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Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence and Academic

Performance

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Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence and Academic

Performance

by

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Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence and Academic Performance

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This dissertation uses data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and the linked Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement transcript study to explore how self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home in adolescence is related to academic achievement at the end of high school and educational attainment by young adulthood. It also explores how the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance varies by Latino family origin and what factors act to mediate this relationship. Finally, it investigates how using school versus home reports of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity in adolescence impacts the measurement of Latino educational progress.

This research draws on education literature exploring racial and ethnic differences in academic performance to suggest how and why an inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification might be related to academic performance. This literature is categorized into two broad lines of research, structural and socio-cultural, and suggests two

competing understandings of the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance as well as the factors that may mediate this relationship.

This research finds a strong and negative relationship between Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home and academic performance and that this relationship varies by Latino family origin. It is only among adolescents who do not report Latino family origins that an inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification is negatively associated with academic performance. This research also finds that factors related to socio-cultural explanations of school performance as well as prior academic experiences help to mediate the negative relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance among adolescents who do not report Latino family origins. Additional findings suggest that using home versus school reports of ethnicity may impact estimates of Latino/non-Latino white differences in educational outcomes and Latino generational decline.

Results suggest that within schools, a Hispanic/Latino identity, one separated from Hispanic family and community ties, is associated with poor academic performance and resistance to schooling. In addition, this research confirms the fluid and complex nature of racial and ethnic self-identification and suggests using caution when relying on self-reports of race and ethnicity in quantitative data analysis.

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1.1 Research Problem

The relationship between ethnicity and educational achievement and attainment has received substantial attention over the years (Kao and Thompson 2003). Explanations for race/ethnic differences, including Latino disadvantage, as well as an immigrant advantage are often linked to the structural and cultural benefits or liabilities students glean from ethnicity, making ethnic identity an important process to unpack (Kao 2004; Schmid 2001; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995; Matute-Bianchi 1991; Ogbu 1974). In a racially stratified society such as the U.S., the development of an ethnic identity, especially a "Latino" or "Hispanic" identity, is a dynamic and reflexive social process that has become imbued with significant meaning (Rodriguez 2000; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Nelson and Tienda 1985). It is influenced by individual and family background characteristics as well as by the multiple social contexts individuals move within and between, such as the family and the school (Lewis 2003; Stepick and Stepick 2002; Stanton-Salazar 2001; Tajfel and Turner 1979). In addition, ethnic identity is often situational (Lewis 2003; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002) and subject to change over the life-course (Doyle and Kao 2007; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Valdes 1996; Nagel 1994; Phinney 1990), such that particular ethnic identities may be adopted to suit particular situations and needs.

Much identity work occurs in adolescence (Stephan and Stephan 2000; Phinney 1996) and within high schools as individuals gain greater independence from family and community and begin to explore their identities within diverse educational settings

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(Morris 2006; Lewis 2003; Erikson 1968). In addition, it is within secondary school that identities become more attached to larger stratification systems and adult status roles (Bettie 2003). Research has shown that the ethnic self-identifications of adolescents vary across time and space: about one-fifth of Hispanic/Latino adolescents inconsistently report their ethnic identity between home and school or between survey periods (Brown, Hitlin, and Elder 2006; Eschbach and Gomez 1998). The important connections between identity and academic success warrant a better understanding of the individual and social factors that are behind such inconsistencies. Such an understanding can provide insight into the meanings adolescents attach to a Hispanic/Latino identity at school and how these are related to academic performance.

From an assimilationist or structural perspective (Gans 1992; Alba 1976; Gordon 1964), inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification in adolescence may represent a stage in the process of integration, one which falls between Latino and non-Latino identifications, suggesting that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers may perform better academically than Latinos. Alternatively, a socio-cultural approach suggests that individuals who tenuously identify as Latino and who only do so in the racialized context of high school may be adopting this identity as a form of resistance to mainstream institutional goals or as a way to save face when confronted by academic marginalization (Bettie 2003; Lewis 2003; Valenzuela 1999; Matute-Bianchi 1991). It is also possible that these adolescents are prone to inconsistent reporting between surveys, are experiencing dissonance between home and school, or attend schools with higher levels of disengagement and lower levels of academic press.

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While a strong link exists between the ethnic identity of adolescents and that of their family of origin (Stanton-Salazar 2001; Phinney 1996; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995), it has also been found that racialized ethnic identities are linked to factors other than phenotype or racial and ethnic origins (Morris 2006; Bettie 2003; Lewis 2003; Kao 2000; Bonilla-Silva 1997; Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman 1992). Thus, it is important to understand how the association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school may vary by Latino family origin. For an individual who reports having Latino family origins, a Hispanic/Latino self-identify in school but not at home might mean something quite different than what a similar inconsistent self-identification means for an individual who does not report Latino family origins.

While more in-depth studies of identity, qualitative or quantitative, may be able to provide more nuanced insight into the relationship between ethnic identity and structural and socio-cultural processes impacting school success, it is important to understand the meanings behind responses to the standard race/ethnic questions that pervade quantitative data analysis in the U.S. because of their widespread use and influence, especially their use by the U.S. Census Bureau and the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). Such analyses often treat Hispanics/Latinos as a homogenous group and fail to take into account the complex social processes that shape both Latino self-identification and the outcomes being measured.

While 20% of Hispanic/Latino adolescents inconsistently report their ethnicity between contexts or over time, little has been done to understand how such

inconsistencies might impact observed trends in the educational outcomes of Hispanics/Latinos. However, recent work on the selectivity of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity suggests that this topic warrants attention. Such work has suggested that persistent trends of Latino disadvantage in human capital accumulation may be exaggerated due to ethnic selection (Duncan and Trejo 2005; Waters 2000). Thus, individuals experiencing ethnic attrition, or who self-identify as non-Latino but come from Latino families, may be positively selected on educational outcomes relative to self-identifying Latinos. Consequently, categorizing these individuals as Hispanic/Latino might reduce any negative association between Hispanic/Latino self-identification and educational and occupational success. Similarly, adolescents who identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may be selective on academic outcomes, such that how they are categorized (Latino or non-Latino) may impact observed differences in outcomes by ethnicity.

Data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) and attached transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study (AHAA) provide a unique opportunity to address these issues. First, Add Health asks respondents to racially and ethnically self-identify in two contexts, both in school and at home, so that analysts are able to measure the consistency of Hispanic/Latino self-identification in adolescence at very proximate points in time. In addition, Add Health asks parents to self-identify both ethnically and racially and also asks respondents to report their ancestries in young adulthood, which allows for a determination of whether or not individuals come from Hispanic/Latino families.

In addition, the attached transcript data, AHAA, provides a unique opportunity to understand how inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school is related to a variety of end of high school and young adult educational outcomes and whether or not this relationship varies by Latino family origin. The rich Add Health survey data provides an opportunity to understand how inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification might be related to important structural and socio-cultural factors that are important predictors of educational outcomes at the end of high school. Combined, Add Health and AHAA allow me to address my three primary research aims.

1.2 Research Aims

1. To identify how inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school is related to individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and academic success at the end of high school. To identify how these associations vary by reports of Hispanic/Latino family origin.

2. To identify what processes within the family and school are associated with inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and how these vary by reports of Hispanic/Latino family origin. To determine whether or not these processes mediate the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic success.

3. To determine whether inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and/or ethnic attrition contributes to a) an over-estimation of the observed educational disadvantage of Hispanics/Latinos relative to non-Latino whites and b) an

over-estimation of the observed trend of generational decline in educational outcomes among Hispanics/Latinos.

1.3 Outline of Dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction and Theoretical Background. In this chapter I review the literature on Hispanic/Latino educational disadvantage and generational decline. I first discuss structural explanations of educational disadvantage, which focus on individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics, and then move to a discussion of socio-cultural explanations, including ethnic-resistance. I argue that these two explanations for race/ethnic differences in academic performance, structural and socio-cultural, have established important yet contradictory links between ethnic identity and academic performance, which may help in understanding the meanings associated with a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home.

I next review the literature on inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification among adolescents and suggest how such inconsistency may also be linked to structural and socio-cultural factors, connecting inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance. I also suggest alternative explanations for inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification that must be taken into account, including a propensity to report inconsistently between surveys, dissonance between home and school spheres, and the characteristics of schools these students attend.

Finally, I review recent research on measurement issues related to race and ethnicity and explain why it is becoming increasingly important to address the fluid and complex nature of racial and ethnic self-identification when measuring outcomes such as

academic and economic performance. I then link this increasing importance to inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification among adolescents and its impact on observed trends in educational performance, both between Latinos and non-Latino whites and between generations of Latinos.

