none of these conclusions can be substantiated

with empirical evidence in this dissertation, but further research on this topic would be beneficial to the literature on the gender gap in education.

Concerning socioeconomic variables, the effect of parental education is not attenuated by the addition of any new variables to the model. In all models, less education for the mother and father leads to less likelihood of high school graduation and possessing some college or graduating from college yields a higher likelihood of graduation. For example, for the first cohort, having a mother who did not complete high school makes the respondent three quarters less likely to graduate from high school than those whose mothers possess a high school diploma. On the other end, respondents whose mothers possess a college degree are 2.3 times more likely to graduate from high school than those whose mothers graduated from high school. For all cohorts, having more siblings leads to a lower likelihood of high school graduation. This is consistent with the literature on stratification where larger families are seen as a disadvantage to educational attainment due to diminishing resources and competition for resources for more children (Teachman 1987).

The results for family structure differ slightly across cohorts. For the older two cohorts, respondents from a two-parent household were more likely to graduate than those from all other household configurations, with the exception of a single-mother household. For the youngest cohort, only a mother and stepfather family configuration yielded a lower likelihood of high school graduation than a two-parent household. For the older two cohorts, residents of the Southern United States were less likely to graduate from high school than those from the Northeastern United States. This result is most likely a result of poorer schooling in the American South for the earlier years of the survey.

College Entry

Figure 20: Odds of College Entry, for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

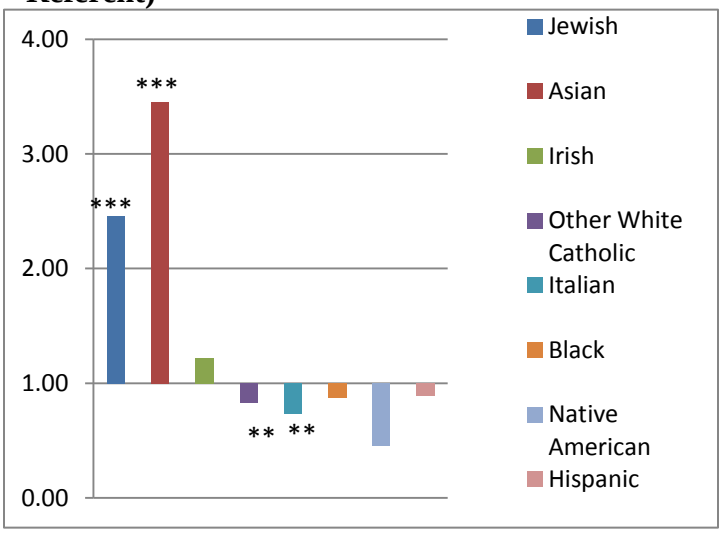


Figure 21: Bivariate Odds of College Entry, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

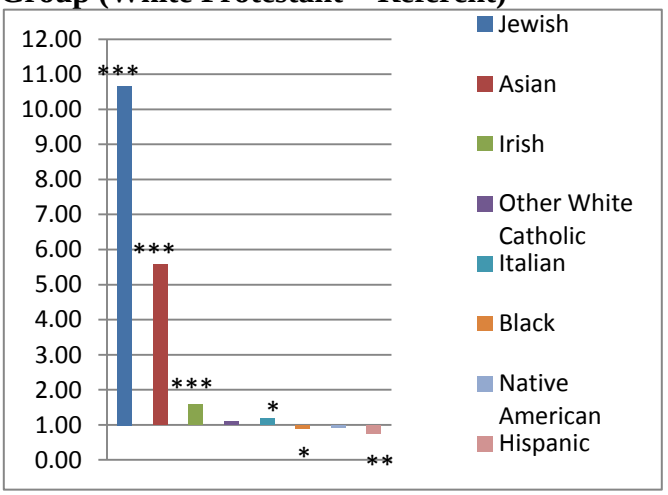
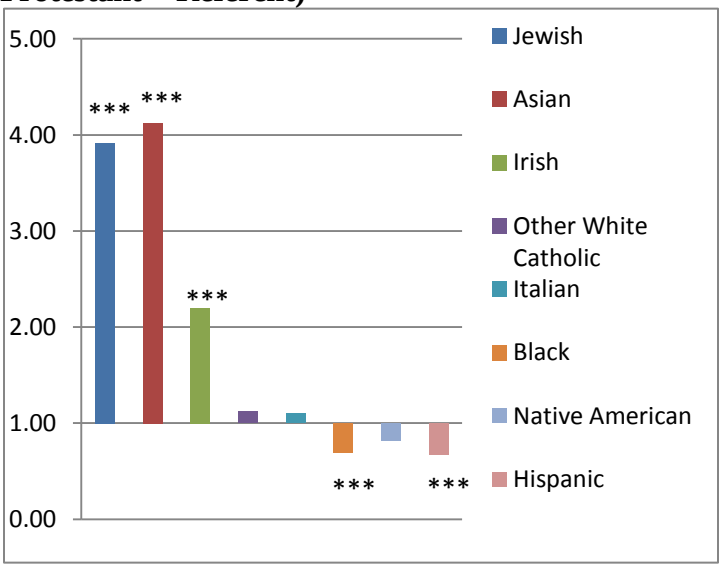


Figure 22: Bivariate Odds of College Entry, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)



Bivariate Results: Some College Religio-Ethnic Groups

Some college is defined as those who have graduated from high school and possess 13 or more years of schooling. This includes those who obtain Bachelor's and advanced degrees. Due to limitations in the data, "some college" is a mix of those who attended four-year universities, technical schools, community colleges, junior colleges, or any institution that requires a high school diploma or GED for admission. For those who completed high school, Jews and Asians are more likely to attend college than White Protestants across all cohorts. Irish and Other White Catholics oscillated between parity with White Protestants and exceeding the likelihood of attending some college. The Irish are at parity with White Protestants for the earliest cohort, and then exceed White Protestants for the younger two cohorts, where the reverse occurs for Other White Catholics. Italians begin with a lesser likelihood of attending some college and then reach parity with White Protestants by the 1940-1959 cohorts. Blacks, Native Americans and Hispanics show no observable differences for the earliest cohort, perhaps due to low numbers for Native Americans and Hispanics, and also due to selectivity, where those from those groups who already graduated from high school were exceptional compared to their peers. For the younger cohorts, Blacks and Hispanics possess lower rates of attending some college after graduating high school than White Protestants.

Figure 23: Bivariate Odds of College Entry, by Generation, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

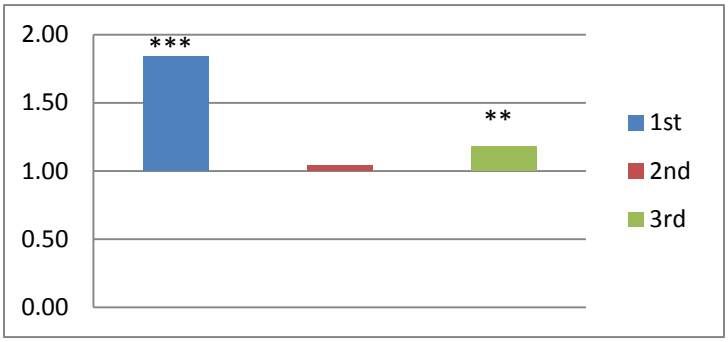


Figure 24: Bivariate Odds of College Entry, by Generation, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

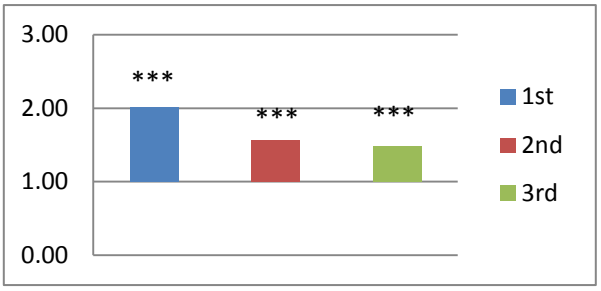
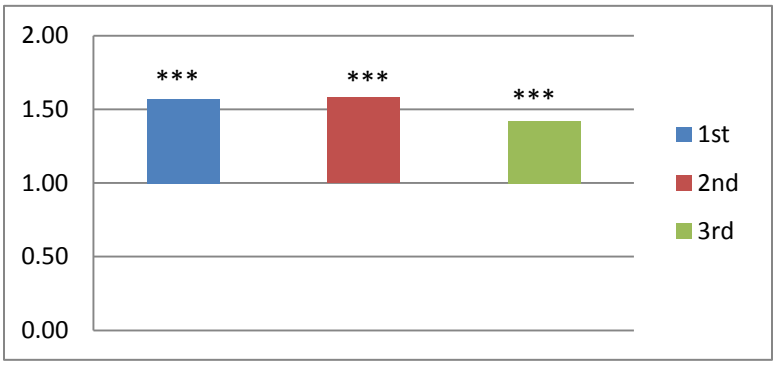


Figure 25: Bivariate Odds of College Entry, by Generation, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



Generation

The first generation and the third generation are advantaged over the fourth generation for attending some college after completing high school. The second generation is at parity for the fourth generation for the earliest cohort, but exceeds the likelihood of the fourth generation for the younger two birth cohorts.

Other Variables

Males are more likely to attend college after high school graduation for the earlier two cohorts, but females reach parity for the youngest cohort (Table 16, Appendix). Parental education continues as a strong predictor of college entry. Respondents whose mothers and fathers possess less than a high school diploma are less likely to attend college than those whose parents possess a high school diploma. Those whose parents have at least some college or graduated from college are significantly more likely to attend than those whose parents possess a high school diploma. This is, once again, consistent across all cohorts.

Concerning family structure, the number of siblings decreases the likelihood of completing this transition to college, and for the oldest and youngest cohorts, those with more than two siblings are less likely to attend college than those with one sibling. For the middle cohort, the change does not occur until three siblings.

For the oldest cohort, family structure does not seem to decrease the likelihood of attending college, although those with a family arrangement other than a mother and father, single mother, or a mother and stepfather are less likely to attend college than those with a mother and father in the home at age 16. For the younger two cohorts, family structure matters more, and those who had a two-parent household at age 16 were more likely to attend college than those who had any other family configuration.

Multivariate Results: College Entry

Figure 26: Multivariate Odds of College Entry, Net of All Variables, for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

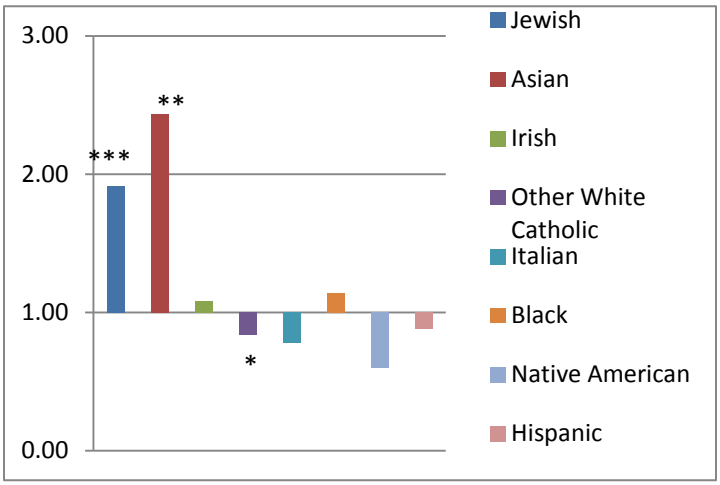


Figure 27: Multivariate Odds of College Entry, Net of All Variables, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

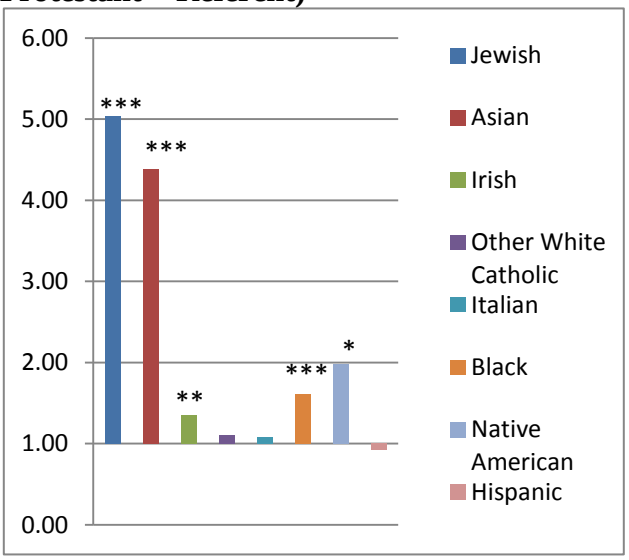


Figure 28: Multivariate Odds of College Entry, Net of All Variables, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

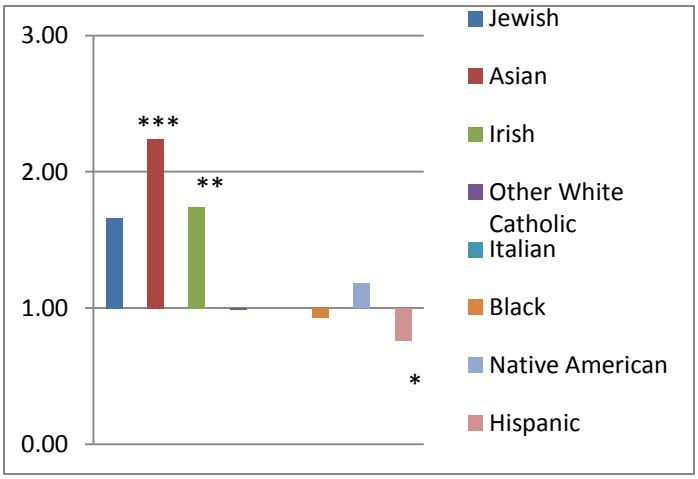


Figure 29: Odds of Some College, for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)

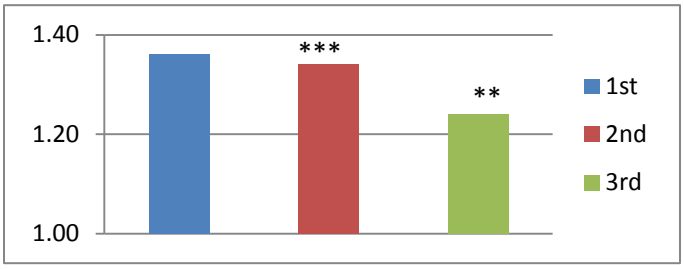


Figure 30: Odds of Some College, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)

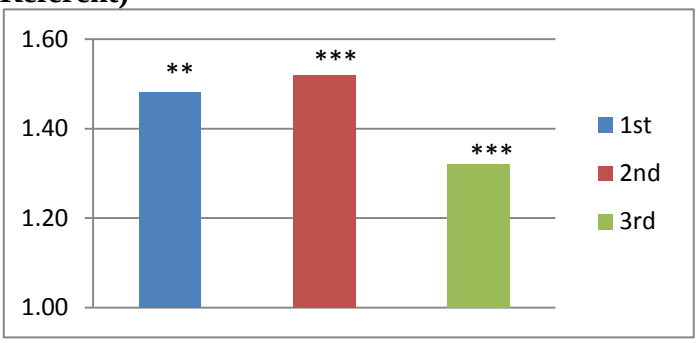
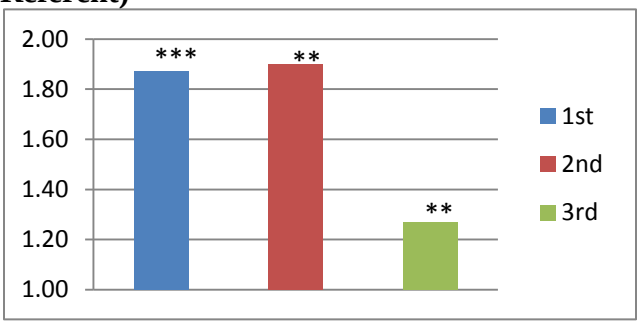


Figure 31: Odds of Some College, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)



1880-1939

Figures 26 and 29 Table 17 (Appendix) shows the multivariate results for college entry. When controlling for socioeconomic status, Italians become equal with White Protestants for the likelihood of attending college after high school, although the statistical difference is quite small. The odds ratio for attending college is 0.78 and the difference is nearly statistically significant (p=0.057). Essentially, this shows how Italians slowly caught up with White Protestants over time. While Italians began the twentieth century as a marginalized group, their upward mobility seems to be indicated in this pattern of educational attainment.

The first generation also becomes equal with the fourth generation and the second generation becomes more likely to attend college than the fourth generation. Additionally, controlling for all background and socioeconomic variables makes the likelihood of college attendance equal for respondents from all parental backgrounds compared to living with both a mother and a father.

1940-1959

Jews, Irish and Asians continue to be more likely to attend college than White Protestants. On the other hand, Other White Catholics are again no longer significantly different from White Protestants. When controlling for all socioeconomic and background variables, Blacks and Native Americans become more likely to attend college than Whites. The number of Native American respondents is low so the results for this group should be interpreted with caution.

Family structure becomes less important when controlling for all factors, although in this model, respondents with a single mother are more likely to attend college than those with both a mother and father in the house at age 16. Many of these respondents may come from a household with lower income and lower levels of educational attainment due to the situation of possessing only one parent, but once these inequalities are accounted for, it appears that these respondents are at an advantage over a dual-parent household.

1960-1985

Jews, which have been significantly more likely to graduate from high school and attend college for each cohort, are no longer significantly more likely to attend college than White Protestants. With an odds ratio of 1.66 and a $p = 0.087$, this is relatively close to statistical

significance, which would indicate that Jews were still more likely to attend college than White Protestants. These results are an indication that Jews come from families with either higher socioeconomic status or parental education (Tables 9 and 10 in Chapter 2), or both, and when controlling for this, the differences are removed. Additionally, Blacks, which were significantly less likely to attend college than White Protestants, are equally as likely when all of the controls are added. Hispanics remain less likely to attend college, but the gap narrows with all of the controls.

Concerning family structure, respondents from a single mother household are more likely to attend college than those living with both a mother and father. Additionally, respondents from a household with a mother and stepfather are no less likely to attend college than those from a two-parent household, a change from the bivariate model where this group lagged behind. Also, those from other households are also more likely to attend college than those from a two-parent household.

Summary: College Entry

Across all cohorts, Asians are more likely to attend college than White Protestants. Jews are more likely to attend for the first two cohorts, but by the youngest cohort, their likelihood of college attendance equals that of White Protestants. These results may simply be the result of a small sample size. The results indicate that Asians, like Jews, come from families with higher levels of educational attainment and social class (Tables 9 and 10 in Chapter 2). Unlike high school graduation, Italians are equally as likely as White Protestants to attend college across all cohorts. Alba and Nee (2003) reported that up to the 1930s, the Italian American community was thought to be a community in distress with little upward mobility. If this is the case, it is most

likely that Italians became more educated after this because their parents became more educated and they belonged to higher social classes than the previous generation. College education also became more accessible to a broader segment of American society through loans and the expansion of the community college system which also might have influenced these results.

The second and third generations are more likely to attend college than the fourth generation. The first generation is more likely to attend college only for the two younger cohorts. Females are significantly less likely to attend college for the first two cohorts, but for the youngest cohort, females are more likely to attend college than males.

Parental education is once again a very influential variable, as the results do not change in the presence of control variables. The more education a respondent's parent possesses, the more likely that respondent is to attend college. The results for siblings vary across cohorts. For the oldest cohort, respondents who possess two or more siblings are less likely to attend college than those who possess one sibling. The middle cohort shows a disadvantage for respondents with three or more siblings and an advantage for respondents with no siblings over those with one sibling. The number of siblings decreases the likelihood of completing this transition to college, and for the oldest and youngest cohorts, those with more than two siblings are less likely to attend college than those with one sibling. For the middle cohort, the change does not occur until three siblings.

Family structure also has varied results. For the oldest cohort, there are no differences between any of the family configurations with a mother and father household. The middle cohort shows an advantage for respondents from single mother households over households with a mother and father, controlling for all socioeconomic and background variables. The third cohort

also shows an advantage for respondents from single mother households, as well as those from other family configurations.

College Graduation

Figure 32: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Religio-Ethic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

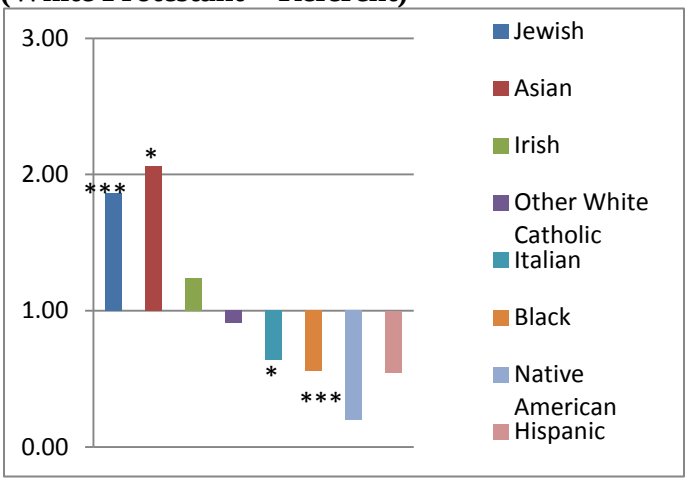


Figure 33: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

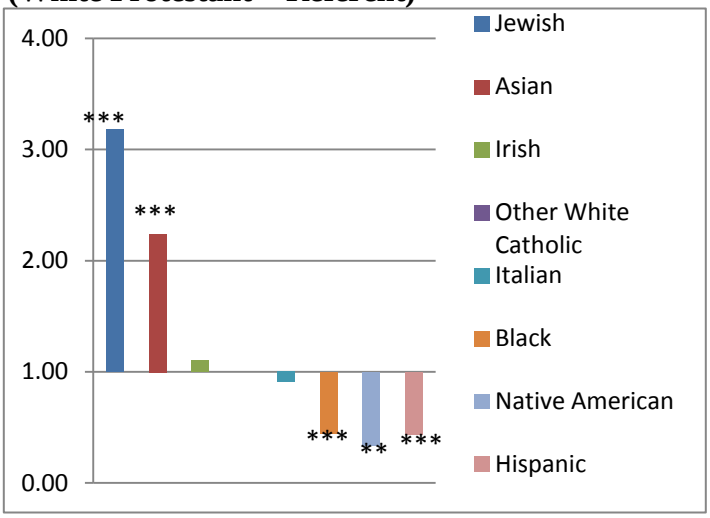
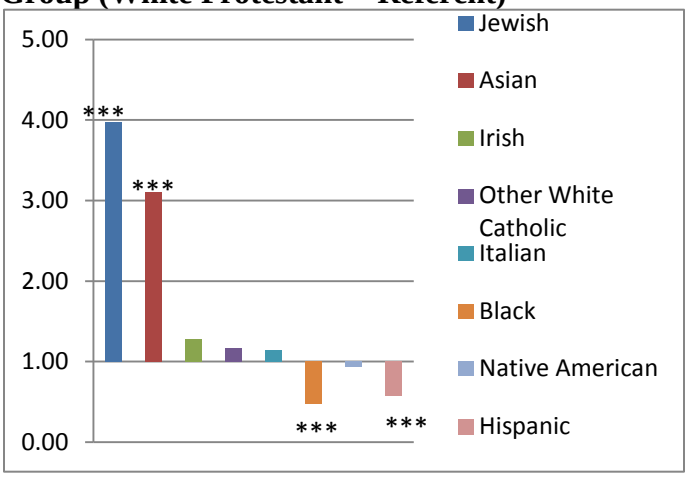


Figure 34: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)



Bivariate Results: Religio-Ethnic Groups, College Graduation

For the conditional probability of college graduation, respondents have to possess a high school diploma and at least 13 years of schooling in order to be considered as part of the sample. Those who graduate from college indicated that they completed a bachelor's degree or higher. Across all birth cohorts, Jews and Asians are more likely to graduate from college than White Protestants given some college attendance. For the earliest cohort, Italians are less likely to graduate from college, but this difference disappears for the later two cohorts. Blacks are less likely to graduate from college across all three cohorts, and Hispanics are less likely for the last two cohorts.

Generation

Figure 35: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)

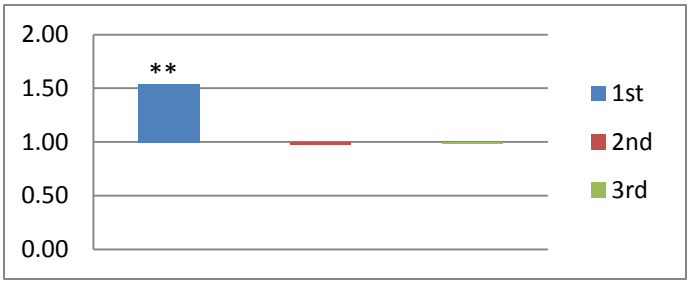


Figure 36: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)

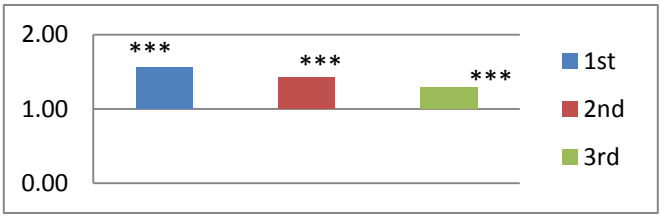
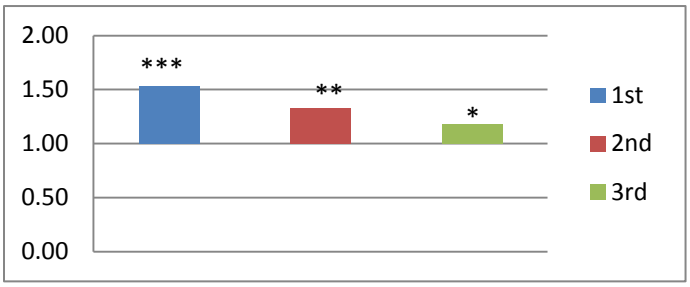


Figure 37: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Generation (4th Generation = Referent)



For the earliest cohort, only the first generation is more likely to graduate from college than the fourth generation, but for each subsequent cohort, the first, second and third generation are all more likely to graduate from college than the fourth generation. This could, again, indicate the negative effects of American assimilation for the fourth generation and high immigrant achievement for the second and third generations.

Other Variables

Concerning gender, males from the first cohort are twice as likely to graduate from college as females (Table 18, Appendix). For the second cohort, this gap decreases to less than a quarter times as likely, and the third cohort shows no difference between males and females in the likelihood of college graduation for those who have attended some college. Parental education, both mother's and father's education, is a strong predictor of college graduation, and the more education a respondent's parents have, the more likely the respondent is to graduate from college.

For the two younger cohorts, all family configurations other than a mother and father in the household yield a lower likelihood of college graduation. For the oldest cohort, only a family

configuration of a mother and stepfather possess an equal likelihood of college graduation as a two-parent household.

