

Educational Commitment: The Immigrant Advantage?¹

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ABSTRACT

Popular press accounts of the educational success of immigrants in the United States often attribute these positive outcomes to the behaviors of immigrant parents, who are described as more authoritarian and intensively focused on their children's schoolwork than native-born parents in the United States. Although children who were born outside the United States do have more pro-school attitudes than native-born youth, less research has tested whether parental behaviors actually explain this difference. Using the Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), we test generational differences in the "educational commitment" of high school sophomores, comparing their academic interest and purpose. We find that, across both of these educational attitudes and regardless of national origin, first-generation youth are the most educationally committed, followed by second-generation youth and then those in the third or higher generation. These generational gaps are not explained by differences in parental behaviors, earlier measures of academic ability and expectations, perceptions of discrimination, or peer influences. However, interesting ethnic differences emerge and suggest that the familial and school context may be more important for understanding the educational commitment of Mexican-origin students than East and South Asian students. We find that, among the first-generation, living in the United States for a longer time is associated with less educational commitment as well. Finally, we explore the importance of these findings for future explorations of the "immigrant advantage" in educational attitudes and outcomes, comparing explanations that focus on the amount of contact with institutions in the U.S. to explanations that focus on the characteristics of the parents.

Educational Commitment: The Immigrant Advantage?

Recent (extremely controversial) popular press accounts of the authoritarian “Chinese mother” (Chua 2011), among others, have argued that Asian immigrant parents are more involved in the academic lives of their children than American parents, and that this involvement, and its effects on the *academic attitudes* of their children, explains the greater educational achievement of Asian children, both in the U.S. and internationally. This argument has implications for researchers investigating inter-generational disparities in educational outcomes, as it suggests that U.S.-born parents from various ethnic backgrounds may engage (or fail to engage) in parenting behaviors that negatively influence the academic attitudes and outcomes of their children.

This study examines parenting behaviors and how they are related to the academic dispositions of children, comparing recent immigrants from various national origins to children with U.S.-born parents, because the authoritarian parenting style argument implies that there may be something unique about the parenting styles of those who have been socialized in the U.S. that may explain a greater academic orientation among immigrants than the native-born. This raises several questions: are first generation² immigrants more or less committed to educational institutions and norms than their later generation counterparts, and are they more or less optimistic about their success? What can account for inter-generational differences in levels of educational commitment? This study investigates these questions, in order to examine how immigrant status is related to the academic attitudes and behaviors of students and parents, and

² First generation refers to individuals living in the U.S. who were born abroad. Second generation refers to individuals born in the U.S. (or who arrived in the U.S. at a very young age) whose parents were born abroad, and third generation or higher refers to individuals who were born in the U.S. and whose parents were born in the U.S.

how pro-school attitudes of youth are related to parental involvement as well as other factors such as students' perceptions of discrimination and peer influences.

The Formation of Educational Beliefs

Sociologists of education have long been interested in students' academic beliefs and their implications for future educational behavior (see Morgan 2005: 35-53). The now-famous Wisconsin Model of socioeconomic and occupational status attainment (Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969) argued that educational aspirations are a key component in achieving academic success (for examples of the development of this strand of research, see Alexander et al. 1975, Jencks et al. 1983, Morgan 1996, and Bozick et al. 2010). The theory views the educational attainment process through the lens of status socialization, wherein significant others (namely, parents, teachers, and peers) transmit high or low educational expectations to students, which then motivates students' eventual academic attainment. Research in this tradition has established that students with high socioeconomic status have (and are more likely to maintain) higher educational aspirations (e.g. Kao and Tienda 1998), although all groups have relatively high average aspirations and expectations today (Goyette 2008; Kao and Thompson 2003) and the link between background factors and expectations has weakened over time (Goyette 2008).

Research on aspirations among immigrants to the United States, described in detail below, has shown that immigrants are more optimistic about the future than individuals of color born in the United States despite lower average socioeconomic status and other disadvantages that often predict lower school engagement. This study is likewise concerned with the formation of beliefs but specifically with respect to how an immigrant background from several different national origin groups may relate to students' overall orientation towards schooling in the U.S.

Blending the status socialization perspective with research on immigrant optimism, we focus on the pro-academic attitudes among immigrant and native-born youth, examining their relationships with parental and academic factors, discriminatory experiences within the school, and peer socialization. Specifically, we examine two dimensions of educational attitudes and beliefs that incorporate various dispositional elements. We propose that youth who are *committed to their education* are those who see education as instrumental to future success and are positively engaged in their schooling experience.³ With respect to this positive engagement in schooling, we believe that students who are academically engaged should express high levels of interest in their academic endeavors and believe that academic success is important to their future success.

Although our study is explicitly about national-origin and intergenerational differences in educational commitment and not the impact of commitment on future behavior, it is worth noting that previous research has shown that attitudes towards education, broadly speaking, are related to important youth outcomes, such as academic performance and deviant behavior. For example, academic self-esteem, or a belief in one's ability to succeed academically, is positively associated with one's grade point average (Rosenberg et al. 1995). Lack of interest in schooling

³ Our use of the term commitment is compatible with Morgan's (2005) discussion of prefigurative and preparatory commitment. The former refers to a students' "cognitive attachment" to a course of action (i.e. the extent to which a student can envision a course of action) while the latter corresponds to whether the students engage in everyday behaviors that actually facilitate that course of action (e.g. enroll in college preparatory classes, work diligently on homework, prepare for college exams) (2005: 101-112). Morgan, however, specifically uses the term commitment as it pertains to a specific behavioral outcome (e.g. the commitment to graduate from college). In this way, our use of commitment, which corresponds to a *general* pro-academic disposition, better resembles the concept of organizational commitment (see Steers 1977). Marsden, Kalleberg and Cook (1993), for example, describe individuals who are highly committed to their work organizations as those who are "willing to devote more effort to the organization, identify more with the values of the employer, and seek to maintain their affiliation with the organization" (368-369).

has also been linked to problematic behaviors such as drug and alcohol abuse, sexual promiscuity, depression, and delinquency (Steinberg et al. 1996).

Previous Research on Immigrants and Educational Beliefs

A vast literature on the immigrant disposition has documented the paradoxical optimistic beliefs and academic engagement of immigrants, relative to their native-born counterparts with similar socioeconomic status (Kao and Tienda 1995 “immigrant optimism,” Portes and Rumbaut 2001 “immigrant drive,” Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001 “immigrant achievement motivation” and Steinberg et al. 1996 “americanization to disengagement”). First generation immigrants are believed to have more positive academic beliefs because voluntary immigrants *choose* to immigrate in pursuit of economic success in America (Kao and Tienda 1995; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995). Voluntary immigrants self-select to immigrate to the United States in an effort to increase their quality of life, and as a result, it is logical to hypothesize that first-generation immigrants are more optimistic than the average American, and that they are optimistic specifically about the educational system in the U.S. as the most common vehicle for upward mobility. Since individuals choose to immigrate despite the burden of personal sacrifices, financial costs, and risk to themselves and their loved ones, they must have some faith in their ability to achieve this desired level of economic success, and perceive the opportunities in the United States as greater than those in their country of origin.

Aggregating all racial groups, there is a generational decline in pro-educational attitudes and expectations across various ethnic groups. Immigrants appear to display higher educational expectations than their second and third-generation counterparts and the national average (Kao and Tienda 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Fuligni (1997) utilized self-report data from two

middle and high schools in California to show that first generation immigrants exhibit more pro-educational attitudes than, and academically outperform, their later generation counterparts.

These various educational attitudes included the value of mathematics, English, and academic success, educational expectations, and their perception of their parents' beliefs and expectations about their academic success. Interestingly, first- and second-generation individuals are more likely to graduate from high school and enroll in college than their third generation counterparts, and these differences can be attributed to differences in their educational expectations (Glick 2004). Moreover, optimism appears to serve as a buffer for recently arrived immigrants against the possibility of dropping out of high school (Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2006).

These pro-school attitudes are found in immigrant groups from multiple national origins. Middle and high school aged first generation Mexican children are more likely to say that school and homework are the “most important things” than their 2nd and 3rd generation counterparts, and they also exhibit more positive attitudes toward schooling and school officials than their later generation counterparts (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Steinberg et al (1996) found that Latino and Asian first generation immigrants spend more time on homework, are more attentive in class, and are more oriented toward doing well in school.

