

Parent-Child Relationships by Nativity and Race/Ethnicity

Parent-Child Relationships at the Transition to Adulthood: A Comparison of Black, Hispanic, and White Immigrant and Native-Born Youth

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

Introduction

Intergenerational relationships have become increasingly central to family life in recent decades (Bengtson 2001). Life expectancy has grown, elongating the time

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2010 Population Association of America meetings, Dallas, TX, USA. We thank Misty Heggenes, Kristin Turney, Anita Zuberi, and members of the Population Research Institute's Adolescence and Young Adult working group for helpful comments. The research was supported, in part, by the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Family Demography Training Grant (T-32HD007514) to the Pennsylvania State University Population Research Institute, and the California Center for Population Research, UCLA, which receives core support from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R24-HD41022). Seltzer also received support from the National Institute on Aging (P01AG029409) project "Intergenerational Family Transfers of Time and Money." Address correspondence to: Jessica Halliday Hardie, Department of Sociology, Hunter College, CUNY, 16th Floor Hunter West, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10065; email: jb1389@hunter.cuny.edu.

that multiple generations of family members' adult years overlap (Antonucci et al. 2011). The rise in divorce, non-marital childbearing, and relationship churning means that for many, intergenerational relationships have replaced nuclear family bonds as stable sources of support (Seltzer and Bianchi 2013). Further, an elongation of the transition to adulthood—marked by extended schooling, delayed entry into marriage, and career instability—has increased the period in which many young adults depend upon their families for support (Furstenberg 2010; Settersten and Ray 2010).

The increasing importance of intergenerational bonds may exacerbate inequality across the life course. Parents' support for their children during the transition to adulthood has been called a hidden source of inequality (Swartz 2008, 2009) because the value of resources parents transmit is conditional on parents' financial, human, and social capital (Schoeni and Ross 2005; Swartz et al. 2011), and because young people who can rely on their parents for support are better able to weather periods of low income, unemployment, and relationship instability (Settersten and Ray 2010). Of course, parents of all social classes expend resources to support their children. Although higher-income families provide greater material support to their young adult children, lower-income parents also provide substantial resources, at greater personal cost (Fingerman et al. 2015; Furstenberg 2010). These transfers have significant repercussions both for inequality within generations and for the reproduction of inequality across generations. This exemplifies the concept of "linked lives," a key tenet of life-course theory, which argues that family members' fates are connected through everyday exchanges and resource transfers (Elder 1998).

This study examines differences in parental support for young people in the transition to adulthood by immigrant generation and racial/ethnic identity, and the parent and child characteristics that contribute to these differences. Almost 30 percent of young adults in the United States are first- or second-generation immigrants (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). This percentage may increase over time as more immigrants enter the United States, settle, and start families. Immigrant families enter a country profoundly structured by race, and this racialized structure shapes their identities, social contexts, opportunities, and family interactions (Gans 2007). The proportion of young adults who are racial minorities is also growing rapidly (Johnson and Lichter 2010), now comprising 44 percent of the 18- to 24-year-old population (Cook et al. 2014). Therefore, it is important to understand how parents' support for children varies by both immigrant status and race/ethnicity to learn how this support contributes to inequality in the next generation.

We distinguish between two forms of parental support: perceived support and actual support. *Perceived support* refers to whether young people feel supported by their parents and whether they would turn to their parents for advice. *Actual support* includes economic and social capital that children receive from their parents. We consider multiple measures of both types of support to examine the circumstances surrounding direct resource transfers and the availability of support. We investigate how these forms of support differ by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity among first-generation, second-generation, and non-immigrant White, Black, and Hispanic youth. Our findings demonstrate

important differences in the availability and transmission of parental support to young people in the transition to adulthood.

Parents' Support and Assistance in the Transition to Adulthood

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

Two forms of support are important. First, adult children may receive resources such as financial support, coresidence, and advice. Financial support and coresidence are both ways parents help children weather economic instability (Swartz 2008), and coresidence may substitute for financial assistance among low-income families (Seltzer and Bianchi 2013). Parental advice is a less tangible but no less important resource that can guide young people through major events, such as choosing college majors, applying for jobs, and stabilizing romantic relationships (Lareau and Weininger 2008; Swartz 2008). Although social contacts outside the family may provide advice, parents are likely to be most invested in guiding young adults' decisions. Young adults rely on parents more now than in the past, and social institutions, such as colleges, assume high levels of parents' involvement and support during this period of life (Furstenberg 2010; Settersten and Ray 2010). Parental involvement and advice are positively associated with young adult attainment and emotional well-being (Fingerman et al. 2012). This form of parental support, which we refer to as *actual support*, has received extensive attention from researchers (e.g., Johnson 2013; Mazelis and Mykyta 2011; Schoeni and Ross 2005; Turley and Desmond 2011; Zissimopoulos and Smith 2009), but less is known about the provision of actual support among immigrant families in the transition to adulthood.

Perceived support has been less well studied, despite calls to attend to the availability of parental resources (Brown and Manning 2011; Seltzer and Bianchi 2013; Wong 2008). One reason to study perceived support is that measures of actual support can conflate receipt and need; young adults who do not need support may appear not to have it if researchers measure only support received. Also, perceived support represents a latent "safety net," which is important because access to resources—even if not received—can influence young people's behavior. For example, the perception of a safety net may engender young people to take calculated risks, like pursuing graduate education or starting a business. Perceived support is associated with economic well-being, particularly among low-income populations (Harknett 2006; Henly, Danziger, and Offer 2005). Researchers note

the importance of identifying factors associated with perceived support, although few data sources include these measures (Brown and Manning 2011; Hofferth, Boisjoly, and Duncan 1999; Seltzer and Bianchi 2013).