Chapter 2: Data and Methods. In this chapter I describe the data used for my analyses, the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and its attached educational component, the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study. I also describe the construction of all variables used in the analyses and present descriptive statistics for all variables. I next discuss sample selection and, finally, I present the analytical plan used for the study.

Chapter 3: Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification, Individual, Family, and Neighborhood Background Characteristic, and Academic Performance. Results in this chapter show the relationships between inconsistent Latino self-identification and individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and how these relationships vary by reports of Latino family origins. Results also show the relationship between inconsistent Latino self-identification and academic performance, both for those who do and do not report Latino family origins. Finally, this chapter shows whether any academic advantage or disadvantage among inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers, relative to consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and consistently self-identifying Latinos, remains after accounting for background characteristics and a propensity to report inconsistently between surveys.

Chapter 4: Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification, Family and School Processes and Academic Performance. In this chapter I further explore the relationship between inconsistent Latino self-identification and academic performance by investigating several possible mediating factors. Results show whether or not the association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance is influenced by factors other than those related to individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristic, including home-school dissonance, resistance to educational goals, school characteristics, or prior academic experiences. Results also show whether or not these associations vary by Latino family origin.

Chapter 5: Ethnic Self-Identification Selectivity and Educational Progress among Latino Adolescents. In this chapter I explore whether the selective nature of inconsistent self-identification and/or ethnic attrition contributes to bias in the estimation of the educational disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latinos or of generational decline among Hispanic/Latinos.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions. In this chapter I briefly summarize the results from chapters 3-5 and discuss the implications of the findings. I also discuss the limitations of the current study and future research that may extend from it.

1.4 Theoretical Background

1.4.1 Hispanic/Latino Ethnicity and Educational Disadvantage

Empirical evidence suggests that Latinos lag behind non-Latino whites in a variety of measures of educational achievement and attainment, including standardized test scores, high school grades, SAT scores, high school graduation rates, and college

entrance and completion rates. In addition, evidence suggests that Latinos are more often placed in general or vocational tracks in high school and take less advanced coursework required for success at the postsecondary level (Kao and Thompson 2003; Crosnoe, Lopez-Gonzalez, and Muller 2004). In addition, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) results suggest that while the Hispanic-White achievement and SAT score gaps narrowed during the 1970's and early 1980's, such progress did not continue into the 1990's (Lee 2002). Combined, these trends suggest a persistent trend in Hispanic/Latino educational disadvantage.

Disadvantages in the educational arena, especially those most proximate to postsecondary education, raise alarm because of the increasing necessity of a college degree for success in the labor market and for overall economic security. In addition, the growth in the U.S. Latino population since 1965 has made the success of this group increasingly tied to the overall well-being of the U.S. (Passel and D'Vera Cohn 2008; U.S Census 2002; Bean and Tienda 1987). Thus, it is not surprising that evidence of Latino educational disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites has received such attention and debate and has become one of the most important social issues of the 21st century (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001) urging some to suggest that the "persistent flow of Hispanic immigrants threatens to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages" (Huntington 2004, p. 30).

1.4.2 Hispanic/Latino Generational Decline

Moreover, evidence suggests that, among Latinos, educational outcomes decline or stagnate across generations (Crosnoe 2005; Glick and White 2004; Rodriguez 2002;

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Valenzuela 1999; Kao and Tienda 1995; Ogbu 1991). Success among the second generation relative to the first often declines or stagnates by the third generation. Such decline is paradoxical considering the increased human capital of U.S. born parents of the third generation relative to the foreign-born parents of the first and second generation. New theories of assimilation, most notably "segmented assimilation," suggest that the new immigrants are not experiencing the classical straight-line assimilation experienced by earlier waves of European immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Rather, the new immigrants will assimilate into the various segments of the highly bifurcated U.S. economy as non-white or "other." Disadvantaged minorities or "involuntary minorities," including some Latino immigrant groups, will be incorporated into the lower rungs of this division, which are occupied by disadvantaged U.S. racial minorities (Ogbu 1991).

Evidence of generational decline has provoked concern and poses the question of why the new immigrants, particularly Latino immigrants, are not assimilating into mainstream U.S. society and why their educational outcomes are not increasing across generations. Such debate over generational decline coupled with overwhelming evidence of Latino educational disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites has sparked controversy and concern, in part because of the huge demographic changes that have occurred over the last several decades and the future impact Latinos will have on the U.S.

1.4.3 Background Characteristics and Academic Performance

Some evidence suggests that the lower educational achievement and attainment of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites can be explained by the low levels of human capital that Hispanic immigrants bring with them to the U.S. Family socioeconomic status (SES),

particularly parents' education, is one of the most important predictors of school success (Kao et al. 1996; Sewell and Hauser 1976). Thus, the fact that Latinos, on average, have lower levels of family SES is often cited as a major explanation for their underachievement relative to non-Latino whites (Warren 1996; Wojtkiewicz and Donato 1995). Other important structural factors predicting academic success that may play a role in the academic disadvantage of Hispanic/Latinos include family structure (Thompson et al. 1998; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994), generational status, language use, race (Kao and Thompson 2003), and skin color (Bonilla-Silva 2004).

In addition to individual and family background characeristics, the characteristics of the neighborhoods that students live in impact academic performance (Pong and Hao 2007; Portes 1998; Portes and Zhou 1993), as neighborhoods often exacerbate limited resources found in homes. For example, the concentration of households in which English is not spoken well may have an independent effect on individual school success, particularly for Hispanic/Latinos (Portes 1998). Because of the strong association between individual, family and neighborhood characteristics and academic success, much but not all of the negative association between Latino ethnicity and academic success is often explained by these factors (Kao and Thompson 2003).

1.4.4 Socio-Cultural Explanations of Academic Performance

Evidence of the underachievement of third and higher generation Latino youth relative to second generation Latino youth has made many skeptical of the ability of structural characteristics to explain the educational disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites and has led to a stronger conceptual link between ethnic identity and

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academic performance. The pioneering work of Ogbu (1974) and Fordham and Ogbu (1986), which introduced the concept oppositional culture and "acting white," has lent credence to an alternative explanation for race-ethnic differences in education, including Latino disadvantage, and generational decline. Thus, recent research has moved from an assimilation or structural model of academic performance to an ethnic resistance model in an attempt to understand the Latino disadvantage and generational decline among new immigrant groups (Kao and Thompson 2003; Gamoran 2001; Jencks and Philips 1998; Kao and Tienda 1995).

In short, ideas about the unfair distribution of social rewards in U.S. society impact ethnic minority group members' motivation to succeed in school, and minority youth, as a way to maintain racial solidarity and deflect feelings of inferiority, often come to view success in the educational system as "acting white" and as behavior that may lead to punishment by co-ethnic peers (Ogbu 1991; Matute-Bianchi 1991; Ogbu 1974). The conceptualization of oppositional culture and "acting white" has moved research on race/ethnic differences in educational outcomes from a structural to socio-cultural understanding and highlights the influence of particular aspects of racial and ethnic identity, those that are more closely linked to social identity and racialization processes, on academic success.

In addition, research on generational decline among new immigrant groups has shown that initial immigrant optimism espoused by immigrant parents and feelings of obligation to achieve among the children of immigrants often become transformed into an oppositional stance towards education as assimilation into U.S. peer culture ensues

(Portes and MacLeod 1996; Kao and Tienda 1995). Thus, the protective nature of ethnicity experienced by immigrants often wanes as new forms of ethnic identity, which are often associated with racial hierarchies and incompatible with academic success, take hold.

Matute-Bianchi (1991), attempting to understand why some Mexican American students in the Southwest were experiencing success in school while the majority were not, found that variations in Mexican ethnic identity were linked to academic performance. Depending on the meanings attached to it, Mexican identity may either be a positive or negative predictor of academic performance. Matute-Bianchi found that it was the nonimmigrant Mexican American students, who were adopting Cholo or Chicano identities in resistance to perceived structural constraints, who were experiencing the most dramatic school failure. In addition, it was the Mexican immigrant students, who were able to maintain a protective Mexicano identity, who were relatively successful in school, despite the lower levels of human capital found in their families and communities. Thus, while both groups were adopting identities that fall under the broad pan-ethnic label of "Hispanic/Latino," these identities were quite distinct in ways that were related to academic performance.