Examining Educational Commitment across Generations

There is a general decline in academic orientation among older youth (e.g. Sanders 1998). These declines vary across groups; for example, the highest-achieving students in college-preparatory tracks experience sharper declines in academic orientation during high school than their lower-achieving peers in the same track, and students of color in the remedial tracks experience greater declines than their White peers in the same track (Crosnoe 2001). This study

is similarly concerned with the inequality in these processes but focuses instead on generational differences in educational commitment across national origin groups and the influence that parental involvement has on these changes given that parental behaviors may not only differ along racial and class boundaries, but generational ones as well. Moreover, this study seeks to disentangle the influence of immigrant selection processes from the influence of prolonged exposure to the American context on generational differences by noting changes that occur in academic orientation within the first generation.

One objective of this study is to explicate mechanisms responsible for the inter-generational decline from the social psychologically optimistic first generation. Drawing on the broader literature on the immigrant disposition and research on academic engagement, we test if three prominent mechanisms offered to account for inter-generational differences in academic attitudes can do so: parental behaviors, an awareness of discrimination, and peer socialization to ambivalence towards school. The implications of each of these mechanisms are quite different; for example, if normative socialization by peers is driving the decline in pro-school attitudes, then we would expect declines to occur, even within a generation, with greater exposure to the U.S. context. If parental behaviors are most responsible, in contrast, we would expect little change over the years within a generation, and instead only expect generational differences.

Popular arguments have long focused on differences in parenting styles between Eastern and Western cultures and how these differences foster high achieving adolescents from East Asian cultures. For example, a recent article contended that Asian children outperform their “Western culture” counterparts because parents from East Asian cultures are more involved and strict in regards to their children’s academic affairs and spare time, and less focused on promoting their children’s sense of self-esteem (Chua 2011). This raises the question: do

differential levels of *parental academic and non-academic involvement* explain inter-generational differences in educational commitment?

There is some disagreement about the extent to which parental involvement stimulates academic attitudes among offspring. Some researchers argue that academic beliefs are transmitted inter-generationally through various parental behaviors such as communication about school experiences, rules about grades and homework, and communication in more abstract terms (Kao and Tienda 1995; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). More parent-child interactions are related to higher child and parental educational expectations (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). Although popular accounts often argue that greater parental involvement of immigrant parents explains the academic focus of first- and second-generation children, the literature on parental involvement suggests that even if immigrants parents are stricter and more heavily involved than their U.S.-born counterparts, that might not actually have consistently positive outcomes, because while parental educational expectations have positive relationships with child outcomes, greater parental involvement at home is a weak predictor of academic outcomes for children (e.g. Fan and Chen 2001). Evidence to date suggests that immigrant Asian and Latino/a parents are more authoritarian than native-born parents (Chao 2001; Kao 2004), and immigrant parents are more likely to talk to first-generation children about college than other groups (Kao 2004). Immigrant parents, whether their children are first- or second-generation, are very similar in their parenting patterns, once you control for socioeconomic differences between the families of first- and second-generation children (Kao 2004), and provide more academic and non-academic supervision of their children (e.g. knowledge of their whereabouts and monitoring over homework) compared to their native born counterparts (White and Glick 2000). In exploring the factors that promote success among disadvantaged immigrants, researchers argue

that an authoritarian parenting style espoused by first generation parents may be especially important in promoting a positive academic outlook among children of immigrants in disadvantaged contexts, where a myriad of negative influences posed by the inner-city (e.g. academic disengagement, drug and gang involvement, teenage pregnancy, etc.) present a threat to the immigrant drive (Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2008). Kao (2004) notes, however, that although these parenting differences do have a positive impact on the educational achievement of immigrant children, they still outperform their native-born peers even after controlling for differences in parental control and parent-child relationships.

Parental behaviors may not explain the disparities in educational commitment among immigrant youth for a various reasons. First, researchers argue that while parental academic and non-academic involvement is key to explaining the rampant levels of academic disengagement among youth today, the role of parental involvement in shaping children's beliefs about their education is diminished during adolescence when other social factors such as peer influences, fitting in, and being socially accepted are especially valued (Steinberg et al. 1996). Moreover, parental academic behaviors may be unable to account for heightened levels of optimism among first generation immigrants because first-generation parents face the greatest challenges in becoming involved at school, such as difficulty communicating with English-speaking teachers (Turney and Kao 2009). While important, differences in parenting styles and social capital have not fared well in explaining generational differences in achievement in the past (Pong, Hao, and Gardner 2005). Therefore, these factors may not have much better success in explaining generational differences in educational commitment. Lastly, while evidence suggests that all immigrant parents hope for academic success among their children, differences in human and social capital position some immigrants to more effectively convert these high expectations into

academic outcomes among their offspring (Lew 2006). Thus, in this study we test whether parental behaviors help explain the relationship between generational status and educational commitment.

Another explanation provided for inter-generational differences in educational beliefs by researchers is that of *perceived discrimination and an awareness of minority status* (Kao and Tienda 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Observing a lack of mobility among in-group members can have a deleterious effect on disadvantaged youth, ultimately leading to a decline over time in their initially high expectations because they conclude that educational success will not lead to future occupational success (Han 1969; Siegel 1965; Ogbu 1974, 2003; and Kerckhoff 1976).

The immigration literature suggests that native minorities are indeed more susceptible to experiences of racial discrimination. Accordingly, the heightened sense of optimism on the part of first generation immigrants is expected decline inter-generationally as immigrants become more aware of discrimination and the racial hierarchy, and come to realize that their ability to achieve economic success is inhibited by various structural constraints (Kao and Tienda 1995). Supporting this claim, immigrants from various ethnic backgrounds all appear to be less aware of the stigma associated with their ethnic status (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway 2008). Moreover, these discriminatory experiences are associated with a decline in the lofty educational expectations of immigrants from various ethnic backgrounds, including Haitians in New York (Waters 1999), Nicaraguans in Miami (Fernandez-Kelly and Curran 2001), and Mexicans in San Diego (Lopez and Stanton Salazar 2001). Immigrants who are predicted to experience the most societal discrimination also appear to display the greatest divergence between their aspirations and expected educational outcomes, suggesting that racial discrimination may play a prominent role in the intergenerational decline in optimism (Portes

and Rumbaut 2001). Therefore, the current study will examine if higher perceptions of discrimination within the school among later generation immigrants can help explain the inter-generational decline in pro-educational attitudes.

The third mechanism to be explored is that of *peer effects*. During adolescence peer influences may have a larger impact on adolescents' attitudes than parents with respect to their academic beliefs (Steinberg et al. 1996). This is particularly important for our study, because researchers have argued that American youth espouse more ambivalent attitudes towards education and are socialized in a culture of academic disengagement whereby a stronger interest in hanging out with friends, being popular, and dating is the norm. Later generation immigrants are more likely to be socialized into this type of peer culture, and as a result it is possible that this mechanism can account for the inter-generational decline in educational commitment. Immigrant parents voice considerable concerns over the Americanization of their children (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001), especially when concentrated in poor-urban locales (Portes and Rumbaut 2001) where alternative orientations toward success (e.g. opposition towards schooling, drug and gang involvement, teenage pregnancy, and joblessness) may pose a greater threat to the dispositional advantages of immigrants (Wilson 1987; and Anderson 1990). Evidence suggests that Latino and Asian immigrants are more likely to have friends who think school is important than their later generation counterparts, supporting the peer effects account (Steinberg et al. 1996). We account for this explanation in our analysis below by including a measure of students' perceptions of their peers' academic orientation.