Figure 38: Odds of College Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1880-1939 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

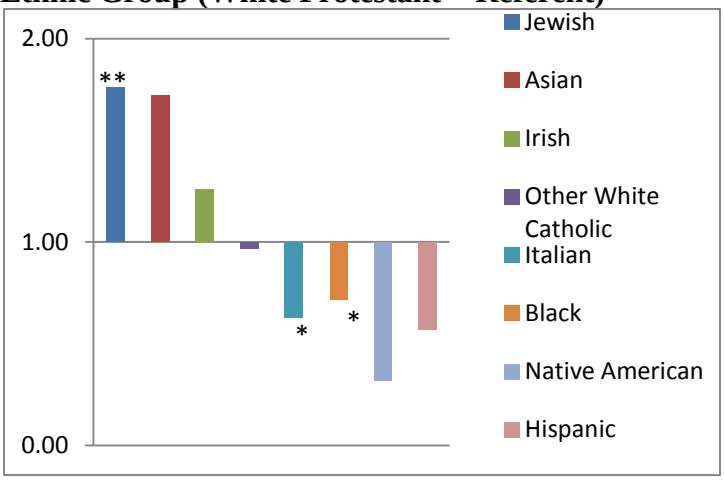


Figure 39: Odds of College Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1940-1959 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)

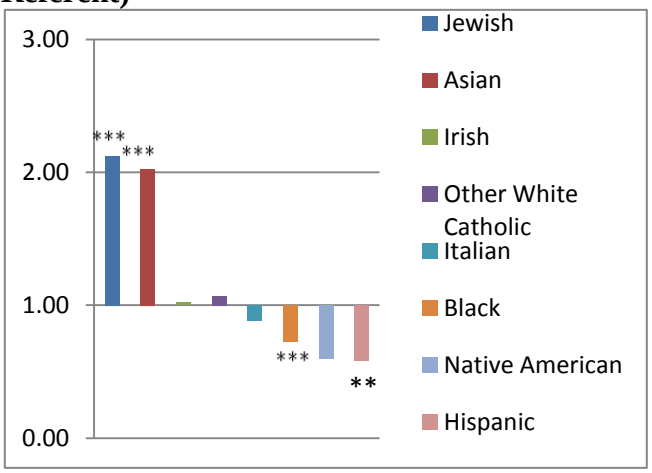
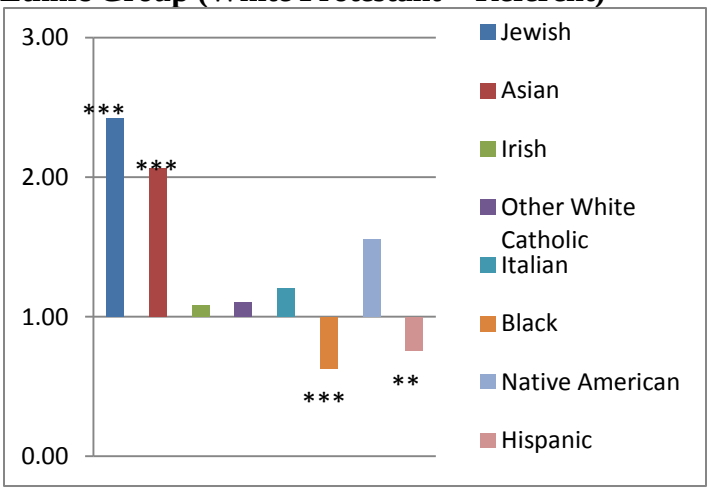


Figure 40: Odds of College Graduation, Net of All Variables, for the 1960-1985 Cohort, by Religio-Ethnic Group (White Protestant = Referent)



Generation

Figure 41: Odds of College Graduation, Net of All Variables, by Generation, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

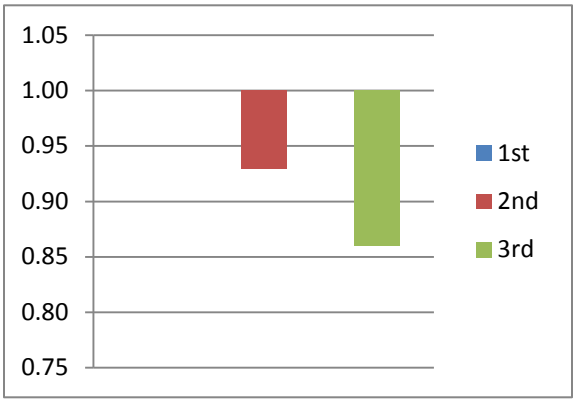


Figure 42: Odds of College Graduation, Net of All Variables, by Generation, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

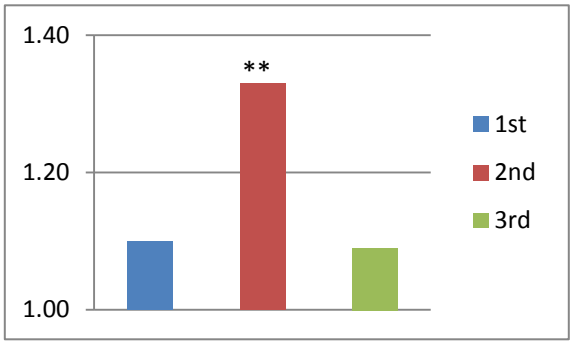
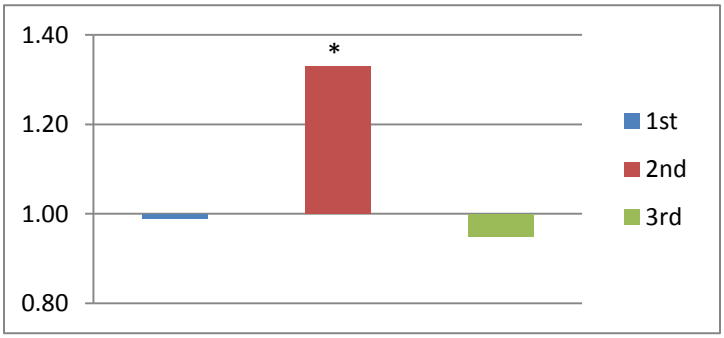


Figure 43: Odds of College Graduation, Net of All Variables, by Generation, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



1880-1939

Jews remain more likely to graduate college than White Protestants, and Italians and Blacks are less likely to graduate from college. There are no differences between the fourth generation and any other generation for college graduation, and females remain about half as

likely as males to graduate from college. Respondents whose mothers or fathers possess less than a high school diploma are equally as likely to graduate from college as those with a high school diploma. Only respondents whose fathers graduated from college had an advantage over those whose fathers graduated from high school. For mothers, the advantage is also apparent for respondents whose mothers also attended some college.

1940-1959

Native Americans become equally as likely to graduate as White Protestants. Only the second generation is significantly more likely to graduate from college than the fourth generation, as the differences between the first and third generations and the fourth generations disappear. Females remain significantly less likely to graduate than males. Parental education remains as a strong predictor of college graduation. Respondents with more than two siblings are less likely to graduate than those with one sibling, and respondents from single mother households become significantly more likely to graduate from college than those from families with both a mother and a father. Respondents from other family backgrounds are not significantly different from those with a two-parent household.

1960-1985

Hispanics are no less likely to graduate from college than White Protestants, although this is very close with a $p = 0.50$. This indicates that for Hispanics in this cohort, much of the differential in the likelihood of college graduation can be explained by socioeconomic and background characteristics. Only the second generation is more likely to graduate college than the fourth generation. Males and females are equally as likely to graduate from college from this cohort. Concerning parental education, with the exception of respondents whose fathers are

college graduates, there are no differences in the likelihood of college graduation for respondents whose fathers were high school graduates or attained any other level of schooling. For mothers' education, the significance returns for those who possessed some college. The results for family structure change as well. Respondents from single mother households are equally as likely to graduate from college as those from a household with both a mother and father.

Summary: College Graduation

For college graduation, most of the differences between the religio-ethnic groups are explained by differences in social class. The exception to this is Jews, who are more likely to graduate for each cohort, and Asians, who are more likely to graduate than White Protestants for the younger two cohorts. The persistence of the increased likelihood of educational attainment of Jews and Asians is likely due to the persistence of higher levels of socioeconomic status for these groups, although when controlling for SES, the gap between these groups and White Protestants lessen. Essentially, Jews and Asians come from families which are more highly educated, living in urban areas, and live in two-parent households, and this is perhaps more of a contributing factor to their continued educational success than their ethnicity. Table 9 (Chapter 2), which displays mother's level of education by religio-ethnic group, shows that 18.5% of Asian and 19.5% of Jewish respondents' mothers possess a college degree. Table 10 (Chapter 2) shows the high educational attainment of Asian respondents' fathers, 32% of which possess a college degree, and 27.6% of Jewish fathers possess a college degree. This shows that Asians and Jews are, indeed, coming from families with higher levels of educational attainment, an explanation for the high educational attainment of Jews and Asians in the bivariate models. Blacks are less likely to graduate across all cohorts, and Hispanics are less likely to graduate in the middle cohort. Although college graduation involves a large monetary commitment, whereas high

school graduation does not, Blacks continue to lag behind White Protestants in the odds of graduation. This is even after Blacks who did not graduate from high school or attend college were removed from the sample for the conditional probability of college graduation. Results for Blacks may also be influenced by family background, but with the opposite effect of those of Jews and Asians: Blacks often come from single-parent households with lower levels of parental educational attainment and are less likely to graduate from college as a result. Again, when controlling for SES, the gap between Blacks and White Protestants lessens. For the oldest cohort, Italians are less likely to graduate than White Protestants, but this difference goes away for the younger two cohorts. For the oldest cohort, there are no differences in generations in regards to college graduation, and all are equally as likely to graduate as the fourth generation. The second generation is more likely to graduate than the fourth generation for the younger two cohorts. Females are significantly less likely to graduate than males for the older two cohorts, but by the youngest cohort, females and males are equally as likely to graduate from college.

Parental education appears to be a significant factor in college graduation as well. For all cohorts, respondents whose mothers or fathers graduated from high school are significantly more likely to graduate from college than those whose parents graduated from high school. Results are mostly mixed for other levels, such as some college, but in general, parental education strongly affects college graduation as well.

The effect of the number of siblings also varies between the cohorts. For the oldest cohort, respondents with three or more siblings are less likely to graduate than respondents with one sibling. For the middle cohort, the number changes to two siblings. For the youngest cohort, differences are only observed for 4 or 6 siblings, which are less likely to graduate than those with one sibling. Middle size families are likely not disadvantaged because many of the respondents

from middle size families likely that would not have graduated from college did not graduate from high school or enter college, removing them from the sample of conditional likelihood of college graduation. Results for family structure varied across cohorts. In the first cohort, there were no differences between any family structures for college graduation. The second cohort showed an advantage for single mother and the youngest cohort saw a disadvantage for respondents living with mothers and stepfathers.

Summary

Social class is a very important predictor of every educational attainment level regardless of religio-ethnic membership. In general, and for most educational levels, the addition of socioeconomic factors lessened the difference in attainment between each of the groups and White Protestants. For Jews and Asians, the persistent advantage is also likely correlated with socioeconomic status, although the effect is more explained by socioeconomic status than by religio-ethnic group. Additionally, when controls were added, some cohorts saw an advantage for respondents from single mother households. This indicates that the disadvantages of living in a single mother household are mediated by social class variables. For children with step-fathers, it is likely that external factors are influencing educational attainment. McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) characterize stepfather households as part of a "disrupted" household, much in the way a single-mother household is disrupted by the lack of a father figure. Social class variables may not mediate the effects of living in a stepfather household because it is possible that those types of living arrangements (particularly for high school students) create stress on the respondent that hinders academic achievement. For example, McLanahan and Sandefur note that a stepfather may compete with time for the mother and as a consequence, she, and also perhaps the stepfather, does not devote resources to a child, which may be important for educational

attainment. This issue returns for college graduation as well, where respondents from families with stepfathers are less likely to graduate than those from a two-parent household. Again, this may be a question of resources (monetary in the case of college) being diverted from the respondent, or could also again point to the lack of attention by parents who may not pressure their child to stay in college. This is also evident in the fact that parental education did not vary much between the cohorts and educational levels. Due to the fact that the parental education variable is quite consistent and seemingly affects all other variables when entered into the model, one can conclude that parental education has a strong effect on educational attainment. The religio-ethnic variables appear to be correlated with other variables, particularly those related to socioeconomic status, which is why the differences between the groups lessen when these controls are added to the model.

Concerning region and size of residence, earlier cohorts saw disadvantages for the South and for residents of rural areas. This is most likely a result of lack of access for schooling for these two areas. On the other hand, the South still continues to lag behind the Northeast for college graduation across all cohorts. This could be a result of higher concentrations of minority groups, such as African Americans and Hispanics or the effect a higher concentration of lower socioeconomic groups living in Southern states, or both.

There is evidence for a second or third generation advantage, but the advantage varies across transitions. For college graduates, there is a second generation advantage over the fourth generation. This may indicate the presence of the advantage of children of immigrants, substantiating the second generation advantage theory, particularly because the advantage occurs at the highest level of educational attainment, which can lead to upward economic and social class mobility for this group. For some college, there are no advantages for any groups, and high

school graduation has advantages for most generations except for the first generation. This is to be expected, as high school graduation includes the entire sample, and immigrants from certain countries such as Mexico are less likely to graduate from high school than White Protestants, and immigrants from other countries such as India or China are more likely to graduate.

Males are more likely than females to graduate from college for the older two cohorts. For the youngest cohort, the difference disappears. Females are more likely to have some college than males for the youngest cohort, and they are also more likely to graduate from college than males for the younger two cohorts. This indicates that the gender gap that is apparent for earlier cohorts disappears for later cohorts, even indicating a slight advantage for women in some instances. The increasing opportunities for women can also be attributed to such factors as higher average age of marriage for women, decreasing the likelihood that a woman will drop out of school for marriage, which was commonplace for the older cohorts. As the rates of each level of educational attainment level increase and the gaps among the religio-ethnic groups also increase, these results indicate that in order for the gaps between groups to decrease, the social class of each group becomes increasingly important in predicting levels of educational attainment. Whether the social class gap is closed by educational attainment or by increasing opportunities in the job market, which are often enhanced by higher levels of educational attainment, closing the social class gaps will be the key in lessening the gaps between religio-ethnic groups, immigrant generations, males and females, and those from single-parent households.

Chapter 5 Appendix

Jewish Graphs—High School

Figure 44: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation for Jewish Respondents, by Cohort

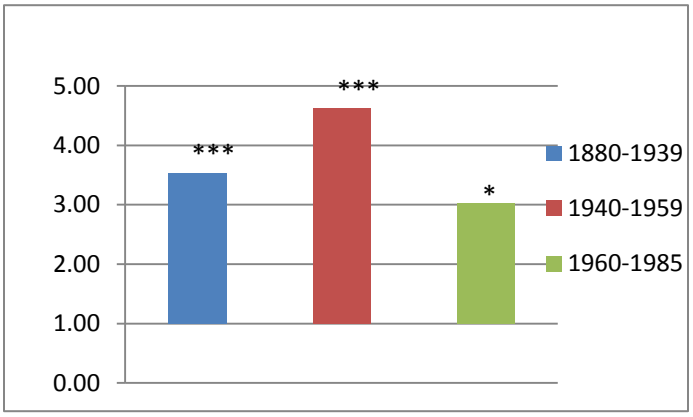
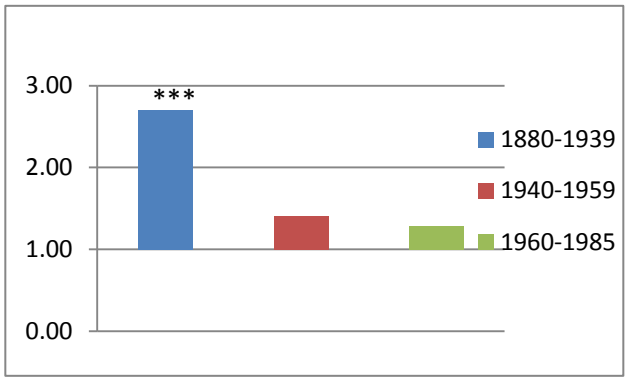


Figure 45: Odds of High School Graduation, Net of All Variables, for Jewish Respondents, by Cohort



Jewish Graphs—College Entry

Figure 46: Bivariate Odds of College Entry for Jewish Respondents, by Cohort

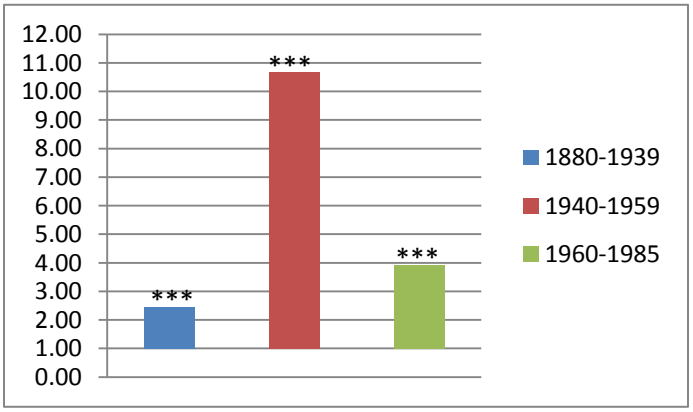
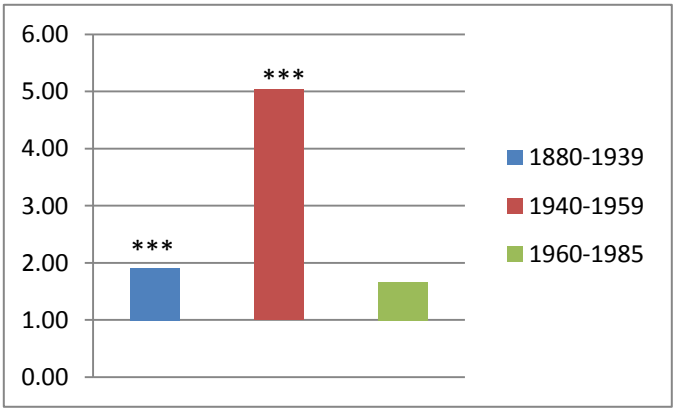


Figure 47: Odds of College Entry, Net of All Variables, for Jewish Respondents, by Cohort



Jewish Graphs—College Graduation

Figure 48: Bivariate Odds of College Graduate for Jewish Respondents, by Cohort

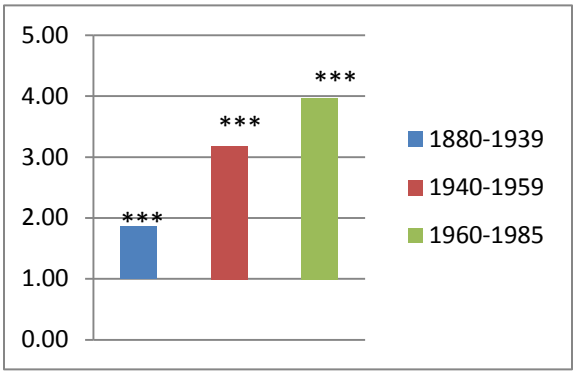
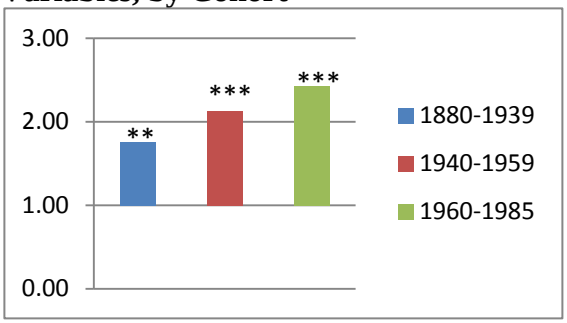


Figure 49: Odds of High School Graduation for Jewish Respondents, Net of All Variables, by Cohort



Black Graphs—High School Graduation

Figure 50: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation for Black Respondents, by Cohort

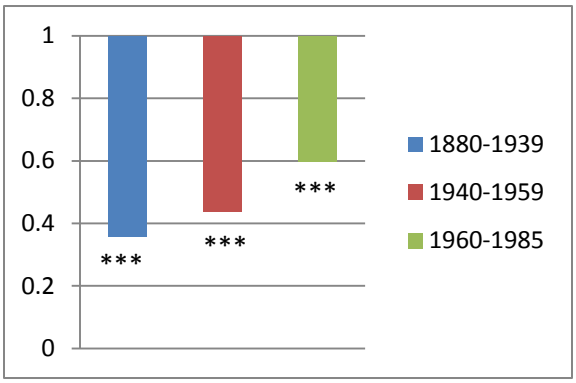
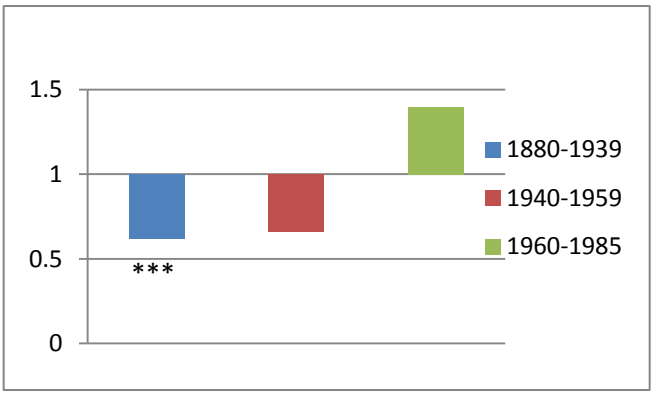


Figure 51: Odds of High School Graduation for Black Respondents, Net of All Variables, by Cohort



Black Graphs—College Entry

Figure 52: Bivariate Odds of College Entry for Black Respondents, by Cohort

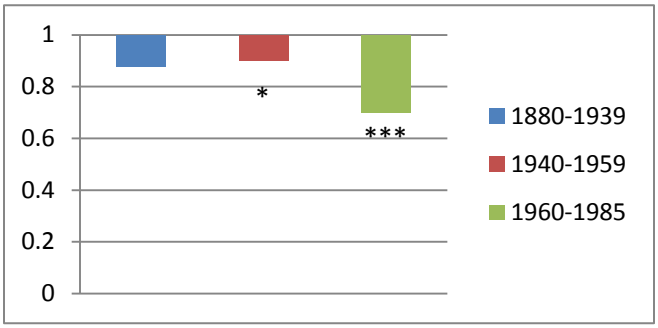
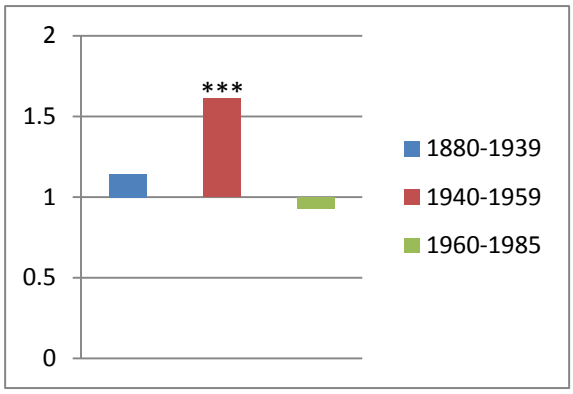


Figure 53: Odds of College Entry, Net of All Variables, for Black Respondents, by Cohort



Black Graphs—College Graduation

Figure 54: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation for Black Respondents, by Cohort

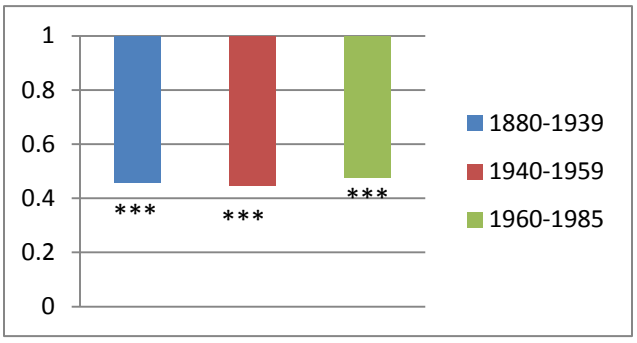


Figure 55: Odds of College Graduation, Net of All Variables, for Black Respondents, by Cohort

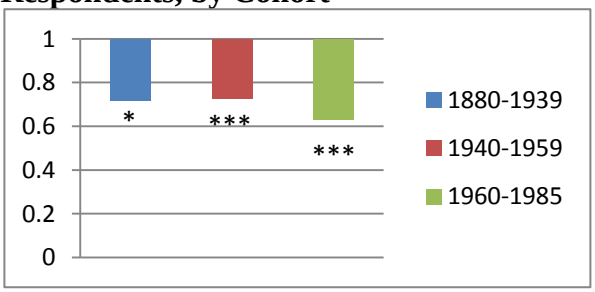


Table 14: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, by Cohort

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Religio-Ethnicity												
White Protestant	1.00	-		7,987	1.00	-		8,568	1.00	-		4,251
Jewish	3.52	0.000	***	349	4.62	0.000	***	353	3.03	0.030	*	144
Asian	1.93	0.013	*	90	1.26	0.316		240	1.27	0.587		336
Irish	2.08	0.000	***	496	2.13	0.000	***	709	1.68	0.043	*	346
Other White Catholic	0.95	0.317		1,793	1.43	0.000	***	2,626	1.17	0.196		1,376
Italian	0.72	0.000	***	549	1.47	0.008	**	710	1.82	0.013	*	419
Black	0.36	0.000	***	1,457	0.44	0.000	***	2,204	0.60	0.000	***	1,425
Native American	0.30	0.000	***	52	0.25	0.000	***	74	0.27	0.000	***	54
Hispanic	0.25	0.000	***	217	0.24	0.000	***	698	0.19	0.000	***	893
Generation												
1st	0.83	0.010	*	847	0.59	0.000	***	1,269	0.37	0.000	***	1,253
2nd	1.22	0.000	***	2,244	1.33	0.007	**	983	0.82	0.134		659
3rd	2.16	0.000	***	2,805	2.61	0.000	***	4,263	1.70	0.000	***	1,551
4th	1.00	-		7,094	1.00	-		9,667	1.00	-		5,781
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		5,281	1.00	-		7,273	1.00	-		4,122
Female	0.99	0.725		7,709	1.05	0.291		8,909	1.03	0.070		5,122
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.15	0.000	***	7,662	0.19	0.000	***	5,442	0.18	0.000	***	1,855
High School Grad	1.00	-		2,360	1.00	-		6,367	1.00	-		3,623
Some College	1.94	0.000	***	619	2.17	0.000	***	1,733	2.25	0.000	***	1,584
College Grad	3.74	0.000	***	4,100	5.12	0.000	***	1,406	5.05	0.000	***	1,431
Don't Know	0.11	0.000	***	1,939	0.14	0.000	***	1,234	0.17	0.000	***	751
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.15	0.000	***	7,451	0.23	0.000	***	5,747	0.19	0.000	***	1,681
High School Grad	1.00	-		1,373	1.00	-		4,028	1.00	-		2,480
Some College	1.40	0.099		465	1.85	0.001	**	1,416	2.42	0.000	***	1,022
College Grad	3.60	0.000	***	572	7.44	0.000	***	1,998	4.25	0.000	***	1,777
Don't Know	0.14	0.000	***	3,129	0.18	0.000	***	2,993	0.25	0.000	***	2,284
Siblings												
0	0.80	0.047	*	819	0.82	0.244		737	0.86	0.561		359
1	1.00	-		1,847	1.00	-		2,663	1.00	-		1,838
2	0.63	0.000	***	1,944	0.92	0.465		3,155	0.77	0.067		2,033
3	0.50	0.000	***	1,692	0.52	0.000	***	2,790	0.58	0.000	***	1,607
4	0.34	0.000	***	1,472	0.41	0.000	***	1,930	0.39	0.000	***	1,114
5	0.27	0.000	***	1,213	0.30	0.000	***	1,318	0.30	0.000	***	685
6+	0.16	0.000	***	4,003	0.15	0.000	***	3,589	0.17	0.000	***	1,608
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		9,726	1.00	-		12,390	1.00	-		5,996
Single Mother	0.78	0.000	***	1,332	0.45	0.000	***	1,731	0.49	0.000	***	1,564
Mother & Stepfather	0.62	0.000	***	387	0.54	0.000	***	717	0.58	0.000	***	684
Other	0.54	0.000	***	1,545	0.36	0.000	***	1,344	0.33	0.000	***	1,000
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		2,849	1.00	-		3,294	1.00	-		1,661
Midwest	0.95	0.315		3,913	0.99	0.919		4,416	1.13	0.337		2,207
South	0.38	0.000	***	3,269	0.36	0.000	***	3,646	0.76	0.017	*	2,007
West	0.83	0.002	**	2,317	0.66	0.000	***	3,822	0.71	0.003	**	2,466
Foreign	0.54	0.000	***	642	0.28	0.000	***	1,004	0.28	0.000	***	903
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.40	0.000	***	4,721	0.60	0.000	***	3,871	1.06	0.567		1,765
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.99	0.893		5,753	1.11	0.144		7,648	1.30	0.004	**	4,560
Suburb near large city	1.61	0.000	***	667	2.48	0.000	***	2,179	2.86	0.000	***	1,373
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1,849	1.00	-		2,484	1.00			1,546