Such findings again highlight the link between racial/ethnic identity and academic success and suggest that protective ethnic identities of immigrants, which are often linked to important social and cultural resources found in the family and community, often become racialized and imbued with negative associations when placed in a U.S. peer context that is racially structured. Thus, while a Mexican identity at home may be linked

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to familial and cultural resources, such an identity in school may be associated with an oppositional stance toward schooling. I next illustrate how Hispanic/Latino identity has become racialized and imbued with significant meaning within the U.S. social structure and suggest that this may enlighten our understanding of the relationship between a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home and academic performance.

Racialization of Hispanic/Latino Ethnicity

The pan-ethnic label of Hispanic/Latino was created by the U.S. Census Bureau as a way to classify all individuals originating from Spanish-speaking origins (Rodriguez 2002; Nelson and Tienda 1985). This social construction has had meaningful consequences for those who do and do not identify as Hispanic/Latino (Portes and MacLeod 1996): it has created social distinctions between the majority Anglo population and individuals perceived to have Latin American origins, either through observable biological or cultural characteristics, and has become reified through its extensive and pervasive use.

Historically, accelerated immigration from particular regions is accompanied by labels used to identify such individuals. With these labels come stereotypes that are constructed and perpetuated by U.S. society, stereotypes that are often far removed from the immigrants' self-identities. While some have suggested that the Hispanic/Latino label might ease integration into U.S. culture because of its American symbolic value, others have found that, at least among adolescents, Hispanic self-identification is related to less structural and cultural integration rather than more (Portes and MacLeod 1996).

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This may be due to persistent negative stereotypes of Hispanics/Latinos that pervade mainstream media. In much public rhetoric the term may be used disparagingly and the Hispanic population may be spoken of as a "problem" the U.S. must solve through policy reforms (Huntington 2004). In addition, although the Census Bureau continues to distinguish between Hispanic ethnicity and race, individuals who identity themselves as ethnically Hispanic often also see themselves racially as Hispanic, given the racialization of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity in the U.S. In fact, close to a majority of individuals who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino on surveys, when given a choice to self-identify racially, choose "other race," confirming the conflation of race and Hispanic ethnicity in the U.S. (Hitlin, Brown, and Elder 2006). Thus, the Hispanic/Latino category in the US has become a powerful social identity, one that resembles a racial identity in its ability to shape social boundaries and individuals' lived experiences. In addition, due to discrimination in the educational system and the labor market, a Hispanic/Latino identity has become linked to lower social status, including poorer educational outcomes, relative to non-Hispanic/Latino whites. The social status of Hispanics in the US may play a role in the racial and ethnic identity development of adolescents in US secondary schools.

Identity Formation within Schools

Research has established a clear link between racial and ethnic identities and academic success: some identities are positively associated with academic success (white), and some are negatively associated with academic success (black and Latino) (Morris 2006; Lewis 2003; Gibson, Gandara, and Koyama 2004; Valenzuela 1999; Rumbaut 1994; Matute-Bianchi 1991; Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Ogbu 1974). The

historic discrimination of Hispanics/Latinos in the U.S. in the educational system and the labor market has contributed to the creation of a racialized ethnic identity in the U.S. Some suggest that Hispanic/Latino youth, particularly non-immigrant youth, feel compelled to reject normative educational goals as a form of psychological self-defense in response to a limited opportunity structure (Valenzuela 1999; Matute-Bianchi 1991). The academic underperformance of Latino youth and the decline in academic well-being across generations of Latinos supports this powerful link between a racialized Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity that emerges within the U.S, one that is divorced from familial and community resources, and academic success.

However, individuals are not born with racial self-identities or with an understanding of the social implications of such identities. Rather, the development of a non-white identity occurs through the daily experiences within schools and the larger community, experiences that often involve exclusion and subordination (Lewis 2003; Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001; Horvat and Antonio 2001). Schools are a central site for the development of identity, especially racialized identities, both because of the developmental stage of school children and because schools are highly racialized and stratified (Morris 2006; Lewis 2003). Social identity theories, based in social psychology, suggest how identity formation processes within schools may impact the choices adolescents make about Hispanic/Latino self-identity in school and home and how these choices may be related to academic performance at the end of high school. Such theories suggest that a Hispanic/Latino self-identity in school may be either a cause or consequence of academic marginalization in high school.

Impression Management

Goffman (1959) proposed that individuals are constantly trying to control how others perceive them, through impression management. Thus, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school may disengage from the schooling process as a way to manage or reaffirm their Hispanic/Latino identity among peers and school personnel, as such an identity may be related to lower social status and resistance to schooling. Among teachers and administrators, race is often associated with other characteristics, including class and academically appropriate, or middle-class, styles and skills (Farkas 2003; Lareau 2003; Valenzuela 1999). In schools, students often learn that being a racial minority (i.e. black or Latino) is being not only different but being less than, which includes having lower academic abilities and not belonging in certain academic tracks or courses. Students perform their understandings of race, such that identifying as a racial minority may lead to efforts to avoid "acting white," (Fordham and Ogbu 1986) or not excelling academically. Thus, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, especially those who may not report having Latino family origins, may try harder to play the role of their school based ethnic identify through reduced engagement in school, which may lead to lower academic performance at the end of high school.

Situational Identity

Cooley (1902) suggested that what individuals assume others are thinking about them impacts how they see themselves and how they, in turn, identify and present themselves. Matute-Bianchi (1991) shows how "the choice of ethnic labels and symbols,

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as well as variations in ethnic consciousness…reflects an interactive process between the perceptions Mexican-descent students have of themselves and the perceptions school personnel, other students in the school, and the larger community have of them" (p. 241). Students may choose ethnic labels in response to interactions within the educational system, which may include feedback from teachers in the form of grades and placement within the school's academic tracking scheme.

Individual self identities often serve as adaptive strategies and resources used to maneuver within systems of inequality (Bettie 2003). In different contexts, one identity may be emphasized over another, depending on the nature of the situation, and these identities have meanings for both those performing the identity and those observing the performance (Goffman 1959). Underscoring the power of situational ethnicity, Lewis (2003) recounts the experience of a white woman who passes as Puerto Rican only to fit into her role as a garment factory worker. The woman was afraid the other workers would not be able to make sense of the situation if they learned that she was white (non-Latino).

In secondary schools, where identities become more tied to potential future success both in the educational system and the labor market (Bettie 2003), individuals who perceive limited opportunity for advancement may adopt a particular identity to downplay or resist normative goals within school, through disengagement or low college expectations, in order to fit their role as a poor student. Underachievers may "adopt alternative badges of dignity" (Bettie 2003) to combat low academic performance and a perceived low status in adulthood. These alternative badges may include racial or ethnic minority identities, such that some adolescents may identity themselves as

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Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home as a reaction to marginalization and low status within the school.

The meanings associated with ethnic identity may become transformed from an attachment to ethnic family and community within the home to ones closely intertwined with the status mobility system within schools, which often mirror that of the broader U.S. stratification system (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Haney-Lopez 1996). In the U.S. there is a close link between race and class, with "whiteness" being linked to middle class culture, which includes an emphasis on academic achievement and attainment. Thus, some adolescents may identity themselves as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home as a reaction to marginalization and low academic status within the school. Alternatively, some adolescents, as a way to manage their Hispanic/Latino identity, may resist schooling and underperform academically in response to their school-based identity.

1.4.5 Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence

In fact, research using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) has shown that racial and ethnic self-identification is often inconsistent between contexts, including home and school. Using student reports of Hispanic/Latino identity from both an in-school and an in-home survey, Brown, Hitlin, and Elder (2006) find that Hispanic self-identification between home and school, similar to racial self-identification (Harris and Sim 2001), is fluid: 20% of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic at school do not identify as Hispanic at home. Brown et al. begin to explore the characteristics of adolescents who are inconsistent in their reports of Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity and find that these adolescents are more likely to racially

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self-identify as black, yet they do not fully investigate the multiple possible explanations, focus on processes related to the schooling experience, or explicitly examine the relationship between inconsistent self-identification and academic success.

Understanding Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification

The important connections between identity and academic success warrant a better understanding of the individual and social factors that are behind such inconsistencies, especially those characterized by self-identification as Latino in school but not at home. Such an understanding can provide insight into the meanings adolescents attach to a Hispanic/Latino identity at school and how these are related to academic success or failure. Previous research in this area has suggested that inconsistent self-identification might be related to individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics associated with academic success (Eschbach and Gomez 1998) that are also related to academic success. However, research on racialization processes and resistance within schools provides possible links between inconsistent self-identification and academic failure (Morris 2006; Lewis 2003; Bettie 2003; Matute-Bianchi 1991). I suggest explanations as to why inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home might be related to structural or socio-cultural explanations and how these explanations might mediate any relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance at the end of high school. Alternatively, I suggest that such inconsistencies in ethnic self-identification may simply be due to adolescents' propensity to report inconsistently between two contexts, a symptom of

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dissonance between home and school contexts, which may also be related to academic performance at the end of high school, or the characteristics of the schools they attend.