The second objective of this study is to test whether or not the educational commitment of youth diminishes with increased exposure to the American context. Prior evidence has documented a decline in the immigrant optimistic orientation as a function of the length of time

they have lived in the United States (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). That is, rather than differences in attitudes simply being related to “generation,” or whether or not your parents were born in the United States, prior evidence has shown that exposure to the American context can hinder the immigrant disposition. For instance, using longitudinal data from California high school students, first generation immigrants’ academic engagement declined with length of time in the U.S. (Suárez -Orozco, Rhodes, and Milburn 2009). Contradictorily, qualitative research has provided evidence that the educational expectations of immigrant parents are not affected by length of time in the U.S. or their perceptions of discrimination (Goldenberg et al. 2001). With the advantage of utilizing nationally representative data, this study will shed light on this discrepancy, by determining if length of time in the United States is related to educational commitment for first generation immigrants.

Furthermore, this study will test whether the influence of *amount of exposure* to the U.S. context on educational commitment can be attributed to differences in their experiences with parenting behaviors (and their experiences at school or with peers). This remains an unresolved question. If these factors cannot account for the effect of American exposure on immigrant optimism, researchers will need to consider other important unobserved factors that may be driving the decline in educational commitment. For instance, perhaps the arduous struggle of adjusting to a new country, loss of familial ties, learning of a new language, shifting standards for success, and a loss of social status held in one’s homeland (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995; Gans 1992; 2009) may be important factors to consider in explaining the effect of American exposure on educational commitment.

This study uses a nationally representative sample of adolescents to test for generational differences in educational commitment. Previous studies of generational differences in academic outlook have focused on specific aspects of academic attitudes singly (Kao and Tienda 1995; Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach, and Rosenberg 1995; Rotter 1954; Findley and Cooper 1983; Ross and Broh 2000; Stupnisky et al. 2008) or on a non-representative sample of youth (Fuligni 1997; Steinberg et al. 1996; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995, 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Our measure of educational outlook includes two dimensions of commitment (interest and value/purpose) and our analysis is based on a large sample of youth across multiple generations, so it allows us to examine consistency across different facets of educational attitudes with a representative sample.

In sum, the goals of the current paper are as follows: (a) explore inter-generational differences in educational commitment among immigrant youth using a nationally representative dataset, (b) investigate the mechanisms that are responsible for inter-generational differences, and (c) test whether first generation immigrants are attitudinally distinct because of their new arrival status by investigating the relationship between the length of time in the US, hypothesized intervening processes, and educational commitment.

Data and Methods

The study utilizes the base year of the Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002). The ELS consists of data from a nationally representative sample of high school sophomores, their parents, and school administrators. The survey asked respondents about their experiences and attitudes regarding school, academic performance, and general socio-demographic information. This survey is particularly useful for testing our hypotheses because it

oversampled Latino/a and Asian students with variation in their generational status, allowing us to compare the two largest groups (Mexican-origin and East or South Asian-origin) across generations. Because ELS used a two-stage sample selection process, we analyze inter-generational differences in educational commitment using regression methods that account for complex survey design.

Description of Variables

The generational status of the individuals in our sample is determined by a question that asks about their nativity status and an identical question that each of their parents answered. Students born in Puerto Rico or any country outside of the United States are considered foreign born if they arrived in the US after the age of five. Respondents are considered second generation if they were born in the United States or arrived in the United States prior to the age of five and at least one of their parents was not born in the United States. If respondents in the sample were born in the United States and both of their parents were as well, then they are coded as third generation or higher. The few people who were born outside of the United States but whose parents were born in the United States are excluded from the analysis. The length of time in the U.S. of our first-generation respondents was measured in years.

The racial group of the respondent is based on their self-identification. Although ideally we would like to compare groups defined by their specific national origin (Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Puerto Rican, etc.), the small sample sizes for the nationality groups in ELS do not

allow this. We therefore compare the two largest immigrant groups – Mexican Americans and East and South Asians⁴ – to Whites and to all other groups.

Educational commitment is composed of two indicators. Academic interest, or the extent to which students find school and subjects interesting, is created using 10 items ($\alpha=.80$; see the Appendix A for a list of the survey items in all of the scales). An example of an item in this scale is “I go to school because I think the subjects I'm taking are interesting and challenging.”

Academic purpose is the second indicator of educational commitment, and is the extent to which students value education and find it instrumental for future success ($\alpha=.80$). An example item is “I study to get a good job.”⁵

Given our interest in the mechanisms that account for intergenerational differences, the analyses control for various types of parental behaviors. Student perceptions of parental academic and non-academic supervision and parental academic engagement are used to measure students' perceptions of parental behaviors. Students' perception of parental academic supervision is based on student responses to how often their parents 1) check that homework is completed, 2) help with homework, 3) reward good grades, and 4) sanction bad grades.

Perceptions of non-academic supervision refers to student reports of how often parents 1) make

⁴ East and South Asians include respondents who self-identified as Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and South Asian. The group does not include individuals who are from Southeast Asia (i.e. Vietnam, Laos, etc.) because these national origin groups have very different experiences in the United States, partly because many of the migrants from this region are refugees rather than voluntary immigrants.

⁵ We also tested two other outcomes that contribute to academic commitment. The first is academic work ethic ($\alpha=.88$) and an example item is “When studying, I keep working even if the material is difficult.” The second is academic optimism ($\alpha=.82$), and was constructed using four questions from the student questionnaire that ask the respondents about their beliefs in regards to their efficacy to achieve specific academic outcomes, such as “When I sit myself down to learn something really hard, I can learn it.” We did not include these two outcomes in the final paper because they appeared late in the survey and had far more missing data than the other two outcomes, especially for first-generation respondents. Results from these two measures were very similar to those shown for academic interest and value, and a confirmatory factor analysis indicated that these four indicators of educational commitment have acceptable psychometric properties (results available upon request).

them do chores, 2) limit the amount of time spent watching television, and 3) limit the amount of time spent with friends on school nights. Finally, perceptions of parental academic engagement refers to student reports of how often they have spoken with a parent or guardian about the following in the previous year: 1) selecting courses or programs in school, 2) material learned in class, 3) grades, 4) plans for taking standardized tests, and 5) plans for attending college. Parental responses regarding their own academic and non-academic engagement and parental educational expectations were also included in the models to capture parental involvement (refer to Appendix A for a description of all items).

The mathematical and English speaking ability of students, their educational expectations, and their academic curriculum (college preparatory versus standard curriculum enrollment) are also controlled in our analysis. The models also include respondents' perceptions of their teacher quality and the extent to which they feel threatened or experience bullying at school. It is important to control for whether respondents have been victimized by bullying as prior evidence suggests that these experiences can have detrimental effects on academic performance, affect towards school, and attendance (Eisenberg et al. 2003; Juvonen et al. 2000). Since later generations may be more preoccupied with fitting in and being socially accepted (Steinberg et al. 1996), the effects of bullying may have particularly pronounced effects on their educational commitment.

Perceptions of the importance of academic success among respondents' peers were captured with five items. Respondents are asked to identify the importance of academic success among their close friends by evaluating how important it is for their close friends to 1) attend classes regularly, 2) study, 3) get good grades, 4) finish high school, and 5) continue education past high school. Perceptions of discrimination were captured with a proxy variable which asked

respondents to indicate the extent to which they believe everyone in school is punished equally for breaking the rules. Although this is not a perfect measure of awareness of discrimination, this indicator is a form of injustice youth can relate to at this age. For instance, evidence suggests that despite lower levels of delinquency in school compared to their White counterparts, first generation Latino/a immigrants are just as likely to be disciplined as White males (Peguero and Shekarkhar 2011). Furthermore, third generation Latino/as had equivalent levels of misbehavior in school as their White counterparts, but they were more likely to be punished for their misbehavior. Thus, perceptions of equal punishment may also be an indicator of awareness of discrimination among immigrants.

Lastly, several other relevant control variables are also included in the analyses. To account for family background, we use the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (Duncan, 1961) to measure socioeconomic status, and family structure is indicated by a dummy variable for two parent household (1=yes, 0=no). The number of siblings of each respondent has in their family is also controlled, because larger families require the sharing of finite parental resources (financial, physical and time) with more siblings. Three school-level variables are also included: school-level poverty (percentage of students who receive free or reduced lunch); school locale (rural or urban); and the school type (private or public). Taken as a whole, these factors are believed to be essential to explaining differential patterns of immigrant incorporation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Finally, variables for respondents' age and gender are included as well.