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 15: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, by Cohort

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religio-Ethnicity									
White Protestant	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Jewish	2.70	0.000	***	1.41	0.344		1.28	0.655	
Asian	2.64	0.001	**	2.45	0.001	**	1.50	0.121	
Irish	1.29	0.053		1.20	0.318		1.00	0.991	
Other White Catholic	0.86	0.022	*	1.15	0.136		1.01	0.970	
Italian	0.77	0.017	*	0.91	0.546		1.52	0.110	
Black	0.62	0.000	***	1.10	0.210		1.40	0.061	
Native American	0.54	0.057		0.66	0.135		0.45	0.029	*
Hispanic	0.44	0.000	***	0.58	0.000	***	0.56	0.000	***
Generation									
1st	0.46	0.000	***	1.24	0.200		1.22	0.246	
2nd	1.03	0.642		1.45	0.004	**	1.54	0.010	*
3rd	1.32	0.000	***	1.56	0.000	***	1.43	0.008	**
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.04	0.363		1.19	0.001	**	1.19	0.021	*
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.29	0.000	***	0.37	0.000	***	0.39	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.76	0.004	**	1.76	0.001	**	1.98	0.000	***
College Grad	2.61	0.002	**	2.86	0.000	***	3.31	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.24	0.000	***	0.31	0.000	***	0.28	0.000	***
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.32	0.000	***	0.49	0.000	***	0.40	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.13	0.562		1.59	0.011	*	1.91	0.006	**
College Grad	2.12	0.007	**	3.84	0.000	***	2.31	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.28	0.000	***	0.35	0.000	***	0.39	0.000	***
Siblings									
0	0.99	0.955		1.10	0.611		1.02	0.943	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.71	0.000	***	0.97	0.796		0.83	0.221	
3	0.63	0.000	***	0.62	0.000	***	0.83	0.224	
4	0.47	0.000	***	0.58	0.000	***	0.66	0.007	**
5	0.43	0.000	***	0.49	0.000	***	0.62	0.004	**
6+	0.30	0.000	***	0.33	0.000	***	0.46	0.000	***
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.95	0.560		0.96	0.673		0.86	0.287	
Mother & Stepfather	0.53	0.000	***	0.66	0.000	***	0.51	0.000	***
Other	0.73	0.000	***	0.84	0.049	*	0.82	0.110	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.11	0.107		1.14	0.174		1.15	0.300	
South	0.68	0.000	***	0.70	0.000	***	0.98	0.890	
West	1.10	0.210		0.88	0.165		0.86	0.216	
Foreign	1.28	0.140		0.45	0.000	***	0.57	0.002	**
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.65	0.000	***	0.88	0.146		1.08	0.527	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.17	0.024	*	1.12	0.168		1.15	0.177	
Suburb near large city	1.40	0.008	**	1.37	0.012	*	1.52	0.009	**
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 16: Bivariate Odds of Some College, by Cohort

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Religio-Ethnicity												
White Protestant	1.00	-		5,390	1.00	-		7,664	1.00	-		3,912
Jewish	2.46	0.000	***	307	10.66	0.000	***	344	3.92	0.000	***	140
Asian	3.45	0.000	***	72	5.58	0.000	***	219	4.12	0.000	***	312
Irish	1.22	0.054		403	1.58	0.000	***	671	2.20	0.000	***	329
Other White Catholic	0.83	0.004	**	1,188	1.10	0.048	*	2,421	1.12	0.118		1,281
Italian	0.74	0.008	**	328	1.18	0.056		656	1.10	0.143		400
Black	0.88	0.141		621	0.90	0.044	*	1,727	0.70	0.000	***	1,245
Native American	0.46	0.110		20	0.94	0.815		50	0.82	0.532		41
Hispanic	0.89	0.602		75	0.75	0.003	**	463	0.68	0.000	***	616
Generation												
1st	1.84	0.000	***	475	2.01	0.000	***	995	1.57	0.000	***	982
2nd	1.04	0.475		1,466	1.56	0.000	***	876	1.58	0.000	***	586
3rd	1.18	0.001	**	2,157	1.48	0.000	***	4,012	1.42	0.000	***	1,463
4th	1.00	-		4,306	1.00	-		8,312	1.00	-		5,245
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		3,426	1.00	-		6,358	1.00	-		3,684
Female	0.61	0.000	***	4,978	0.81	0.000	***	7,837	1.06	0.244		4,592
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.52	0.000	***	4,323	0.54	0.000	***	4,199	0.61	0.000	***	1,376
High School Grad	1.00	-		2,121	1.00	-		6,834	1.00	-		3,404
Some College	2.12	0.000	***	585	2.70	0.000	***	1,690	2.59	0.000	***	1,540
College Grad	4.29	0.000	***	398	5.37	0.000	***	1,391	5.72	0.000	***	1,413
Don't Know	0.49	0.000	***	977	0.55	0.000	***	881	0.71	0.000	***	543
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.58	0.000	***	4,394	0.57	0.000	***	4,690	0.66	0.000	***	1,303
High School Grad	1.00	-		1,244	1.00	-		3,827	1.00	-		2,349
Some College	2.75	0.000	***	433	2.30	0.000	***	1,377	2.72	0.000	***	999
College Grad	6.30	0.000	***	556	5.82	0.000	***	1,984	6.37	0.000	***	1,754
Don't Know	0.67	0.000	***	1,777	0.69	0.000	***	2,317	0.86	0.000	***	1,871
Siblings												
0	0.95	0.575		663	1.15	0.143		691	0.96	0.788		339
1	1.00	-		1,553	1.00	-		2,526	1.00	-		1,749
2	0.81	0.003	**	1,494	0.90	0.080		2,979	0.75	0.000	***	1,907
3	0.66	0.000	***	1,225	0.69	0.000	***	2,527	0.58	0.000	***	1,478
4	0.47	0.000	***	942	0.53	0.000	***	1,705	0.51	0.000	***	985
5	0.51	0.000	***	715	0.48	0.000	***	1,119	0.52	0.000	***	585
6+	0.38	0.000	***	1,812	0.41	0.000	***	2,648	0.40	0.000	***	1,233
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		6,551	1.00	-		11,176	1.00	-		5,539
Single Mother	1.01	0.936		823	0.81	0.000	***	1,393	0.66	0.000	***	1,338
Mother & Stepfather	0.78	0.079		217	0.78	0.005	**	596	0.69	0.000	***	599
Other	0.84	0.021	*	813	0.67	0.000	***	1,030	0.59	0.000	***	800
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		2,053	1.00	-		3,035	1.00	-		1,530
Midwest	0.90	0.067		2,776	0.82	0.000	***	4,066	0.99	0.870		2,051
South	1.00	0.902		1,623	0.70	0.000	***	2,945	0.81	0.005	**	1,803
West	1.12	0.086		1,577	1.05	0.358		3,382	0.98	0.783		2,202
Foreign	1.91	0.000	***	375	1.85	0.000	***	767	1.35	0.004	**	690
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.50	0.000	***	2,404	0.47	0.000	***	3,149	0.52	0.000	***	1,545
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.74	0.000	***	4,132	0.82	0.000	***	6,800	0.79	0.001	**	4,084
Suburb near large city	1.34	0.006	**	537	1.34	0.000	***	2,064	1.29	0.005	**	1,304
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1,331	1.00	-		2,182	1.00	-		1,343

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 17: Multivariate Odds of Some College, by Cohort

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religio-Ethnicity									
White Protestant	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Jewish	1.91	0.000	***	5.03	0.000	***	1.66	0.087	
Asian	2.43	0.003	**	4.38	0.000	***	2.24	0.000	***
Irish	1.08	0.508		1.35	0.002	**	1.74	0.001	**
Other White Catholic	0.84	0.023	*	1.10	0.076		0.99	0.854	
Italian	0.78	0.057		1.08	0.415		1.00	0.992	
Black	1.14	0.169		1.61	0.000	***	0.93	0.376	
Native American	0.60	0.321		1.97	0.026	*	1.18	0.645	
Hispanic	0.88	0.617		0.92	0.474		0.76	0.021	*
Generation									
1st	1.36	0.112		1.48	0.002	**	1.87	0.000	***
2nd	1.34	0.000	***	1.52	0.000	***	1.90	0.000	***
3rd	1.24	0.001	**	1.32	0.000	***	1.27	0.002	**
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.60	0.000	***	0.83	0.000	***	1.21	0.000	***
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.73	0.000	***	0.71	0.000	***	0.73	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.96	0.000	***	2.15	0.000	***	2.30	0.000	***
College Grad	3.06	0.000	***	3.02	0.000	***	3.41	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.62	0.000	***	0.71	0.000	***	0.81	0.000	***
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.78	0.001	**	0.73	0.000	***	0.81	0.007	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.96	0.000	***	1.93	0.000	***	2.24	0.000	***
College Grad	3.06	0.000	***	3.36	0.000	***	3.53	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.62	0.004	**	0.60	0.000	***	0.73	0.004	**
Siblings									
0	0.97	0.768		1.34	0.005	**	1.08	0.622	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.84	0.029	*	0.92	0.207		0.77	0.002	**
3	0.76	0.001	**	0.74	0.000	***	0.72	0.000	***
4	0.56	0.000	***	0.60	0.000	***	0.72	0.001	**
5	0.63	0.000	***	0.57	0.000	***	0.74	0.009	**
6+	0.53	0.000	***	0.53	0.000	***	0.64	0.000	***
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.20	0.090		1.38	0.001	**	1.20	0.020	*
Mother & Stepfather	0.75	0.058		0.97	0.715		0.79	0.711	
Other	1.07	0.454		1.03	0.699		1.04	0.000	***
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.06	0.344		1.05	0.386		1.17	0.053	
South	1.46	0.000	***	1.12	0.090		1.06	0.488	
West	1.36	0.000	***	1.28	0.000	***	1.02	0.814	
Foreign	1.59	0.031	*	1.59	0.002	**	0.98	0.879	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.67	0.000	***	0.72	0.000	***	0.64	0.000	***
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.82	0.006	**	0.90	0.083		0.79	0.002	**
Suburb near large city	1.28	0.036	*	1.13	0.120		0.98	0.850	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 18: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, by Cohort

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Religio-Ethnicity												
White Protestant	1.00	-		2,607	1.00	-		4,710	1.00	-		2,660
Jewish	1.86	0.000	***	214	3.18	0.000	***	325	3.97	0.000	***	125
Asian	2.06	0.013	*	55	2.24	0.000	***	197	3.10	0.000	***	280
Irish	1.24	0.125		215	1.10	0.312		481	1.28	0.055		271
Other White Catholic	0.91	0.317		520	1.00	0.955		1,546	1.16	0.059		901
Italian	0.64	0.013	*	134	0.91	0.331		429	1.14	0.289		280
Black	0.56	0.000	***	281	0.45	0.000	***	1,019	0.48	0.000	***	743
Native American	0.20	0.143		6	0.34	0.009	**	30	0.94	0.872		26
Hispanic	0.55	0.095		34	0.44	0.000	***	253	0.58	0.000	***	365
Generation												
1st	1.54	0.001	**	291	1.56	0.000	***	740	1.53	0.000	***	733
2nd	0.98	0.863		694	1.42	0.000	***	607	1.33	0.005	**	438
3rd	0.99	0.869		1,089	1.29	0.000	***	2,733	1.18	0.019	*	1,062
4th	1.00	-		1,992	1.00	-		4,910	1.00	-		3,418
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		1,908	1.00	-		4,194	1.00	-		2,491
Female	0.56	0.000	***	2,158	0.81	0.000	***	4,796	0.96	0.065		3,160
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.77	0.000	***	1,731	0.69	0.000	***	2,051	0.60	0.000	***	597
High School Grad	1.00	-		1,194	1.00	-		3,850	1.00	-		2,129
Some College	1.55	0.000	***	428	1.39	0.000	***	1,397	1.26	0.001	**	1,251
College Grad	2.17	0.000	***	337	2.89	0.000	***	1,258	2.86	0.000	***	1,279
Don't Know	0.60	0.000	***	376	0.48	0.000	***	234	0.57	0.000	***	295
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.77	0.003	**	1,786	0.75	0.000	***	2,352	0.69	0.000	***	678
High School Grad	1.00	-		673	1.00	-		2,449	1.00	-		1,460
Some College	1.06	0.660		331	1.21	0.009	**	1,106	1.28	0.005	**	816
College Grad	2.01	0.000	***	490	3.23	0.000	***	1,809	3.34	0.000	***	1,601
Don't Know	0.65	0.000	***	786	0.70	0.000	***	1,274	0.73	0.000	***	1,096
Siblings												
0	1.14	0.302		386	0.95	0.598		517	0.81	0.114		259
1	1.00	-		924	1.00	-		1,819	1.00	-		1,348
2	0.84	0.067		810	0.93	0.005	**	2,081	0.88	0.112		1,363
3	0.66	0.000	***	602	0.68	0.000	***	1,620	0.67	0.000	***	977
4	0.64	0.000	***	387	0.62	0.000	***	982	0.49	0.000	***	624
5	0.57	0.000	***	305	0.52	0.000	***	616	0.55	0.000	***	372
6+	0.49	0.000	***	652	0.43	0.000	***	1,355	0.36	0.000	***	708
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		3,206	1.00	-		7,238	1.00	-		3,961
Single Mother	0.72	0.002	**	404	0.69	0.000	***	833	0.49	0.000	***	832
Mother & Stepfather	0.72	0.120		93	0.44	0.000	***	352	0.45	0.000	***	379
Other	0.69	0.001	**	363	0.52	0.000	***	567	0.41	0.000	***	479
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		985	1.00	-		1,987	1.00	-		1,055
Midwest	0.69	0.000	***	1,258	0.73	0.000	***	2,471	0.86	0.067		1,409
South	0.66	0.000	***	782	0.65	0.000	***	1,684	0.64	0.000	***	1,161
West	0.75	0.003	**	802	0.62	0.000	***	2,251	0.62	0.000	***	1,509
Foreign	1.25	0.136		239	1.19	0.066		597	1.40	0.002	**	517
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.76	0.005	**	943	0.85	0.025	*	1,601	0.72	0.000	***	899
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.91	0.251		2,030	1.11	0.071		4,355	0.89	0.112		2,767
Suburb near large city	1.18	0.203		341	1.48	0.000	***	1,538	1.31	0.003	**	1,009
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		752	1.00	-		1,496	1.00	-		976

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 19: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, by Cohort

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religio-Ethnicity									
White Protestant	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Jewish	1.76	0.001	**	2.12	0.000	***	2.42	0.000	***
Asian	1.72	0.097		2.02	0.000	***	2.06	0.000	***
Irish	1.26	0.135		1.02	0.813		1.08	0.585	
Other White Catholic	0.97	0.752		1.07	0.304		1.10	0.251	
Italian	0.63	0.021	*	0.89	0.299		1.20	0.187	
Black	0.72	0.022	*	0.73	0.000	***	0.63	0.000	***
Native American	0.32	0.302		0.60	0.234		1.55	0.308	
Hispanic	0.57	0.141		0.59	0.001	**	0.76	0.050	
Generation									
1st	1.00	0.995		1.10	0.506		0.99	0.966	
2nd	0.93	0.535		1.33	0.003	**	1.33	0.016	*
3rd	0.86	0.080		1.09	0.125		0.95	0.515	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.53	0.000	***	0.82	0.000	***	1.06	0.359	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.93	0.384		0.87	0.021	*	0.74	0.004	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.58	0.000	***	1.21	0.005	**	1.18	0.028	*
College Grad	2.04	0.000	***	1.96	0.000	***	1.97	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.70	0.011	*	0.68	0.003	**	0.77	0.120	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.95	0.612		0.88	0.039	*	0.83	0.083	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.04	0.789		1.13	0.111		1.16	0.117	
College Grad	1.65	0.000	***	2.36	0.000	***	2.27	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.81	0.151		0.61	0.000	***	0.81	0.221	
Siblings									
0	1.26	0.069		1.09	0.400		0.95	0.731	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.84	0.076		0.84	0.011	*	0.96	0.627	
3	0.70	0.002	**	0.71	0.000	***	0.84	0.054	
4	0.70	0.006	**	0.70	0.000	***	0.69	0.000	***
5	0.67	0.004	**	0.61	0.000	***	0.81	0.102	
6+	0.62	0.000	***	0.59	0.000	***	0.57	0.000	***
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.91	0.550		1.50	0.004	**	0.94	0.719	
Mother & Stepfather	0.79	0.291		0.58	0.000	***	0.57	0.000	***
Other	0.88	0.344		0.83	0.096		0.72	0.013	*
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	0.75	0.003	**	0.83	0.006	**	0.92	0.365	
South	0.74	0.008	**	0.82	0.012	*	0.76	0.005	**
West	0.82	0.069		0.68	0.000	***	0.61	0.000	***
Foreign	1.29	0.351		1.26	0.139		1.36	0.069	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	1.01	0.957		1.06	0.451		0.79	0.027	*
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.00	0.985		1.14	0.055		0.87	0.119	
Suburb near large city	1.09	0.532		1.17	0.057		1.06	0.565	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Chapter 6: Within-Group Differences

This chapter will focus on the changes within three of the largest religio-ethnic groups: White Protestants, White Catholics, and Blacks. The within-group differences will be explored in this chapter and I seek to answer whether differences that existed between groups also exist within groups, particularly with regards to socioeconomic differences within groups. This analysis differs from the last chapter, which addressed the changes in educational attainment over time across all religio-ethnic groups. Table 20 shows the numerical breakdown of each of the religio-ethnic groups by cohort. This table was the rationale for selecting Protestants, Catholics and Blacks as the focus groups for this chapter.

Table 20: Number of Respondents by Religio-Ethnic Group and Birth Cohort

	High School				Some College				College Graduate			
	1880-1939	**1940-1959**	**1960-1985**	**Total**	**1880-1939**	**1940-1959**	**1960-1985**	**Total**	**1880-1939**	**1940-1959**	**CG3**	**Total**
Asians	90	240	336	**666**	72	219	312	**603**	55	197	280	**532**
Blacks	1,457	2,204	1,425	**5,086**	621	1,727	1,245	**3,593**	281	1,019	743	**2,043**
White Catholics	2,838	4,045	2,141	**9,024**	1,919	2,748	2,010	**6,677**	869	2,456	1,452	**4,777**
Hispanics	217	698	893	**1,808**	75	463	616	**1,154**	34	253	365	**652**
Jews	349	353	144	**846**	307	344	140	**791**	214	325	125	**664**
White Protestants	7,987	8,568	4,251	**20,806**	5,390	7,644	3,912	**16,946**	2,607	4,710	2,660	**9,977**

It is worth noting that "White Catholics" now also include Irish and Italians, who were treated as separate groups in the previous chapter. Since the Irish and Italians are also primarily Catholic, but would not have large enough numbers to provide a separate analysis, they were included with this larger group for this chapter. Groups such as Asians and Hispanics would be very interesting to examine, particularly to see the changes in the educational attainment of immigrant groups over time, but neither group possesses large enough numbers to warrant separate analyses.

White Protestants

Figures 56-58 and Table 21 (Appendix) shows the bivariate results for high school completion for White Protestants. Over time, the third generation maintains an advantage over

the fourth generation for high school graduation. These findings are consistent with the overall sample. Males and females are equally as likely to graduate from high school, except for the second cohort, where females are more likely to graduate than males. Parental characteristics strongly affect the high school graduation of White Protestants, and variables such as the number of siblings and place of residence (farm versus big city) also adversely affect the likelihood of high school graduation. In the bivariate relationship, respondents from single mothers fare worse than those from two-parent households, and residents of the South are less likely to graduate than those from the Northeast.

Figure 56: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Protestants, by Generation, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

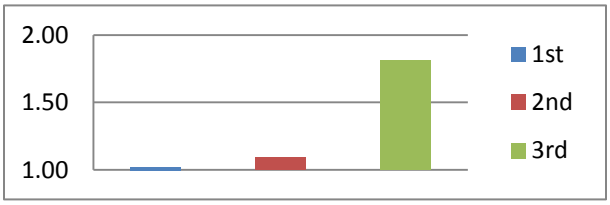


Figure 57: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Protestants, by Generation, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

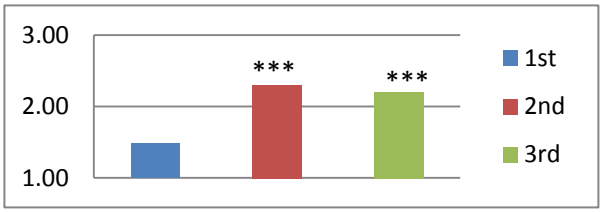


Figure 58: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Protestants, by Generation, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

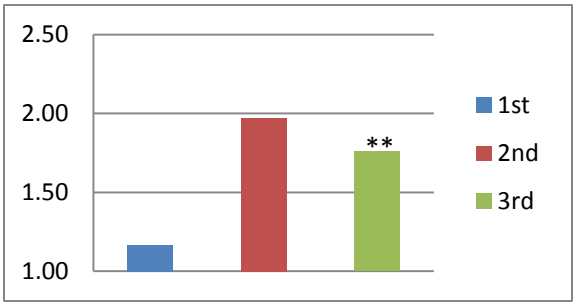


Figure 59: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Protestants, by Generation, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

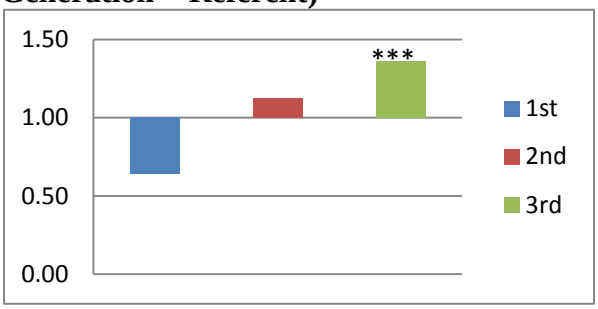


Figure 60: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Protestants, by Generation, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

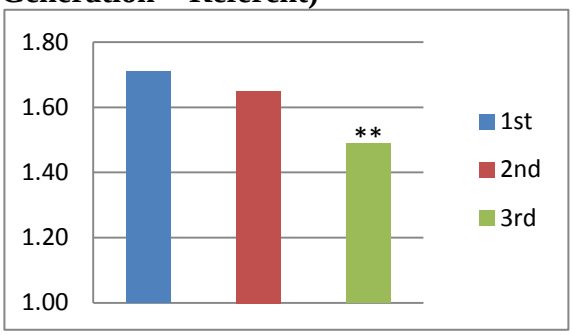
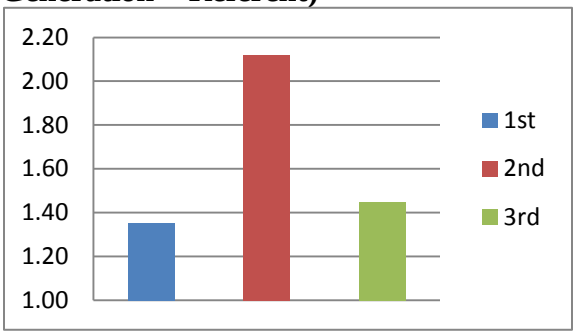


Figure 61: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Protestants, by Generation, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



Figures 59-61 and Table 22 (Appendix) show the results for high school graduation for White Protestants. Net of all variables, females are more likely to graduate from high school than males for later cohorts. The third generation also has a persistent advantage until the latest cohort, where generation does not seem to affect high school graduation. This is perhaps an indication that high school graduation is near universal for White Protestants, regardless of generation, SES, etc. For White Protestants, it appears that high school graduation becomes more accessible for the most recent cohort when the graduation rates are close to 90%. The number of siblings matters less for the youngest cohort, and only those with 6+ siblings are less likely to

graduate from high school than those with 1 sibling. With the exception of the second cohort, respondents from a mother-stepfather household are less likely to graduate from high school than those from a two-parent household, and the disadvantage for single mothers disappears. These findings are consistent with the previous chapter which examined all groups. The urban/rural and South/Northeast differences also disappear when controlling for all variables by the youngest cohort.

Figures 62-64 and Table 23 (Appendix) show the bivariate odds of attending some college for White Protestants. As noted in the previous chapter, "some college" is defined as those who have graduated from high school and attended at least one year of some form of college, either university, junior college, technical school, or community college. Results for White Protestants mirrored that of the overall sample: the first and third generations are more likely to enter college after high school graduation than the fourth generation and the second generation also possesses an advantage for the younger two cohorts. Females are less likely to attend college than males for the older two cohorts, but the differences disappear for the youngest cohort. Respondents from single parent and mother-stepfather households are less likely to attend college than those from a two-parent household. None of these results deviate from the results of the previous chapter. There does not appear to be evidence of declining inequality with regards to family structure.

Figure 62: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for White Protestants, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

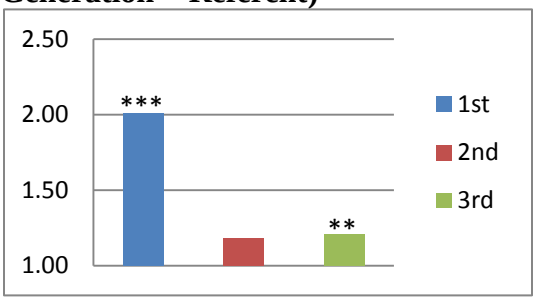


Figure 63: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for White Protestants, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

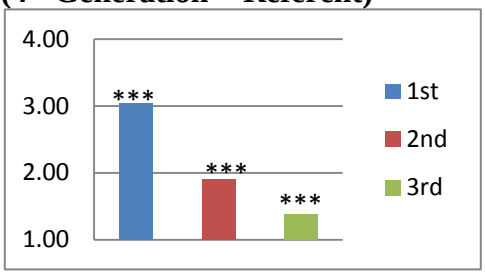


Figure 64: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for White Protestants, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

The multivariate results in Figures 65-67 and Table 24 (Appendix) also show a similar pattern. There is a continuation of a first, second and third-generation advantage over the fourth generation. Again, this appears to be evidence for the negative effects of immigrant assimilation for the fourth generation and positive effects for the second and third generations. The likelihood of college graduation eventually equals the likelihood of college attendance as males by the youngest cohort. Family structure does not seem to largely affect the likelihood of college entry, although respondents from the middle cohort who come from single-mother households become more likely to graduate than those from a two-parent household. Additionally, those from a mother-stepfather household are at a disadvantage for the youngest cohort. These results are also largely consistent with the results from the previous chapter.

Not surprisingly, the bivariate results for college graduation, located in Figures 68-70 and Table 25 (Appendix), are also quite similar to the larger sample. Only the first generation appears to possess an advantage over the fourth generation. Similarly to previous transitions, females are less likely to graduate than males, but this difference evens out by the youngest cohort. For college graduation living in a single mother or a mother-stepfather household at age 16 leads to a decreased likelihood of graduation.