Finally, I suggest that the meanings behind an inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification in adolescence and its relationship with academic performance may differ by Latino family origins: self-identification as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may be a form of assimilation among adolescents from Latino families; however, the same inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification may be associated with socio-cultural factors among adolescents from non-Latino families.

Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification as Assimilation

Classical assimilation theories assume that assimilation, both cultural and structural, is inevitable and optimal. Thus, the longer individuals and groups are in contact with the host society, the more they will adopt the new cultural ways, become integrated into mainstream institutions, and sever or reduce ties to their ethnic culture, often by self-identifying as non-ethnic (Gans 1992; Gordon 1964). Classical assimilation theories suggest that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification might be associated with increased length in the U.S., increased English language use, lighter skin color, higher levels of parental education, and residence in white, middle class neighborhoods (Eschbach and Gomez 1998).

Previous research examining the fluidity of Latino identity suggests that individuals who shift from a Latino to a non-Latino self identity or who identify as Latino inconsistently may be undergoing a process of assimilation. Eschbach and Gomez (1998) find that English monolingualism, attendance at school with few Hispanic students, and

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increasing socioeconomic status are associated with a shift to a non-Latino self-identification. Additional research has examined the characteristics of children of Mexican intermarriage who identify as non-Latino (Duncan and Trejo 2005). These children are often products of marriages that are positively selected on human capital, including educational attainment and English proficiency, suggesting that a shift from a Latino to a non-Latino identity between generations may be indicative of assimilation. In addition, Duncan and Trejo (2005) find that individuals with both Hispanic surname and Hispanic self-identification have less human capital than do individuals with only one of these two forms of Latino identification, also suggesting that inconsistent identifiers and non-Latino identifiers are more assimilated than those who have consistent Latino self-identification. However, none of these previous studies explicitly examines the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between two contexts at the same point in time and factors associated with assimilation.

If individuals who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are positively selected on factors associated with classical assimilation, then I would expect that these individuals would have higher levels of educational performance at the end of high school relative to consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos. In addition, if self-identification as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home is associated with assimilation, I would expect inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers to have lower educational outcomes at the end of high school than individuals who consistently self-identify as non-Latino. Thus, in the first analytic chapter I examine how inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school is related to individual, family, and

neighborhood background characteristics and academic success at the end of high school. I also look at how these associations vary by Latino family origins.

Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification and Socio-Cultural Explanations

Alternatively, a Latino self-identification in school but not at home may suggest an adoption of a racialized ethnic identity in response to academic marginalization. Similarly, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may, as a way to manage their impression to peers and school personnel, resist schooling and perform poorly academically. Thus, an individual's identification as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may be associated with attempts to save face in response to academic marginalization or attempts to manage their impression as Hispanic/Latino, each of which may be related to higher levels of resistance to schooling and poor academic performance at the end of high school relative to their consistently self-identifying counterparts. These inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers may exhibit higher levels of disengagement from school, be in lower level academic tracks, or have lower college expectations. They may also attend schools characterized by a higher proportion of students experiencing low course placement and students with lower levels of family socio-economic status.

If individuals who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school only are positively selected on factors associated with resistance and/or academic marginalization, then I would expect that they would also have lower levels of educational performance at the end of high school than either of their consistently self-identifying counterparts. Thus, my second analytic chapter examines whether or not individual and school characteristics

associated with academic marginalization or resistance to educational norms are associated with a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in-school only and whether or not these factors are able to mediate any relationship between Hispanic/Latino self-identification in-school only and academic performance at the end of high school.

I also investigate whether or not the relationships between Hispanic/Latino self-identification in-school only, individual and school characteristics associated with resistance and academic marginalization, and educational outcomes vary by the ethnic origins (Latino/non-Latino) of the respondent. Previous research suggests that a Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity, particularly within the family and community and among the children of immigrants, may be positively associated with educational achievement and attachment (Stanton-Salazar 2001; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995). However, other research suggests that adolescents who lose their ethnic attachment to family yet adopt peer-based racialized ethnic identities often resist efforts at educational achievement and attainment in U.S. schools (Valenzuela 1999; Ogbu 1991). Thus, I suggest that socio-cultural explanations for Hispanic/Latino self-identification in-school but not at home may be more plausible for adolescents who do not report Latino family origins than for those who do report family origins, who may in fact be experiencing some sort of structural integration.

Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification as Home-School Dissonance

Another explanation for inconsistent ethnic self-identification between home and school may be the existence of a general sense of dissonance between these two spheres. In an effort to explain in-home and in-school reporting discrepancies, Harris and Sim

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(2001) posit that having a parent present during an interview may lead adolescents to base their racial self-identification on parental norms of race, norms that may not correspond to current understandings of race relations in the U.S. Thus, when given the opportunity to identify themselves racially in school, a context that offers more anonymity, adolescents often choose to self-identify racially differently than they would at home. Such a hypothesis might suggest that other aspects of students' school lives that do not match up with their home lives may be associated with inconsistent self-identification between home and school. These may include a lack of parental involvement in respondents' school activities as well as dissonance between parents' and respondents' expectations about going to college.

Research has shown that processes within the family (Brofenbrenner 1979), especially parent-child relationships, impact adolescent development and educational achievement and attainment. Parent-child cohesion is often critical to academic success. As individuals reach adolescence, it is not uncommon for parents and children to become alienated from one another as adolescents seek more autonomy from their parents and increased attachment to their peers (Fuligni 1998). Such alienation or dissonance, especially when related to schooling, may have a negative impact on academic achievement and attainment. Ecological perspectives highlight the importance of congruence between developmental settings (i.e. home and school) in adolescence and the negative effect of dissonance on adolescent achievement (Brofenbrenner and Morris 1998; Elder 1998). Thus, if Hispanic/Latino self-identification in-school but not at home is related to dissonance between parents and adolescents' school experiences, such an

inconsistent self-identification may be negatively associated with academic achievement at the end of high school.

Understanding the association between a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home can shed light on the meanings adolescents in secondary schools attach to a Hispanic/Latino identity and can add more to a growing literature connecting racial and ethnic identities to academic performance. In addition, if adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are unique in their academic performance, this research also has important implications for analyses that rely on self-reports of race and ethnicity to measure educational progress. It also has important implications for research documenting the increasingly fluid and complex nature of race and ethnicity in the US. My third research aim deals with these implications.

1.4.6 Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification Selectivity and Educational Progress

Hispanics/Latinos in the U.S. and Educational Progress

With an influx of new immigrants in recent decades, primarily from Asia and Latin America, the U.S. has experienced rapid demographic shifts. Most notable are the large rise in the Latino population and the predictions about its increase: by 2050 Latinos are projected to make up 29% of the U.S. population (Passel and D'Vera Cohn 2008). Consequently, the assimilation of Latinos is closely tied to the well-being of the U.S. as a whole. The bifurcated nature of the current U.S. economy has made postsecondary matriculation a necessary condition for labor market success. Thus, educational outcomes measuring preparation for college are often used to gauge the well-being of the Latino population relative to non-Latino whites and intergenerational progress among Latinos.

The Fluidity of Racial/Ethnic Self-Identification and Measuring Progress

At the same time that the U.S. has seen a large and continued growth in the Latino population, increased immigration and intermarriage have made the U.S. population increasingly diverse (Lee and Bean 2004; Waters 2000). While racial and ethnic identification have always been fluid and complex, such demographic changes have renewed interest in the social constructionist view of race and ethnicity and have brought new attention to the shifty and inconsistent nature of self-identification. The latest Census enumeration, allowing for counts of the multiracial population, has piqued new interest in the consistency of reports of racial and ethnic identification (Harris 2002; Harris and Sim 2000) and solidified a position that social scientists have long affirmed: race is a social construction (Haney Lopez 1996; Omi and Winant 1994) and ethnic identity is inherently fluid and complex (Xie and Goyette 1997; Thernstrom 1992; Waters 1990). With this have come questions about the ability to make valid inferences from survey data about group differences in important outcomes, including educational outcomes (Saperstein 2006; Duncan and Trejo 2005; Bhopal and Donaldson 1998; Zimmerman et al. 1994).