Results

(Insert Table 1 Here)

Table 1 shows the unadjusted means, by national origin group, for each measure based on unweighted data. Although the aggregate differences are very small, Table 1 suggests that all of the other origin groups have slightly greater educational commitment than non-Hispanic White students, and the highest commitment values appear for East/South Asian origin students, who are also most likely to be first- or second-generation. Like the differences in commitment, national origin differences in parental involvement and engagement are small, but differences in math scores and coursework on the college preparatory track are large, with Whites and East/South Asian students experiencing considerable advantages over Mexican-origin and other students. As expected, these gaps track closely with aggregate advantages in family socioeconomic status and school poverty (percent receiving free or reduced lunch).

Inter-Generational Differences in Educational Commitment

These aggregate differences of course disguise the within-group variation that is the primary interest of this paper. Our models focus on the variability within each group by generation, testing whether the variability is explained by basic demographic differences and parental behaviors or not. Tables 2 and 3 summarize the regression estimates associated with each of the two outcome variables, with models divided by racial group (where the “All other origins” category refers to all of the groups not included in the first two sets of results, including Whites and Blacks; this allows us sufficient sample size to compare across generations for groups with few first- and second-generation individuals).⁶ The regression estimates in table 2

⁶ Regression coefficients and standard errors reported in this paper are obtained via survey-corrected multiple imputation, then deletion (MID) (von Hippel 2007). As shown in table 1, missing data is a non-trivial issue given that some predictors, especially the measures of parent behavior, are associated with a high percentage of missing cases. The MID results shown here are nearly identical to the results based on listwise deletion as well as a conventional multiple imputation approach. Multiply imputed values are obtained using the “mi impute” routine in Stata and the variables are assumed to have a multivariate normal distribution. Regression estimates are based on $M=20$ imputations (Royston 2004).

show that the amount of academic interest that East and South Asians and Mexican American students express is significantly related to the amount of time that parents spend talking about school with them (“My parents discuss my academic activities with me.”), regardless of their generation. The models appear to show a relationship between parental academic engagement and interest that weakens across generations for East and South Asians and grows across generations for Mexican Americans, but we interpret this pattern with caution because a model that contains interactions between generational status and every independent variable in this model shows a significant relationship for generation interacted with parental academic engagement only before other controls are added into the model, and only for Mexican-origin students.⁷ Although the generational differences are therefore not significant once controls are introduced, the final models do show that these parental engagement and supervision variables do not explain the generational differences for either group, showing that generational differences are not simply a result of the strict parenting styles much touted in the media discussion of immigrant outcomes. First generation immigrants exhibit a higher sense of educational interest than their later generation peers, even controlling for parental behaviors and student experiences in school. Altogether, this provides strong support for the social psychological distinctiveness on the part of first generation immigrants in the amount of interest they show in school.

(Insert Table 2 Here)

The differences between East and South Asian-origin students and Mexican-origin students are also quite interesting. For both groups, basic educational predictors like math ability and educational expectations do *not* predict greater interest in school for the first-generation,

⁷ Regression estimates based on a fully interacted model are available upon request.

which is surprising. Equally surprising, however, is that feeling bullied or threatened at school has negative relationships with academic interest only for Mexican-origin immigrants, and being in a college preparatory track also has a negative relationship for this group. This suggests that the schooling experience for Mexican-origin immigrants is perhaps more important and negative for Mexican-origin immigrants, even controlling for the basic socioeconomic characteristics of the schools, than for East and South Asian immigrants. There is also an interesting flip of the typical gender pattern for first-generation Mexican origin students, with girls actually less interested in school than boys.

Finally, Table 2 also shows that parental engagement in academic activities has more positive relationships with students' academic interest for 3rd or later generation Mexican-origin students than for others, although again the model that contains interactions between generation and all of the other variables shows a significant relationship only for parental control (i.e. non-academic supervision), not for parental educational expectations.

(Insert Table 3 Here)

Table 3 shows the same models where the outcome is how valuable the student perceives schooling to be for future success. By and large, the results for academic value are highly consistent with that of academic interest. The key finding is that, regardless of national origin, first generation students, on average, express the highest levels educational commitment even after parental behavior is taken into account. Conversely, students in the third generation or later have the lowest levels of commitment on average. Figure 1 shows predicted levels of academic value (i.e. the extent to which the student believes that a formal education is instrumental to future success) based on the estimates from table 3 for an average student. For both ethnic

groups, educational commitment is predicted to decline by generational status, and we find this same pattern for academic interest.

Within generation change: length of time in the US

The last goal of the study was to examine variation in educational commitment among first generation students as function of length of time in the U.S. This provides a more rigorous test of the idea that greater contact with the U.S. leads to lower levels of educational commitment, because it helps to reduce the possibility that intergenerational differences could merely be the result of different selection processes for recent immigrants compared to immigrants from one or two generations ago. It also allows us to separate the possible causal mechanism of greater *exposure* to the U.S. context creating change over time from the causal mechanism that the migration *experience* or decision itself is associated with a difference in the parents or children who experience that move.

(Insert Table 4 Here)

Altogether, the results in Table 4 provide support for the claim that greater contact with the U.S. is associated with lower levels of educational commitment. Regardless of the national origin of the respondents in question, academic interest declines with increased exposure to the U.S. context among first generation immigrants. Academic value, on the other hand, appears to withstand the detrimental influence of the American context. This suggests that generational differences in academic value may largely be the product of selection processes while declines in academic interest may have more to do with immigrant experiences upon arrival. While we have emphasized how the immigrant experience and the distinction of experiencing international migration can account for the elevated levels of academic disposition, this finding suggests that

part of their elevated commitment is related to less direct exposure to the U.S. However, while exposure to the U.S. context may be detrimental for aspects of educational commitment, parental behaviors, student experiences within school, and other covariates included here fail to explain why this is the case.

These results also provide insight into some interesting differences between Mexican-origin and East and South Asian-origin first generation immigrants. Parental engagement in academic activities appears to be a stronger predictor of educational commitment for Mexican-origin students than East and South Asian students. While only the academic interest of East and South Asian respondents is negatively influenced by enrollment in a college prep curriculum, college prep coursework appears to boost the academic interest and value of Mexican-origin students. High teacher quality appears to be a stronger predictor of academic interest among Mexican-origin students, but the pattern is reversed for academic value. Lastly, perceiving discrimination within school is detrimental to the educational commitment of Mexican-origin students, but inconsequential for East and South Asian students. As a whole, the results suggest that the educational commitment of first generation Mexican-origin youth is more susceptible to familial and school contexts than that of East Asian students, after controlling for basic demographic characteristics.

Discussion and Conclusion

Overall, our findings indicate that there is an inter-generational decline in immigrants' commitment to the institution of education; our analysis also suggests that this pattern transcends differences in national origin and is largely the byproduct of the immigrant experience in the U.S. These findings are consistent with, and bolster, previous research that found that there is an

inter-generational decline in the academic orientation of immigrants, in one form or another and across various types of samples (Fuligni 1997; Suárez -Orozco and Suárez Orozco 1995 and 2001; Steinberg et al 1996). Our findings suggest that this inter-generational decline is present in our two indicators of educational commitment, and persists even when controlling for various types of parental involvement, peer influences, and perceptions of discrimination. These factors have been offered to account for inter-generational differences in academic disposition but heretofore have not been subject to systematic analysis.

Our results do not support the assertion that an “authoritarian parenting style” fosters a commitment towards education as suggested in the popular press. In fact, our results suggest that academic *supervision* on the part of parents (e.g. micromanagement of homework, incentives for high grades), indicative of an authoritarian parenting style, is either not associated with or even *negatively* related to our concept of educational commitment. This could be because, on average, these domineering behaviors are a response to a child who is struggling academically. Our results also do not corroborate findings from Steinberg et al. (1996) which suggest that a lack of general parental involvement in their children’s lives is leading to a decrease in academic engagement of American youth. With the exception of a small positive effect for academic value among Whites, having a parent who reports being socially engaged with his/her student’s life (e.g. attending functions together, doing fun things together) is not statistically associated with educational commitment. Parents do appear to boost their children’s educational commitment when they have higher educational expectations for their children *and* when children perceive that their parents are active participants in their academic lives. In our study, the index variable for parental engagement in academic activities—which has a positive and significant effect with

respect to all forms of commitment—taps into perceptions of both parental involvement in day-to-day academic life as well as participation in “big picture” educational decision-making.