Figure 65: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for White Protestants, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

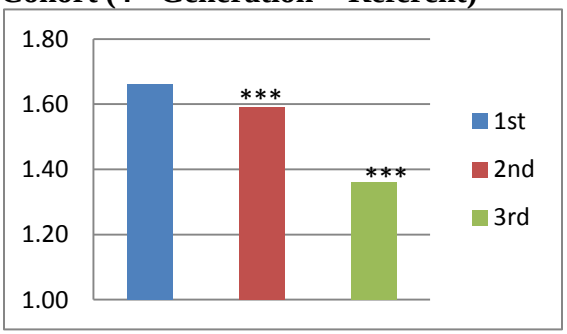


Figure 66: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for White Protestants, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

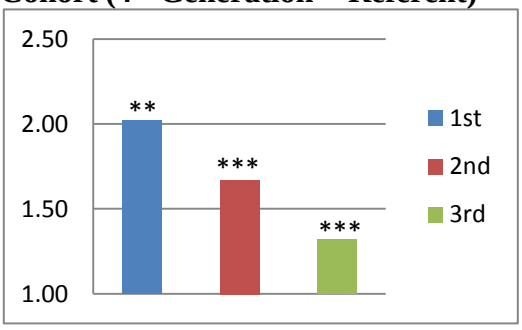


Figure 67: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for White Protestants, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

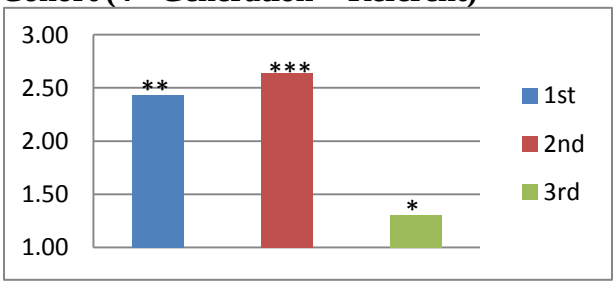


Figure 68: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Protestants, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

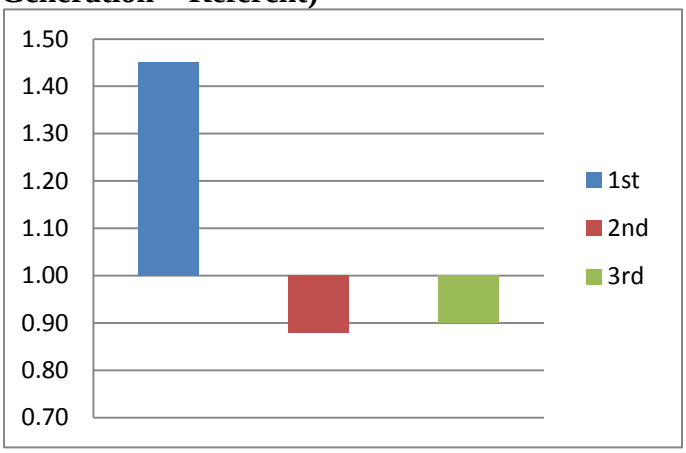


Figure 69: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Protestants, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

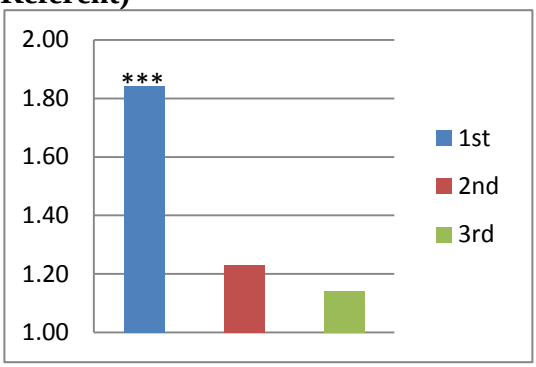


Figure 70: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Protestants, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

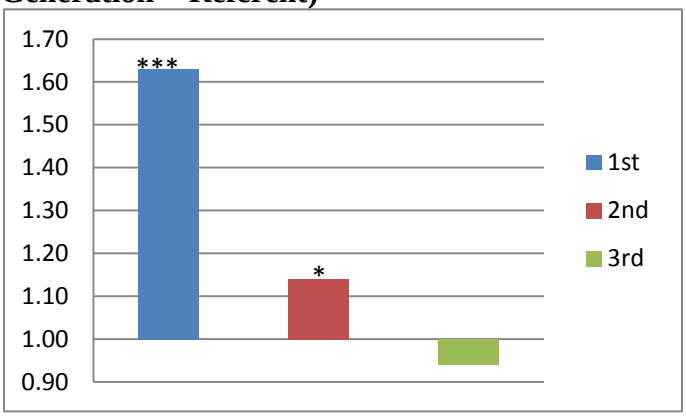


Figure 71: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Protestants, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

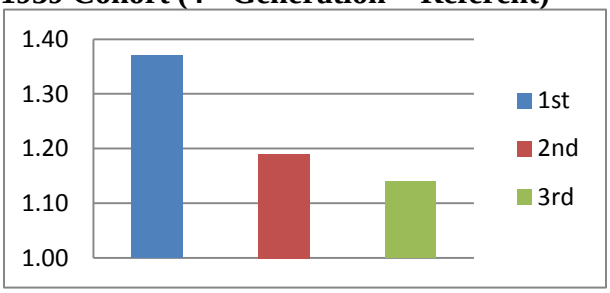


Figure 72: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Protestants, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

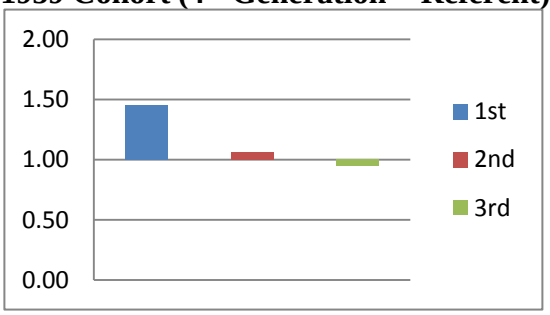
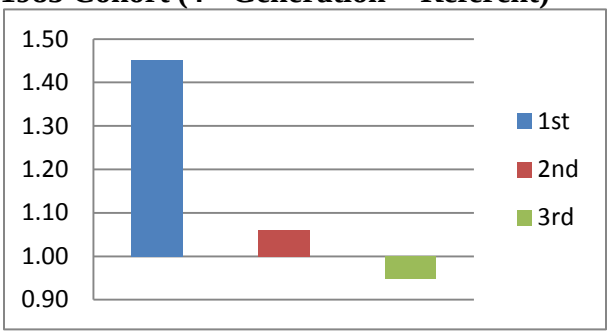


Figure 73: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Protestants, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



Figures 71-73 and Table 26 display the multivariate odds of college graduation for White Protestants. British respondents are more likely to graduate than Other Protestants for the younger two generations. The differences in generation disappear, and similarly to other transitions, females eventually even out with males. Respondents from mother-stepfather households are less likely to graduate from college than those from two-parent households.

Summary

Not surprisingly, the results for White Protestants are consistent with the results for the larger sample across all educational transitions. This is largely a result of the fact that White Protestants are the largest group and therefore likely largely influence the overall results of the sample. Within White Protestants, the two largest groups are British Protestants and German Protestants. Most other groups were too small to conduct any meaningful statistical research. For this reason, the three main ethnic groups in the analysis were the three aforementioned groups.

With high school graduation and college entry, there appears to be a second and third generation advantage, but the advantage is not apparent for college graduation. This is perhaps because there are different factors that influence college graduation, such as the ability to afford

college (SES is a control in the final model), feelings of isolation, and the experience of living outside of a household with parental supervision. All of these factors may contribute to the lower overall rates of college graduation, but are certainly problematic across all generations. Across all transitions, females and males become equally as likely to achieve the transitions by the youngest cohort. Parental education is a strong predictor of each educational transition, although for college graduation, the only significant effect is for those whose parents graduated from college. The number of siblings does not seem to affect high school graduation a strongly as it does college entry or college graduation. This is likely because high school graduation does not involve a monetary commitment, so growing up in a household with many siblings would not strain economic resources. The results for living in a single mother household at age 16 vary across transitions, with an advantage for the second cohort in some college. Across all cohorts and all transitions, living in a mother-stepfather household decreases the likelihood of completing a transition.

White Catholics

Within the White Catholic group, models including ethnic group (Irish, Italian and Other White Catholics) were initially used (results in Tables 39-41 in Chapter 5 Appendix). Unlike the results for White Protestants, there were no significant differences by religio-ethnicity for White Catholics for most transitions and most cohorts (with the exception of a slight advantage for the Irish in the first cohort for high school graduation and the second and third cohorts for some college). For this reason, the results of these models are not shown and a model absent of ethnic differences is used for this portion of the chapter. White Catholics, like White Protestants, exhibit similar results for the overall sample. Unlike White Protestants, the first generation is disadvantaged compared to the fourth generation. This is consistent with the results for the

overall sample, and simply indicates that immigrants were lowly educated compared to their American children and grandchildren. Also closely resembling the results from last chapter, males and females are equally as likely to graduate from high school for all cohorts. Respondents from single mother and mother-stepfather households are less likely to graduate from high school than those from a two-parent household.

Concerning SES, parental education has less effect on high school graduation for White Catholics than for the entire sample. Across all cohorts, respondents whose parents possess less than a high school diploma are less likely to graduate from high school and respondents whose parents possess a college degree are more likely to graduate from high school than those whose parents possess a high school diploma. The number of siblings impacts high school graduation similarly to the sample as a whole: for earlier cohorts, the effects of siblings are stronger, and possessing even 2 siblings significantly decreases the odds of high school graduation. Later cohorts see less effect of the number of siblings for this transition. Respondents from single mother and mother and stepfather households are disadvantaged for high school graduation.

Multivariate results show that the first generation is disadvantaged for the first cohort but becomes equally as likely to graduate by the middle and later cohorts. Considering that the definition of "White Catholics" also includes Irish and Italians in this chapter, these results closely mirror the results of these groups as well. The third generation maintains a persistent advantage across all groups. Females and males are equally as likely to graduate from high school, except for the youngest cohort, females become almost two times more likely than males when controls are added to the model. Net of all variables, respondents from a mother-stepfather household are less likely to graduate from high school than those from a two-parent household. Respondents from foreign residents become equally as likely to graduate from high school with

controls for SES, and residents of farms are less likely to graduate for older cohorts and more likely for younger cohorts.

Figure 74: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Catholics, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

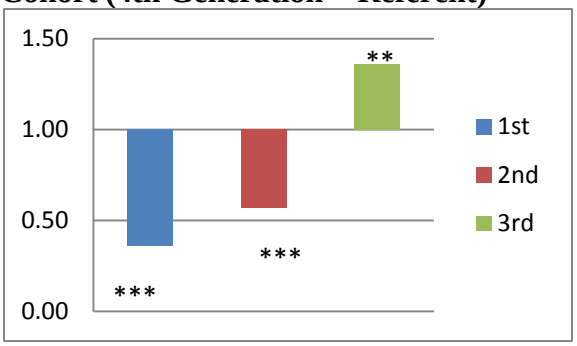


Figure 75: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Catholics, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

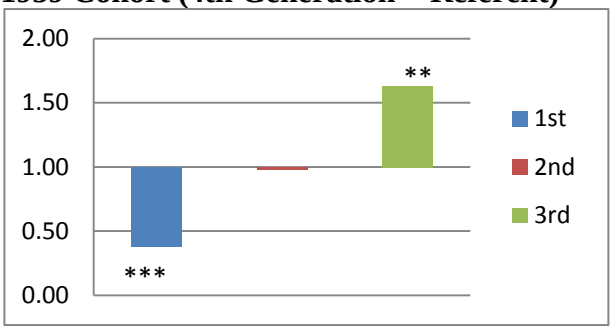


Figure 76: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Catholics, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

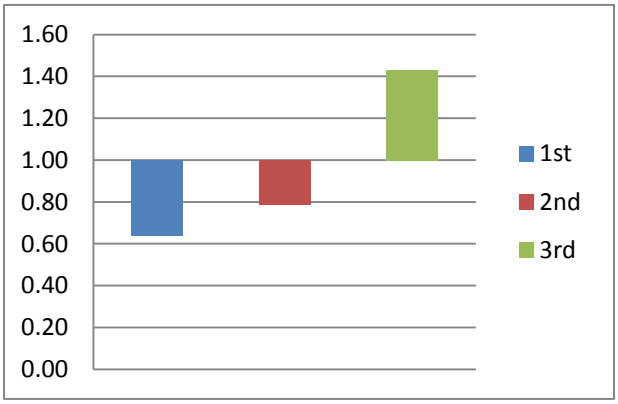


Figure 77: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Catholics, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

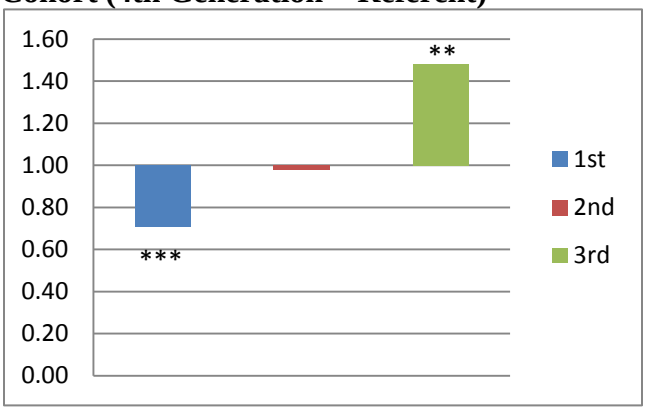


Figure 78: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Catholics, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

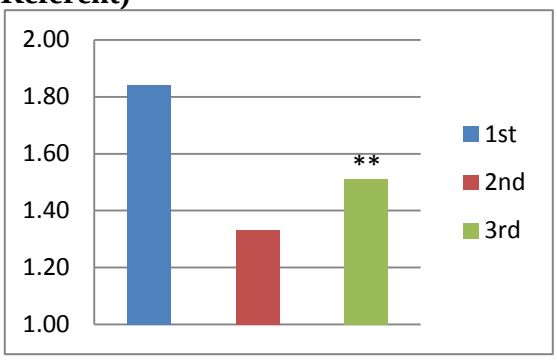
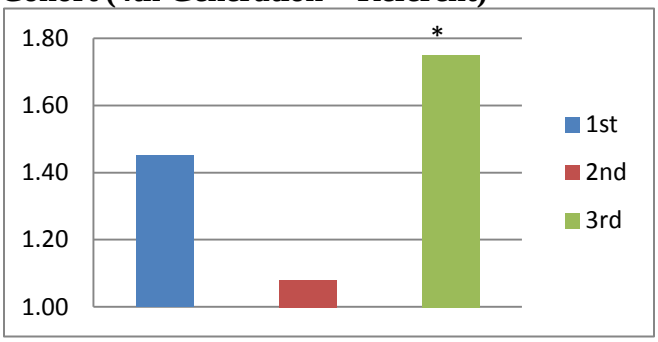


Figure 79: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for White Catholics, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



For White Catholics, the results for generation vary for those who have some college. The first and third generations, which have an advantage for the entire sample, are not advantaged for White Catholics, with the exception of the middle cohort. The second generation, which also has an advantage for the entire sample, is actually disadvantaged for the oldest cohort. This could suggest that the White Catholics for the oldest cohort likely belonged to groups such as Irish and Italians, who underperformed for the oldest cohort but became equal to White Protestants for the younger cohorts. Females are significantly less likely to enter college after high school for the oldest two cohorts, which is consistent with the findings in the previous

chapter. What is different, however; is that for the youngest cohort, females equal the likelihood of entering college with males, rather than exceeding this likelihood, which is what occurs for the overall sample. The number of siblings, again, seems to affect Catholics less than the overall sample, as the youngest cohort does not possess a significant difference in the likelihood of college entry except for those who possess six or more siblings. Another deviation in the findings of the previous chapter is that White Catholic residents of the South are either more likely (the earliest two cohorts) or equally as likely (the youngest cohort) to attend college than White Catholics from the Northeast. For the overall sample, residents of the South were less likely to attend college for the younger two cohorts.

Net of all variables, the second and third generations are more likely to enter college than the fourth generation. Females are, once again, less likely to attend college, with the exception of the youngest cohort, where males and females are equally as likely to attend college. Respondents from single mother households from the second cohort are more likely to attend some college than those from a two-parent household, although the difference disappears for the youngest cohort. Living in a mother-stepfather household adversely affects only those of the youngest cohort for college entry.

Figure 80: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for White Catholics, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

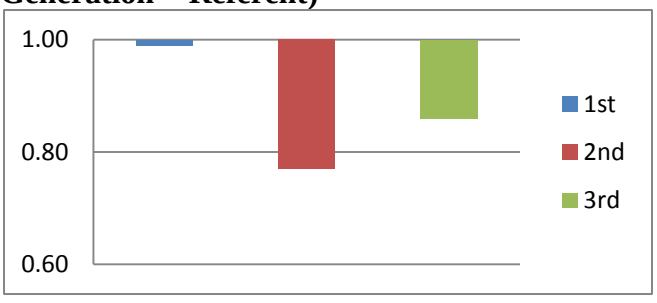


Figure 81: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for White Catholics, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

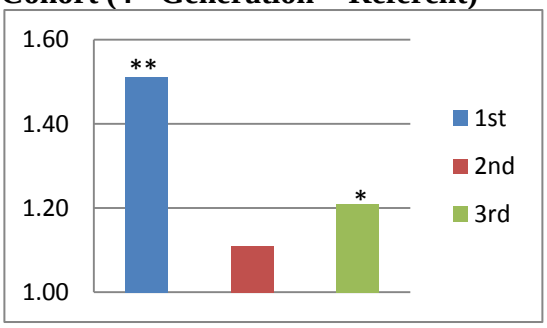


Figure 82: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for White Catholics, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

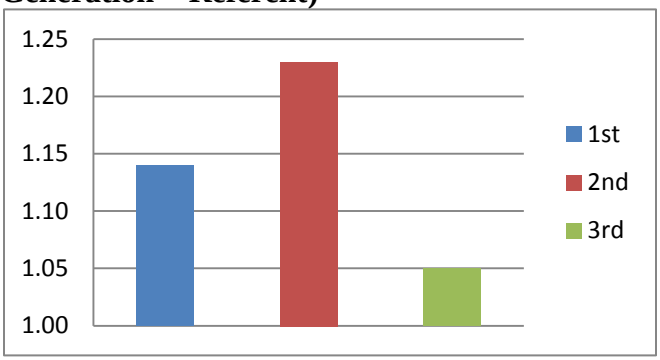


Figure 83: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for White Catholics, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

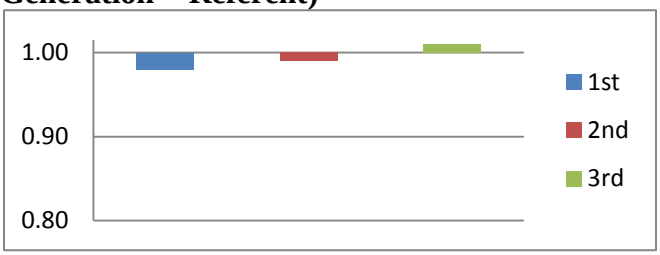


Figure 84: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for White Catholics, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

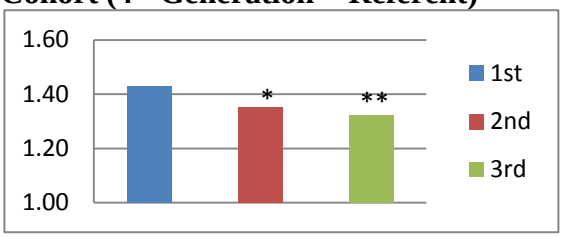
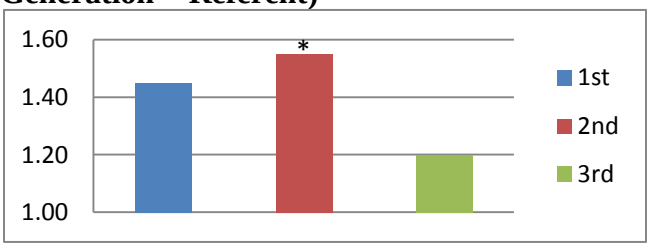


Figure 85: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for White Catholics, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



Catholics exhibit slightly different results from the sample including all religio-ethnic groups (Chapter 5) for college graduation. There are no differences between the generations for college graduation, which is a variation from the overall sample, where the first generation is

more likely to graduate than the fourth, and the second and third generations possess slight advantages over the fourth generation. This suggests that 2nd and 3rd generation are doing well in recent times, relative to the oldest generation. Females become equally as likely to graduate from college as males by the youngest cohort, which is consistent with the findings of the previous chapter. The gains of Catholic women seem impressive across generations, even though they only reach parity, not superiority. Surprisingly, father's education only significantly affects high school graduation for those whose fathers have graduated from high school. Mother's education, on the other hand, continues to influence college graduation. Consistent with the other transitions, the number of siblings only affects college graduation for those with a larger number of siblings for each cohort. These findings are inconsistent with the sample, where the cutoff is 3 or more siblings. Respondents of single mother and mother-stepfather households are less likely to graduate from college than those from two-parent households, a consistent finding with the previous chapter.

Net of all variables, the second generation advantage returns for White Catholics. There is a positive generational effect for this second generation, but it is perhaps suppressed by the bivariate model because Catholics tended to come from lower SES immigrant families. Net of all variables, the second generation does very well and exceeds the fourth generation for the likelihood of college graduation. Females and males become equally as likely to graduate college by the youngest cohort. Father's education seems to only influence the respondent if they possess a college diploma, whereas mother's education adversely affects the respondent if she possesses less than high school, and positively affects the respondent if she possesses a college degree. Siblings and family structure yield similar results to the bivariate model: only those with six or more siblings experience a lower likelihood of college graduation across all cohorts, and only

those living in a mother-stepfather household possess a lower likelihood of graduation compared to those who lived in a two-parent household.

Figure 86: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Catholics, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

Figure 87: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Catholics, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

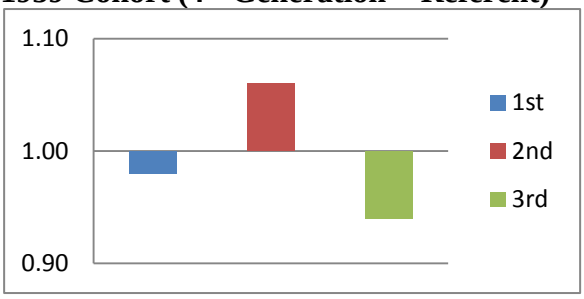


Figure 88: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Catholics, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

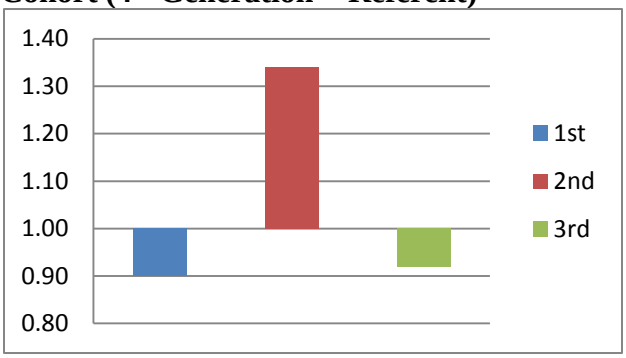


Figure 89: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Catholics, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

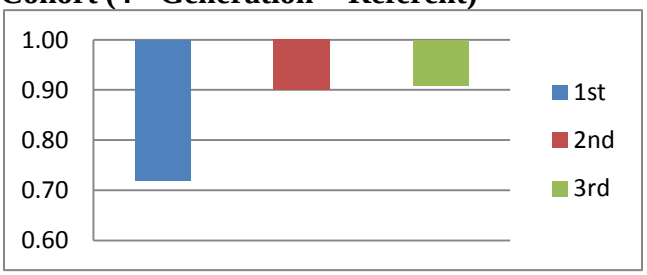


Figure 90: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Catholics, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

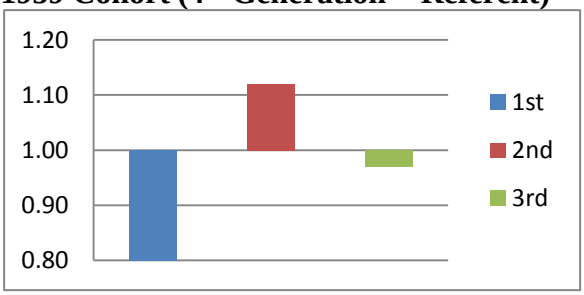
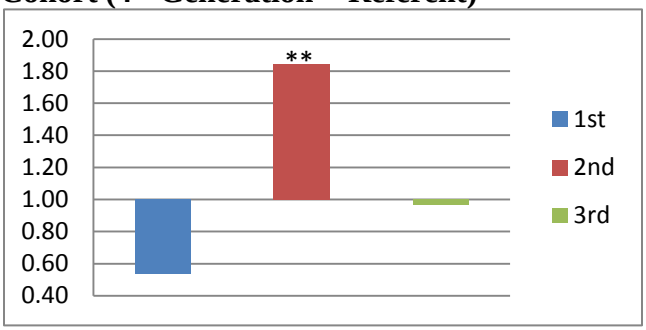


Figure 91: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for White Catholics, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



Summary: White Catholics

White Catholics generally exhibit mixed results for generation groups, although evidence for a second and third generation advantage exist across educational transitions. For high school graduation, the third generation is consistently more likely to graduate than the fourth generation. For some college and college graduation, the second generation is more likely for the younger cohorts. Females are less likely to enter and complete college for the older two cohorts, but become equally as likely to complete the transition by the youngest cohort. For high school graduation, females are equally as likely to graduate as males for the youngest two cohorts and are almost two times more likely to graduate than males from the youngest cohort. The aforementioned results show that Catholics are different from Protestants. In addition to their composition (more immigrants, more urban, NE), they may be more "traditional" (in a cultural sense), although there is no empirical evidence to support this claim. There are well defined gender norms in traditional cultures, such as religious roles. This is evident in the oldest cohort when women were sharply disadvantaged. But this has disappeared in recent decades as Catholic women reached educational parity.

Concerning SES, parental education does not have as strong of an effect on Catholics at each educational transition as the overall sample. Results for each cohort and each transition

vary, but the strongest effect is for college graduation for both the mother and father, which positively influence most transitions. Unlike the larger sample, the number of siblings did not seem to affect White Catholics at any educational transition. Catholics with six or more siblings were less likely to graduate from high school, attend college, and graduate from college, although for the youngest cohort, Catholics with six or more siblings were equally as likely to attend college as those with one sibling. For the larger sample, the number of siblings usually affects respondents with three or more siblings. It is quite remarkable that White Catholics, despite family size, are equally as likely to complete transitions, particularly for transitions to college and college graduation, where there is a monetary value attached to educational attainment. For almost every transition, respondents who lived in a mother-stepfather household at age sixteen were less likely to complete that transition than those who lived in a two-parent household. These findings are consistent with the overall sample as well. Region of residence yielded very inconsistent results, and residents of the South, who generally underperformed compared to those from the Northeast, were no less likely to complete various transitions for White Catholics. Also, results for size of residence were also inconsistent. For college graduation, there were no differences between any size of residence and those living in a big city, which is consistent with the results of the overall sample.

For Catholic high school graduation, it would be interesting to note which one of these students attended Catholic high schools and if this affected their rates of graduation and/or college entry and graduation. While the data are limited and do not permit this type of analysis, it is worth examining if perhaps Catholic schools were integral in the educational advancement of the White Catholic population, particularly the Irish, throughout the 20th century, and if these schools provided specific discipline or advanced education not provided by public schooling.

Blacks

Blacks are the largest ethnic minority group in the sample and also possess the largest number of respondents over time for each cohort. For these reasons, the analysis of Blacks will be used to assess an underperforming group in relation to White Protestants. Some cells contain relatively low numbers so those should be interpreted with caution. Those cells will be noted in the analysis. Additionally, an initial analysis examined if there were differences between Black Catholics and Black Protestants with regards to educational attainment (Tables 42-44, Chapter 5 Appendix). There were some differences between Black Catholics and Black Protestants only for high school graduation. The main analysis was conducted using tables 33-38 in the Chapter Appendix, which do not include covariates for religion.