Due to the racialization of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity and the subsequent meanings it has become imbued with, the choice of Latino self-identification may not be random. A better understanding of the characteristics of individuals who inconsistently self-identify as Hispanic is important when drawing conclusions about the well-being of this growing population using analyses that rely on self-identification to measure ethnicity.

Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification

Previous literature suggests that the choices individuals make about their Latino self-identification is fluid, such that it varies across time and space (Brown et al. 2006; Eschbach and Gomez 1998) and that this ethnic shifting may be related to important selection processes. Individuals who choose to shift to a non-Hispanic/Latino self-identify may be positively selected on important measures of human capital (Eschbach and Gomez 1998) that are important for educational and labor market success. In fact, research on racial identification suggests that inconsistent reports of race, self-reports and observer reports, lead to different conclusions about racial gaps in income, particularly for individuals who self-identify as "other" race (Saperstein 2006).

However, little if any research has investigated the impact of using ethnic self-identification from one context versus ethnic self-identification from another context on measures of educational achievement and attainment, primarily because of data constraints. Add Health provides a unique opportunity to understand the phenomenon of inconsistent racial/ethnic self-identification between two contexts, home and school, among adolescents. Do differences in educational outcomes between Hispanics/Latinos and non-Hispanics/Latino vary by the measure used to classify the two groups, the school or home measure? Similarly, do differences in educational outcomes between generations of Hispanics/Latinos vary by the measure used to classify respondents?

Ethnic Attrition

In addition to inconsistency between contexts, research has found ethnic reporting to be inconsistent between generations, including between parents and their children. Thus, when considering the impact of inconsistent reporting on the measurement of

educational progress, it is important to consider both intra- and inter-generational inconsistencies. Research has shown that individuals who are products of Mexican intermarriages yet not identified as Latino (ethnic attriters) are positively selected on important capital, including educational attainment and English language proficiency (Duncan and Trejo 2005; Eschbach and Gomez 1998). Thus, intra-generational inconsistencies, or ethnic attrition, may contribute to an over-estimation of educational disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites or an over-estimation of generational decline in educational outcomes among Latinos. If a large number of adolescents in Add Health self-identify as non-Latino white yet come from Latino families, or experience ethnic attrition, and if these adolescents have higher educational outcomes relative to self-identifying Latinos, any evidence of Latino/non-Latino white disadvantage in educational outcomes would be reduced by including self-identifying non-Latinos from Latino families in the Hispanic/Latino category rather than the non-Hispanic/Latino white category. Such re-categorization might also reduce any evidence of generational decline between second and third plus generation Hispanics/Latinos.

Thus, the third analytic chapter explores these issues by asking whether or not inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and/or ethnic attrition contributes to a) an over-estimation of the observed educational disadvantage of Hispanics/Latinos relative to non-Latino whites and b) an over-estimation of the observed trend of generational decline in educational outcomes among Hispanics/Latinos.

CHAPTER 2: DATA AND METHODS

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the data used for my analyses, the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and its attached educational component, the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study. I also describe the construction of all variables used in the analyses and present descriptive statistics for all variables. I next discuss sample selection and, finally, I present the analytical plan used for the study.

2.2 Data

This study uses data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a nationally representative, longitudinal study of adolescents who were in grades 7-12 in 1994, and its newly attached education component, the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study (AHAA). This data provides a unique opportunity to understand the characteristics of adolescents who inconsistently report their Latino ethnicity between home and school and whether such inconsistency affects observed trends in educational achievement and attainment. It provides measures of ethnic identity in multiple contexts and an opportunity to see how these measures of identity are associated with individual, family, neighborhood and school processes as well as academic outcomes. Additionally, it allows analysts to investigate the characteristics of self-identifying non-Latinos with a Latino family background.

Based on a two-stage stratified sampling design, over 80 high schools were selected for the Add Health study according to their region, urbanicity, sector, racial composition, and size. Each sample high school was then matched to one of its feeder

schools, leading to a sample of 80 high schools and 52 middle schools (132 schools in total) in 80 communities. Between September 1994 and December 1995, all available 7th-12th grade students in study schools (N=90,118) responded to the In-School Survey, which covered topics ranging from family background to risky behaviors. In 1994-95, a sub-sample of students participating in the In-School survey (N=20,475) completed the Wave I In-Home survey. The data collected during the In-Home sample is nationally representative of adolescents in grades 7-12 in the U.S. In addition, the In-Home interview was much more extensive than the In-School survey and included a parent interview. Adolescents interviewed at Wave I, excluding those that had been in 12th grade at Wave I, were re-interviewed for the Wave II In-Home survey in 1996 and interviewed again for the Wave III survey in 2001 (Harris et al. 2003).

In 2002-2003, when almost all Add Health respondents were no longer attending high school, high school transcripts and other education data were collected from the high schools last attended by Wave III Add Health respondents (Muller et al. 2007). Transcripts were collected and coded for 12,250 Wave III respondents, over 81% of the Wave III Add Health sample. Each course that appeared on the transcript was coded with a standard coding scheme, the Classification System for Secondary Courses (CSSC), using information provided by the schools about course offerings. Grades were coded in a standard format and the courses were assigned Carnegie Units for comparability across schools. The coding schemes were comparable to those used in the National Assessment of Educational Progress High School Transcript Studies (NAEP-HSTS), and are similar to those used in the National Education Longitudinal Study and High School & Beyond.

2.3 Measures

2.3.1 Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification

Both the in-school and in-home surveys allowed respondents to report their Hispanic/Latino ethnicity. In school, respondents were asked, "Are you of Hispanic or Spanish origin?" At home, respondents were asked, "Are you of Hispanic or Latino origin?" In both contexts, respondents had the option of reporting "Yes," "No," or "Don't Know." The combination of these two variables results in nine possible home/school ethnicity combinations. Table 2.1 shows the possible combinations and how I collapse them for the purposes of this study.

The self-identification categories that comprise my core sample include 1) adolescents who consistently self-identify as non-Hispanic/Latino (N=6938), including those who self-identify as consistently non-Latino, consistently don't know, don't know in school and non-Latino at home, and non-Latino in school and don't know at home, 2) adolescents who consistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino (N=1292), 3) adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in-school but not at home (N=293), including those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but don't know at home and those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but non-Latino at home, and 4) adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school (N=63), including those who self-identify as don't know in school and Hispanic/Latino at home and those who self-identify as non-Hispanic/Latino in school but Hispanic/Latino at home. For the first set of analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I focus on three of these four categories, excluding those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school because

of my interest in the meanings attached to Hispanic/Latino ethnicity in school. However, I do present this group in descriptive tables in order to characterize them relative to the main groups of interest. It is important to recognize that within these categories respondents could be of any one or a combination of race(s), as the ethnicity and race questions are not mutually exclusive.

2.3.2 Hispanic/Latino Family Origins

I use data from the parent interview to construct three dummy variables indicating whether the respondent has one, two, or no Latino parents living in the same household. The parent interview gave parents the opportunity to identify their racial and ethnic background and also allowed them to identify the racial and ethnic background of their current spouse or partner, if applicable. With this information, I can identify students who have one or more parents who identify as Hispanic/Latino. However, Add Health does not provide the racial and ethnic background of non-resident biological parents.

In an effort to include all respondents from Latino families, I used additional information from Wave III about family origins to create a dummy variable representing Latino family origins. In Wave III respondents were allowed to describe their family origins by naming up to four countries, groups, or geographic areas. Specifically, they were asked, "Please describe your family origins. You may name as many as four countries, groups, or geographic areas. What are your family ancestries?" For cases where there were less than ten respondents per country, recoding based on the Geographic Subject Headings Listing in Ovid Medline was done. I consider respondents to have Hispanic/Latino family origins if they reported having originated from one of the

following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Spain, Uruguay, or Venezuela. Thus, respondents with Latino family origins include those with one or more Latino parents and/or those who reported Latino family origins in Wave III.

However, it is important to note that while I may at times characterize adolescents as having or not having Latino family origins, I am unable to decisively conclude that adolescents who do not report such origins or have residential parents who not report such origins do not in fact have such origins. Thus, the data is limited in the sense that adolescents may not have biological parents in the household at the time of the survey, giving analysts a less than perfect ability to define the ethnicity of adolescents' parents and thus their Latino family origins. All I am able to conclude is whether or not there was or was not a *report* of Latino family origins, either through residential parents' reports of race/ethnicity or through adolescents' reports of family origins in young adulthood.