Importantly, however, controlling for parental behaviors did not account for inter-generational differences in educational commitment as would be suggested by previous arguments (see Kao and Tienda 1995 and Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). This is probably the case for three reasons: 1) first generation immigrant parents face the strongest barriers to communicating with the school and attending school sponsored events because of their limited English speaking ability (Turney and Kao 2009), 2) perhaps immigrant parents instill a commitment to education in their children through symbolic means rather than active involvement, as suggested by Kao and Tienda (1995), and finally, 3) too much parental involvement on the part of parents may have unintended hindrances to the academic achievement of youth (López Turley, Desmond, and Bruch 2010).

A central finding in this paper is that immigrants who have resided in the United States for longer periods of time have lower levels of educational commitment than those who arrived in the U.S. more recently. This analysis is important for two reasons. First, our analysis of length of time in the US (among first generation immigrants only) helps to address a potential selection issue in a cross-sectional study on intergenerational change. When we compare immigrants to native-born students in a cross-sectional study, one might ask whether our results are biased as a result of changes in the historical context of immigration, which may lead to different levels of self-selection between recently arrived immigrants and immigrants from the past. If people who immigrated in the past (e.g. 1950's) were less self-selected than people who have recently immigrated (e.g. 1990's), then this could potentially account for the inter-generational differences in optimism as the less self-selected group (and hence the less optimistic group) may

have transmitted these lower levels of optimism to later generations. However, we would argue that this is not necessarily the case, and is certainly not consistent with our findings in Table 4.

Second, the finding lends nationwide support to the longitudinal research of California high school students that demonstrated that length time in the United States is negatively associated with pro-educational attitudes (Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, and Milburn 2009). More importantly, observing changes within the first generation as well as between generations helps shape the discussion around *why* commitment is related to immigrant status. Kao and Tienda's (1995) immigrant optimism hypothesis mainly predicts change in educational attitudes across generations because parents who are new to the US pass a more optimistic view of the potential gains from schooling to their children, based on their experiences in other countries and their decision to immigrate. However, by the third generation (i.e. grandparents born abroad), experiences with discrimination begin to alter their belief in the American Dream and thus third generation students adjust their educational plans to reflect this new "reality." Our analyses suggest that this (downward) revision of beliefs is perhaps more of a continuous process that begins upon arrival in the U.S. Although our data are not explicitly longitudinal, it appears that students who are first generation immigrants learn to be less committed to their education as they grow up in the U.S.

Finally, given the nature of our cross-sectional dataset, it is not possible for us to resolve whether educational commitment is an outcome or antecedent of some of our predictor variables. For example, it is entirely possible that higher levels of educational commitment actually lead to higher levels of parental academic engagement, seeking friendships with peers who value education as well, and lead to a lower perception of injustice because of the success experienced

academically. Future research should aim to disentangle these relationships and improve our understanding of the causal nature of these relations.

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Appendix A: Items Used in Indices

Student Educational Commitment

Academic Interest ($\alpha=.80$)

- 1 How much do you like school?
- 2 I go to school because I think the subjects I'm taking are interesting and challenging.
- 3 I go to school because I get a feeling of satisfaction from doing what I'm supposed to do in class.
- 4 How important are good grades to you?
- 5 When I do mathematics, I sometimes get totally absorbed.
- 6 Because reading is fun, I wouldn't want to give it up.
- 7 Because doing mathematics is fun, I wouldn't want to give it up.
- 8 I read in my spare time.
- 9 When I read, I sometimes get totally absorbed.
- 10 Mathematics is important to me personally.

Academic Purpose/Value ($\alpha=.80$)

- 1 How important is the each of the following to you in your life? Getting a good education.
- 2 I study to get a good job.
- 3 I study to increase my job opportunities.
- 4 I study to ensure that my future will be financially secure.
- 5 I go to school because education is important for getting a job later on.

Academic Work-Ethic ($\alpha=.88$)

- 1 When studying, I keep working even if the material is difficult.
- 2 When I study, I make sure that I remember the most important things.
- 3 When studying, I try to work as hard as possible.
- 4 When studying, I try to do my best to acquire the knowledge and skills taught.
- 5 When studying, I put forth my best effort.

Academic Optimism ($\alpha=.82$)

- 1 When I sit myself down to learn something really hard, I can learn it.
- 2 If I decide not to get any bad grades, I can really do it.
- 3 If I decide not to get any problems wrong, I can really do it.
- 4 If I want to learn something well, I can.

Parental Supervision and Academic and Non-Academic Engagement

Student Perceptions

My parents provide academic supervision. ($\alpha=.70$)

- 1 How often do your parents...check on whether you have done your homework
- 2 How often do your parents...help you with your homework
- 3 How often do your parents...give you privileges as a reward for good grades

- 4 How often do your parents...limit privileges because of poor grades

My parents provide non-academic supervision. ($\alpha=.60$)

- 1 How often do your parents... require you to do work or chores
- 2 How often do your parents... limit the amount of time watching TV/playing video games
- 3 How often do your parents...limit the amount of time going out with friends on school nights

My parents discuss my academic activities with me. ($\alpha=.81$)

"In the first semester or term of this school year, how often have you discussed the following with either or both of your parents or guardians?"

- 1 Selecting courses or programs at school
- 2 Things you've studied in class
- 3 Your grades
- 4 Plans and preparation for ACT or SAT tests
- 5 Going to college

Parental Perceptions

I provide advice on my 10th grader's academic activities. ($\alpha=.72$)

"In the first semester or term of this school year, how often have you and/or your spouse/partner provided advice or information about the following to your tenth grader?" [Never, Sometimes, Often]

- 1 Provide advice about selecting courses or programs
- 2 Provide advice about plans for college entrance exams
- 3 Provide advice about applying to college/school after high school

I am involved with my 10th grader's life. ($\alpha=.81$)

Looking back over the past year, how frequently did you and your tenth grader participate in the following activities together? [Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Frequently]

- 1 Attended school activities with 10th grader
- 2 Worked on homework/school projects with 10th grader
- 3 Attended concerts/plays/movies with 10th grader
- 4 Attended sports events outside school with 10th grader
- 5 Attended religious services with 10th grader
- 6 Attended family social functions with 10th grader
- 7 Took day trips/vacations with 10th grader
- 8 Worked on hobby/played sports with 10th grader
- 9 Went shopping with 10th grader
- 10 Went to restaurants with 10th grader
- 11 Spent time talking with 10th grader
- 12 Did something else fun with 10th grader

School Experience and Friends

Perception of Teaching Quality ($\alpha=.67$)

"How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your current school and teachers?"

- 1 The teaching is good
- 2 Teachers are interested in students
- 3 When I work hard on schoolwork, my teachers praise my effort
- 4 In class, I often feel "put down" by my teachers (reverse coded)
- 5 In class, I often feel "put down" by other students (reverse coded)

Felt Threatened or Bullied at School ($\alpha=.79$)

"In the first semester or term of this school year, how many times did any of the following happen?"

[Never, Once or Twice, More than Twice]

- 1 I had something stolen from me at school
- 2 Someone offered to sell me drugs at school
- 3 Someone threatened to hurt me at school
- 4 I got into a physical fight at school
- 5 Someone hit me
- 6 Someone used strong-arm or forceful methods to get money or things from me
- 7 Someone purposely damaged or destroyed my belongings
- 8 Someone bullied me or picked on me

Importance of Academic Success among Close Friends ($\alpha=.83$)

"Among your close friends, how important is it to them that they..."