Currently and historically, Blacks possess lower high school and college graduation rates than White Protestants. As noted in the previous chapter, Blacks are also significantly less likely to graduate from high school, enter college and graduate from college than Whites and much of that gap is explained by lower socioeconomic status. Presumably, then, wealthy, middle class and educated Blacks should fare well with regards to educational attainment and there should be gaps between lower-SES Black respondents and higher-SES Black respondents. This portion of the chapter will test to see how SES affects Black respondents.

Figures 92-94 and Table 33 show the bivariate odds of high school graduation. There are not many notable differences between generations, although the third generation of the middle cohort is significantly more likely to graduate than the fourth generation. This could be an artifact of low numbers, since there are 75 respondents in the third generation and 1,955 in the fourth. Since Black immigrants just started arriving in large numbers in recent years, this is the

reason for these low numbers. Males and females are equally as likely to graduate from high school across all cohorts.

Concerning SES, when examining purely the numbers for parental education, it is worth noting that the majority of the respondents for the oldest generation possessed mothers with a high school education or less. Very few (only 5% of those who knew their mother's educational attainment) possessed some college or graduated from college. Similarly, for father's education, only 4% possessed some college or graduated from college. Additionally, the numbers are very low, with only 21 respondents whose mothers and fathers possessed a college education for the oldest cohort. For this reason, the interpretation of mother's and father's education will not be included for the oldest generation. For the middle generation and youngest generation, the proportion of college-educated parents increased, although numbers are still lower than for White Catholics and White Protestants. Similarly to the results from the previous chapter, parental education affects high school graduation, and possessing a parent who is a college graduate significantly increases the likelihood of high school graduation, whereas respondents whose parents possessed less than high school were much less likely to graduate from high school. This effect however, is only seen among respondents whose mothers were college-educated. Possessing a father with a college degree did not significantly affect high school graduation. This could likely be an effect of the large number of Black respondents who were not sure of their father's educational attainment, either because they had no knowledge of it, or more likely, because they grew up in a household with a single mother. The positive values for high school grad (and higher) means that father's education matters.

Similarly to White Catholics, family size does not seem to affect high school graduation, and only respondents with six or more siblings possessed a disadvantage for high school

graduation. Also similar was that respondents from single mother and mother-stepfather households were less likely to graduate from high school. Since the Black group contains the largest amount of respondents with single mothers, the next section focusing on the multivariate analysis will focus specifically on this group.

Blacks from the South are less likely to graduate from high school than Blacks from the Northeast, but only for the older two cohorts. Additionally, Blacks living on farms are less likely to graduate than those living in big cities for the older two cohorts. There were few black high schools in the Jim Crow South, so access to schooling was certainly an issue for this cohort. For the youngest cohort, those living in small/medium cities are more likely to graduate than those living in big cities. The results for size of residence are consistent with the previous chapter, although, the results for region of residence are not consistent, with residents of the South possessing a disadvantage in high school graduation, even for the youngest cohort. This is perhaps an indication that schooling in the South drastically improved for Blacks for the youngest cohort, which attended high school in the post-Civil Rights Era.

Figure 92: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for Blacks, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

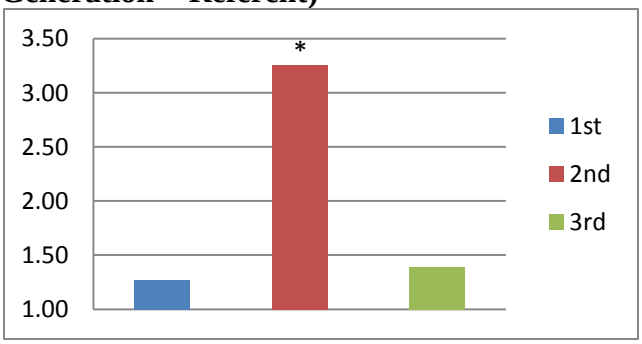


Figure 93: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for Blacks, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

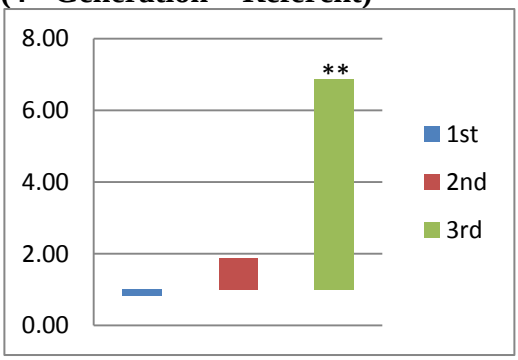


Figure 94: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for Blacks, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

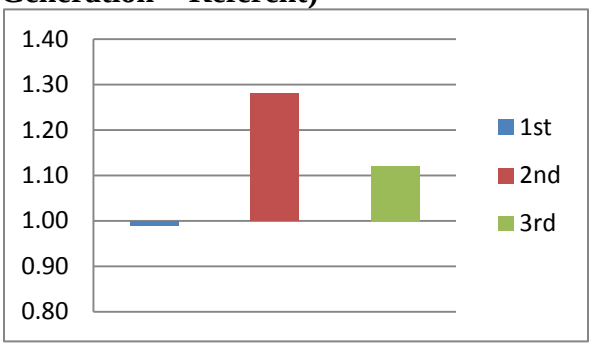


Figure 95: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for Blacks, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

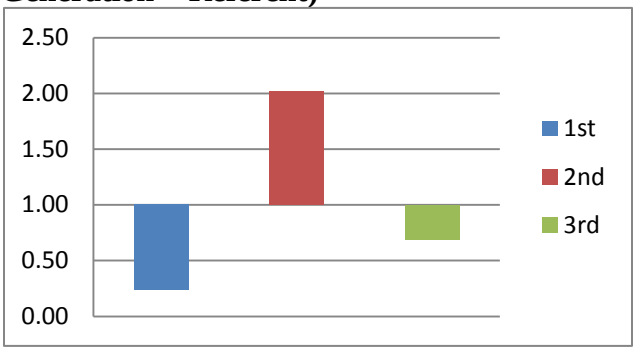


Figure 96: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for Blacks, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

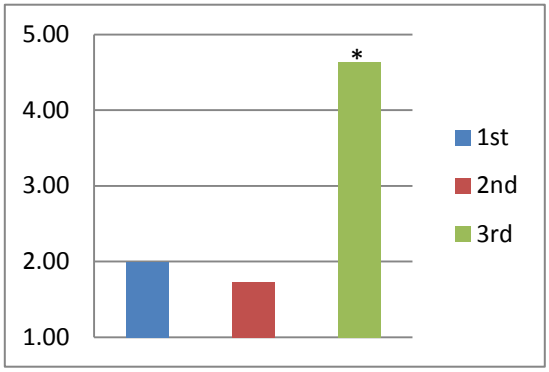
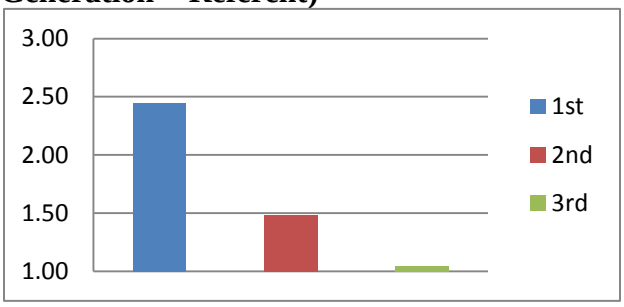


Figure 97: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation, for Blacks, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



Figures 95-97 and Table 34 show the odds of high school graduation for Blacks net of all variables. There are not many changes from the bivariate results, but a few worth noting are that

the effects of family size essentially disappear in the multivariate model. With the exception of the middle cohort, possessing any number of siblings does not affect the likelihood of high school graduation. Additionally, the only group at a disadvantage for high school graduation is those who came from mother-stepfather households. In the previous chapter, respondents from single mothers from the earlier two cohorts were also at a disadvantage for high school graduation. For Blacks, there is no difference between respondents from single mother households and two-parent households. This indicates that single mother households, by default, usually possess less economic resources than two-parent households, and that other variables that are socioeconomic characteristics like education, family size, and region of residence, largely explain the differences between respondents from single mother and two-parent households. Also interesting is that there appears to be no deficit for residents of the South for any cohort when controlling for SES and other background characteristics. This indicates that perhaps residents of the South sustained disadvantages in economic positions as well as other issues such as segregation and racial discrimination for the earlier cohorts. Additionally, residents of farms are less likely to graduate than those from big cities, but this disadvantage does not apply to the youngest cohort. These results are consistent with the previous bivariate models.

For the bivariate odds of some college (Figures 98-100 and Table 35, Appendix) there are a few differences by generation. The first generation is more likely to attend college after graduating from high school, and for the middle cohort, the third generation holds an advantage, while the second generation has an advantage for the youngest cohort. On the other hand, the low numbers for the second generation in the youngest cohort are a cause for concern. It should be noted that first-generation Black immigrants could be from Africa, the Caribbean or Latin America, or even Canada or Europe, so it is slightly misleading to see this group of the first-

generation Black immigrants as a homogenous entity. That being said, it appears that Black immigrants (from any other country) are more likely to attend college than fourth-generation Black Americans. Similarly to the previous chapter, women are more likely to attend college than males by the youngest cohort. The difference between Blacks and the overall sample is that Black women do not lag behind men during any cohort, whereas for the overall sample, women are less likely to attend college than men for the older two cohorts and then become equally as likely to attend college by the youngest cohort. According to Table 35 (Appendix), Black women begin equally as likely as Black men to attend college for the older two cohorts and then become 1.69 times more likely to attend college than Black men in the youngest cohort.

Figure 98: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for Blacks, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

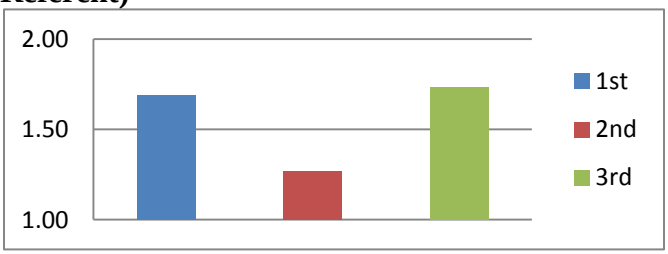


Figure 99: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for Blacks, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

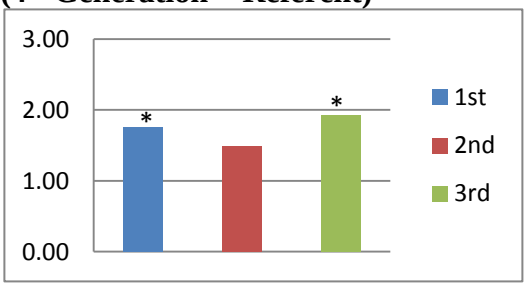


Figure 100: Bivariate Odds of Some College, for Blacks, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

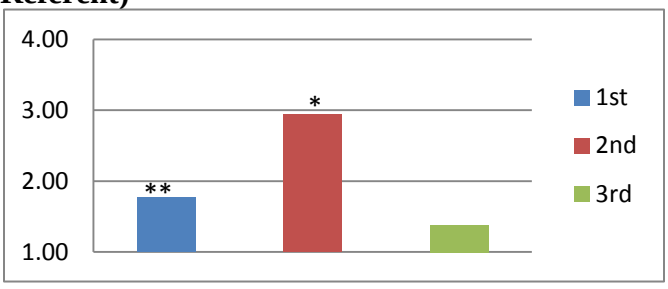


Figure 101: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for Blacks, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

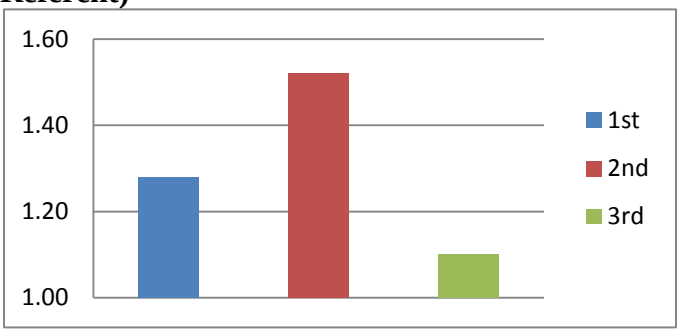


Figure 102: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for Blacks, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

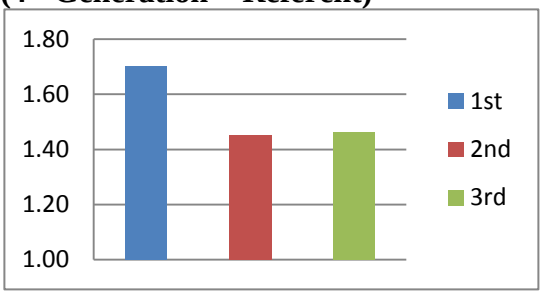
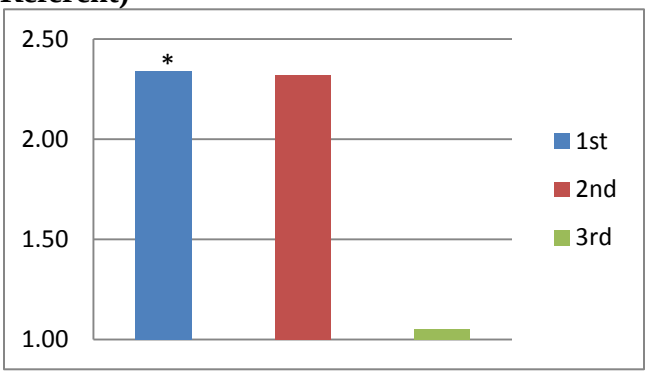


Figure 103: Multivariate Odds of Some College, for Blacks, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



For the later two cohorts, parental education influences college entry. For example, in the middle cohort, having a mother who graduated from college makes a respondent four times more likely to attend college and a respondent with a father who is a college graduate is 6.57 times more likely to attend college than those whose parents possess a high school diploma. The number of siblings does not largely affect college entry, although for the youngest cohort, it appears that those with three or more siblings are less likely to attend college than those with one sibling. This is only slightly higher than the previous chapter, where the cutoff was at two siblings. Interestingly enough, family structure does not seem to affect college entry. Respondents from either single mother households or mother-stepfather households are not

disadvantaged compared to their peers from a two-parent household. Additionally, there are no regions of residence, including the South, that possess a disadvantage for college entry. Lastly, respondents from farms and small cities are less likely to attend college than those from big cities.

The multivariate odds of some college (Figures 101-103 and Table 36, Appendix) show similar results. The first generation is only more likely to attend college than the fourth generation for the youngest cohort. Additionally, net of all variables, women are two times more likely to attend college than men for the youngest cohort. This is a significant difference, considering that both White Protestant and White Catholic women become equally as likely as men to attend college, but neither group exceeds the likelihood of men. This indicates an advantage for Black women over Black men for college attendance that is not seen for other groups, and exceeds the advantage for the overall sample, where women are 1.21 times more likely to attend college than men.

When controlling for SES and other background factors, the number of siblings also becomes less significant for college entry. Only respondents with six or more siblings in the oldest and youngest cohort, and 5 siblings in the middle cohort are less likely to attend college than their counterparts with one sibling. This indicates that a significant portion of the Black disadvantage is due to large families and decreased financial resources, which is controlled for in this model. Additionally, family structure also shows no significant differences across groups. This is an interesting finding because in the previous chapter, respondents from single mother households possessed an advantage for college entry compared to respondents from two-parent households. This finding is slightly inconsistent with White Catholics and White Protestants, who saw advantages in college entry for respondents from single mother households for the

second cohort. These are significant findings since the majority of single mother households are from Black respondents. They indicate that Black families are not the ones who benefit from an advantage when controls are entered into a model for SES, and that not all single mother households possess equal advantages.

Figures 104-106 and Table 37 (Appendix) show the bivariate odds of college graduation for Black respondents. Concerning generation, there are several low numbers for first, second and third generation Blacks, but the first generation continues to persist over the fourth generation for the middle and youngest cohorts. Black females never lag behind Black males on college graduation for any cohort. This is different from the overall sample, where women are less likely to graduate for the older two cohorts and then become even by the youngest cohort. This pattern also appears for White Catholic and White Protestant women.

The numbers for parental education are rather low across cohorts, with the exception of mothers and fathers who have a high school diploma or less. Despite the lower numbers, having a mother and father who graduated from college significantly increases the odds of college graduation for respondents. This, of course, only applies to the two younger cohorts, as the numbers for the youngest cohort are too low to examine. The number of siblings does not influence college graduation, a deviation from the overall results from the previous chapter. Additionally, respondents from single-mother households show a disadvantage for college graduation compared to respondents from two-parent households. These results are consistent with results for all groups. Region and size of residence shows no advantages or disadvantages for any groups.

Multivariate results, displayed in Figures 107-109 and Table 38 (Appendix), show that the advantage for the first generation is removed when controlling for SES and other background characteristics. This is a result of the immigrant generation possessing an advantage over other generations with higher SES. Females are also consistently equally as likely to graduate from college as males. Results for parental education and the number of siblings are similar to the bivariate model, with little to no significant differences between the groups. Concerning family structure, the only significant disadvantage is for respondents of single mothers from the oldest cohort. The overall results and the results for White Protestants show that respondents of single mothers possess an advantage for college graduation over those from a two-parent household in the middle cohort. This advantage, once again, does not exist for Black respondents. Region and size of residence produce no significant differences across all cohorts.

Figure 104: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for Blacks, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

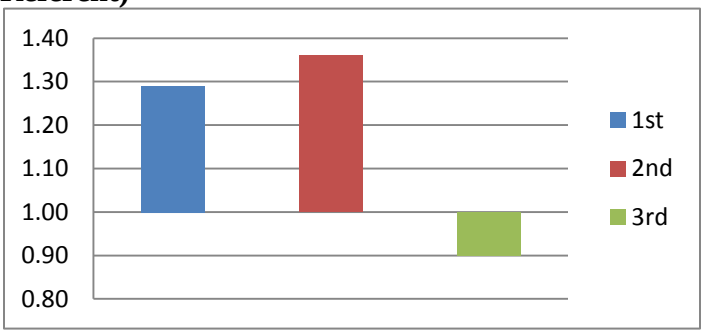


Figure 105: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for Blacks, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

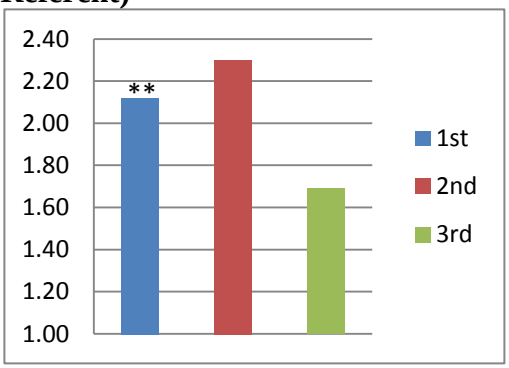


Figure 106: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation, for Blacks, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

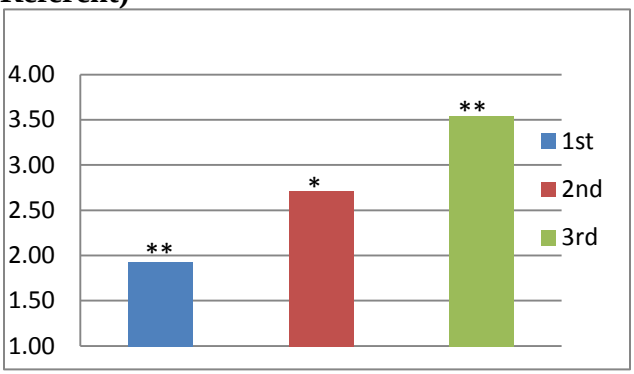


Figure 107: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for Blacks, 1880-1939 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

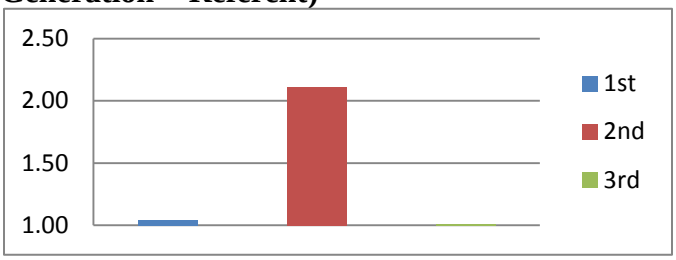


Figure 108: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for Blacks, 1940-1959 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)

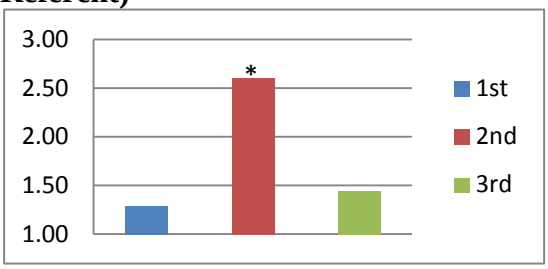
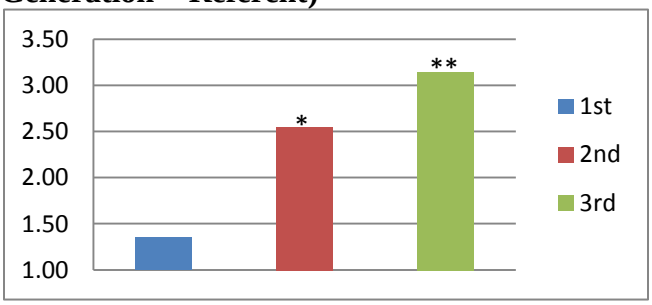


Figure 109: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, for Blacks, 1960-1985 Cohort (4th Generation = Referent)



Summary

For Black respondents, there are no patterns of significant difference between generations. This could largely be due to the fact that the majority of the Black respondents are

fourth generation, the African American population. For the youngest cohort, the 2nd and 3rd generation possessed an advantage, but these results should be interpreted with caution due to low numbers. Black females are equally or more likely to achieve educational transitions than Black males. This is particularly important because White Protestant and White Catholic females did not exhibit the same trend. It is remarkable that Black females from the youngest cohort are two times more likely to attend college after high school graduation than Black males, and although there is a general trend that females in this particular cohort are more likely to attend college than males, the magnitude for Blacks is higher than for the overall sample. Another noteworthy result from the Black sample is that while they possess the highest proportion of respondents with single mothers of any group, they do not see the advantages that single mothers of other ethnicities see for some educational transitions. For example, for the second cohort, both White Protestants and White Catholics with single mothers are more likely to attend some college than respondents from a two-parent household. While Blacks with single mothers are not less likely to attend college than their two-parent household counterparts, they do not seem to be seeing the advantages that single-mother households see when controlling for SES, which presumably accounted for the difference between the groups.

One difficulty with assessing Blacks was that the levels of parental education were much lower than other groups, particularly for the oldest cohort. It was not possible to truly evaluate whether or not Blacks whose parents had very high levels of education were at an advantage compared to those whose parents were not as well-educated with such low numbers, particularly for college graduates. Younger cohorts showed some improvement with larger numbers, but the trend was more difficult to examine over time. The problem of low numbers for Black college graduates born in the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries is an issue of institutional

discrimination permitting Blacks from attending college. The numbers steadily increased, but they are still well below the number of Whites who possess college degrees.

Summary: Within-Group Differences

For all White Protestants, White Catholics and Blacks, there is evidence for a second and third generation advantage across most transitions and cohorts. Additionally, the high inheritance of parental educational status is consistent across the three ethnic groups, transitions and cohorts. For Black respondents, females are equally as likely or more likely to complete educational transitions as males, and do not lag behind males for any cohort or any transition. For White Catholics, females are less likely to enter and complete college than males for the older two cohorts, but by the youngest cohort, they become equally as likely to complete these transitions as males. The largest difference for White Catholics is for high school graduation, where females are over two times as likely to graduate as males for the youngest cohort. For White Protestants, males are more likely to complete each transition for the older two cohorts, but women reach parity by the youngest cohort.

Respondents from single-mother households were disadvantaged in bivariate models but when controls for SES and background characteristics were added, White Protestant and White Catholic respondents from single mother households actually possessed an advantage over respondents from a two-parent household. On the other hand, Black respondents from single-mother households do not benefit from advantages over two-parent households when SES and background characteristics were added to the model. This is unfortunate, as a much larger number of Black respondents come from single-mother households than White Protestant or White Catholic respondents. Respondents from larger families were less likely to complete

transitions for White Protestants and Blacks, but White Catholics were resistant to disadvantages for large families.