Factors Influencing Parental Support

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

Children's Needs and Social Roles

Elder (1998) has argued that family relationships change in response to family members' individual development. Prior research supports this by showing that young adults' circumstances shape their relationships with parents. Children are more likely to receive resources from their parents in response to crises, such as unemployment (Fingerman et al. 2009). Financially stable young adults are less likely to report monetary and housing assistance compared to their less well-off peers. Thus, one line of research suggests that the neediest offspring receive the greatest assistance from parents (Altonji, Hayashi, and Kotlikoff 1997; Suito, Sechrist, and Pillemer 2007). Whether neediness is related to perceived support, however, is unclear. Neediness may be positively correlated with perceptions of support among young adults who have received support in the past, and therefore know that their parents are willing to transfer additional resources to them. However, poverty, neighborhood disadvantage, and minority status are all negatively correlated with young adults' perceptions of having a social safety net (Turney and Harknett 2010; Turney and Kao 2009).

Some work shows that parents invest in children deemed "deserving" (Fingerman et al. 2009). Students, for example, report receiving more help than non-students (Fingerman et al. 2012). Parents also may consider children's other sources of support. Married children less frequently receive resources from their parents than single children, and those who are married are less likely to perceive their parents as emotionally supportive (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2008). According to the intergenerational similarity hypothesis (Bengtson and Black 1973), the shared experience of becoming a parent draws generations together. This experience also may increase children's reliance on parents' advice and support.

Finally, gender and age may be associated with different types of support. As kin keepers, young women may be more likely to perceive their parents as supportive than young men, although they also may be less likely to need parents' support given higher rates of women's educational attainment in young adulthood (DiPrete and Buchmann 2013). Indeed, daughters are less likely to live with their parents in young adulthood (Treas and Batalova 2011), but more likely to receive emotional support or feel close to their parents (Lye 1996; Silverstein,

Bengtson, and Lawton 1997). One study found no gender difference in financial transfers, however (Berry 2008). Adult children are also less likely to receive help as they age (Schoeni and Ross 2005).

Parent Characteristics and Resources

Several parent characteristics are associated with actual and perceived parental support of adult children. Higher-income families are in a better position to offer their children economic resources (Schoeni and Ross 2005). Greater wealth, total assets minus debts (Shapiro 2006), may allow parents to provide more financial assistance to their children. Income and wealth may affect perceived support, if young people view parents' financial stability as evidence that parents are able to provide monetary support or employment advice. Parents' wealth may enable young people to take risks and invest in higher-cost educational opportunities or lower-paying jobs that could pay greater dividends in the future (Pfeffer and Hällsten 2012).

Qualitative research suggests that better-educated parents are more likely to provide advice to young adult children regarding their educational pathways (Lareau and Weininger 2008). Parents who are married to their children's other biological parent are more likely to agree that parents should provide financial support to their adult children than single or remarried parents (Aquilino 2005). Children also report feeling closer to and receiving more practical support from married parents, compared to divorced parents (Amato, Rezac, and Booth 1995; Kaufman and Uhlenberg 1998). Larger families may dilute the availability of close emotional bonds and resources.

Intergenerational Relationships in Immigrant and Minority Families

Immigrants and Parent-Child Relationships

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

Most scholarship focuses on relationships between teens and their immigrant parents. We know little about parents' roles in immigrant children's transition to adulthood (Foner and Dreby 2011; Kasinitz et al. 2008; but see Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). Some evidence suggests that differences in family solidarity between immigrant and non-immigrant youth persist into young adulthood. One regional study found that, among young people between one and three years out of high school, immigrants reported feeling a greater sense of familial obligation

than non-immigrants (Fuligni and Pedersen 2002). These strong family ties may promote intergenerational exchange. Indeed, some studies suggest that immigrant children are more likely to live with their parents in the transition to adulthood than non-immigrants (Rumbaut 2005; Tseng 2004). Immigrant children also may be more likely to turn to parents for advice or emotional support—or to say they will—due to their strong familial ties.

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

Finally, immigrant families may not possess the same economic resources that non-immigrant families possess. Immigrants, for example, accumulate less wealth than non-immigrants (Hao 2007). Attention to resource disparities across both immigrant and racial/ethnic groups is important for understanding how families support young adult children.

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

Racial/Ethnic Identity and Parent-Child Relationships

Numerous studies have documented racial/ethnic differences in parent-child relationships and parental support of adult children in the transition to adulthood (Antonucci et al. 2011; Fingerman et al. 2011; Gerstel 2011; Sarkisian, Gerena, and Gerstel 2007; Treas and Batalova 2011). White parents offer more financial and emotional support in the transition to adulthood, and Black and Hispanic parents are more likely to lend practical support (e.g., coresidence). Some studies find that Black, Hispanic, and Asian parents and young adult children are more likely to adhere to cultural norms regarding familism and obligations to provide

support across generations than White parents and children (Bengtson 2001; Coleman, Ganong, and Rothrauff 2006). Others conclude that Black and Latino parents are less likely to provide their young adult children with assistance compared to Whites (Fingerman et al. 2011). These racial/ethnic differences may be due to disparities in parents' financial resources (Bloome 2014; Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Poor White families resemble Black and Latino families in their use of practical support (Gerstel 2011), whereas middle-class Black and Latino families are more likely to provide financial and emotional assistance to young adults than socioeconomically disadvantaged Blacks and Latinos (Antonucci et al. 2011). Finally, less is known about parental advice to young adult children by race/ethnicity. Closer emotional bonds reported among White families may encourage advice-seeking. However, greater familism among Black and Hispanic families may extend to a greater tendency to turn to family for advice.

Immigrant Status and Racial/Ethnic Identity

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

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

Data and Methods

We use the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97), a large, nationally representative survey of youth from the 1980–1984 birth cohorts who were living in the United States and between the ages of 12 and 16 on December

31, 1996. The first wave of data was collected from 1997 to 1998, when the respondents were 12 to 18 years old, and they have been re-interviewed annually since then. The NLSY97 was designed to document the transition from adolescence to adulthood and from school to work, and includes prospective data collected on first-generation, second-generation, and non-immigrant youth from adolescence to young adulthood. Data were collected from a resident parent or guardian at the first interview, which we exploit to identify parents' educational attainment, household poverty ratio, wealth, family structure, and immigrant status. The first wave of the NLSY97 survey included 8,984 respondents from slightly less than 7,000 households (all eligible siblings were interviewed).