- 1 Important to friends to attend classes regularly
- 2 Important to friends to study
- 3 Important to friends to get good grades
- 4 Important to friends to finish high school
- 5 Important to friends to continue education past high school

Figure 1. Predicted levels of Educational Commitment (*Academic Value*)

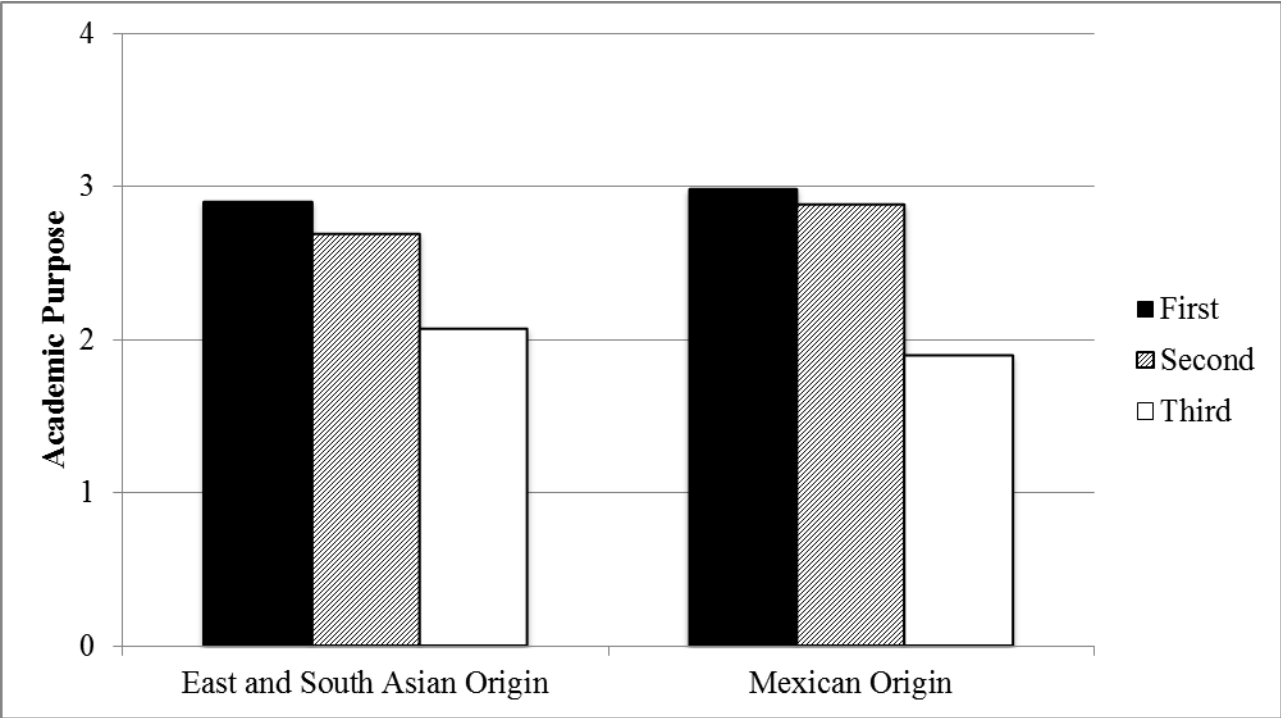


Table 1. Unweighted summary statistics by national origin

Description	Mexican origin			East & South Asian origin			White, Non-Hispanic			All Other Origins				
	Missing Cases*	Mean or %	<i>sd</i>	Missing Cases*	Mean or %	<i>sd</i>	Missing Cases*	Mean or %	<i>sd</i>	Missing Cases*	Mean or %	<i>sd</i>		
Student Academic Engagement														
Academic Interest	[4 pt scale; 4=most interested]	1%	2.78	0.53	0%	2.85	0.51	0%	2.63	0.54	1%	2.81	0.52	
Academic Purpose	[4 pt scale; 4=most committed]	1%	3.26	0.61	0%	3.33	0.60	0%	3.16	0.64	1%	3.30	0.61	
Generational Status														
First Generation	[0=no, 1=yes]	14%	16%		16%	31%		11%	1%		16%	9%		
Second Generation	[0=no, 1=yes]	14%	47%		16%	60%		11%	6%		16%	27%		
Parent Behavior														
My parents provide academic supervision.	[4 pt scale; 4=close supervision]	22%	2.72	0.78	13%	2.55	0.75	10%	2.70	0.75	21%	2.72	0.78	
My parents provide non-academic supervision.	[4 pt scale; 4=close supervision]	23%	2.68	0.82	14%	2.81	0.77	11%	2.71	0.75	21%	2.71	0.80	
My parents are engaged with my academic activities.	[3 pt scale; 3=most engaged]	26%	2.05	0.51	16%	2.19	0.51	13%	2.15	0.51	25%	2.13	0.53	
Parent's Educational Expectations for 10th Grader	[years]	14%	16.41	1.71	16%	17.05	1.29	11%	16.47	1.49	17%	16.73	1.53	
I am engaged with my 10th grader's academic activities.	[3 pt scale; 3=most engaged]	17%	2.13	0.62	29%	2.25	0.59	14%	2.20	0.57	27%	2.25	0.61	
I am engaged with my 10th grader's life.	[4 pt scale; 4=most engaged]	16%	3.01	0.56	28%	2.92	0.64	14%	3.17	0.46	27%	3.09	0.55	
Academic Ability and Expectations														
Standardized Math Quartile	[4=highest ability quartile]	0%	1.98	1.03	0%	2.99	1.08	0%	2.83	1.06	0%	2.10	1.05	
English Ability	[4 pt scale; 4=native speaker]	8%	3.77	0.47	5%	3.75	0.51	0%	3.99	0.11	3%	3.90	0.34	
Student's Educational Expectations	[years]	0%	15.80	2.01	0%	16.75	1.53	0%	16.35	1.76	0%	16.20	1.86	
College Preparatory Track	[0=no, 1=yes]	5%	47%		3%	62%		2%	57%		4%	52%		
School Experience and Friends														
Perception of Teaching Quality	[4 pt scale; 4=favorable]	1%	2.96	0.47	0%	2.97	0.45	0%	2.96	0.46	0%	2.95	0.48	
Felt Threatened or Bullied	[4 pt scale; 4=problematic]	0%	1.23	0.29	0%	1.21	0.29	0%	1.24	0.31	0%	1.26	0.31	
Importance of Academic Success among Close Friends	[3 pt scale; 3=very important]	32%	2.45	0.50	21%	2.57	0.45	21%	2.46	0.48	34%	2.47	0.49	
Perception of Unequal Punishment	[4 pt scale; 4=strongly agree]	2%	2.16	0.86	3%	2.11	0.78	1%	2.38	0.89	2%	2.32	0.91	
Background and Demographics														
Family Socioeconomic Status	[high=high SES]	0%	-0.49	0.71	0%	0.20	0.80	0%	0.21	0.68	0%	-0.19	0.71	
Two Parent Family	[0=no, 1=yes]	0%	77%		0%	83%		0%	82%		0%	63%		
Number of Siblings		18%	2.76	1.60	29%	1.88	1.48	15%	2.09	1.38	27%	2.72	1.71	
Percentage Free Lunch at School	[logged]	7%	3.27	1.13	12%	2.43	1.22	8%	2.17	1.15	8%	2.95	1.22	
Urban School Locale	[0=no, 1=yes]	0%	48%		0%	39%		0%	25%		0%	44%		
Rural School Locale	[0=no, 1=yes]	0%	7%		0%	6%		0%	25%		0%	13%		
Private School	[0=no, 1=yes]	0%	12%		0%	14%		0%	27%		0%	15%		
Female	[0=no, 1=yes]	0%	52%		0%	48%		0%	51%		0%	50%		
Respondent's Age	[years]	1%	16.21		0%	16.10		0%	16.13		0%	16.22		
n		1364				1043				8352				3905

Source: Educational Longitudinal Survey 2002, Base Year Student and Parent Survey

Note: Summary statistics are based on unweighted data.

* Refers to percentage of cases within each group with missing data.