Chapter 6 Appendix

Table 21: Bivariate Results for the Likelihood of High School Graduation, for White Protestants

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Religio-Ethnicity												
British	2.38	0.000	***	1,728	2.64	0.000	***	1,552	2.24	0.000	***	576
German	1.31	0.000	***	1,449	1.54	0.000	***	1,663	1.56	0.005	**	817
Other	1.00	-		4,810	1.00	-		5,353	1.00	-		2,858
Generation												
1st	1.02	0.862		276	1.48	0.054		307	1.17	0.560		213
2nd	1.09	0.244		866	2.30	0.000	***	325	1.97	0.084		152
3rd	1.81	0.000	***	1,669	2.20	0.000	***	1,801	1.76	0.004	**	587
4th	1.00	-		5,176	1.00	-		6,135	1.00	-		3,299
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		3,186	1.00	-		3,976	1.00	-		1,988
Female	1.00	0.925		4,801	1.20	0.009	**	4,592	1.11	0.337		2,263
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.16	0.000	***	4,510	0.18	0.000	***	2,541	0.20	0.000	***	591
High School Grad	1.00	-		1,577	1.00	-		3,593	1.00	-		1,834
Some College	2.21	0.001	**	455	2.48	0.000	***	1,005	2.34	0.001	**	774
College Grad	3.52	0.000	***	324	6.03	0.000	***	846	6.99	0.000	***	718
Don't Know	0.13	0.000	***	1,121	0.13	0.000	***	583	0.19	0.000	***	334
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.15	0.000	***	4,610	0.23	0.000	***	2,979	0.21	0.000	***	656
High School Grad	1.00	-		926	1.00	-		2,266	1.00	-		1,313
Some College	1.49	0.125		326	2.56	0.001	**	820	3.67	0.001	**	517
College Grad	5.41	0.000	***	397	7.00	0.000	***	1,183	3.45	0.000	***	903
Don't Know	0.15	0.000	***	1,728	0.18	0.000	***	1,320	0.28	0.000	***	862
Siblings												
0	1.04	0.796		522	0.67	0.067		411	1.09	0.822		179
1	1.00	-		1,247	1.00	-		1,698	1.00	-		1,029
2	0.61	0.000	***	1,276	0.88	0.408		1,912	0.78	0.223		1,053
3	0.46	0.000	***	1,062	0.47	0.000	***	1,588	0.78	0.240		767
4	0.30	0.000	***	914	0.40	0.000	***	1,016	0.43	0.000	***	504
5	0.25	0.000	***	742	0.28	0.000	***	612	0.34	0.000	***	246
6+	0.14	0.000	***	2,224	0.14	0.000	***	1,301	0.23	0.000	***	473
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		6,163	1.00	-		6,780	1.00	-		2,832
Single Mother	0.80	0.008	**	727	0.49	0.000	***	745	0.44	0.000	***	581
Mother & Stepfather	0.87	0.340		227	0.75	0.068		400	0.46	0.000	***	379
Other	0.56	0.000	***	870	0.36	0.000	***	643	0.28	0.000	***	459
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		1,294	1.00	-		1,172	1.00	-		492
Midwest	0.89	0.132		2,711	0.86	0.261		2,599	0.98	0.909		1,232
South	0.43	0.000	***	2,189	0.36	0.000	***	2,316	0.62	0.023	*	1,166
West	0.99	0.863		1,586	0.81	0.130		2,251	0.80	0.298		1,216
Foreign	0.69	0.023	*	207	0.73	0.210		230	0.85	0.648		145
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.38	0.000	***	3,431	0.76	0.025	*	2,573	1.13	0.514		1,107
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.00	0.976		3,517	1.41	0.005	**	4,119	1.70	0.003	**	2,168
Suburb near large city	1.34	0.073		373	2.39	0.000	***	1,107	2.78	0.000	***	584
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		666	1.00	-		769	1.00	-		392

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 22: Multivariate Results High School Graduation, by Cohort, for White Protestants

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religio-Ethnicity									
British	1.85	0.000	***	1.91	0.000	***	1.82	0.009	**
German	1.11	0.158		1.21	0.067		1.18	0.347	
Other	1.00	-		1.00			1.00		
Generation									
1st	0.64	0.083		1.71	0.152		1.35	0.508	
2nd	1.12	0.222		1.65	0.053		2.12	0.074	
3rd	1.36	0.000	***	1.49	0.001	**	1.45	0.083	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.07	0.210		1.27	0.002	**	1.33	0.025	*
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.31	0.000	***	0.33	0.000	***	0.32	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.86	0.010	*	1.83	0.013	*	1.96	0.010	*
College Grad	2.22	0.020	*	2.93	0.007	**	4.38	0.001	**
Don't Know	0.28	0.000	***	0.29	0.000	***	0.27	0.000	***
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.35	0.000	***	0.47	0.000	***	0.33	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.34	0.279		2.06	0.011	*	2.65	0.017	*
College Grad	3.05	0.007	**	3.33	0.002	**	1.69	0.104	
Don't Know	0.30	0.000	***	0.32	0.000	***	0.45	0.000	***
Siblings									
0	1.17	0.326		0.88	0.580		1.32	0.495	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.72	0.004	**	0.93	0.659		0.81	0.312	
3	0.58	0.000	***	0.59	0.000	***	1.06	0.785	
4	0.43	0.000	***	0.58	0.001	**	0.69	0.089	
5	0.42	0.000	***	0.47	0.000	***	0.64	0.090	
6+	0.26	0.000	***	0.32	0.000	***	0.48	0.001	**
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.88	0.272		1.07	0.671		0.66	0.093	
Mother & Stepfather	0.72	0.047	*	1.00	0.991		0.58	0.009	**
Other	0.69	0.000	***	0.88	0.369		0.82	0.346	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.17	0.059		1.02	0.883		1.05	0.831	
South	0.77	0.005	**	0.62	0.001	**	0.81	0.359	
West	1.24	0.030	*	0.88	0.392		0.71	0.132	
Foreign	1.08	0.780		0.60	0.232		0.89	0.840	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.75	0.013	*	1.39	0.018	*	1.36	0.152	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.29	0.022	*	1.52	0.002	**	1.62	0.018	*
Suburb near large city	1.26	0.190		1.78	0.002	**	2.06	0.010	*
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 23: Bivariate Odds of Attending College, by Cohort, for White Protestants

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Religio-Ethnicity												
British	1.56	0.000	***	1,382	1.75	0.000	***	1,469	1.82	0.000	***	551
German	0.88	0.084		996	0.90	0.083		1,516	1.06	0.537		767
Other	1.00	-		3,012	1.00	-		4,659	1.00	-		2,594
Generation												
1st	2.01	0.000	***	180	3.03	0.000	***	280	2.61	0.000	***	197
2nd	1.18	0.067		578	1.90	0.000	***	306	2.65	0.000	***	145
3rd	1.21	0.004	**	1,283	1.38	0.000	***	1,691	1.34	0.000	***	557
4th	1.00	-		3,349	1.00	-		5,367	1.00	-		3,013
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		2,152	1.00	-		3,510	1.00	-		1,821
Female	0.63	0.000	***	3,238	0.82	0.000	***	4,134	0.99	0.848		2,091
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.50	0.000	***	2,617	0.47	0.000	***	1,977	0.59	0.000	***	458
High School Grad	1.00	-		1,418	1.00	-		3,421	1.00	-		1,732
Some College	2.03	0.000	***	433	2.87	0.000	***	985	3.24	0.000	***	755
College Grad	4.52	0.000	***	314	6.91	0.000	***	839	6.36	0.000	***	712
Don't Know	0.50	0.000	***	608	0.50	0.000	***	422	0.67	0.002	**	255
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.57	0.000	***	2,811	0.53	0.000	***	2,460	0.60	0.000	***	531
High School Grad	1.00	-		844	1.00	-		2,163	1.00	-		1,250
Some College	3.17	0.000	***	306	2.37	0.000	***	805	2.88	0.000	***	510
College Grad	8.23	0.000	***	390	6.54	0.000	***	1,175	6.17	0.000	***	890
Don't Know	0.72	0.000	***	1,039	0.66	0.000	***	1,041	0.92	0.379		731
Siblings												
0	1.01	0.902		452	1.15	0.251		410	1.12	0.576		171
1	1.00	-		1,074	1.00	-		1,616	1.00	-		979
2	0.88	0.136		1,010	0.93	0.299		1,808	0.72	0.001	**	989
3	0.73	0.001	**	786	0.64	0.000	***	1,433	0.54	0.000	***	720
4	0.45	0.000	***	594	0.47	0.000	***	901	0.46	0.000	***	451
5	0.54	0.000	***	454	0.38	0.000	***	517	0.49	0.000	***	214
6+	0.36	0.000	***	1,020	0.29	0.000	***	959	0.43	0.000	***	388
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		4,283	1.00	-		6,168	1.00	-		2,679
Single Mother	1.01	0.931		470	0.79	0.005	**	619	0.66	0.000	***	514
Mother & Stepfather	0.81	0.207		151	0.77	0.021	*	353	0.65	0.000	***	337
Other	0.82	0.041	*	486	0.64	0.000	***	504	0.52	0.000	***	382
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		955	1.00	-		1,088	1.00	-		460
Midwest	0.81	0.006		1,939	0.83	0.013	*	2,385	1.09	0.448		1,150
South	0.91	0.286		1,193	0.72	0.000	***	1,907	0.94	0.578		1,049
West	1.12	0.197		1,166	1.13	0.131		2,056	1.15	0.223		1,119
Foreign	1.81	0.002	**	137	3.02	0.000	***	208	2.73	0.000	***	134
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.50	0.000	***	1,892	0.49	0.000	***	2,174	0.49	0.000	***	993
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.76	0.006	**	2,686	0.82	0.023	*	3,749	0.74	0.024	*	2,014
Suburb near large city	1.57	0.003	**	303	1.33	0.008	**	1,046	1.37	0.050		558
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		509	1.00	-		675	1.00	-		347

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 24: Multivariate Odds of Some College by Cohort, for White Protestants

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religio-Ethnicity									
British	1.40	0.000	***	1.50	0.000	***	1.56	0.000	***
German	0.87	0.088		0.86	0.026	*	0.96	0.665	
Other	1.00	-							
Generation									
1st	1.66	0.076		2.02	0.002	**	2.43	0.002	**
2nd	1.59	0.000	***	1.67	0.000	***	2.64	0.000	***
3rd	1.36	0.000	***	1.32	0.000	***	1.30	0.021	*
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.63	0.000	***	0.81	0.000	***	1.10	0.194	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.73	0.000	***	0.67	0.000	***	0.72	0.005	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.78	0.000	***	2.15	0.000	***	2.63	0.000	***
College Grad	3.01	0.000	***	3.67	0.000	***	3.58	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.63	0.000	***	0.67	0.002	**	0.73	0.073	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.77	0.003	**	0.72	0.000	***	0.71	0.003	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	2.78	0.000	***	1.89	0.000	***	2.26	0.000	***
College Grad	5.52	0.000	***	3.45	0.000	***	3.19	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.86	0.224		0.64	0.000	***	0.90	0.523	
Siblings									
0	1.04	0.749		1.30	0.053		1.28	0.254	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.94	0.494		0.93	0.337		0.75	0.010	*
3	0.84	0.096		0.72	0.000	***	0.67	0.001	**
4	0.54	0.000	***	0.56	0.000	***	0.64	0.001	**
5	0.75	0.018	*	0.50	0.000	***	0.72	0.057	
6+	0.53	0.000	***	0.44	0.000	***	0.62	0.001	**
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.09	0.536		1.34	0.041	*	0.88	0.487	
Mother & Stepfather	0.73	0.083		1.03	0.830		0.75	0.038	*
Other	1.03	0.769		1.05	0.701		0.91	0.526	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.02	0.784		1.05	0.560		1.25	0.084	
South	1.43	0.000	***	1.05	0.560		1.03	0.801	
West	1.43	0.000	***	1.21	0.029	*	0.98	0.867	
Foreign	1.28	0.447		1.97	0.017	*	1.28	0.502	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.71	0.002	**	0.85	0.119		0.74	0.060	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.82	0.072		0.95	0.595		0.91	0.507	
Suburb near large city	1.39	0.051		1.24	0.077		1.47	0.034	*
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 25: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation by Cohort, for White Protestants

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**N**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Religio-Ethnicity												
British	1.34	0.001	**	790	1.46	0.000	***	1,061	1.67	0.000	***	430
German	0.99	0.913		428	1.16	0.054		867	1.28	0.015	*	516
Other	1.00	-		1,389	1.00	-		2,782	1.00	-		1,714
Generation												
1st	1.45	0.061		114	1.84	0.000	***	227	1.63	0.003	**	164
2nd	0.88	0.333		291	1.23	0.130		223	1.14	0.477		121
3rd	0.90	0.255		654	1.14	0.064		1,118	0.94	0.562		400
4th	1.00	-		1,548	1.00	-		3,142	1.00	-		1,975
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		1,189	1.00	-		2,249	1.00	-		1,241
Female	0.57	0.000	***	1,418	0.88	0.024	*	2,461	1.04	0.613		1,419
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.81	0.023	*	1,005	0.62	0.000	***	846	0.54	0.000	***	217
High School Grad	1.00	-		790	1.00	-		2,100	1.00	-		1,043
Some College	1.82	0.000	***	311	1.42	0.000	***	808	1.31	0.008	**	627
College Grad	2.20	0.000	***	267	2.91	0.000	***	769	3.38	0.000	***	645
Don't Know	0.62	0.002	**	234	0.53	0.000	***	187	0.61	0.017	*	128
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.73	0.004	**	1,104	0.77	0.001	**	1,128	0.70	0.020	*	254
High School Grad	1.00	-		447	1.00	-		1,334	1.00	-		757
Some College	1.09	0.580		239	1.40	0.000	***	638	1.35	0.015	*	416
College Grad	1.92	0.000	***	352	3.22	0.000	***	1,073	3.50	0.000	***	805
Don't Know	0.64	0.001	**	465	0.74	0.005	**	537	0.86	0.225		428
Siblings												
0	1.23	0.163		265	1.05	0.702		303	0.69	0.046	*	134
1	1.00	-		626	1.00	-		1,148	1.00	-		748
2	0.85	0.178		556	0.89	0.177		1,255	0.86	0.140		692
3	0.69	0.004	**	397	0.69	0.000	***	877	0.68	0.001	**	458
4	0.69	0.015	*	229	0.60	0.000	***	483	0.49	0.000	***	271
5	0.57	0.001	**	195	0.57	0.000	***	248	0.51	0.000	***	131
6+	0.45	0.000	***	339	0.34	0.000	***	396	0.36	0.000	***	226
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		2,096	1.00	-		3,890	1.00	-		1,915
Single Mother	0.81	0.137		231	0.75	0.011	*	355	0.55	0.000	***	320
Mother & Stepfather	0.61	0.055		66	0.52	0.000	***	201	0.48	0.000	***	209
Other	0.67	0.006	**	214	0.63	0.000	***	264	0.40	0.000	***	216
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		476	1.00	-		693	1.00	-		305
Midwest	0.57	0.000	***	862	0.76	0.003	***	1,413	0.93	0.584		785
South	0.53	0.000	***	567	0.64	0.000	***	1,064	0.84	0.219		680
West	0.69	0.003	**	614	0.59	0.000	***	1,365	0.73	0.019	*	777
Foreign	0.96	0.861		88	1.44	0.042	*	175	1.68	0.023	*	113
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.78	0.071		754	0.85	0.155		1,108	0.67	0.008	**	581
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.90	0.423		1,357	1.25	0.031	*	2,372	0.84	0.185		1,375
Suburb near large city	1.07	0.706		205	1.46	0.001	**	772	1.18	0.298		446
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		291	1.00	-		458	1.00	-		258

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 26: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation, by Cohort, for White Protestants

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religio-Ethnicity									
British	1.19	0.065		1.37	0.000	***	1.48	0.001	**
German	0.93	0.521		1.11	0.221		1.23	0.055	
Other	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Generation									
1st	1.19	0.622		1.37	0.144		1.45	0.148	
2nd	0.95	0.738		1.19	0.244		1.06	0.781	
3rd	0.84	0.102		1.14	0.079		0.95	0.650	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.54	0.000	***	0.86	0.019	*	1.17	0.070	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	1.00	0.940		0.75	0.002	**	0.65	0.013	*
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.81	0.000	***	1.19	0.046	*	1.14	0.235	
College Grad	1.96	0.000	***	1.94	0.000	***	2.26	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.83	0.277		0.75	0.137		0.90	0.678	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.87	0.240		0.91	0.281		0.79	0.142	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.04	0.799		1.29	0.011	*	1.24	0.103	
College Grad	1.56	0.005	**	2.37	0.000	***	2.44	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.69	0.043	*	0.52	0.001	**	0.94	0.814	
Siblings									
0	1.39	0.036	*	1.13	0.372		0.79	0.237	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.87	0.224		0.86	0.085		0.91	0.405	
3	0.76	0.043	*	0.70	0.000	***	0.83	0.137	
4	0.76	0.089		0.67	0.000	***	0.66	0.007	**
5	0.71	0.048	**	0.67	0.012	*	0.74	0.140	
6+	0.57	0.000	***	0.43	0.000	***	0.51	0.000	***
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.10	0.637		1.83	0.005	**	0.84	0.533	
Mother & Stepfather	0.64	0.097		0.71	0.032	*	0.60	0.002	**
Other	0.82	0.249		1.00	0.953		0.62	0.017	*
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	0.64	0.000	***	0.86	0.141		0.98	0.915	
South	0.57	0.000	***	0.73	0.004	**	0.88	0.385	
West	0.76	0.041	*	0.63	0.000	***	0.65	0.004	**
Foreign	0.90	0.795		1.41	0.176		1.16	0.660	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	1.03	0.850		1.24	0.078		0.80	0.204	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.96	0.778		1.40	0.003	**	0.90	0.487	
Suburb near large city	0.91	0.656		1.37	0.015	*	1.19	0.327	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 27: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation, by Cohort, for White Catholics

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Generation												
1st	0.36	0.000	***	297	0.38	0.000	***	282	0.64	0.141		157
2nd	0.57	0.000	***	1,058	0.98	0.935		355	0.79	0.445		177
3rd	1.36	0.016	**	979	1.63	0.001	**	2,002	1.43	0.103		724
4th	1.00	-		504	1.00	-		1,406	1.00	-		1,083
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		1,194	1.00	-		1,850	1.00	-		997
Female	1.07	0.400		1,644	1.03	0.793		2,195	1.39	0.072		1,144
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.12	0.000	***	1,748	0.27	0.000	***	1,143	0.29	0.000	***	269
High School Grad	1.00	-		520	1.00	-		1,880	1.00	-		1,003
Some College	1.25	0.621		104	1.64	0.129		440	3.45	0.004	**	401
College Grad	1.88	0.396		51	4.58	0.010	**	329	3.50	0.008	**	339
Don't Know	0.08	0.000	***	415	0.16	0.000	***	253	0.18	0.000	***	129
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.17	0.000	***	1,660	0.26	0.000	***	1,305	0.20	0.000	***	309
High School Grad	1.00	-		305	1.00	-		1,207	1.00	-		643
Some College	1.58	0.323		100	1.37	0.377		400	1.22	0.639		312
College Grad	2.68	0.071		110	6.18	0.002	**	530	3.84	0.015	**	482
Don't Know	0.16	0.000	***	663	0.20	0.000	***	603	0.19	0.000	***	395
Siblings												
0	0.79	0.347		153	2.53	0.131		162	0.86	0.812		86
1	1.00	-		372	1.00	-		615	1.00	-		433
2	0.62	0.009	**	440	1.00	0.997		834	0.72	0.359		509
3	0.54	0.001	**	431	0.83	0.454		772	0.54	0.081		403
4	0.38	0.000	***	347	0.58	0.035	*	516	0.42	0.020	*	262
5	0.32	0.000	***	260	0.58	0.049	*	369	0.25	0.000	***	188
6+	0.19	0.000	***	835	0.26	0.000	***	777	0.21	0.000	***	260
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		2,205	1.00	-		3,323	1.00	-		1,557
Single Mother	1.08	0.562		273	0.50	0.000	***	353	0.40	0.000	***	267
Mother & Stepfather	0.45	0.001	**	68	0.40	0.001	**	129	0.41	0.006	**	139
Other	0.64	0.000	***	292	0.40	0.000	***	240	0.23	0.000	***	178
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		1,224	1.00	-		1,546	1.00	-		713
Midwest	1.07	0.471		943	1.25	0.165		1,281	1.08	0.762		611
South	0.69	0.043	*	143	0.70	0.146		257	0.65	0.180		210
West	1.11	0.448		318	0.80	0.193		769	0.53	0.007	**	496
Foreign	0.50	0.000	***	210	0.22	0.000	***	192	0.41	0.012	*	111
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.52	0.000	***	552	0.58	0.005	**	603	1.52	0.153		330
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.02	0.859		1,431	1.10	0.571		2,016	1.73	0.019	*	1,071
Suburb near large city	2.04	0.000	***	214	2.01	0.003	**	759	3.88	0.000	***	456
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		641	1.00	-		667	1.00	-		284

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 28: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation for White Catholics

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Generation									
1st	0.71	0.000	***	1.84	0.615		1.45	0.495	
2nd	0.98	0.893		1.33	0.225		1.08	0.829	
3rd	1.48	0.006	**	1.51	0.007	**	1.75	0.020	*
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.08	0.401		1.13	0.347		1.90	0.001	**
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.22	0.000	***	0.46	0.000	***	0.45	0.002	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.19	0.718		1.37	0.349		3.42	0.006	**
College Grad	1.69	0.498		3.59	0.035	*	2.77	0.040	*
Don't Know	0.16	0.000	***	0.29	0.000	***	0.43	0.014	*
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.24	0.000	***	0.39	0.000	***	0.30	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	0.93	0.873		1.25	0.537		1.02	0.965	
College Grad	1.60	0.412		4.22	0.019	*	2.36	0.130	
Don't Know	0.23	0.000	***	0.31	0.000	***	0.17	0.000	***
Siblings									
0	0.79	0.401		2.79	0.099		1.06	0.933	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.61	0.012	*	1.00	0.992		0.48	0.056	
3	0.65	0.027	*	0.73	0.221		0.53	0.098	
4	0.43	0.000	***	0.59	0.051		0.49	0.072	
5	0.39	0.000	***	0.55	0.040	*	0.28	0.001	**
6+	0.27	0.000	***	0.31	0.000	***	0.26	0.000	***
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.16	0.442		0.89	0.671		1.39	0.363	
Mother & Stepfather	0.26	0.000	***	0.40	0.002	**	0.49	0.048	*
Other	0.88	0.436		1.00	0.988		0.69	0.273	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.09	0.434		1.43	0.039	*	1.12	0.685	
South	0.59	0.014	*	0.75	0.280		0.61	0.170	
West	1.11	0.519		1.04	0.838		0.59	0.041	*
Foreign	1.14	0.614		0.34	0.002	**	0.62	0.438	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.71	0.015	*	0.77	0.214		2.13	0.024	*
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.16	0.215		1.11	0.568		1.54	0.104	
Suburb near large city	1.70	0.016	*	1.27	0.353		2.64	0.009	**
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 29: Bivariate Odds of Some College, by Cohort, for White Catholics

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Generation												
1st	1.07	0.724		145	1.51	0.009	**	229	1.14	0.529		142
2nd	0.61	0.000	***	639	1.11	0.410		326	1.23	0.285		163
3rd	0.86	0.230		768	1.21	0.012	*	1,900	1.05	0.666		691
4th	1.00	-		367	1.00	-		1,293	1.00	-		1,014
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		797	1.00	-		1,712	1.00	-		926
Female	0.52	0.000	***	1,122	0.78	0.000	***	2,036	1.07	0.489		1,084
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.53	0.000	***	1,073	0.59	0.000	***	990	0.64	0.003	**	228
High School Grad	1.00	-		483	1.00	-		1,804	1.00	-		953
Some College	3.45	0.000	***	98	2.24	0.000	***	429	2.19	0.000	***	395
College Grad	4.25	0.000	***	49	3.13	0.000	***	326	5.14	0.000	***	334
Don't Know	0.39	0.000	***	216	0.56	0.000	***	199	0.60	0.015	**	100
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.63	0.001	**	1,033	0.66	0.000	***	1,151	0.69	0.015	*	267
High School Grad	1.00	-		277	1.00	-		1,166	1.00	-		623
Some College	1.97	0.007	**	94	2.38	0.000	***	390	2.67	0.000	***	304
College Grad	3.97	0.000	***	106	4.50	0.000	***	527	4.11	0.000	***	478
Don't Know	0.58	0.001	**	409	0.77	0.018	*	514	0.73	0.022	*	338
Siblings												
0	0.89	0.592		124	1.36	0.133		159	0.77	0.331		83
1	1.00	-		314	1.00	-		587	1.00	-		420
2	0.78	0.113		339	0.86	0.192		796	0.95	0.724		488
3	0.67	0.012	*	321	0.85	0.183		730	0.86	0.365		381
4	0.58	0.002	**	234	0.66	0.001	**	477	0.90	0.561		244
5	0.43	0.000	***	164	0.78	0.084		341	0.76	0.171		167
6+	0.44	0.000	***	423	0.66	0.000	***	658	0.64	0.012	*	227
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1,521	1.00	-		3,119	1.00	-		1,493
Single Mother	1.00	0.980		193	0.93	0.556		312	0.59	0.000	***	241
Mother & Stepfather	0.94	0.855		34	1.07	0.745		111	0.58	0.004	**	126
Other	0.84	0.299		171	0.70	0.015	*	206	0.59	0.003	**	150
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		839	1.00	-		1,446	1.00	-		679
Midwest	1.18	0.107		660	0.88	0.118		1,214	1.22	0.107		584
South	1.95	0.004	**	86	1.76	0.001	**	234	1.42	0.062		195
West	1.27	0.109		225	1.25	0.022	*	708	1.16	0.259		453
Foreign	1.78	0.005	**	109	1.69	0.009	**	146	1.17	0.515		99
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.63	0.002	**	299	0.52	0.000	***	528	0.69	0.043	*	307
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.81	0.059		999	0.95	0.625		1,875	0.94	0.680		1,005
Suburb near large city	1.33	0.114		176	1.35	0.013	*	729	1.09	0.625		443
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		445	1.00	-		616	1.00	-		255

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 30: Multivariate Odds of Some College for White Catholics, by Cohort

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**P**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Generation									
1st	0.98	0.943		1.43	0.106		1.45	0.291	
2nd	0.99	0.933		1.35	0.035	*	1.55	0.038	*
3rd	1.01	0.918		1.32	0.001	**	1.20	0.124	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.48	0.000	***	0.79	0.001	**	1.22	0.069	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.72	0.009	**	0.75	0.001	**	0.73	0.059	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	3.26	0.000	***	1.89	0.000	***	1.94	0.000	***
College Grad	3.47	0.003	**	1.98	0.000	***	4.11	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.48	0.000	***	0.79	0.205		0.73	0.240	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.82	0.182		0.73	0.001	**	0.78	0.120	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.84	0.023	*	2.14	0.000	***	2.42	0.000	***
College Grad	2.95	0.000	***	3.22	0.000	***	2.77	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.62	0.023	*	0.58	0.034	*	0.52	0.007	**
Siblings									
0	0.88	0.577		1.58	0.034	*	0.93	0.793	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.76	0.110		0.87	0.243		0.84	0.308	
3	0.73	0.062	*	0.79	0.068		0.96	0.807	
4	0.68	0.036	*	0.65	0.002	**	1.13	0.532	
5	0.43	0.000	***	0.75	0.061		0.93	0.750	
6+	0.55	0.000	***	0.65	0.001	**	0.78	0.200	
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.37	0.171		1.54	0.033	*	1.36	0.261	
Mother & Stepfather	0.91	0.816		1.00	0.986		0.60	0.017	*
Other	1.21	0.316		0.93	0.898		1.08	0.755	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.14	0.274		0.99	0.898		1.28	0.072	
South	1.70	0.036	*	1.64	0.004	**	1.28	0.224	
West	1.23	0.214		1.32	0.010	*	1.11	0.491	
Foreign	1.82	0.112		1.50	0.150		1.14	0.740	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.76	0.093		0.59	0.000	***	0.77	0.201	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.85	0.202		0.92	0.425		0.92	0.623	
Suburb near large city	1.32	0.152		1.11	0.405		0.94	0.732	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 31: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation by Cohort, for White Catholics

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Generation												
1st	0.99	0.965		76	0.98	0.915		164	0.90	0.625		105
2nd	0.77	0.169		247	1.06	0.700		212	1.34	0.136		123
3rd	0.86	0.396		360	0.94	0.516		1,271	0.92	0.476		500
4th	1.00	-		186	1.00	-		809	1.00	-		724
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		435	1.00	-		1,173	1.00	-		662
Female	0.52	0.000	***	434	0.84	0.033	*	1,283	0.98	0.821		790
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.72	0.042	*	416	0.96	0.680		531	0.53	0.002	**	129
High School Grad	1.00	-		264	1.00	-		1,192	1.00	-		640
Some College	1.18	0.514		79	1.67	0.000	***	349	1.27	0.084		323
College Grad	1.82	0.090		41	2.69	0.000	***	280	2.17	0.000	***	305
Don't Know	0.72	0.236		69	0.48	0.001	**	104	0.48	0.013	**	55
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.95	0.777		417	0.86	0.165		623	0.71	0.074		155
High School Grad	1.00	-		144	1.00	-		749	1.00	-		415
Some College	0.99	0.982		64	0.90	0.427		316	1.24	0.175		256
College Grad	1.70	0.056		86	2.67	0.000	***	469	2.55	0.000	***	426
Don't Know	0.78	0.280		158	0.90	0.428		299	0.82	0.263		200
Siblings												
0	0.85	0.562		66	1.01	0.948		121	1.03	0.921		58
1	1.00	-		176	1.00	-		411	1.00	-		315
2	0.82	0.372		169	0.83	0.150		531	0.95	0.726		361
3	0.70	0.105		148	0.79	0.079		486	0.81	0.200		275
4	0.56	0.024	*	99	0.88	0.423		289	0.67	0.031		178
5	0.65	0.152		58	0.67	0.018	*	220	0.93	0.727		116
6+	0.57	0.012	*	153	0.66	0.004	**	398	0.51	0.001	**	149
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		695	1.00	-		2,061	1.00	-		1,122
Single Mother	0.80	0.336		88	0.95	0.739		201	0.71	0.045	*	154
Mother & Stepfather	1.21	0.719		15	0.36	0.000	***	75	0.55	0.012	*	80
Other	0.97	0.905		71	0.42	0.000	***	119	0.47	0.001	**	96
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		349	1.00	-		931	1.00	-		472
Midwest	1.06	0.722		302	0.80	0.022	*	746	0.97	0.791		430
South	1.42	0.250		50	1.09	0.611		178	0.64	0.019	*	149
West	0.81	0.344		107	0.72	0.004	**	491	0.66	0.004	**	329
Foreign	1.31	0.326		61	1.11	0.604		110	1.20	0.482		72
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.71	0.137		113	0.82	0.211		272	0.75	0.163		202
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.90	0.544		438	0.96	0.691		1,237	0.95	0.776		728
Suburb near large city	1.52	0.090		99	1.24	0.101		534	1.24	0.237		334
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		219	1.00	-		413	1.00	-		188