Table 2.2 shows my core analytic sample, analytic samples used for the first analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, and analytic samples used for the second analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, all by Latino family origins and Hispanic/Latino self-identification in adolescence. My core analytic sample includes all respondents who have a valid transcript study weight and are not missing information on the school or home Hispanic/Latino ethnicity question. My sample used for Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 excludes those who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school. My sample used in subsequent analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 exclude this same group

as well as those missing on parents' Hispanic/Latino ethnicity and/or self-reported ancestry.

Shown in Table 2.3, for the third analytic chapter (Chapter 5) I construct six analytical self-identification categories using information about Latino self-identification, Latino family origins, and race. For racial identification, I use the standard race/ethnic coding scheme to create mutually exclusive racial categories based on information from the in school and in-home surveys. I create a dummy for non-Latino white and a dummy for non-Latino black. Non-Latino white students are those who did not report a Latino ethnicity either at home or in school, who did not report a black, Asian, Native American, or other racial identity, and who chose a white racial identity. Non-Latino black students are those who did not report a Latino ethnicity either at home or in school and who chose a black racial identity, whether alone or in combination with another racial identity. The six categories I use for the third analytic chapter include non-Latino white without Latino family origins, non-Latino white with Latino family origins, Latino in-school only without Latino family origins, Latino in-school only with Latino family origins, Latino in-school and at home, and non-Latino black.

2.3.3 Individual and Family Background Characteristics

I use information from the in-home interview on both parents' and respondents' nativity status to determine if respondents are *first, second, or third or higher generations*. First generation respondents include those who reported being born outside the U.S. Second generation respondents include those who were born in the U.S. but have one or more parent that was born outside the U.S., including non-residential parents that the

respondent reports being close to. Third plus generation respondents are those who were born in the U.S. and do not have any parents that were born outside of the U.S.

Like ethnicity, Add Health allows respondents to report their *racial background* both in-home and in-school. Both formats allow the respondents to choose more than one race. I construct seven mutually exclusive categories using this information: white alone in-home or in-school, black alone in-home or in-school, Asian alone in-home or in-school, Native American in-home or in-school, other race in-home or in-school, multiple races or inconsistent single race between in-home and in-school, and no race reported.

During the Wave III interview, the interviewer is asked to identity the respondent's skin color as either black, dark brown, medium brown, light brown, or white. I create one variable that represents *brown skin color* ('dark brown,' 'medium brown,' and 'light brown') and one variable that represents *black skin color* ('black'). *White skin color* is the reference category.

For *parents' education*, I take the maximum level of education reported by each parent in the parent survey and fill in missing values with information reported by the student during the in-home interview. This variable ranges from 1 (no high school diploma) to 7 (professional degree). *Gender* is based on respondent responses to the in-home survey, and *age* is taken from Wave III. In the in-home survey respondents were asked whether or not they usually speak a language other than English at home. I construct a dichotomous variable that represents *usually speaking a language other than English at home*. I control for *family structure* in all models by including a dummy variable representing residing in a two biological parent household in Wave I.

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Add Health also collected contextual data that was later attached to the survey data. This data characterizes the neighborhoods respondents lived in at the time of the Wave I survey. Residence location geocodes were linked to Census data at the state, county, tract, and block levels. From this data I use the *percent of Latinos, percent foreign born, and percent of residents age five and older speaking English not well* in the respondent's Census block to characterize the ethnic and linguistic make-up of the respondent's local neighborhood in adolescence.

I take into account that inconsistent reports of Latino self-identification may simply be due to measurement error associated with surveying adolescents at multiple times. I create two variables indicating inconsistent reports between the in-home and school surveys: *inconsistent reports of sex* (gender) and *inconsistent reports of U.S. nativity* to take into account this propensity.

2.3.4 Academic Achievement and Attainment

I measure educational achievement and attainment using four indicators: *highest math course taken in high school, cumulative high school GPA, high school graduation*, and *graduated from or attending college*. All measures are constructed using transcript data except postsecondary attendance, which is constructed using several responses from the Wave III survey. I use the broader outcome of graduated from or attending college because of the age range of the Add Health sample; not all respondents had the opportunity to graduate from college by the time of the Wave III interview. This measure uses Wave III survey data that asked respondents how many years of education they have received, which type of degrees they have obtained, and whether or not they are currently

enrolled in school. Using this information I constructed a dummy indicator where 1=graduated from or attending college and 0=did not graduate from and not attending college.

Also, high school graduation is based on student's exit status as recorded on their transcript as well as self-reported information from Wave III. It is a dichotomous variable where 1=graduated and 0=did not graduate. Highest math course taken is an ordinal measure that comes from the student transcript data and represents the highest level of math course taken by the end of high school. The variable ranges from 1 (basic/remedial math) to 9 (calculus). Cumulative GPA was calculated by first averaging all of the grades (which were weighted by the amount of course credit) that appeared on the student's high school transcript for each year of high school and then taking the mean across all years. This variable is continuous, ranging from 0 to 4.

Grades are an important indicator of academic well-being because they represent evaluations of respondents' mastery of course material and effort within the classroom, which entails both objective measures of performance and subjective evaluation by the teacher. While grades are important measures of academic well-being, they do not capture the level of the coursework, which is an important indicator of college preparation and success. Advanced courses, especially in math, are required to do well on college entrance exams and are often required for admission to four year colleges and universities. While I use high school graduation as a measure of academic success because it is a necessary but not sufficient requirement for further education and entry into the labor market, I also use post-secondary attendance. In today's bifurcated

economy, economic success is dependent on educational advancement beyond high school.

2.3.5 Family and School Processes

I create two measures to tap students' *resistance to institutional norms*. The first is a measure of *college expectations* that comes from the in-home interview. Respondents were asked how likely it is that they will go to college. This variable ranges from 1 (low) to 5 (high). In addition, I measure *school disengagement* with an index representing the average of the responses from three questions asked in the in-home interview: how much trouble do you have: 1) paying attention in class, 2) getting along with teachers, and 3) getting your homework done. This variable ranges from 0 (never) to 4 (everyday).

I create two variables to tap *home-school dissonance* experienced by respondents in adolescence. These include *parental involvement*, which is a sum of six dummy variables indicating whether the respondent has done the following things with dad or mom in the last four weeks: talked about school work or grades, worked on a project for school, and talked about other things done in school. This variable ranges from 0-6. I also create a variable that measures the level of mother's college expectations relative to the respondent's college expectations. In the in-home survey respondents were asked how disappointed their mothers would be if they did not graduate from college. This variable ranges from 1-5 with high being most disappointed. Also in the in-home survey, respondents were asked how likely it is that they will go to college. This variable ranges from 1-5 with 5 being most likely. I divide the respondent's expectations by the mother's; thus, higher values of this variable indicate that the mother has higher expectations for

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the respondent to graduate from college than the respondent has to go to college.

I aggregate student level survey data to create *school level variables* representing average school disengagement, proportion in low math in ninth grade, and average parents' education. I use school administrator reports of school locale to create a dummy variable representing urban and rural school locales. I measure *prior academic experience* using scores from an abridged Picture Vocabulary Test taken during the Wave I survey and placement in a math course lower than Algebra I in ninth grade, which is determined using transcript data.

2.4 Sample Selection

My core sample is restricted to students who have valid responses to the in-school and in-home Hispanic/Latino ethnicity questions, have transcript data, and have a valid transcript weight, which results in a sample of 8,586. As shown in Figure 2.1, of the 8,586 adolescents who responded to both the home and school Hispanic/Latino ethnicity question, 81% consistently self-identified as non-Latino, 15% consistently self-identified as Hispanic/Latino, and 4% self-identified as Hispanic/Latino inconsistently between home and school. Of this 4% of adolescents that reported their Hispanic/Latino ethnicity inconsistently, the majority, 75%, self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, while only 25% self-identified as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school in 1994-95/1995-96.

While the group of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school are a theoretically interesting group to study, my focus in this dissertation is on the group of adolescents that self-identifies as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at

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home. This focus is due to both my theoretical interest in a Hispanic/Latino identity within schools and also because this group comprises the bulk of the adolescents who inconsistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in adolescence. The impact of this group on data analyses that rely on self-reports of race and ethnicity may be larger than that of the group comprised of those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not at school simply because of the differences in numeric size.

Thus, while I present descriptive statistics for all groups that comprise the core analytic sample to see how adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school compare to other groups, my analytic models used in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 (see Table 2.2) exclude these adolescents. This results in an analytic sample of 8,523 individuals: 6,938 consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, of whom 5,709 have no Hispanic/Latino family origin, 176 have Hispanic/Latino family origins, and 1,053 are missing information on Latino family origins; 1,292 consistently self-identifying Latinos, of whom 25 have no Hispanic/Latino family origins, 1,020 have Hispanic/Latino family origins, and 247 are missing information on Hispanic/Latino family origins; and 293 inconsistent self-identifiers who identify as Latino in school but not at home, of whom 187 have no Hispanic/Latino family origins, 53 have Hispanic/Latino family origins, and 53 are missing information on Hispanic/Latino family origins. As shown in Figure 2, among those who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, the majority do not have reported Latino family origins, although it is important to note that they may have non-residents parents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino.