Table 2. Survey Corrected Regression Estimates Predicting Academic Interest

	East & South Asian origin				Mexican origin				All Other origins			
	<i>b (se)</i>				<i>b (se)</i>				<i>b (se)</i>			
	<i>1st Gen</i>	<i>2nd Gen</i>	<i>3rd Gen</i>	<i>All Gen</i>	<i>1st Gen</i>	<i>2nd Gen</i>	<i>3rd Gen</i>	<i>All Gen</i>	<i>1st Gen</i>	<i>2nd Gen</i>	<i>3rd Gen</i>	<i>All Gen</i>
<u>Generational Status</u>												
First Generation				0.109** (-0.042)				0.135*** (-0.04)				0.177*** (-0.035)
Third Generation				-0.045 (-0.061)				-0.093** (-0.037)				-0.028 (-0.022)
<u>Parental Behavior</u>												
My parents provide academic supervision.	-0.037 (-0.048)	-0.018 (-0.031)	0.011 (-0.072)	-0.022 (-0.034)	-0.041 (-0.055)	-0.014 (-0.032)	-0.018 (-0.034)	-0.02 (-0.024)	-0.109* (-0.059)	-0.032 (-0.033)	-0.054*** (-0.011)	-0.048*** (-0.011)
My parents provide non-academic supervision.	0.037 (-0.036)	0.005 (-0.028)	-0.069 (-0.062)	0.003 (-0.029)	-0.012 (-0.038)	0.03 (-0.034)	0.064* (-0.037)	0.046** (-0.023)	0.011 (-0.042)	0.021 (-0.031)	0.059*** (-0.01)	0.055*** (-0.01)
My parents are engaged with my academic activities.	0.209*** (-0.066)	0.137*** (-0.04)	0.069 (-0.119)	0.179*** (-0.04)	0.145** (-0.061)	0.188*** (-0.062)	0.226*** (-0.052)	0.207*** (-0.043)	0.112** (-0.054)	0.249*** (-0.05)	0.228*** (-0.017)	0.218*** (-0.016)
Parent's Educational Expectations for 10th Grader	-0.006 (-0.012)	-0.001 (-0.015)	0.104 (-0.065)	0.022 (-0.015)	-0.02 (-0.013)	0.023* (-0.012)	0.022* (-0.013)	0.014 (-0.009)	0.000 (-0.017)	0.015 (-0.015)	0.003 (-0.005)	0.006 (-0.004)
I am engaged with my 10th grader's academic activities.	0.017 (-0.062)	0.046 (-0.038)	-0.081 (-0.082)	0.018 (-0.037)	-0.035 (-0.032)	0.024 (-0.031)	0.004 (-0.036)	0.019 (-0.025)	0.035 (-0.048)	-0.003 (-0.03)	0.015 (-0.012)	0.013 (-0.011)
I am engaged with my 10th grader's life.	0.05 (-0.058)	-0.073 (-0.047)	-0.093 (-0.102)	-0.055 (-0.037)	0.003 (-0.035)	0.023 (-0.041)	0.07 (-0.046)	0.013 (-0.031)	0.058 (-0.053)	0.064 (-0.041)	0.005 (-0.014)	0.012 (-0.014)
<u>Academic Ability and Expectations</u>												
Standardized Math Quartile	0.004 (-0.019)	0.060*** (-0.02)	-0.036 (-0.056)	0.005 (-0.022)	0.004 (-0.026)	0.022 (-0.021)	-0.012 (-0.019)	0.007 (-0.017)	-0.059** (-0.027)	0.005 (-0.018)	0.030*** (-0.007)	0.023*** (-0.006)
English Ability	-0.075* (-0.04)	-0.067* (-0.039)	0.344 (-5.07)	-0.061* (-0.034)	-0.035 (-0.037)	-0.027 (-0.04)	-0.224** (-0.105)	-0.069** (-0.032)	-0.013 (-0.037)	-0.140** (-0.063)	0.014 (-0.045)	-0.061* (-0.031)
Educational Expectations	0.001 (-0.009)	0.042*** (-0.013)	0.007 (-0.032)	0.030** (-0.012)	0.012 (-0.009)	0.007 (-0.011)	0.006 (-0.012)	0.013 (-0.008)	0.003 (-0.018)	0.037*** (-0.014)	0.029*** (-0.004)	0.029*** (-0.004)
College Preparatory Track	0.093** (-0.045)	0.125*** (-0.033)	0.136* (-0.049)	0.112*** (-0.035)	-0.168*** (-0.044)	0.117*** (-0.036)	0.168*** (-0.045)	0.100*** (-0.027)	0.127*** (-0.035)	0.067* (-0.037)	0.074*** (-0.013)	0.072*** (-0.011)
<u>School Experience and Friends</u>												
Perception of Teaching Quality	0.391*** (-0.055)	0.159*** (-0.053)	0.276* (-0.102)	0.200*** (-0.045)	0.276*** (-0.047)	0.225*** (-0.043)	0.146*** (-0.045)	0.203*** (-0.041)	0.172*** (-0.051)	0.275*** (-0.043)	0.231*** (-0.016)	0.236*** (-0.014)
Felt Threatened or Bullied	-0.091 (-0.131)	0.011 (-0.078)	0.078 (-0.106)	0.061 (-0.06)	-0.195** (-0.075)	0.118* (-0.067)	-0.096* (-0.056)	-0.046 (-0.049)	-0.248*** (-0.089)	0.02 (-0.066)	-0.01 (-0.021)	-0.008 (-0.019)
Importance of Academic Success among Close Friends	-0.147** (-0.054)	0.088* (-0.047)	-0.021 (-0.108)	0.003 (-0.041)	-0.074 (-0.061)	0.042 (-0.051)	0.157*** (-0.05)	0.038 (-0.036)	-0.009 (-0.073)	-0.026 (-0.039)	0.070*** (-0.017)	0.057*** (-0.015)
Perception of Unequal Punishment	-0.090*** (-0.018)	-0.064** (-0.026)	-0.063 (-0.03)	-0.075*** (-0.021)	-0.036 (-0.03)	-0.038* (-0.02)	-0.096*** (-0.024)	-0.057*** (-0.016)	-0.117*** (-0.034)	-0.062*** (-0.019)	-0.060*** (-0.007)	-0.061*** (-0.007)
<u>Background and Demographics</u>												
[8 variables]			✓				✓				✓	
<i>n</i>	270	521	84	1,041	181	550	444	1,354	377	1,311	8,994	12,222

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses.
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3. Survey Corrected Regression Estimates Predicting Academic Value