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 32: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation by Cohort, for White Catholics

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Generation									
1st	0.72	0.505		0.80	0.349		0.54	0.100	
2nd	0.90	0.636		1.12	0.489		1.84	0.005	**
3rd	0.91	0.632		0.97	0.762		0.97	0.795	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.46	0.000	***	0.82	0.021	*	1.06	0.623	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.75	0.111		1.12	0.324		0.55	0.007	**
High School Grad	1.00	0.718		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.10	0.114		1.50	0.002	**	1.15	0.338	
College Grad	1.80	0.123		2.15	0.000	***	1.80	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.60	0.372		0.72	0.206		0.60	0.199	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	1.21	0.372		0.82	0.085		0.79	0.243	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.00	0.995		0.84	0.211		1.19	0.285	
College Grad	1.68	0.083		2.15	0.000	***	2.12	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.99	0.966		0.73	0.198		0.46	0.047	*
Siblings									
0	0.83	0.541		1.17	0.463		1.23	0.514	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.77	0.242		0.82	0.140		0.92	0.606	
3	0.64	0.055		0.72	0.020	*	0.85	0.362	
4	0.61	0.059		0.81	0.194		0.76	0.168	
5	0.64	0.156		0.58	0.003	**	1.06	0.792	
6+	0.62	0.045	*	0.63	0.002	**	0.60	0.018	*
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.89	0.738		1.31	0.337		1.92	0.117	
Mother & Stepfather	1.31	0.618		0.38	0.000	***	0.61	0.044	*
Other	1.25	0.462		0.52	0.005	**	0.60	0.771	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.09	0.627		0.86	0.167		0.96	0.795	
South	1.33	0.377		1.06	0.739		0.55	0.003	**
West	0.86	0.528		0.75	0.017	*	0.60	0.001	**
Foreign	1.69	0.315		1.31	0.340		2.69	0.028	*
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.78	0.338		0.89	0.477		0.88	0.562	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.92	0.644		0.92	0.507		1.00	0.993	
Suburb near large city	1.62	0.064		1.07	0.649		1.20	0.369	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 33: Bivariate Odds of High School Graduation by Cohort, for Blacks

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Generation												
1st	1.27	0.431		44	0.82	0.340		136	0.99	0.984		125
2nd	3.25	0.016	*	20	1.88	0.190		38	1.28	0.647		39
3rd	1.39	0.240		52	6.85	0.001	**	75	1.12	0.799		52
4th	1.00	-		1,341	1.00	-		1,955	1.00	-		1,209
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		562	1.00	-		838	1.00	-		506
Female	0.90	0.357		895	1.04	0.698		1,366	0.75	0.099		919
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.20	0.000	***	964	0.35	0.000	***	1,093	0.36	0.000	***	377
High School Grad	1.00	-		138	1.00	-		573	1.00	-		488
Some College	2.07	0.160		38	2.29	0.018	*	183	2.11	0.032	*	251
College Grad	1.00	-		21	3.62	0.033	*	85	7.44	0.006	**	156
Don't Know	0.12	0.000	***	296	0.24	0.000	***	270	0.23	0.000	***	153
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.16	0.000	***	812	0.43	0.000	***	929	0.43	0.005	**	246
High School Grad	1.00	-		64	1.00	-		315	1.00	-		293
Some College	0.55	0.342		17	1.86	0.147		108	1.26	0.653		96
College Grad	2.19	0.332		21	4.06	0.058		65	1.00	-		110
Don't Know	0.14	0.000	***	543	0.34	0.000	***	787	0.32	0.000	***	680
Siblings												
0	0.96	0.891		107	1.18	0.687		87	0.52	0.192		47
1	1.00	-		107	1.00	-		135	1.00	-		156
2	0.88	0.623		127	1.24	0.721		216	0.95	0.896		218
3	1.11	0.689		130	0.79	0.430		263	0.81	0.563		228
4	0.84	0.525		138	0.69	0.210		251	0.77	0.481		189
5	0.70	0.180		134	0.65	0.154		213	0.60	0.185		137
6+	0.58	0.009	**	714	0.39	0.000	***	1,039	0.42	0.006	**	450
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		830	1.00	-		1,252	1.00	-		632
Single Mother	0.94	0.665		244	0.60	0.000	***	485	0.44	0.000	***	491
Mother & Stepfather	0.62	0.062		76	0.58	0.007	**	142	0.50	0.028	*	106
Other	0.68	0.005	**	307	0.51	0.000	***	325	0.33	0.000	***	196
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		109	1.00	-		281	1.00	-		244
Midwest	1.24	0.376		191	1.22	0.350		420	1.43	0.164		265
South	0.38	0.000	***	865	0.58	0.002	**	986	1.53	0.053		537
West	0.55	0.009	**	254	0.66	0.042	*	391	1.44	0.146		284
Foreign	0.70	0.352		38	0.53	0.014	*	126	1.24	0.538		95
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.31	0.000	***	623	0.40	0.000	***	492	1.03	0.890		174
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.84	0.234		520	0.70	0.007	**	931	1.47	0.033	*	654
Suburb near large city	1.10	0.766		48	1.33	0.327		128	1.97	0.039	*	142
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		266	1.00	-		653	1.00	-		455

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 34: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation by Cohort, for Blacks

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**P**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Generation									
1st	0.24	0.111		1.99	0.456		2.45	0.126	
2nd	2.02	0.185		1.73	0.279		1.48	0.504	
3rd	0.69	0.265		4.64	0.011	*	1.04	0.942	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.00	0.968		1.12	0.321		0.83	0.305	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.30	0.000	***	0.46	0.000	***	0.38	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.92	0.225		2.02	0.049	*	1.97	0.057	
College Grad	1.00	-		2.56	0.125		5.33	0.024	*
Don't Know	0.21	0.000	***	0.34	0.000	***	0.29	0.000	***
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.35	0.004	**	0.80	0.298		0.63	0.153	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	0.31	0.105		1.84	0.172		1.12	0.831	
College Grad	1.38	0.719		2.45	0.235		1.00	-	
Don't Know	0.24	0.000	***	0.59	0.027	*	0.45	0.014	*
Siblings									
0	0.99	0.982		1.14	0.759		0.56	0.283	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.76	0.346		1.17	0.649		1.18	0.680	
3	1.00	0.992		0.79	0.460		1.13	0.747	
4	0.72	0.258		0.72	0.301		1.04	0.918	
5	0.75	0.318		0.72	0.319		1.00	0.992	
6+	0.68	0.098		0.52	0.018	*	0.81	0.541	
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.08	0.742		0.79	0.248		0.75	0.319	
Mother & Stepfather	0.61	0.072		0.56	0.008	**	0.41	0.013	*
Other	0.79	0.154		0.76	0.105		0.72	0.251	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.26	0.390		1.25	0.326		1.52	0.135	
South	0.63	0.054		0.88	0.533		1.58	0.073	
West	0.86	0.580		0.81	0.351		1.39	0.247	
Foreign	3.25	0.218		0.33	0.250		0.43	0.204	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.51	0.000	***	0.69	0.031	*	1.25	0.429	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.20	0.292		0.97	0.860		1.58	0.023	*
Suburb near large city	1.20	0.608		1.18	0.597		1.46	0.296	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 35: Bivariate Odds of Some College by Cohort, for Blacks

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Generation												
1st	1.69	0.243		21	1.75	0.012	*	101	1.77	0.009	**	109
2nd	1.27	0.662		14	1.48	0.293		33	2.94	0.012	*	35
3rd	1.73	0.178		26	1.92	0.015	*	72	1.38	0.309		46
4th	1.00	-		560	1.00	-		1,521	1.00	-		1,055
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		248	1.00	-		653	1.00	-		452
Female	0.90	0.534		373	1.02	0.817		1,074	1.69	0.000	***	793
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	0.66	0.057		378	0.62	0.000	***	791	0.61	0.001	**	298
High School Grad	1.00	-		105	1.00	-		506	1.00	-		445
Some College	1.53	0.300		33	2.65	0.000	***	173	1.94	0.000	***	240
College Grad	2.80	0.060		21	4.33	0.000	***	82	3.38	0.000	***	154
Don't Know	0.39	0.002	**	84	0.64	0.000	***	175	0.81	0.327		108
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.75	0.330		332	0.49	0.000	***	714	0.92	0.633		212
High School Grad	1.00	-		52	1.00	-		279	1.00	-		274
Some College	5.00	0.050		12	1.92	0.022	*	101	2.12	0.005	**	91
College Grad	2.80	0.081		19	6.57	0.000	***	63	7.22	0.000	***	110
Don't Know	0.76	0.379		206	0.54	0.000	***	570	1.03	0.866		558
Siblings												
0	0.77	0.503		53	1.09	0.796		77	1.02	0.953		40
1	1.00	-		54	1.00	-		117	1.00	-		143
2	0.60	0.173		60	1.08	0.764		190	0.70	0.134		199
3	0.52	0.076		69	0.91	0.708		220	0.59	0.027	*	205
4	0.53	0.088		64	0.61	0.046	*	205	0.47	0.002	**	169
5	0.64	0.242		56	0.47	0.003	**	172	0.62	0.068		119
6+	0.40	0.003	**	265	0.54	0.004	**	746	0.42	0.000	***	370
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		377	1.00	-		1,034	1.00	-		584
Single Mother	1.21	0.376		107	0.89	0.338		359	0.88	0.317		413
Mother & Stepfather	0.64	0.279		26	0.82	0.344		104	1.08	0.736		91
Other	0.84	0.436		111	0.82	0.172		230	0.94	0.724		157
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		64	1.00	-		235	1.00	-		204
Midwest	1.46	0.224		122	1.22	0.252		362	0.77	0.185		233
South	1.18	0.561		305	0.79	0.115		736	0.76	0.110		476
West	1.07	0.824		111	1.21	0.295		302	0.85	0.417		250
Foreign	2.01	0.188		19	1.66	0.055		92	1.30	0.353		82
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.40	0.000	***	176	0.45	0.000	***	334	0.45	0.000	***	148
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.78	0.223		268	0.77	0.027	*	732	0.76	0.042	*	582
Suburb near large city	0.84	0.671		28	1.08	0.722		112	1.06	0.801		130
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		149	1.00	-		549	1.00	-		385

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 36: Multivariate Odds of Some College by Cohort, for Blacks

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Generation									
1st	1.28	0.825		1.70	0.400		2.34	0.026	*
2nd	1.52	0.480		1.45	0.352		2.32	0.066	
3rd	1.10	0.832		1.46	0.187		1.05	0.893	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.01	0.956		1.12	0.309		1.97	0.000	***
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.73	0.212		0.78	0.054		0.63	0.006	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.46	0.384		2.30	0.000	***	1.84	0.001	**
College Grad	1.99	0.249		3.12	0.002	**	2.48	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.50	0.048	*	0.76	0.181		0.80	0.369	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	1.14	0.703		0.70	0.034	*	1.30	0.211	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	3.97	0.112		1.66	0.087		1.98	0.014	*
College Grad	2.50	0.153		4.48	0.006	**	4.57	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.77	0.504		0.57	0.008	**	0.96	0.859	
Siblings									
0	0.84	0.678		1.16	0.655		1.11	0.803	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.49	0.084		1.08	0.783		0.75	0.268	
3	0.48	0.061		0.91	0.712		0.67	0.107	
4	0.53	0.111		0.64	0.091		0.61	0.054	
5	0.61	0.231		0.55	0.023	*	0.87	0.625	
6+	0.46	0.015	*	0.70	0.117		0.58	0.022	*
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.77	0.096		1.22	0.487		1.17	0.519	
Mother & Stepfather	0.66	0.357		0.80	0.103		1.01	0.979	
Other	1.00	0.999		1.13	0.196		1.29	0.247	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.48	0.248		1.35	0.103		0.82	0.354	
South	1.87	0.053		1.26	0.196		1.00	0.989	
West	1.50	0.251		1.56	0.023	*	1.01	0.945	
Foreign	2.32	0.459		1.12	0.869		0.69	0.405	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.40	0.001	**	0.60	0.003	**	0.55	0.008	**
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.76	0.226		0.84	0.198		0.76	0.077	
Suburb near large city	0.67	0.370		0.91	0.699		0.75	0.224	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 37: Bivariate Odds of College Graduation by Cohort, for Blacks

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939				Birth Cohort 1940-1959				Birth Cohort 1960-1985			
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**	**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**n**
Generation												
1st	1.29	0.671		12	2.12	0.003	**	71	1.93	0.008	**	77
2nd	1.36	0.695		7	2.30	0.054		22	2.71	0.010	*	28
3rd	0.90	0.857		15	1.69	0.072		52	3.54	0.001	**	30
4th	1.00	-		247	1.00	-		874	1.00	-		608
Gender												
Male	1.00	-		116	1.00	-		383	1.00	-		233
Female	0.86	0.560		165	0.76	0.050		636	0.92	0.629		510
Mother's Education												
Less than HS	1.06	0.870		162	0.73	0.049	*	400	0.88	0.592		134
High School Grad	1.00	-		56	1.00	-		316	1.00	-		254
Some College	1.58	0.382		21	0.98	0.938		141	1.37	0.143		173
College Grad	14.78	0.001	**	16	2.06	0.006	**	72	2.38	0.000	***	126
Don't Know	0.63	0.403		26	0.56	0.037	*	90	0.84	0.625		56
Father's Education												
Less than HS	0.72	0.447		142	0.74	0.116		373	0.72	0.222		113
High School Grad	1.00	-		26	1.00	-		193	1.00	-		152
Some College	0.34	0.224		10	1.31	0.317		82	0.80	0.489		66
College Grad	3.41	0.085		14	2.96	0.000	***	59	2.02	0.008	**	99
Don't Know	0.66	0.361		89	0.60	0.009	**	312	0.65	0.043	*	313
Siblings												
0	1.12	0.824		29	0.81	0.574		54	1.57	0.300		29
1	1.00	-		33	1.00	-		80	1.00	-		103
2	0.73	0.550		29	0.77	0.365		133	1.42	0.208		128
3	0.49	0.178		31	0.85	0.583		146	0.98	0.945		124
4	0.46	0.149		29	0.67	0.182		117	0.86	0.634		93
5	0.67	0.442		28	0.42	0.012	*	87	0.78	0.468		73
6+	0.60	0.210		102	0.70	0.158		402	0.78	0.345		193
Family Structure												
Mother and Father	1.00	-		172	1.00	-		626	1.00	-		355
Single Mother	0.47	0.035	*	54	0.64	0.011	*	207	0.61	0.008	**	238
Mother & Stepfather	1.19	0.797		9	0.45	0.017	*	58	0.58	0.093		57
Other	0.72	0.354		46	0.62	0.029	*	128	0.62	0.065		93
Region of Residence												
Northeast	1.00	-		26	1.00	-		139	1.00	-		130
Midwest	0.97	0.946		61	0.63	0.048		231	0.75	0.277		134
South	2.02	0.139		136	1.03	0.894		392	0.65	0.057		272
West	1.27	0.657		47	0.91	0.696		192	0.64	0.088		150
Foreign	2.26	0.276		11	2.02	0.022	*	65	1.59	0.150		57
Size of Residence												
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	1.12	0.759		57	1.11	0.605		153	0.45	0.018		67
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.46	0.204		129	1.31	0.418		433	0.78	0.165		340
Suburb near large city	1.68	0.380		14	1.05	0.866		75	0.86	0.565		86
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		81	1.00	-		358	1.00	-		250

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 38: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation by Cohort, for Blacks

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Generation									
1st	1.04	0.977		1.29	0.692		1.35	0.475	
2nd	2.11	0.398		2.60	0.042	*	2.55	0.026	*
3rd	1.01	0.989		1.44	0.248		3.14	0.005	**
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.77	0.376		0.79	0.101		1.04	0.816	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	1.08	0.847		0.75	0.114		1.05	0.870	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	2.82	0.099		0.84	0.455		1.44	0.108	
College Grad	18.93	0.003	**	1.64	0.087		1.90	0.012	*
Don't Know	0.46	0.244		0.60	0.095		0.81	0.603	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.97	0.953		0.88	0.542		0.76	0.371	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	0.11	0.050		1.27	0.399		0.70	0.297	
College Grad	3.75	0.160		2.54	0.005	**	1.33	0.344	
Don't Know	2.17	0.241		0.61	0.124		0.54	0.114	
Siblings									
0	0.98	0.977		0.80	0.561		1.86	0.180	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.65	0.485		0.82	0.525		1.64	0.096	
3	0.39	0.119		0.80	0.453		1.18	0.589	
4	0.28	0.043	*	0.66	0.190		1.04	0.912	
5	0.53	0.293		0.43	0.020	*	1.10	0.791	
6+	0.55	0.194		0.75	0.283		0.99	0.973	
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.21	0.010	*	1.09	0.789		1.06	0.880	
Mother & Stepfather	1.32	0.713		0.54	0.077		0.62	0.173	
Other	0.54	0.167		0.89	0.640		1.03	0.925	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.05	0.933		0.70	0.163		0.83	0.522	
South	2.35	0.145		1.32	0.247		0.84	0.486	
West	1.11	0.867		1.03	0.905		0.69	0.200	
Foreign	2.93	0.485		1.47	0.572		1.30	0.584	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	1.08	0.876		1.06	0.801		0.53	0.081	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.65	0.182		1.01	0.936		0.84	0.364	
Suburb near large city	1.90	0.373		0.79	0.418		0.63	0.116	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 39: Multivariate Odds of High School Completion for White Catholics (Including Ethnic Groups)

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	p		Odds Ratio	p		Odds Ratio	p	
Ethnic Group									
Irish	1.48	0.007	**	1.08	0.709		0.95	0.861	
Italians	0.93	0.520		0.78	0.173		1.50	0.159	
Other Catholics	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Generation									
1st	0.45	0.001	**	1.26	0.501		1.47	0.484	
2nd	1.07	0.645		1.41	0.153		1.00	0.998	
3rd	1.49	0.005	**	1.59	0.004	**	1.66	0.039	*
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.07	0.464		1.13	0.343		1.88	0.002	**
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.23	0.000	***	0.46	0.000	***	0.45	0.002	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.16	0.751		1.36	0.365		3.39	0.007	**
College Grad	1.70	0.496		3.62	0.034	*	2.76	0.041	*
Don't Know	0.16	0.000	***	0.29	0.000	***	0.42	0.013	*
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.25	0.000	***	0.39	0.000	***	0.30	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	0.91	0.839		1.25	0.535		1.02	0.971	
College Grad	1.59	0.419		4.19	0.019	*	2.42	0.120	
Don't Know	0.24	0.000	***	0.31	0.000	***	0.17	0.000	***
Siblings									
0	0.79	0.397		2.72	0.108		1.08	0.910	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.61	0.012	*	1.00	0.998		0.50	0.077	
3	0.64	0.025	*	0.72	0.209		0.55	0.118	
4	0.43	0.000	***	0.59	0.047	*	0.52	0.101	
5	0.40	0.000	***	0.54	0.034	*	0.29	0.002	**
6+	0.27	0.000	***	0.30	0.000	***	0.28	0.001	**
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.14	0.496		0.89	0.670		1.42	0.333	
Mother & Stepfather	0.26	0.000		0.40	0.002	**	0.47	0.039	*
Other	0.87	0.384		1.00	0.989		0.69	0.274	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.10	0.358		1.40	0.061		1.18	0.562	
South	0.60	0.017	*	0.75	0.271		0.62	0.178	
West	1.15	0.382		1.03	0.882		0.60	0.054	
Foreign	1.13	0.652		0.33	0.002	**	0.61	0.423	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.73	0.023	*	0.76	0.200		2.10	0.027	*
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.17	0.183		1.11	0.589		1.52	0.118	
Suburb near large city	1.70	0.017	*	1.26	0.362		2.59	0.011	*
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 40: Multivariate Odds of Some College for White Catholics (Including Ethnic Group)

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	p		Odds Ratio	p		Odds Ratio	p	
Ethnic Group									
Irish	1.28	0.058		1.23	0.049	*	1.83	0.000	***
Italians	1.00	0.976		0.99	0.891		1.10	0.494	
Other Catholics	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Generation									
1st	1.02	0.962		1.49	0.075		1.57	0.196	
2nd	1.03	0.852		1.40	0.019	*	1.61	0.026	*
3rd	1.02	0.909		1.36	0.000	***	1.24	0.082	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.47	0.000	***	0.79	0.001	**	1.21	0.079	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.73	0.015	*	0.76	0.002	**	0.76	0.092	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	3.16	0.000	***	1.89	0.000	***	1.93	0.000	***
College Grad	3.45	0.003	**	1.94	0.000	***	4.12	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.49	0.000	***	0.79	0.211		0.76	0.325	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.83	0.211		0.74	0.001	**	0.78	0.125	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.82	0.025	*	2.12	0.000	***	2.40	0.000	***
College Grad	2.99	0.000	***	3.21	0.000	***	2.71	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.63	0.030	*	0.58	0.001	**	0.53	0.009	**
Siblings									
0	0.89	0.609		1.57	0.036	*	0.90	0.720	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.77	0.124		0.87	0.249		0.83	0.262	
3	0.73	0.061		0.79	0.064		0.95	0.773	
4	0.67	0.033	*	0.64	0.001	**	1.11	0.603	
5	0.43	0.000	***	0.74	0.059		0.92	0.693	
6+	0.54	0.000	***	1.57	0.001	**	0.75	0.148	
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.36	0.181		1.53	0.036	*	1.34	0.291	
Mother & Stepfather	0.93	0.845		1.00	0.995		0.61	0.019	*
Other	1.21	0.337		0.93	0.689		1.03	0.898	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.17	0.187		1.01	0.903		1.33	0.041	*
South	1.72	0.031	*	1.67	0.003	**	1.32	0.174	
West	1.27	0.157		1.35	0.006	**	1.18	0.259	
Foreign	1.88	0.096		1.51	0.141		1.17	0.694	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.77	0.122		0.60	0.000	***	0.81	0.311	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.86	0.239		0.93	0.492		0.95	0.755	
Suburb near large city	1.33	0.149		1.11	0.411		0.94	0.744	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 41: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation for White Catholics (Including Ethnic Group)

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Ethnic Group									
Irish	1.40	0.064		0.94	0.604		0.95	0.734	
Italians	0.66	0.067		0.85	0.186		1.07	0.646	
Other Catholics	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Generation									
1st	0.82	0.694		0.80	0.349		0.54	0.103	
2nd	1.06	0.804		1.15	0.405		1.82	0.006	**
3rd	0.96	0.817		0.99	0.910		0.95	0.713	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.45	0.000	***	0.82	0.022	*	1.06	0.622	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.79	0.212		1.11	0.353		0.55	0.007	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.08	0.779		1.49	0.002	**	1.15	0.336	
College Grad	1.83	0.107		2.15	0.000	***	1.80	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.63	0.156		0.72	0.202		0.60	0.199	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	1.27	0.278		0.82	0.090		0.78	0.239	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	0.99	0.985		0.84	0.209		1.19	0.000	***
College Grad	1.76	0.061		2.15	0.000	***	2.14	0.045	*
Don't Know	1.05	0.881		0.73	0.200		0.46	0.524	
Siblings									
0	0.82	0.511		1.16	0.484		1.22	0.524	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.77	0.245		0.81	0.133		0.92	0.635	
3	0.62	0.042	*	0.72	0.018		0.85	0.373	
4	0.58	0.045	*	0.80	0.173		0.77	0.186	
5	0.61	0.122		0.57	0.002	**	1.08	0.756	
6+	0.61	0.035	*	0.62	0.002	**	0.60	0.022	*
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.85	0.643		1.31	0.328		1.94	0.113	
Mother & Stepfather	1.22	0.714		0.38	0.000	***	0.60	0.041	*
Other	1.22	0.516		0.52	0.005	**	0.92	0.774	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.09	0.639		0.84	0.108		0.97	0.834	
South	1.34	0.369		1.05	0.795		0.55	0.003	**
West	0.86	0.540		0.74	0.012	*	0.60	0.001	**
Foreign	1.67	0.330		1.28	0.393		2.67	0.029	*
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.78	0.323		0.88	0.441		0.88	0.551	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.90	0.544		0.92	0.489		1.00	0.981	
Suburb near large city	1.59	0.076		1.06	0.656		1.20	0.372	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 42: Multivariate Odds of High School Graduation for Blacks (Including Ethnic Group)

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religion									
Protestant	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Catholic	0.82	0.000	***	0.86	0.028	**	0.84	0.045	*
Generation									
1st	0.51	0.000	***	1.10	0.560		0.98	0.918	
2nd	1.15	0.042	*	1.31	0.029	*	1.23	0.184	
3rd	1.44	0.000	***	1.57	0.000	***	1.45	0.005	**
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.04	0.324		1.19	0.001	**	1.21	0.013	*
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.28	0.000	***	0.36	0.000	***	0.38	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.76	0.004	**	1.78	0.001	**	1.97	0.000	***
College Grad	2.59	0.002	**	2.87	0.000	***	3.31	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.24	0.000	***	0.30	0.000	***	0.28	0.000	***
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.30	0.000	***	0.48	0.000	***	0.38	0.000	***
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.13	0.566		1.59	0.011	*	1.97	0.004	**
College Grad	2.24	0.004	**	3.97	0.000	***	2.42	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.26	0.000	***	0.34	0.000	***	0.39	0.000	***
Siblings									
0	0.95	0.679		1.10	0.602		1.05	0.854	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.71	0.000	***	0.98	0.839		0.81	0.157	
3	0.62	0.000	***	0.62	0.000	***	0.82	0.203	
4	0.46	0.000	***	0.58	0.000	***	0.64	0.004	**
5	0.42	0.000	***	0.49	0.000	***	0.62	0.004	**
6+	0.29	0.000	***	0.33	0.000	***	0.45	0.000	***
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.91	0.276		0.94	0.543		0.85	0.243	
Mother & Stepfather	0.50	0.000	***	0.64	0.000	***	0.51	0.000	***
Other	0.70	0.000	***	0.82	0.030	*	0.80	0.076	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.06	0.354		0.66	0.295		1.10	0.490	
South	0.60	0.000	***	0.80	0.000	***	0.96	0.736	
West	1.00	0.934		0.48	0.015	*	0.76	0.024	*
Foreign	1.23	0.199		0.86	0.000	***	0.56	0.002	**
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.64	0.000	***	0.86	0.067		1.03	0.807	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.14	0.057		1.10	0.243		1.10	0.321	
Suburb near large city	1.34	0.018	*	1.36	0.013	*	1.51	0.009	**
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 43: Multivariate Odds of College Entry for Blacks (Including Ethnic Groups)