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

We define the analytic sample as youth who were living with at least one biological or adoptive parent at the first wave; were Black, White, or Hispanic; and participated in the 2006 survey.¹ We restrict our multivariate analyses to respondents who have valid responses on the dependent variables and meet the above criteria (substituting a 2005 wave restriction for the 2006 wave in analyses of dependent variables obtained in 2005). Missing data were imputed using multiple imputation, with estimates averaged across ten imputed data sets. The analytic sample for descriptive statistics is 6,962 for outcomes measured in 2006 and 6,743 for outcomes measured in 2005.

Dependent Variables: Perceived Support

In 2006, young adult respondents were asked to report how supportive they felt each parent, their mother and father, was toward them (1 = not at all supportive, 2 = somewhat supportive, and 3 = very supportive). Because both indicators were highly skewed (children reported that 68 percent of fathers and 77 percent of mothers were very supportive), we constructed a dichotomous indicator of high supportiveness where 1 = one or both parents were very supportive and 0 = neither parent was very supportive.

We also included two measures of whether the respondent reported, in 2005, that he or she would ask his or her parents for advice regarding "friendships or close personal relationships" or "employment, education, or training." Both questions asked respondents who they *would* turn to for advice on each topic rather than who they *had* turned to in the past. A follow-up question asked to whom

they would turn first. Respondents were not asked who they would ask for advice after the first person they named. Respondents who selected their parents first were coded 1 and 0 otherwise. To account for any relationship between the size of respondents' networks and their likelihood of turning to parents for advice, we control for the total number of people respondents say they would turn to for advice for each respective outcome.

Dependent Variables: Actual Support

We examine three measures of resources from parents, all measured in 2006. Coresidence is coded 1 when respondents reported living with one or both parents in 2006 and 0 otherwise. Financial assistance was measured as a dichotomous indicator of whether the respondent received at least \$100 from their parent(s), step- or biological, in the prior year (1) or not (0). Unfortunately, information about amounts of money received from parents is not in the data.

We examine the receipt of social resources by combining three measures of who the respondent talked with most often about questions they had regarding schooling, jobs, or finances in the previous year. For each topic, respondents were first asked whether they had "talked with anyone about questions [they] had" and were next asked, if they said yes, who they consulted most often. This is similar to questions asked in 2005, except that in 2006 respondents were asked to report who they actually consulted, indicating the transfer of information or advice. We created an indicator of whether the respondent said he or she had spoken to a parent most often about at least one of the topics. There is a difference between having no one else to turn to and having ties to someone other than parents. We explored alternative models in which the dependent variable was a three-category measure of whether the respondent reported consulting most often with parents, other ties, or no one (reference). Results from this multinomial logistic regression are highly consistent with those presented here (see online supplement).

Immigrant Status and Race/ethnicity

We treat youth born outside the United States as first-generation immigrants. To classify second-generation youth, we take account of both biological parents' immigration status, as well as the resident biological parent's spouse where applicable.² Non-immigrant youth are US-born youth with US-born parents. This classification scheme is consistent with prior research on immigrant youth using the NLSY97 (Bronte-Tinkew et al. 2006).

Race/ethnicity was identified by the household informant's report in wave 1 of the youth as non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, or non-Hispanic White. Other racial/ethnic groups comprised less than 4 percent of the sample, so we did not include them in our analyses. The household informant's identification of the youth's race/ethnicity is the only measure available for all respondents. However, youth were asked to identify their racial/ethnic identity in 2002. A cross-tab of the measures revealed that 97 percent of Whites, 97 percent of Blacks, and 90 percent of Hispanics were identified as the same race/ethnicity in both measures. Supplemental

analyses substituting the 2002 race/ethnicity measure for the 1997 measure produced results consistent to those presented here.

Finally, we created a categorical variable combining immigrant and racial/ethnic identity. We combined White and Black first-generation immigrants into one category due to a small sample size ($n = 66$); we do not discuss findings for this group in the Results section. Respondents are categorized as (1) 1st-generation White or Black, (2) 1st-generation Hispanic, (3) 2nd-generation White, (4) 2nd-generation Black, (5) 2nd-generation Hispanic, (6) non-immigrant White, (7) non-immigrant Black, or (8) non-immigrant Hispanic.

Explanatory Variables

Demographic variables and parent and family characteristics were all measured at wave 1. Age is a continuous variable ranging from 12 to 18 years. A dichotomous indicator identifies female (1) and male (0) respondents. An indicator of family structure distinguishes youth living with two biological or adoptive parents (1) from those in other family configurations (0). We also control for the number of full, half, and step-siblings in the family. Birth order is measured as oldest or only child (reference), middle child, or youngest child. Household poverty ratio compares household income to the federal poverty level, taking household size into account. This measure provides a better estimate of household resources than income alone because it adjusts for the number of people dependent upon that income. We also include a measure of wealth quartile based on the quartiles of the sample distribution of net household worth (assets minus debts) in 1997. Parents' education is coded according to the highest-attaining parent, as (1) no degree (reference), (2) high school graduate, (3) some college/AA/junior college, or (4) bachelor's degree or more. We include a measure of high parental supportiveness, as evaluated by the respondent in wave 1 and coded identically to the 2006 perceived supportiveness variable.

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

Plan of Analysis

We examine differences in the ways immigrant and non-immigrant White, Black, and Hispanic families launch their children into adulthood, and whether these disparities are explained by parents' resources or children's resources and roles in adulthood. Descriptive statistics are weighted to provide nationally representative estimates of the population in 2006. In all models, we obtain robust standard errors by specifying clusters of siblings in the data. We use logistic regression to investigate the relationship between the explanatory variables and our outcome variables. We first estimate differences between first- and second-generation and

Table 1. Percentage Distributions of Measures of Parental Support by Immigrant Status and Racial/Ethnic Identity

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

non-immigrant Black, Hispanic, and White young adults, controlling for age and gender. Our second model adds controls for family resources and prior parental support. Our final model includes controls for children's resources and roles in adulthood. We use the [Karlson, Holm, and Breen \(2012\)](#) test to compare coefficients across models. We report coefficient changes across models where significant. Finally, we tested alternative models for each outcome with different racial/ethnic and immigrant group reference categories (not shown) and report those findings, where statistically significant.