For the second set of analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I further limit the sample to those respondents who were not missing information on resident parents' Latino ethnicity or self-reported family origins in Wave III, resulting in a sample of 7,170 individuals: 5,885 consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, 1,045 consistently self-identifying Latinos, and 240 adolescents who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home from non-Latino families, of whom 187 have no reported Hispanic/Latino family origins and 53 have Hispanic/Latino family origins.

I make several additional sample restrictions for the third analytic chapter (see Table 2.3). For the first set of analyses, which investigate the combined effect of ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school on the over-estimation of Latino educational disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites, I limit the sample to third plus generation Latino, non-Latino white, and non-Latino black adolescents who were not missing data on parents' Latino ethnicity or Wave III self-reported Latino family origins. This results in an analytic sample of 5,282 adolescents: 3,505 adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino white, of whom 3,437 have Latino family origins and 68 who do not have Latino family origins; 197 adolescents who self-identified as Latino in school but not at home, of whom 35 have Latino family origins and 162 do not have reported Latino family origins; 332 adolescents who self-identified as Latino both in school and at home; and 1,248 adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino black.

The second set of analyses in the third analytic chapter investigates the impact of ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school on

observed generational decline in academic outcomes among Latinos. Thus, I limit the sample to self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and non-Latinos with Latino family origins. This results in an analytic sample of 1,454 adolescents, including 236 first generation Latinos, 222 of which consistently self-identified as Latino and 14 of which did not; 514 second generation Latinos, 488 of which consistently identified as Latino and 26 which did not; 528 third plus generation Latinos, 331 of which consistently identified as Latino and 197 of which did not; and 176 adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino but who had Latino resident parents or self-reported Latino family origins in young adulthood.

Table 2.4 shows means of all analytic variables for the initial Add Health Wave I sample (N=18,924), the transcript study sample (N=11,637), the analytic sample used for the first set of analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, which excludes those who are missing on the home or school report of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity, the analytic sample used for the second analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, the analytic sample used for the first part of Chapter 5, which is limited to third plus generation self-identifying Hispanic/Latinos, non-Hispanic whites, and non-Hispanic blacks, and the analytic sample used for the second part of Chapter 5, which is limited to self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and non-Hispanics with Hispanic/Latino family origins.

We see that the characteristics of the sample are relatively similar among adolescents in Wave I and those who persist into Wave III and the AHAA transcript study, although those that remain through the transcript study do appear to have slightly higher values on variables positively associated with academic success, including parents' education and college expectations. Similarly, after selecting only adolescents

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who responded to the Hispanic/Latino ethnicity question in both the in school and in home surveys, we see an increase in mean academic outcomes of the sample, suggesting that I may have lost some of the more educationally disadvantaged respondents through attrition during this sample selection stage. While somewhat higher, the mean academic outcomes of the sample used for the second set of analyses in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 have similar means on the academic outcomes. Thus, analyses presented in both Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 may underestimate any educational disadvantage experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers without observable Latino family origins because the most educationally disadvantaged students appear to have been lost after selecting only those with self-reports of ethnicity in both the home and school surveys.

Not surprisingly, the analytic sample used for the first part of Chapter 5, which includes only third plus generation non-Latino whites, Latinos, and African Americans, has a higher mean value on parents' education and white skin color. It also has a different racial and ethnic make-up. Similarly the analytic sample used for the second part of Chapter 5 is unique because it is limited to only adolescents who reported a Latino self-identity and adolescents who reported a non-Latino self-identity in combination with Latino family origins.

2.5 Analytic Plan

2.5.1 Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification and Background Characteristics

Bivariate Analyses

To answer my first research question, "How is inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-

identification between home and school related to individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and academic success at the end of high school and how do these associations vary by Hispanic/Latino family origins," I first provide descriptive statistics for respondents' individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics across the four categories of Latino self-identification. This provides insight into how inconsistent self-identifiers fare on these characteristics relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self- identifying non-Latinos and whether or not they are positively selected on important variables associated with educational success. It also provides insight into whether or not the associations between self-identification as Latino in school but not at home and individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics vary by Latino family origin. I perform means tests using survey commands in SAS to determine if the characteristics of these groups are statistically different from one another.

Next, I provide descriptive statistics for respondents' end of high school outcomes and post-secondary enrollment status across the four categories of Latino self-identification to determine whether or not inconsistent self-identifiers are doing better or worse academically relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and non-Latinos by young adulthood, and whether or not this relationship varies by Latino family origin. In combination, these two steps will tell me if respondents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are different on individual and family background characteristics relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and whether or not these levels correspond to

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higher or lower levels of educational achievement and attainment by young adulthood. In addition, it will tell me whether or not the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification, background characteristics, and academic outcomes varies by Latino family origin.

Multivariate Regression

After investigating these associations, I next use SVY commands in STATA to run multivariate regression models that examine whether or not Latino self-identification in school but not at home is related to academic success or failure, net of individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and the propensity to inconsistently report between home and school surveys. These models also tell me whether or not the association between Latino self-identification in school but not at home and academic success varies by the Latino family origins of the respondent. I look at four separate academic outcomes: highest math course taken in high school, cumulative high school GPA, a dichotomous indicator of high school graduation, and a dichotomous indicator of post-secondary attendance.

For all regression models run in both Chapter 3 and 4, the reference category consists of adolescents who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and who do not have observable Latino family origins. While somewhat unconventional, I make this category the reference group in order to see how this group compares to the remaining three groups, inconsistent self-identifiers with reported Latino family origins, consistently self-identifying Latinos, and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. This allows me to see how my main group of interest, inconsistent self-identifiers without

Latino family origins, is performing academically relative to all other groups without having to run multiple models.

In Chapter 3, for each outcome I run two regression models. This first model gives estimated effects of each of the self-identification categories relative to inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers from non-Latino families. In the second model, I add individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and variables representing the propensity to report inconsistently between home and school to determine whether or not any of the associations between Hispanic/Latino self-identification categories observed in the first model remain after controlling for these important predictors of academic success.

2.5.2 Family and School Processes, Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification, and Academic Outcomes

Bivariate Analyses

To answer my second research question, "What processes within the family and school are associated with inconsistent Latino self-identification, and do these mediate the relationship between inconsistent self-identification and academic outcomes?," I produce descriptive statistics for analytic variables of interest related to dissonance between home and school, resistance to institutional norms, and school characteristics, across the four groups of Latino self-identification. From this analysis I hope to understand what forces in adolescents' family and school lives are associated with a Latino self-identification within school but not at home, and whether or not these associations vary by Latino family origins.

Multivariate Regression

I next perform multivariate regression to better understand the relationships between the self-identification categories, potential mediating variables, and academic outcomes. I run five models for each outcome in a stepwise fashion to evaluate whether or not any of the potential mediating factors are able to explain the association between respondents with inconsistent Latino self-identification from non-Latino families and the academic outcomes. Similar to the first analytic chapter, each model includes three dichotomous variables representing consistent Latino self-identification, consistent non-Latino self-identification, and Latino self-identification in school but not at home with Latino family origins; thus, the reference category in each model includes those who self-identify as Latino in school but not at home and do not have reported Latino family origins. This allows me to evaluate whether or not the other three self-identification groups are doing better or worse than inconsistent self-identifiers without Latino family origins.

The first model includes the self-identification categories, the individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics, and the propensity to inconsistently report between home and school surveys, as shown in Chapter 3. In the second model I add variables representing dissonance between home and school; in the third model I add variables representing resistance to institutional norms; in the fourth model I add school characteristics; and in the fifth model I add prior achievement. All models are run in STATA using they SVY command in order to account for the complex sampling design of Add Health and AHAA. In addition, I perform multiple imputation using the ICE

procedure in STATA to account for missing data.