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	**p**		**Odds Ratio**	**P**		**Odds Ratio**	**p**	
Religion									
Protestant	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Catholic	1.64	0.232		1.24	0.301		0.99	0.974	
Generation									
1st	1.22	0.856		1.64	0.436		2.34	0.026	*
2nd	1.41	0.557		1.39	0.412		2.32	0.066	
3rd	1.02	0.956		1.45	0.197		1.05	0.892	
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	1.00	0.978		1.12	0.303		1.97	0.000	***
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.74	0.222		0.78	0.060		0.63	0.007	**
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	1.47	0.378		2.28	0.000	***	1.84	0.001	**
College Grad	2.00	0.246		3.12	0.002	**	2.48	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.50	0.050		0.77	0.191		0.80	0.369	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	1.19	0.605		0.71	0.039	*	1.30	0.211	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	3.84	0.121		1.66	0.088		1.98	0.014	*
College Grad	2.54	0.144		4.40	0.006	**	4.57	0.000	***
Don't Know	0.80	0.585		0.58	0.009	**	0.96	0.859	
Siblings									
0	0.79	0.572		1.17	0.644		1.11	0.803	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.49	0.080		1.08	0.777		0.75	0.268	
3	0.47	0.054		0.91	0.709		0.67	0.107	
4	0.53	0.107		0.64	0.089		0.61	0.054	
5	0.60	0.220		0.55	0.023	*	0.87	0.624	
6+	0.45	0.014	*	0.70	0.117		0.58	0.022	*
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	1.78	0.095		1.22	0.343		1.17	0.519	
Mother & Stepfather	0.65	0.345		0.80	0.324		1.01	0.980	
Other	1.00	0.475		1.13	0.482		1.30	0.247	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.49	0.241		1.37	0.092		0.82	0.354	
South	1.86	0.055		1.27	0.170		1.00	0.991	
West	1.44	0.309		1.57	0.022	*	1.02	0.944	
Foreign	2.02	0.538		1.11	0.881		0.69	0.406	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	0.40	0.001	**	0.61	0.003	**	0.55	0.008	**
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	0.77	0.254		0.85	0.218		0.76	0.077	
Suburb near large city	0.69	0.404		0.91	0.702		0.75	0.224	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Table 44: Multivariate Odds of College Graduation for Blacks (Including Ethnic Group)

	Birth Cohort 1880-1939			Birth Cohort 1940-1959			Birth Cohort 1960-1985		
	Odds Ratio	p		Odds Ratio	p		Odds Ratio	p	
Religion									
Protestant	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Catholic	0.35	0.120		1.27	0.295		1.10	0.701	
Generation									
1st	1.23	0.889		1.19	0.787		1.33	0.497	
2nd	2.01	0.438		2.47	0.055		2.54	0.027	*
3rd	1.07	0.920		1.42	0.265		3.14	0.005	**
4th	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Gender									
Male	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Female	0.76	0.351		0.79	0.107		1.05	0.804	
Mother's Education									
Less than HS	0.99	0.970		0.76	0.126		1.04	0.878	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	2.75	0.107		0.84	0.437		1.44	0.108	
College Grad	18.81	0.005	**	1.64	0.086		1.88	0.014	*
Don't Know	0.43	0.210		0.60	0.098		0.82	0.608	
Father's Education									
Less than HS	0.94	0.970		0.88	0.544		0.77	0.376	
High School Grad	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Some College	0.13	0.107		1.25	0.432		0.71	0.305	
College Grad	3.78	0.005	**	2.50	0.006	**	1.33	0.344	
Don't Know	2.14	0.210		0.61	0.123		0.55	0.116	
Siblings									
0	1.11	0.862		0.79	0.553		1.85	0.184	
1	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
2	0.63	0.449		0.81	0.503		1.63	0.099	
3	0.39	0.113		0.79	0.441		1.18	0.592	
4	0.28	0.045	*	0.64	0.174		1.03	0.919	
5	0.52	0.281		0.42	0.018	*	1.10	0.789	
6+	0.54	0.189		0.74	0.276		0.99	0.969	
Family Structure									
Mother and Father	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Single Mother	0.21	0.011	*	1.10	0.776		1.06	0.879	
Mother & Stepfather	1.44	0.633		0.54	0.079		0.62	0.185	
Other	0.56	0.205		0.90	0.689		1.03	0.936	
Region of Residence									
Northeast	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	
Midwest	1.11	0.862		0.71	0.179		0.83	0.523	
South	2.44	0.132		1.35	0.206		0.84	0.509	
West	1.26	0.722		1.04	0.868		0.69	0.196	
Foreign	4.38	0.335		1.51	0.545		1.30	0.593	
Size of Residence									
Rural (Farm or country, non-farm)	1.08	0.871		1.07	0.778		0.53	0.084	
Small/medium city (up to 250,000)	1.62	0.203		1.02	0.917		0.84	0.364	
Suburb near large city	1.81	0.413		0.80	0.450		0.69	0.114	
Large City (over 250,000)	1.00	-		1.00	-		1.00	-	

*p< .05
** p< .01
*** p < .001

Chapter 7: Summary and Discussion

High School Graduation

Overall, rates of high school graduation remain high across the entire population. On the other hand, there are still some differences across religio-ethnic groups. Jews and Asians have a higher (or equal) likelihood of high school graduation across all cohorts. The advancement of the White ethnic groups, particularly the Italians, is one of the defining stories of high school graduation. For the 1880-1939 cohort, Italians lag behind White Protestants for high school graduation, but achieve parity by the 1940-1959 cohort. This parity remains for the 1960-1985 cohort. Another important finding for high school graduation is that for the 1960-1985 cohort, most religio-ethnic groups possessed an equal likelihood of college graduation as White Protestants, indicating the convergence between groups. The exceptions are Native Americans and Hispanics, who continue to lag behind White Protestants, even with the addition of socioeconomic controls. The addition of these socioeconomic controls to the model largely mediates the differences between religio-ethnic groups for high school graduation.

Concerning generation, there is a first generation deficit, which is only present in the 1880-1939 cohort, which is largely due to immigrant selectivity and exposure to educational systems outside of the United States where high school graduation may not have been as universal. There is evidence for a second and third generation advantage for high school graduation. The third generation possesses and advantage for all cohorts, where the second generation advantage is not present in the 1880-1939 cohort. Regardless, there is an advantage for the second and third generations over the fourth generation.

Results for a few other variables are worth noting. Females are more likely to graduate from high school than males for the middle and youngest cohorts. Additionally, respondents from mother-stepfather households are less likely to graduate from high school than those from a two-parent household. Respondents from single mother households are significantly less likely to graduate from high school than those from a two parent household across all cohorts, but the addition of SES to the model makes respondents from single-mother households equally as likely to graduate from high school as those from a two parent household. This indicates that much of the disadvantage to respondents from single mother households is a result of lower SES.

Some College

For some college, Asians are more likely to attend college across all cohorts than White Protestants, and Jews are more likely to attend college for the 1880-1939 and 1940-1959 cohorts, but possess an equal likelihood for the 1960-1985 cohort. Additionally, the Irish are more likely to attend college than White Protestants for the two younger cohorts, which is a further indication of the rise in White ethnic groups over time. Blacks and Native Americans become more likely to attend college only for the middle cohort and Hispanics become disadvantaged only for the youngest cohort.

The second and third generations possess an advantage over the fourth generation for college entry. The first generation is also advantaged for the younger two cohorts. Evidence for a weakening of the immigrant optimism theory across generations occurs across all cohorts. For example, for the 1960-1985 cohort, the second generation is 1.90 more likely to attend some college than the fourth generation and the third generation is 1.27 times more likely than the fourth generation. This indicates that while there is still an advantage for the third generation, the

advantage is more likely due to the advantages the third generation experiences in increased levels of SES rather than only exposure to the immigrant work ethic. In essence, the third generation, while still benefiting from an advantage over the fourth generation, is likely also benefiting from an SES advantage that the second generation does not possess, therefore one can conclude that the third generation advantage is a product of both immigrant optimism and SES, whereas the second generation advantage is likely due more to immigrant optimism alone.

Concerning gender, females are less likely to attend college for the older two cohorts, but exceed the likelihood of college attendance for males for the 1960-1985 cohort. Respondents from single mother households are less likely to attend college in the absence of SES controls, but when the controls are added to the model, respondents from single mother households are more likely to attend college than those from a two-parent household. Similarly to high school graduation, this indicates that many of the disparities faced by respondents from single mother households are due to SES.

College Graduation

For college graduation, Jews and Asians are advantaged compared to White Protestants across all cohorts. Italians begin disadvantaged compared to White Protestants for the oldest cohort, but achieve parity for the middle and younger cohorts. This, again, shows evidence for the advancement of the White ethnic groups. Blacks are disadvantaged across all cohorts and Hispanics are disadvantaged for the middle cohort compared to White Protestants.

The second generation advantage remains for college graduation; however, the third generation advantage is no longer present for this transition. The third generation possesses an advantage in the bivariate models, but the advantage disappears when controls for SES are

added. This indicates that for college graduation, the advantage over the fourth generation is largely due to SES, rather than a immigrant optimism.

Females are less likely to graduate from college than males for the older two cohorts, but for the 1960-1985 cohort, females achieve parity with males. Respondents from single mother households are once again disadvantaged in the bivariate model for college graduation, but are equally as likely to graduate from college as those from two parent households when controls for SES are added to the model. For the middle cohort, respondents from single mother households are actually more likely to graduate from college than those from two-parent households. Disadvantages still exist for respondents from mother-stepfather households, who are less likely to graduate from college than respondents from a two parent household. The disadvantages for respondents in a mother-stepfather household for high school graduation are likely a result of the stress of the relationship between the respondent and the stepfather. It would seem likely that this stress would not affect college graduation as well, since many college students live outside of their parents' home. More research into the effects of a mother-stepfather household on education would contribute to the literature on educational attainment.

Summary

Consistently across all models, the effects of SES as captured by parental education are apparent with regards to the individual's educational attainment. Both mother's and father's education had a large effect on respondents' education and the more educated a respondent's parents were; the more likely the respondent was to complete each transition. Additionally, a good share of the gaps between ethnic groups was mediated by the effects of SES, and groups such as Blacks and Hispanics rose closer to the levels of White Protestants when SES was

introduced into the model. One of the major reasons for educationally high achievement groups such as Jews and Asians is SES. There are still unexplained (by the models tested here) advantages of Asians and Jews, but one very important reason these groups achieved such high levels of educational attainment is because they came from families with higher SES.

The advancement of White ethnics is an important facet of this dissertation. The Irish reached parity with White Protestants, even for the earliest cohorts. The Italians, on the other hand, began behind White Protestants, but over time, actually exceeded them in levels of educational attainment by the middle and youngest cohorts. Other White Catholics also did remarkably well across cohorts, showing little to no difference with White Protestants. Within White ethnic groups, the British had an advantage over other White Protestants, but Catholics did not exhibit many differences between groups.

Immigrant Generation Theories

Across most models, the second and third generations are more successful than the fourth plus generations. As such, one can argue that there is a second (and third) generation advantage for educational attainment. This also indicates that there is no specific second-generation advantage, and that the advantage actually extends to the third generation. Based on the results of this dissertation, it is no longer relevant to refer to the advantage of the children of immigrants as the "second generation advantage" and should rather be referred to as the second and third generation advantage.

These results show some evidence for the immigrant optimism theory, since the third generation maintains an advantage over the fourth generation. For the third generation, the immigrant is the grandparent, and for this reason, many third-generation Americans still possess

exposure to the immigrant generation and may see the effects of the work ethic passed down. The effects of the immigrant optimism appear to be weakening by the third generation, which largely sees advantages due to SES in addition to immigrant optimism. In fact, for college graduation, the third generation advantage disappears when controls for SES are added into the model. By the fourth plus generation, it is less likely that there would be exposure to the immigrant generation, which would be the great grandparent or even a subsequent generation. These results do not substantiate the straight-line assimilation theory that the longer one is in the US, the more success they will have. The success of the second and third generations could be a result of the immigrant work ethnic passed to subsequent generations, although this type of measure is not possible using the available data from the GSS. Finally, it is difficult to say that the fourth plus generation is disadvantaged, as they are the largest and most heterogeneous generation, although it is apparent that the closer a respondent is to a recent immigrant, the more success they possess in schooling. A discussion of the segmented assimilation theory will occur later in this chapter with a discussion of the limitations and future research.

Family Background

Concerning family background, there were some interesting findings for single mother households. For some transitions, respondents from single-parent households were less likely to complete transitions than respondents who were living in two-parent households at age 16. When controls for SES were added, respondents from single parent households were at parity with or even more likely to complete a transition with respondents from two-parent households. This means that living with a single mother actually increased the likelihood of completing a transition, but this trend did not persist over several cohorts. This is likely the effect of single mother households being of lower economic standing, and once controls for SES were added,

living in this household did not show as detrimental as in the bivariate relationships. On the other hand, living in a mother-stepfather household never yielded more positive results for educational attainment than living in a two-parent household. In fact, even controlling for SES, many times, living in a mother-stepfather household was detrimental to educational attainment. For high school completion, living in this type of household could potentially affect a respondent mentally and emotionally, but for college entry and college completion, the story is more complex. One possible explanation comes from Beller and Chung (1992), who note that stepfamilies encourage their children to be more independent at an early age, decreasing the odds of college attendance and encouraging these children to find work instead. Overall, the findings are consistent with other studies that living in a two-parent household ultimately increases the odds of educational attainment.

Additionally, results for sibship size indicated that only respondents from very large families usually had lower levels of educational attainment, when controlling for SES. This would support the Dilution of Resources Hypothesis that was mentioned in several of the earlier studies in Chapter 2.

Discussion

Perhaps one of the most important findings of this dissertation is that SES mediates the differences between religio-ethnic groups, in addition to differences in family structure. In other words, many of the differences between groups can be explained by differences in SES. Massey (2010) alludes to the importance of SES and race in his more recent work and these findings substantiate his work. Similarly, Bowen et al (2009) find that 68% of students from families in the top income quartile with at least one parent having received a college degree graduated with

a bachelor's degree by age 26, compared to only 9% of those whose families were in the bottom quartile with neither parent having received a college degree. Essentially, class matters for educational attainment.

Essentially, while bivariate relationships for most educational attainment levels show an initial advantage for Jews and Asians and a disadvantage for Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans. When SES is added to the model, the advantage for Jews and Asians diminishes compared to White Protestants and the disadvantages for Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans are reduced. The residual advantage for Jews and Asians could be a result of cultural norms placed on the importance of education.

These findings have important implications for educational practitioners and those who are working to increase the number of underrepresented minority and first-generation college students in higher education. The results indicate that regardless of race or other background characteristics, the effects of parental education strongly influence respondents' educational attainment, and this is true for all ethnicities, including White Protestants. Just how much should practitioners argue for assistance for first-generation and low-income college students (or high school graduates) versus students of color, who also tend to have lower levels of educational attainment? This dissertation highlights that all three of those factors are important in closing the attainment gaps, but it seems if one were to choose the most important factor it is parental education. This is because the results for parental education were relatively consistent across cohort, educational transition and ethnic group: the more education a respondent's parents had, the more likely they were to complete any given transition. Since a person is more likely to graduate from college if their parents did, it is likely that this advantage will be passed to their children and further to their children's children. This effect would be similar to the effects of

immigrants passing values down to their children and their grandchildren, resulting in a second and third generation advantage. Since an advantage exists for the children and grandchildren of immigrants, it is possible a similar effect could be passed down from a college graduate to their children and grandchildren. The situation of an immigrant could be similar to that of a respondent who came from a low-income background with uneducated parents: the opportunity to obtain a higher level of education might be seen as an advantage not previously considered by the respondent or his/her family members, and they may pass on a work ethic that is similar to an immigrant who moves from another country for better opportunities for themselves and their family. While it is understood that most immigrants possess an advantage due to selective immigration, perhaps this would also be an opportunity for selective advantages for the most motivated students who come from the least resources.

White Ethnics vs. Asians and Latinos

For the purposes of this dissertation, educational attainment is viewed as a proxy for assimilation into American society. More specifically, higher levels of educational attainment were viewed as a way for certain White ethnic groups, such as Italians, Jews and Irish, to become integrated into the American educational system by achieving parity with, or exceeding the levels of White Protestants. Other groups, such as Asians, exceeded the attainment levels of White Protestants, but this trend for Asians seems to be mirroring the experiences of White ethnics during the middle of the 20th century. White ethnic groups also experienced high rates of intermarriage as part of the process of social integration and institutional assimilation (Gordon 1964) and Asians currently possess a high rate of intermarriage, with about 1/3 of Asians marrying outside of their ethnic group. Asian Americans who have lived in the United States longer are also more likely to intermarry than those with a shorter duration in the country (Passel

et al 2010). These are signs of integration but it would be a tough argument to make that Asians are as "assimilated" as White ethnics.

Interestingly enough, some groups, such as the Japanese and Chinese, have been immigrating to the United States for almost as long as the White ethnics (with the exception of a period between 1880 and 1965 when immigration from Asian countries was severely limited), yet do not seem to have fully assimilated into society. One could argue that racial differences are more prevalent than ethnic differences. For example, even though Jews possess a different belief system that White Protestants, once they lost their accents, changed their names and began limiting their cultural practices from the "Old World", they were more accepted by other Whites, who were less able to distinguish a Jew from a Catholic or a Protestant of the same race. Since Asians are of a completely different race, it would be very difficult for this type of integration, and it is possible that Asian groups may only have the opportunity to integrate into society through educational and economic advancement, and that racial barriers will preclude them as being seen as "fully integrated." On the other hand, with the changing demographics of the United States, it is possible that other races will be accepted more willingly into society. This has become evident with Asians being classified as the "model minority" group, despite the heterogeneous nature of the Asian immigrant population.

Hispanics, like Asians, are also comprised of a heterogeneous group. Some Hispanics from South America arrive wealthy and well-educated, while others, notably from Mexico, seek better economic opportunities, regardless of their educational attainment level. For the group of Mexicans that arrive to work in the U.S. temporarily or permanently (legally or illegally) with the main purpose of sending remittances back to their family in Mexico, is it practical to assume that these immigrants should assimilate? If the goal is to support your family, why is it necessary

to learn a new language and a college degree if you can achieve this with no extra work? The exact number of this type of immigrant is not known, since many are working in the U.S. as undocumented immigrants, but it is reasonable to say that these immigrants will never feel the need to "assimilate." This could mean that Hispanics, as a whole, will perpetually underperform, but the results from this dissertation show that since socioeconomic status is a main factor in educational attainment, Hispanics who are interested in advancing educationally can do so with increased socioeconomic conditions. This is consistent with Fligstein and Fernandez's (1985) evidence of intergenerational progress for Hispanic Americans.

Why is Educational Attainment So Important?

The importance of educational attainment is evident beyond simply earning a diploma. As mentioned earlier, with the changing demographics of the country, it is vital for minority groups not to consistently fall behind Whites in educational attainment. The US Census Bureau projects that by 2042, the numbers of Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asians and Hawaiian-Pacific Islanders will outnumber non-Hispanic Whites (Bowen et al. 2009). If these are the populations who remain less educated, this could be a potentially disastrous situation for an American society which will fall behind much of the rest of the world in education.

Additionally, there are many other supplemental effects of low levels of educational attainment that will largely impact our society. To begin, several studies have proven that those with higher levels of education are likely to earn higher income than those with lower levels of education. According to the Department of Education's 2008 *Condition of Education*, young adults with bachelor's degrees earn 28% more than those with associate's degrees and 50% more than those with high school diplomas (Planty et al. 2008, Bowen et al. 2009). If a significant

portion of the population lacks social mobility due to lower levels of educational attainment, there will be a significant income gap with a widening between the upper and lower classes.

Another consequence of lower educational attainment is poor health outcomes. The third chapter of this dissertation discussed a perceived mortality advantage for the oldest cohorts (although an advantage was not found) which could have biased the results for older cohorts if the least educated had died and the sample was left with only the most educated individuals. There are numerous articles that link health to education (Ross and Wu 1995 and Feldman et al. 1989, to name a few) and all studies consistently find that lower levels of education are associated with poorer overall health. Again, if the majority of the population belongs to underperforming groups, this could mean that the overall health of the country could decline and that some of the consequences would be higher rates of chronic conditions and increased health care costs for the population as a whole.

In sum, it is imperative to lessen the educational attainment gap, particularly for ethnic minority groups such as African Americans, Native Americans/Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders and Latinos and for those from lower socioeconomic origins. As these groups become an increasingly larger proportion of the overall US population (particularly the ethnic minority groups), lower rates of educational attainment could lead to lower earning potential and poorer health outcomes for Americans. America is a country that is supposedly built on opportunity, and if certain groups are always relegated to the bottom with little hope for social mobility, many of the earlier immigrant groups from Europe would not have succeeded. A society where those at the bottom have the capacity to rise to the top levels of educational attainment and therefore improve their earning potential and their overall health will be living the “American Dream”, just

as those before them who arrived via Ellis Island (Europeans), Angel Island (Chinese) or even those who crossed the border by foot.

Limitations and Further Research

One of the major limitations of this study is that the General Social Survey did not allow for the separation of the first and 1.5 generation, the generation that was born outside of the United States but moved to the US as young children. There is a substantial body of literature on the 1.5 generation (Portes and Rumbaut 2006, Alba and Waters 2011) that addresses the complications of moving to the United States and being placed in an ESL program, or the similar experiences of the second generation who are raised by immigrant parents. As mentioned earlier, a further exploration of the 1.5 generation is necessary to complete the full story on immigration. Will the 1.5 generation, or those born outside of the country that move to the US at a young age, possess a larger advantage for educational attainment than those from the second or third generation, or are there language and cultural barriers that these students must overcome? It is likely that the 1.5 generation will exhibit similar results to the second generation, but it is important to discern the differences in educational success between those born in the US and those who are not. For example, would the effects of immigrant optimism be stronger for those who moved to the US as children, since their parents moved with them, versus those whose parents move to the US first without children to seek better economic opportunities?

Furthermore, generation status was assigned based only on one parent. So, for example, if a respondent had one parent born outside of the country and another who was a 6th generation American, they would be considered 2nd generation due to one parent being born outside of the country. It would be interesting to note how the experiences of respondents with parents from

different generations differed from those with two parents of the same generation. For future research, the inclusion of a dummy variable for those with mixed-generation parents might be one way to approach this question.

Additionally, due to the method of data collection, it is difficult to discern if a respondent attended community colleges, universities, technical colleges, trade schools or any other post-high school institution. This was somewhat problematic not just with the college entry variable, but also with the college graduation variable. For example, respondents may have attended 13 or more years of college and actually earned a community college degree, but were not counted as having "graduated college" since they did not earn a degree from a 4-year university. Since college graduation was measured as attaining a four-year university degree, this was not an issue, although this may have resulted in an over-estimation of college drop-outs, as students who earned a two-year degree did not actually drop out of college. With the high number of minority students attending community colleges, it might be worthwhile to add one more transition to this study and examine community college graduation. This may account for some of the disparities in the likelihood of graduation for Hispanics, Blacks and Native Americans.

Another disadvantage of the data from the General Social Surveys are the low numbers of Asians and the relatively low number of Hispanics that did not permit for within-group evaluation in Chapter 6. This is an artifact of the GSS mirroring the general population, which does not contain a significant amount of Asian immigrants, particularly for the earliest cohorts. Larger numbers for each group would allow for the separation of groups from countries of origin with traditionally higher SES, like East Asia, compared to lower groups from Southeast Asia. Groups from East Asia such as Koreans, Chinese and Japanese tend to outperform Southeast Asian groups such as Thai, Cambodians and Indonesians, but the numbers were not large enough

for any group to see if results were consistent with these findings. The same issues occurred for Hispanic groups, which contained only large enough numbers of Mexicans to perform any sort of analysis.

One disadvantage of this study is that without qualitative data, it is not possible to test some of the earlier theories of minority underachievement such as the theory of oppositional culture or the theory of stereotype threat. While the General Social Surveys collect data on perceived discrimination and societal attitudes, these data are not consistent across survey years and therefore could not be used in the analyses. It would be useful to test if these theories were underlying causes of minority underachievement and if these trends persisted or diminished over time. Since there is such rich data on generations, it would also be interesting to note if there are differences between immigrant generations, e.g. the extent to which second-generation African Americans felt stereotype threat versus third and fourth generation African Americans. Qualitative data might also provide further evidence for immigrant optimism theory. For example, one could examine each generation and their perceived amount of "optimism" or lack of exposure to institutional barriers that cause many ethnic minority groups to distrust institutions such as the educational system.

Additionally, there was very little attention to testing segmented assimilation theory in this dissertation. As mentioned in previous chapters, there are three main outcomes of segmented assimilation theory: 1) Upward assimilation which occurs when a group possesses high levels of human capital are able to achieve upward socioeconomic mobility; 2) Downward assimilation which occurs when the second generation are exposed to inner-city culture that discourages education and aspirations of social mobility; 3) Limited assimilation, where children of

immigrants achieve high socioeconomic status or high levels educational attainment but limit the amount of cultural assimilation.

Hirschman (2001) tests segmented assimilation theory using census data for high school attendance. The main test of segmented assimilation is a comparison of foreign-born youth to their native-born counterparts. This is possible with census data for many groups, but for the data in this dissertation, is not possible for most groups. For example, the GSS contains a considerable amount of African American respondents but relatively few African immigrants. This makes it difficult to test any of the segmented assimilation theories.

Additionally, the GSS did not provide data on whether or not respondents lived in inner city areas. The size of residence variable asked if respondents lived in big cities larger than 250,000 residents, but this size of residence does not indicate inner-city residence or poverty-stricken areas. For this reason, it was not possible to test if certain immigrant groups such as Blacks and Hispanics, assimilated "downward" to inner city residents who had lived in the United States for a longer duration.

Lastly, there were no data in the GSS that provided information on language spoken in the household or cultural practices that could measure whether or not a respondent is assimilating culturally as well as educationally. If, for example, a model for educational transitions also possessed a covariate for cultural practices in the home, it would be possible to see if groups assimilated on an educational level but continued to maintain a strong cultural identity.

In sum, it is difficult to truly test segmented assimilation theory, particularly because it is a complex theory which comprises several different theories. Segmented assimilation theory loosely states that assimilation and adaptation to American society is contingent upon

geographical location, family social class, race, and place of birth. While all of these are measured in the GSS, the way in which they are measured is not conducive to an analysis which explores whether respondents assimilate upward, downward, or upward while maintaining strong cultural ties to their immigrant culture with little regard to American culture. A test of these particular theories would be useful in explaining the American immigrant experience, although would be difficult to extend to the third generation as well. Based on segmented assimilation theory, the third generation should either remain at a high level of educational attainment similarly to the second generation (upward) do worse than the second generation (downward), or perform at high levels and maintain their culture. It would be most interesting to note if the third theory of segmented assimilation holds, and if outperforming peers and maintaining a strong cultural identity is sustainable beyond the second generation. Will the third generation continue the advantage and will the fourth plus generations also continue to succeed while maintaining immigrant cultural roots, or will these generations assimilate into American society? Or, is this second generation similar to the immigrant generation of other groups, and will the effects of the immigrant advantage fade eventually, but take an extra generation, as the second generation can be treated similarly as the first generation of many groups with regards to culture and work ethic. Since this theory largely addresses the experiences of the children of immigrants, it would be interesting and challenging to extend it to the grandchildren of immigrants as well.

Another interesting question would be to examine college majors to see what fields are being chosen by each generation. For example, is a second generation respondent more likely to choose a pre-medical degree over an English literature degree due to the practical nature and earning potential of that degree? How would this vary by SES? Would a first-generation college student choose a degree with higher earning potential than a fourth-generation college student?

While these data are not available in the GSS, it would be interesting to note not only which students graduate from college, but also which degree pathways they choose.

Implications

As noted earlier, this dissertation highlights the disparities within and between groups with regards to social background. It also provides evidence that the second generation advantage is not unique to the second generation at all, since it extends to the third generation as well. These results show that immigrants, in many cases despite entering the country with low SES, are able to achieve the "American Dream" for successive generations. That is, until these family members become "Americanized" and conform to the rest of society, which occurs sometime after the third generation. In the case of this dissertation, becoming Americanized means possessing lower levels of educational attainment than the second and third generation. Some ethnic minority groups, such as Hispanics, Native Americans and African Americans that have been in the United States for many generations, are stuck in a perpetual cycle of underachievement with regards to educational attainment. These groups, as well as respondents who come from low SES and whose parents did not attend college are the most important groups to focus on in regards to creating an educational system where those who did not previously succeed are able to achieve high levels of educational attainment. Education is an important factor in economic mobility but also impacts health and ultimately life expectancy. Higher levels of education increase the quality of life of a person, and for this reason educational attainment should be treated as an important issue for the country as a whole, and for every successive generation.

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