Results

Table 1 displays weighted percentages for the six measures of parental support by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity. In supplemental analyses, we used logistic regression to identify significant differences between non-immigrant Whites and all other groups. Compared to non-immigrant Whites, second-generation Black, second-generation Hispanic, and non-immigrant Black youth are less likely to report that their parents were supportive of them. First-generation Hispanic and non-immigrant Black youth are more likely than other immigrant and racial/ethnic groups to say they would turn to their parents for relationship advice. Hispanics of any immigrant status are significantly less likely than non-immigrant Whites to say they would turn to their parents for advice on education or employment-related

matters. Non-immigrant Black youth are slightly less likely to report that they would turn to their parents for education or employment advice compared to non-immigrant Whites. Coresidence is more common among non-Whites and immigrants. Hispanic parents are less likely than parents in other racial/ethnic groups to provide financial support. Finally, Hispanics and non-immigrant Black young adults are less likely to discuss school, job, or finances with their parents compared to non-immigrant Whites, whereas second-generation White youth are more likely to report these discussions.

Table 2 presents weighted percentages and means for each explanatory and control variable by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity. Second-generation Black youth and non-immigrant Black and Hispanic youth are less likely to be living with both biological parents at the first interview than youth in other groups. First- and second-generation Hispanic youth and non-immigrant Black youth are the most disadvantaged as measured by poverty ratio, wealth, and parental education. Second-generation Black youth report lower parental support in adolescence than other groups. In young adulthood, Hispanic youth of any immigrant background and non-immigrant Black youth have the lowest educational attainment and are the most likely to be a parent. Non-immigrant Black youth are the most likely to be not working, while first- and second-generation non-White youth are the most likely to be working full-time. Hispanics of any generation and non-immigrant Whites are the most likely to be married.

Perceived Support

Model 1 of table 3 displays the association between immigrant and racial/ethnic status and supportiveness, controlling for age and gender. Second-generation Black ($b = -0.46, p < .05$) and Hispanic ($b = -0.32, p < .01$) youth and non-immigrant Black youth ($b = -0.19, p < .05$) are significantly less likely to report high parental support than non-immigrant White youth. After controlling for family background factors in model 2, these differences are reduced to non-significance, except among non-immigrant Black youth, who are significantly more likely to report high parental supportiveness ($b = 0.22, p < .05$). Results are consistent in the third model. Supplementary analyses of model 3 show that non-immigrant Black youth reported higher supportiveness compared to all second-generation youth, and these differences are greater than those comparing non-immigrant Black youth to non-immigrant Whites.

Next, we show that first-generation Hispanic youth have 40 percent higher odds of saying they would turn to their parents for relationship advice than non-immigrant White youth ($b = 0.34, p < .01$). Non-immigrant Black youth report 68 percent higher odds of saying they would go to their parents for relationship advice than non-immigrant White youth ($b = 0.52, p < .001$). Controlling for family background and youth resources and roles does not change these associations. Supplemental analyses show that second-generation immigrant youth of any racial/ethnic background are less likely to say they would turn to their parents first for relationship advice than either first-generation Hispanic youth or non-immigrant Black youth. Non-immigrant Hispanics are significantly less

likely to say they would turn to their parents first for relationship advice compared to first-generation Hispanics and non-immigrant Blacks.

The final models in table 3 show results from analyses predicting whether young adults say they would first turn to a parent for advice on employment, education, or training. The first model shows that first-generation Hispanic immigrants are 56 percent less likely ($b = -0.81, p < .001$) to say they would turn to their parents for advice compared to non-immigrant White youth. Second-generation Hispanic youth are also 50 percent less likely than non-immigrant White youth to report this ($b = -0.70, p < .001$). Non-immigrant Black youth ($b = -0.12, p < .10$) and non-immigrant Hispanic youth ($b = -0.46, p < .001$) are, respectively, 11 and 37 percent less likely to say they would turn to their parents for help than non-immigrant Whites. The size of all of these coefficients attenuates after controlling for family background factors, but the only substantive change is for non-immigrant Black youth. They are significantly more likely to say they would turn to their parents first for employment- or education-related advice than non-immigrant White youth, although this reduces to non-significance in model 3. Alternative models indicate that non-immigrant Black youth are significantly more likely to say they would turn to their parents for educational and employment advice than Hispanic youth of any immigrant generation. Thus, controlling for all factors, Hispanics from any generation are relatively unlikely to say they would turn to their parents for employment or education advice compared to other groups, while non-immigrant Black and White youth are more likely to do so.

Actual Support

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

The first model in the next panel shows that Hispanic youth of any immigrant status are significantly less likely to receive money from their parents than non-immigrant White youth. This difference is largest for first-generation Hispanic youth ($b = -.64, p < .001$) and smallest for non-immigrant Hispanic youth ($b = -.29, p < .05$). These differences disappear once family background is taken

Table 2. Weighted Percentages and Means for Control Variables, by Immigrant Status and Racial/Ethnic Identity (*N* = 6,962)