	East & South Asian origin				Mexican origin				All Other origins			
	<i>b (se)</i>				<i>b (se)</i>				<i>b (se)</i>			
	<i>1st Gen</i>	<i>2nd Gen</i>	<i>3rd Gen</i>	<i>All Gen</i>	<i>1st Gen</i>	<i>2nd Gen</i>	<i>3rd Gen</i>	<i>All Gen</i>	<i>1st Gen</i>	<i>2nd Gen</i>	<i>3rd Gen</i>	<i>All Gen</i>
<u>Generational Status</u>												
First Generation				0.121** (-0.051)				0.09 (-0.056)				0.179*** (-0.045)
Third Generation				-0.209*** (-0.078)				-0.075* (-0.045)				-0.054* (-0.027)
<u>Parental Behavior</u>												
My parents provide academic supervision.	-0.140*** (-0.048)	-0.078* (-0.044)	0.026 (-0.08)	-0.074** (-0.03)	-0.041 (-0.072)	0.017 (-0.043)	-0.001 (-0.045)	-0.004 (-0.03)	0.007 (-0.043)	0.008 (-0.039)	-0.024* (-0.014)	-0.016 (-0.012)
My parents provide non-academic supervision.	0.042 (-0.044)	-0.009 (-0.038)	-0.259* (-0.082)	-0.017 (-0.032)	0.022 (-0.045)	0.015 (-0.043)	0.019 (-0.044)	0.013 (-0.028)	-0.081** (-0.033)	0.022 (-0.034)	0.014 (-0.011)	0.013 (-0.01)
My parents are engaged with my academic activities.	0.280*** (-0.076)	0.327*** (-0.059)	0.533** (-0.11)	0.324*** (-0.046)	0.143 (-0.095)	0.139* (-0.07)	0.327*** (-0.063)	0.261*** (-0.051)	0.132* (-0.07)	0.275*** (-0.056)	0.331*** (-0.024)	0.305*** (-0.021)
Parent's Educational Expectations for 10th Grader	0.03 (-0.018)	0.026 (-0.016)	-0.014 (-0.033)	0.018 (-0.016)	0.007 (-0.012)	0.008 (-0.013)	0.017 (-0.014)	0.012 (-0.011)	0.025 (-0.022)	0.038** (-0.015)	-0.002 (-0.005)	0.007 (-0.005)
I am engaged with my 10th grader's academic activities.	0.022 (-0.053)	0.046 (-0.032)	0.181 (-0.099)	0.058 (-0.04)	0.183*** (-0.051)	0.057 (-0.041)	0.02 (-0.048)	0.054 (-0.036)	0.053 (-0.038)	0.006 (-0.036)	0.006 (-0.014)	0.007 (-0.012)
I am engaged with my 10th grader's life.	0.092 (-0.057)	0.000 (-0.042)	0.13 (-0.105)	0.011 (-0.037)	-0.001 (-0.047)	-0.096** (-0.042)	0.093 (-0.06)	-0.022 (-0.04)	-0.067 (-0.056)	0.095** (-0.045)	0.025 (-0.018)	0.030* (-0.016)
<u>Academic Ability and Expectations</u>												
Standardized Math Quartile	-0.008 (-0.028)	0.027 (-0.02)	-0.093 (-0.048)	0.001 (-0.018)	0.02 (-0.033)	0.015 (-0.022)	-0.022 (-0.024)	0.015 (-0.019)	-0.048* (-0.026)	-0.048** (-0.024)	-0.005 (-0.008)	-0.009 (-0.007)
English Ability	0.203*** (-0.052)	0.003 (-0.047)	0.444 (-7.028)	0.133*** (-0.049)	-0.084* (-0.042)	0.112* (-0.056)	0.304 (-0.234)	0.041 (-0.038)	0.119*** (-0.04)	-0.075 (-0.067)	0.116* (-0.063)	0.095** (-0.038)
Educational Expectations	0.019 (-0.019)	0.038*** (-0.014)	0.096** (-0.023)	0.043*** (-0.016)	0.016 (-0.015)	0.055*** (-0.012)	0.015 (-0.014)	0.036*** (-0.01)	0.029** (-0.013)	0.063*** (-0.013)	0.058*** (-0.005)	0.054*** (-0.005)
College Preparatory Track	0.109* (-0.062)	0.094*** (-0.034)	0.227** (-0.064)	0.111*** (-0.039)	0.022 (-0.062)	0.138*** (-0.041)	0.065 (-0.057)	0.110*** (-0.033)	0.104** (-0.043)	0.055 (-0.045)	0.105*** (-0.017)	0.105*** (-0.014)
<u>School Experience and Friends</u>												
Perception of Teaching Quality	0.019 (-0.047)	0.152*** (-0.054)	0.127 (-0.09)	0.127*** (-0.046)	0.180*** (-0.055)	0.118 (-0.077)	-0.007 (-0.055)	0.108** (-0.047)	0.105 (-0.068)	0.290*** (-0.042)	0.153*** (-0.019)	0.167*** (-0.016)
Felt Threatened or Bullied	0.108 (-0.114)	-0.157* (-0.089)	-0.172 (-0.161)	-0.116* (-0.06)	-0.137 (-0.089)	-0.115 (-0.11)	-0.308*** (-0.075)	-0.135* (-0.068)	-0.248** (-0.103)	0.029 (-0.061)	-0.051* (-0.031)	-0.052* (-0.027)
Importance of Academic Success among Close Friends	-0.05 (-0.064)	0.123* (-0.067)	-0.02 (-0.141)	0.048 (-0.053)	-0.007 (-0.087)	-0.013 (-0.06)	0.039 (-0.064)	-0.035 (-0.048)	-0.047 (-0.069)	-0.033 (-0.052)	0.057*** (-0.021)	0.045** (-0.019)
Perception of Unequal Punishment	-0.176*** (-0.029)	-0.095*** (-0.034)	0.002 (-0.05)	-0.075*** (-0.026)	-0.067 (-0.038)	-0.019 (-0.025)	-0.054* (-0.027)	-0.033 (-0.02)	-0.145*** (-0.036)	-0.015 (-0.023)	-0.050*** (-0.01)	-0.048*** (-0.008)
<u>Background and Demographics</u>												
[8 variables]			✓				✓				✓	
<i>n</i>	269	520	84	1,040	179	547	443	1,353	377	1,305	8,985	12,204

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses.
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4. Survey Corrected Regression Estimates Predicting Educational Commitment, first generation respondents only

	East & South Asian origin				Mexican origin				All Other origins			
	Interest		Value		Interest		Value		Interest		Value	
	<i>b (se)</i>		<i>b (se)</i>		<i>b (se)</i>		<i>b (se)</i>		<i>b (se)</i>		<i>b (se)</i>	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Length of Time in US	-0.038*** (-0.005)	-0.027*** (-0.006)	-0.007 (-0.007)	0.003 (-0.008)	-0.035*** (-0.007)	-0.034*** (-0.007)	-0.004 (-0.013)	-0.012 (-0.012)	-0.020** (-0.009)	-0.019* (-0.01)	-0.022* (-0.012)	-0.031*** (-0.009)
<u>Parental Behavior</u>												
My parents provide academic supervision.		-0.045 (-0.056)		-0.04 (-0.073)		-0.025 (-0.045)		-0.136*** (-0.048)		-0.113* (-0.058)		0.001 (-0.041)
My parents provide non-academic supervision.		0.004 (-0.038)		0.02 (-0.045)		0.048 (-0.037)		0.045 (-0.043)		0.005 (-0.042)		-0.092*** (-0.031)
My parents are engaged with my academic activities.		0.151** (-0.061)		0.142 (-0.095)		0.188*** (-0.062)		0.274*** (-0.072)		0.122** (-0.053)		0.148** (-0.066)
Parent's Educational Expectations for 10th Grader		-0.024* (-0.013)		0.008 (-0.012)		-0.002 (-0.012)		0.032 (-0.019)		-0.003 (-0.017)		0.02 (-0.022)
I am engaged with my 10th grader's academic activities.		-0.019 (-0.032)		0.181*** (-0.052)		-0.014 (-0.055)		0.011 (-0.052)		0.054 (-0.05)		0.083** (-0.037)
I am engaged with my 10th grader's life.		-0.001 (-0.036)		-0.001 (-0.047)		0.055 (-0.053)		0.094 (-0.056)		0.067 (-0.054)		-0.052 (-0.053)
<u>Academic Ability and Expectations</u>												
Standardized Math Quartile		0.004 (-0.025)		0.021 (-0.033)		0.019 (-0.019)		-0.003 (-0.027)		-0.052* (-0.027)		-0.037 (-0.025)
English Ability		-0.004 (-0.033)		-0.087* (-0.043)		-0.025 (-0.044)		0.220*** (-0.06)		0.023 (-0.037)		0.175*** (-0.038)
Educational Expectations		0.011 (-0.008)		0.016 (-0.015)		0.003 (-0.01)		0.019 (-0.02)		0.007 (-0.019)		0.036*** (-0.013)
College Preparatory Track		-0.160*** (-0.043)		0.021 (-0.063)		0.090** (-0.043)		0.108* (-0.061)		0.116*** (-0.036)		0.086** (-0.042)
<u>School Experience and Friends</u>												
Perception of Teaching Quality		0.252*** (-0.047)		0.183*** (-0.057)		0.402*** (-0.056)		0.023 (-0.048)		0.166*** (-0.052)		0.096 (-0.067)
Felt Threatened or Bullied		-0.131* (-0.069)		-0.143 (-0.093)		-0.06 (-0.121)		0.119 (-0.12)		-0.241*** (-0.086)		-0.238** (-0.098)
Importance of Academic Success among Close Friends		-0.072 (-0.06)		-0.007 (-0.087)		-0.137** (-0.053)		-0.046 (-0.061)		-0.004 (-0.074)		-0.039 (-0.069)
Perception of Unequal Punishment		-0.039 (-0.031)		-0.067 (-0.038)		-0.077*** (-0.016)		-0.171*** (-0.028)		-0.109*** (-0.035)		-0.131*** (-0.036)
<u>Background and Demographics</u>												
[8 variables]			✓			✓				✓		
<i>n</i>	181	181	179	179	270	270	269	269	377	377	377	377

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1