	1st-generation White or Black	1st-generation Hispanic	2nd-generation White	2nd-generation Black	2nd-generation Hispanic	Non-immigrant White	Non-immigrant Black	Non-immigrant Hispanic
Demographics								
Age of youth, years (1997)	14.43 (0.19)	14.31 (0.08)	14.41 (0.10)	14.11 (0.15)	14.44 (0.06)	14.35 (0.02)	14.37 (0.04)	14.38 (0.07)
Female (<i>reference</i> = male)	37.01%	48.60%	49.01%	46.61%	47.17%	49.14%	48.99%	44.20%
Parent and family characteristics (1997)								
Two-parent family (<i>reference</i> = single parent or stepparents)	66.36%	62.05%	62.88%	45.50%	63.14%	60.52%	30.31%	48.83%
Total number of full, half, and step-siblings	1.41 (0.19)	2.31 (0.12)	1.52 (0.10)	1.29 (0.13)	2.06 (0.07)	1.41 (0.03)	1.64 (0.05)	1.52 (0.07)
Birth order								
<i>Oldest or only child (reference)</i>	54.26%	44.42%	53.83%	50.62%	43.80%	55.25%	55.48%	52.90%
Middle child	15.36%	35.90%	18.86%	21.23%	32.15%	17.87%	22.32%	21.26%
Youngest child	30.38%	19.68%	27.31%	28.15%	24.05%	26.88%	22.20%	25.83%
Household poverty ratio	3.33 (0.42)	1.48 (0.16)	4.58 (0.29)	2.81 (0.25)	1.90 (0.10)	3.65 (0.06)	1.97 (0.06)	2.59 (0.12)
Household wealth								
Lowest quartile	22.25%	47.95%	10.34%	23.39%	33.58%	14.01%	36.83%	27.21%
Second quartile	21.93%	27.53%	17.74%	25.19%	26.48%	21.29%	32.46%	28.20%
Third quartile	20.63%	15.91%	27.58%	34.32%	25.19%	28.43%	20.68%	25.66%
Highest quartile	35.18%	8.59%	44.34%	17.10%	14.75%	36.27%	10.04%	18.92%
Highest parental education								
<i>Less than HS graduate (reference)</i>	9.78%	61.85%	4.77%	10.41%	47.44%	7.91%	20.56%	23.80%

High school graduate	17.48%	16.10%	20.64%	23.10%	25.05%	29.32%	41.48%	30.40%
Some college/AA/Jr college	14.49%	12.80%	30.60%	34.33%	17.14%	28.24%	24.89%	28.42%
College degree	58.26%	9.25%	43.99%	32.17%	10.37%	34.53%	13.07%	17.39%
Parent very supportive, 1997 (reference = somewhat or not at all supportive)	82.19%	82.58%	82.52%	63.46%	78.23%	83.49%	81.95%	82.12%
Child's resources and roles (2006)								
Student (reference = not enrolled in school)	27.97%	17.44%	19.29%	25.21%	16.28%	21.03%	15.89%	19.29%
Respondent education								
Less than HS graduate (reference)	5.93%	23.72%	2.51%	4.20%	15.73%	8.06%	15.87%	12.80%
High school graduate	28.11%	38.78%	28.58%	27.54%	37.56%	34.76%	42.97%	43.01%
Some college/AA/Jr. college	28.25%	30.05%	39.52%	37.77%	36.46%	33.48%	32.08%	33.65%
BA/BS or more	37.71%	7.45%	29.39%	30.49%	10.25%	23.70%	9.08%	10.55%
Employment								
Not working	28.00%	20.49%	17.14%	22.21%	18.93%	20.18%	31.12%	23.41%
Works part-time	16.21%	13.14%	22.81%	12.46%	13.79%	17.27%	14.86%	16.33%
Works full-time (reference)	55.80%	66.37%	60.05%	65.33%	67.29%	62.56%	54.02%	60.26%
Has a child (reference = no child)	14.42%	49.29%	25.72%	33.93%	41.92%	28.01%	51.58%	38.00%
Marital status								
Single (reference)	67.39%	50.28%	61.89%	76.09%	54.72%	53.54%	72.01%	56.00%
Cohabiting	14.20%	20.20%	18.12%	10.61%	21.93%	20.62%	16.49%	18.60%
Married	18.41%	29.51%	19.98%	13.30%	23.36%	25.84%	11.50%	25.40%
# of available ties for relationship discussion	3.97	3.47	5.62	5.69	3.79	5.63	3.92	4.86
# of available ties for employment discussion	4.94	3.88	6.35	6.33	4.32	6.12	4.37	5.54
Unweighted N	66	307	205	114	660	3332	1691	584

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997.

Table 3. Coefficients from Logistic Regressions Predicting Perceived Supportiveness of Parents to Young Adults

Variables	Parental supportiveness ^a			Relationship advice ^b			Employment/education advice ^b		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity									
1st-generation White or Black	-0.04 (0.37)	0.05 (0.37)	-0.07 (0.36)	0.31 (0.25)	0.37 (0.26)	0.39 (0.26)	-0.34 (0.27)	-0.30 (0.27)	-0.41 (0.27)
1st-generation Hispanic	-0.14 (0.16)	0.20 (0.18)	0.22 (0.19)	0.34** (0.12)	0.44** (0.13)	0.48*** (0.14)	-0.81*** (0.13)	-0.35* (0.15)	-0.41** (0.15)
2nd-generation White	-0.08 (0.20)	-0.19 (0.21)	-0.18 (0.22)	-0.11 (0.17)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.17)	0.01 (0.15)	-0.10 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.16)
2nd-generation Black	-0.46* (0.23)	-0.20 (0.26)	-0.27 (0.26)	-0.28 (0.22)	-0.20 (0.22)	-0.23 (0.22)	-0.16 (0.19)	-0.03 (0.21)	-0.15 (0.22)
2nd-generation Hispanic	-0.32** (0.12)	-0.03 (0.14)	-0.04 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.02 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.70*** (0.09)	-0.30** (0.10)	-0.38*** (0.10)
Non-immigrant White	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>Ref</i>
Non-immigrant Black	-0.19* (0.09)	0.22* (0.10)	0.27** (0.10)	0.52*** (0.06)	0.54*** (0.07)	0.46*** (0.07)	-0.12† (0.06)	0.21** (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)
Non-immigrant Hispanic	-0.17 (0.13)	0.11 (0.13)	0.12 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.46*** (0.10)	-0.23* (0.10)	-0.29** (0.10)
Demographic characteristics of youth									
Age	-0.04† (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)
Female (<i>vs. male</i>)	-0.36*** (0.07)	-0.30*** (0.07)	-0.35*** (0.07)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.08+ (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.15** (0.05)	-0.12* (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)

Family background (1997)							
Two-parent family (<i>vs. single parent or stepparents</i>)	0.53*** (0.08)	0.47*** (0.09)	0.02 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.21*** (0.06)	0.24*** (0.06)	
Number of siblings	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.04+ (0.03)	-0.04+ (0.03)	
Birth order							
Oldest child	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	
Middle child	-0.00 (0.10)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	
Youngest child	0.14+ (0.09)	0.14+ (0.09)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.12+ (0.06)	-0.14* (0.07)	
Household poverty ratio	0.05+ (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	
Household wealth							
Lowest quartile	-0.31+ (0.17)	-0.23 (0.18)	-0.08 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.12)	0.00 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.15)	
Second quartile	-0.21 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.15)	0.06 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	0.09 (0.10)	0.06 (0.11)	
Third quartile	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.08 (0.14)	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	0.18+ (0.10)	0.16 (0.10)	
Highest quartile	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	
Highest parental education							
Less than high school	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	
High school graduate	0.08 (0.11)	0.03 (0.11)	0.10 (0.08)	0.11 (0.09)	0.28** (0.09)	0.28** (0.09)	

(Continued)

Table 3. *continued*

Variables	Parental supportiveness ^a			Relationship advice ^b			Employment/education advice ^b		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Some college/AA/Jr. college		0.11 (0.12)	-0.00 (0.12)		0.05 (0.09)	0.11 (0.09)		0.48*** (0.09)	0.52*** (0.10)
BA/BS		0.40** (0.14)	0.16 (0.15)		-0.06 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)		0.65*** (0.10)	0.71*** (0.11)
Parent very supportive, 1997		0.79*** (0.08)	0.73*** (0.08)		0.49*** (0.07)	0.53*** (0.07)		0.33*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.07)
Child's resources and roles									
Student (<i>vs. not enrolled in school</i>)			0.18 (0.11)			-0.03 (0.07)			-0.12 (0.07)
Respondent education									
Less than high school			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>
High school graduate			0.06 (0.11)			-0.03 (0.09)			-0.00 (0.09)
Some college/AA/Jr. college			0.23+ (0.12)			-0.29** (0.10)			-0.07 (0.10)
BA/BS			0.73*** (0.17)			-0.49*** (0.13)			-0.29* (0.13)
Employment									
Not working			0.02 (0.08)			0.05 (0.08)			-0.05 (0.08)

Works part-time			0.11 (0.10)			-0.11 ⁺ (0.06)			-0.15* (0.06)
Works full-time			<i>ref</i>			<i>Ref</i>			<i>ref</i>
Has a child (<i>vs. no child</i>)			-0.23** (0.08)			0.01 (0.07)			0.01 (0.07)
Marital status									
Single			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>
Cohabiting			0.09 (0.09)			-0.21** (0.07)			-0.50*** (0.07)
Married			0.13 (0.09)			-0.65*** (0.08)			-0.98*** (0.08)
# of available ties			-			0.02** (0.01)			-0.01** (0.00)
Constant	2.46*** (0.31)	1.25*** (0.38)	1.20** (0.39)	-0.16 (0.25)	-0.45 (0.29)	-0.73* (0.31)	0.06 (0.04)	1.49*** (0.24)	0.53 ⁺ (0.29)
Observations	6,791	6,791	6,791	6,707	6,707	6,707	6,697	6,697	6,697

^aOutcome variable and children's resources and roles obtained from 2006 survey.

^bOutcome variable and children's resources and roles obtained from 2005 survey.

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

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ + $p < .1$; robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table 4. Coefficients from Logistic Regressions Predicting Actual Support from Parents to Young Adults

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

Family background (1997)						
Two-parent family (<i>vs. single parent or stepparents</i>)	0.38*** (0.06)	0.43*** (0.07)	0.11 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.23** (0.07)	0.18* (0.08)
Number of siblings	-0.05+ (0.03)	-0.05+ (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Birth order						
Oldest child	<i>ref</i>	<i>Ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Middle child	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.22* (0.10)	-0.24* (0.10)
Youngest child	0.13* (0.06)	0.10 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.24** (0.08)	-0.28*** (0.08)
Household poverty ratio	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.04* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Household wealth						
Lowest quartile	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.24+ (0.13)	-0.17 (0.14)	-0.37** (0.12)	-0.31* (0.12)
Second quartile	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.09 (0.13)	-0.23+ (0.12)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.21* (0.11)	-0.15 (0.11)
Third quartile	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.08 (0.14)	0.03 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)	-0.20* (0.09)	-0.18+ (0.10)
Highest quartile	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
Highest parental education						
Less than high school	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>	<i>ref</i>
High school graduate	0.05 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.10)	0.14 (0.11)	0.10 (0.11)	0.23+ (0.12)	0.20 (0.12)

(Continued)

Table 4. *continued*

Variables	Coresidence			Monetary support			Discussed school, job, or finances		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Some college/AA/Jr. college		0.00 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.11)		0.23 ⁺ (0.11)	0.10 (0.12)		0.56*** (0.12)	0.50*** (0.12)
BA/BS		-0.10 (0.11)	-0.34** (0.13)		0.55*** (0.12)	0.27* (0.01)		1.12*** (0.13)	0.93*** (0.13)
Parent very supportive, 1997		0.17* (0.07)	0.21** (0.08)		0.11 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)		0.22* (0.09)	0.19* (0.09)
Child's resources and roles									
Student (<i>vs. not enrolled in school</i>)			-0.09 (0.09)			-0.01 (0.09)			-0.08 (0.09)
Respondent education									
Less than high school			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>
High school graduate			-0.12 (0.10)			0.25 ⁺ (0.13)			-0.05 (0.12)
Some college/AA/Jr. college			-0.12 (0.11)			0.51*** (0.14)			0.17 (0.13)
BA/BS			-0.37* (0.13)			0.85*** (0.15)			0.34* (0.15)
Employment									
Not working			0.39*** (0.07)			0.51*** (0.08)			0.27** (0.08)

Works part-time			0.34*** (0.09)			0.28** (0.09)		0.15 (0.09)	
Works full-time			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>			
Has a child (<i>vs. no child</i>)			-0.21** (0.08)			-0.26** (0.08)		-0.31*** (0.08)	
Marital status									
Single			<i>ref</i>			<i>ref</i>		<i>ref</i>	
Cohabiting			-2.05*** (0.09)			-0.14 (0.09)		-0.62*** (0.09)	
Married			-2.19*** (0.10)			-0.12 (0.09)		-1.33*** (0.11)	
Constant	2.87*** (0.26)	2.55*** (0.30)	2.20*** (0.34)	0.37 (0.30)	-0.06 (0.34)	-0.48 (0.37)	0.98*** (0.29)	0.32 (0.34)	-0.17 (0.37)
Observations	6,607	6,607	6,607	6,925	6,925	6,925	6,960	6,960	6,960

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

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997; outcome variable and children's resources and roles obtained from 2006 survey.

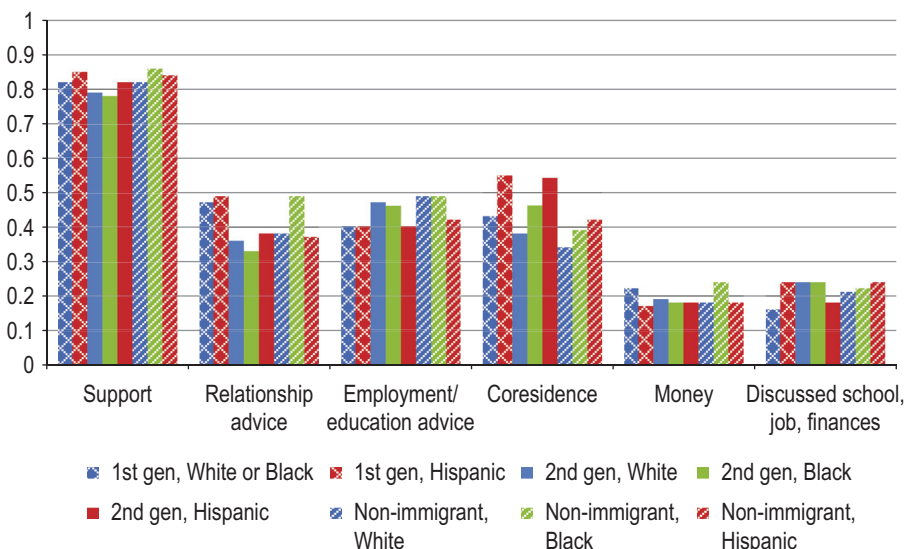
*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ + $p < 0.1$; robust standard errors in parentheses.

into account. In addition, controlling for differences in family background, non-immigrant Black youth have 52 percent higher odds of receiving monetary support from parents than non-immigrant White youth ($b = 0.42, p < .001$). Supplemental analyses show that non-immigrant Black youth are significantly more likely to receive money from parents than Hispanics of any immigrant generation; these differences are approximately the same size as those between non-immigrant Black and non-immigrant White youth.

The final set of models in table 4 estimate whether respondents report discussing schooling, jobs, or finances most often with a parent (compared to no one or someone else) in the past year. Results from model 1 indicate that first-generation Hispanic youth ($b = -0.50, p < .01$), second-generation Hispanic youth ($b = -0.71, p < .001$), non-immigrant Black youth ($b = -0.23, p < .01$), and non-immigrant Hispanic youth ($b = -.20, p < .10$) have significantly lower odds of discussing these topics with a parent than non-immigrant White youth. Second-generation White youth have 48 percent higher odds ($b = .39, p < .05$) of discussing these matters with their parents than non-immigrant White youth. Most of these differences shrink or become non-significant after accounting for family background. Furthermore, in this model, non-immigrant Black youth have 34 percent higher odds of discussing schooling, jobs, or finances with their parents than non-immigrant White youth ($b = 0.29, p < .001$). In the final model, young adult life-course factors account for nearly all immigrant and racial/ethnic differences. Supplemental analyses show that second-generation Hispanic youth are significantly less likely to report discussing these matters with their parents compared to non-immigrant Hispanic youth.

Figure 1 uses predicted probabilities to summarize differences in parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood by race/ethnicity and immigrant status. This figure depicts the results from the supplemental models, showing

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



how all of the groups discussed compare to one another for each outcome. Some themes emerge. First, coresidence is highest among Hispanics across immigrant statuses, and higher among non-Whites compared to Whites within immigrant generation. Second, reporting that they would turn to parents for relationship advice is especially common among first-generation immigrant youth of any race/ethnicity and non-immigrant Black respondents. Third, non-immigrant Black youth were notably likely to report that their parents were supportive of them, that they would go to their parents for relationship advice, and that they received money from parents. Finally, responses to hypothetical questions result in higher predicted probabilities overall, compared to responses about actual help, perhaps because actual help depends on both need and parents' ability to provide help.

The associations between control and outcome variables also provide useful information. We find that being from a two-parent family, parents' education, and perceived parental supportiveness in adolescence are positively associated with most outcomes. Controlling for family background alters many of the associations between racial/ethnic and immigrant group status and perceived and actual support measures. Supplemental analyses (not shown) indicate that parental education and poverty ratio explain most of the changes across models.

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

Finally, young women are less likely than young men to report parental supportiveness, to say they would turn to parents for advice, and to live with parents, but women are more likely to report receiving money from parents. Descriptive statistics (not shown) reveal that young women had higher levels of education and were much more likely to be married or have children than young men, consistent with the prior literature (DiPrete and Buchmann 2013; Settersten and Ray 2010). These factors are negatively associated with turning to parents for advice and coresidence, helping explain the gender difference. Differences in supportiveness remain after accounting for adult roles, however. Daughters' advantage in receiving financial support is explained by their resources and roles in young adulthood. Finally, young women are more likely to report that they consulted with their parents regarding school, job, or finances than young men, after accounting for gender differences in adult roles. It appears that many—but not all—gender differences arise within the transition to adulthood when young women graduate college, marry, and have children at higher rates than young men.

Conclusion

Life-course theory, as encapsulated in the concept of “linked lives,” suggests that parent-child relationships have long-term and evolving consequences for both generations’ well-being (Elder 1998). Parents can ease the transition to adulthood for young people by providing emotional support, financial assistance, and practical help. Children whose entry into adulthood is guided by their parents have a strong advantage relative to other youth, which may translate into greater educational or occupational attainment and financial stability (Lareau and Weininger 2008). Not all consequences are positive, however. The importance of parental resources for adult children’s life chances is a key mechanism contributing to intergenerational inequality (Swartz 2008, 2009). Furthermore, parents also may risk their own financial well-being when providing support to adult children, especially in low-income families (Settersten and Ray 2010). The risks may be especially great for immigrant and racial/ethnic groups, because Black, Hispanic, and immigrant groups have fewer resources and less wealth than White and non-immigrant families, on average (Bloome 2014; Hao 2007; Oliver and Shapiro 1995).

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

Our findings reveal striking differences in parent-child relationships by immigrant and racial/ethnic group membership across a range of outcomes. Overall, these models show that neither immigrant status nor race/ethnicity alone dominates as an explanatory factor in young people’s relationships with parents. For example, first-generation Hispanics and non-immigrant Blacks had notably higher odds of saying that they would turn to their parents for advice on relationships, but Hispanics and Blacks of other immigrant statuses were no more likely than non-immigrant Whites to report that they would seek relationship advice from parents. We argue that these findings lend support to our approach; it is important to examine immigrant status and race/ethnicity simultaneously to understand group patterns in family processes.

We also found that family resources explained nearly all immigrant and racial/ethnic variation in parental supportiveness; monetary support; and discussion of school, jobs, or finances. Family resources notably reduced the differences between these groups when predicting whether the respondent said they would turn to a parent first for education or employment-related advice. Interestingly, these were the same outcomes in which associations between being a non-immigrant Black youth and the outcome became positive and significant, adjusting for family background. Supplementary analyses revealed that socioeconomic factors explained this suppressor effect. We draw two conclusions. First, family and economic resources explain many immigrant and racial/ethnic differences in

parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood, most consistently for outcomes that depend on parents' financial, human, and social capital. Second, when the provision of help requires family resources, non-immigrant Black families are particularly likely to provide help when they have the resources available, despite an overall deficit in the availability of those family resources.

We were surprised that wealth was largely unassociated with parents' support of adult children. Household poverty ratio and parents' educational attainment were more consistently associated with parental support to adult children. This may be explained, in part, by parents' age and children's ages when wealth was measured. Parents accumulate wealth as they age. They may also take on loans when their children are closer to college age than most of the NLSY97 respondents were in 1997. Young adult children also may see income and education as markers of their parents' knowledge and ability to help them. In addition, wealth may be more highly correlated with the amount of money that parents give to young adults rather than whether parents give money to their children. Unfortunately, the NLSY97 data do not include the amounts of money parents provide.

Differences by immigrant status and racial/ethnic identity for two parent-child outcomes did not change after controlling for either family resources or young adult roles and resources. These outcomes were relationship advice and coresidence. Turning to parents for relationship advice was more likely among first-generation Hispanic immigrants and non-immigrant Black youth. Black and Hispanic respondents of all immigrant generations lived with parents at notably higher rates than White respondents. Both coresidence and relationship advice are likely to depend on cultural factors and shared values, and this may explain why differences in parents' social or economic capital do not explain the group differences we observe in these outcomes.

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

There are several limitations to the current study. Among immigrants, there are important differences in cultural background and circumstances upon arrival in the United States by country of origin (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). NLSY97 data do not include sufficient sample sizes to examine country-of-origin differences. Furthermore, information regarding how immigrants arrived in the United States (e.g., refugee status, documentation, etc.) could improve our models of immigrants' transitions to adulthood. We hope future surveys will provide the

opportunity to look more closely at immigrant young adults by country of origin and context of arrival.

Small sample size within immigrant and racial/ethnic groups limits our ability to explore gender as a moderator. We urge future exploration of the intersection of gender, race/ethnicity, and immigrant identities in the transition to adulthood. We also would have liked to use more detailed outcome measures, including the amount of money given to children by parents and whether parents were sources of advice at all, rather than only the first or primary source. Additionally, there are likely numerous differences in the actual and perceived support that young adults provide to their parents by immigrant generation and race/ethnicity. Unfortunately, our data did not contain any measures of adult children's transfers to parents. This limits our ability to fully portray parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood, and is a much-needed area of study.

Finally, we are unable to fully explore the meanings that parents and children attach to the intergenerational transfers we examine here. There are nuanced aspects to parent-child relationships that our data do not capture. Prior research has largely focused on attitudes of familism and interdependence among immigrant youth (e.g., [Phinney, Ong, and Madden 2000](#); [Tseng 2004](#)). This approach could, and should, be extended throughout the transition to adulthood.

Findings from this study hold important implications for our understanding of the transition to adulthood for all youth. As the United States becomes more demographically diverse, immigrant and minority families' practices may shift societal norms regarding the transition to adulthood. For example, a substantial increase in the rate of coresidence with parents in young adulthood may make this practice increasingly normative. These changes would hold implications for college attendance, romantic relationship formation and progression, and financial stability during this period. Alternatively, immigrants and minorities could continue to experience markedly different transition to adulthood pathways than the pathways of young adults who are not immigrants. These divergent pathways could exacerbate preexisting disparities between minority and non-minority and immigrants' and non-immigrants' attainment and financial stability in the transition to adulthood.

Notes

1. In total, 2,022 youth were excluded: 318 were not Black, White, or Hispanic; 414 were not living with a parent at wave 1; and 1,290 did not participate in the 2006 survey. Whites, men, and those whose parents had lower education levels were less likely to have participated in 2006.
2. Only 33 youth were identified as immigrants solely on the basis of the spouse of the resident biological parent.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material is available at *Social Forces* online, <http://sf.oxfordjournals.org/>.

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