2.5.3 Ethnic Self-Identification Selectivity and the Hispanic/Latino and non-Hispanic/Latino White Gap in Academic Outcomes

Bivariate Analyses

My third research aim has two parts: to determine whether inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and/or ethnic attrition contributes to a) an over-estimation of the observed educational disadvantage of Hispanics/Latinos relative to non-Latino whites and b) an over-estimation of the observed trend of generational decline in educational outcomes among Hispanics/Latinos. To address the first part of this research aim, I first compare the academic outcomes of the self-identifying racial-ethnic groups of interest, which include non-Latino whites with no Latino family origins, non-Latino whites with Latino family origins (ethnic attriters), inconsistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos without Latino family origins, inconsistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos with Latino family origins, and consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos, to see if particular groups are faring better or worse on academic outcomes. Such evidence will suggest whether or not individuals who are inconsistent in their reports of Latino ethnicity are positively or negatively selected on educational achievement and attainment. It will also suggest whether or not adolescents who self-identify as non-Latino but have Latino family origins (ethnic attriters) are positively selected on academic outcomes relative to self-identifying Latinos. I use survey procedures in SAS to compare the means across groups.

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Multivariate Regression

The next step in addressing my third research aim is to run multivariate regression models predicting each of the four academic outcomes. For each outcome, I first run three models that test whether or not inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and/or ethnic attrition contribute to the observed educational disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites. The first model includes a dichotomous variable indicating Latino self-identification in adolescence, either in school or at home, and a dichotomous variable representing non-Latino black self-identification, making the reference group non-Latino whites; thus, in the first model the Hispanic/Latino coefficient represents the disadvantage experienced by adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino, either in school or at home, relative to adolescents who self-identify as non-Latino white. This coefficient represents the effect of self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino before taking into account ethnic attrition or inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school.

The second model for each outcome answers the question of whether or not taking into account ethnic attrition reduces any observed Hispanic/Latino disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites. In other words, it tells us if re-classifying non-Latino whites with Hispanic/Latino family origins as Hispanic/Latino would reduce the negative effect of Hispanic/Latino relative to non-Latino whites. Thus, in the second models the Hispanic/Latino coefficient now represents the disadvantage experienced by adolescents who either self-identify as Latino in adolescence, have resident parents who self-identify

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as Latino, or report Latino family origins in young adulthood, relative to non-Latino whites with non-Latino family origins.

The third model addresses the impact that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification may have on observed Hispanic/Latino educational disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites. These models add two dichotomous variables representing inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school, one representing those from Hispanic/Latino families and one representing those from non-Hispanic/Latino families. The purpose of this model is to determine if any remaining negative effect of Hispanic/Latino seen in the second model is reduced after controlling for inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification. If the Hispanic/Latino coefficient is reduced between the second and third models and the inconsistent self-identification/no Latino family origins variable is significant, then there is evidence that some of the observed Hispanic/Latino disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites seen in the first and second models may be due to the low academic performance of adolescents from non-Latino families who choose to self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school. Thus, the Latino coefficient in the third models represents the Latino effect after adjusting for both inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and Hispanic/Latino ethnic attrition.

In addition to these models, I also run similar models that include basic socio-demographic variables, including gender, age, parents' education, verbal ability, language use at home, and school locale, to see if any Hispanic/Latino academic disadvantage exists after controlling for important individual and family characteristics associated with

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academic achievement and attainment and whether ethnic attrition or inconsistent

Hispanic/Latino self-identification reduces any remaining negative effect.

2.5.4 Ethnic Self-Identification Selectivity and Hispanic Generational Decline in Academic Outcomes

Bivariate Analyses

To address the second part of my third research aim, "Does inconsistent

Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and/or ethnic attrition

contribute to an over-estimation of the observed trend of generational decline in

educational outcomes among Hispanics/Latinos?," I produce weighted means of

academic outcomes by Latino self-identification and generational status for an analytic

sample that includes all adolescents who self-identified as Latino in adolescence (in

school or at home) and adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino but have Latino

family origins. The purpose here is to determine if evidence of generational decline is

stronger among inconsistent or consistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers, which may

suggest whether or not including inconsistent self-identifiers as Hispanic would impact

the overall trend in generational decline.

Multivariate Regression

The next step in addressing this question is to run multivariate regression models

predicting each of the four academic outcomes, highest math taken in high school,

cumulative high school GPA, high school graduation, and college attendance. I run six

models for each outcome, which help to confirm whether or not inconsistent self-

identification and/or ethnic attrition contribute to an over-estimation of generational

decline in educational outcomes among Latinos. The first model includes three dichotomous variables representing first generation Latino, second generation Latino, and non-Latino with Latino family origins. Thus, the reference category in the first model is third plus generation Latinos, and the coefficient for second generation indicates whether or not second generation Latinos are doing better or worse academically relative to third plus generation Latinos. A positive coefficient indicates that second generation Latinos are outperforming third plus generation Latinos and is therefore evidence of generational decline.

The second model run for each outcome includes only the two dichotomous variables from the first model representing second generation Latinos and third generation Latinos. The dichotomous variable representing non-Latinos with Latino family origins has been removed, which changes the reference group from only third plus generation self-identified Latinos to third plus generation self-identified Latinos and self-identified non-Latinos with Latino family origins (ethnic attriters). If any of the observed generational decline among Latinos is due to ethnic attrition, then removing the dichotomous variable representing non-Latinos with Latino backgrounds should decrease any positive effect of second generation.

The third model for each outcome adds a dichotomous indicator of inconsistent Latino self-identification. If any of the observed generational decline among Latinos is due to the low academic performance of adolescents who choose to self-identify as Latino at school, then the addition of this variable should further reduce any positive effect of second generation that remains in the second model.

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In addition to these three regression models predicting each of the four academic outcomes, I also run three models that include basic socio-demographic variables, including gender, age, parents' education, verbal ability, language use at home, and school locale, to see if any second generation advantage, or generational decline, exists after controlling for important individual and family characteristics associated with academic achievement and attainment and whether or not ethnic attrition or inconsistent self-identification is able to reduce any remaining evidence of generational decline. Thus, the last model for each outcome shows whether or not any generational decline exists after taking into account ethnic attrition, inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school, and important socio-demographic variables.

CHAPTER 3: INCONSISTENT LATINO SELF-IDENTIFICATION, INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY, AND NEIGHBORHOOD BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND ACADEMIC OUTCOMES

3.1 Research Aim

To identify how inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school is related to individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and academic success at the end of high school. To identify how these associations vary by Latino family origin.

3.2 Introduction

3.2.1 Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification and Background Characteristics

In this chapter I first assess the relationship between individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and inconsistent self-identification between home and school to see if adolescents experiencing inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school are advantaged or disadvantaged on background characteristics traditionally associated with assimilation and academic success, relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. I look at the following background characteristics: parents' educational attainment, generational status, parents' race and ethnicity, respondents' race and skin color, age, gender, language use at home, and the ethnic and linguistic composition of the respondents' neighborhood in adolescence.

These characteristics are often cited as powerful predictors of academic success and are also seen as variables associated with structural integration into the U.S. mainstream, or assimilation. Research on ethnic identity suggests that the more structurally integrated individuals are the less likely they will be to self-identify as ethnic, or Hispanic/Latino (Eschbach and Gomez 1998; Gans 1992; Waters 1990). Thus, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in only one context may be less structurally integrated than adolescents who consistently self-identify as non-Latino in two contexts, home and school, and more structurally integrated than adolescents who consistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home and in school. In addition, if these levels of structural integration are observed, it would be expected that adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in only one context, school, would be in-between consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos on academic outcomes because of the positive association between structural integration and academic success.

A structural or assimilation approach would suggest that inconsistent Latino self-identifiers might be more likely than consistently self-identifying Latinos but less likely than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos to come from families with higher levels of parental education. This is due to the continued correlation between Hispanic/Latino identity and educational attainment and income in the U.S. (Bauman and Graf 2003; Kao and Thompson 2003). Similarly, inconsistent Latino self-identifiers might be more likely than consistently self-identifying Latinos but less likely than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos to identify as third plus generation, as generational status and length of

residence in the U.S. are primary indicators of assimilation and ethnic self-identity (Gordon 1964). Inconsistent self-identifiers might also be more likely than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos but less likely than consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latinos to identify as "other race" because of the difficulty Latinos often find in placing themselves within the U.S. racial hierarchy. Individuals with a stronger Hispanic/Latino self-identify often mark "other race" because they are unable to find a suitable race to describe themselves (Hitlin, Brown, and Elder 2007; Campbell and Rogalin 2006).

An assimilation approach might also suggest that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers might be less likely than consistently self-identifying Latinos but more likely than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos to have brown skin color, as reported by interviewers. In the U.S., skin color is a major stratifying force and thus a major signal of structural integration (Bonilla-Silva 2004). Individuals with lighter skin color might be more able to "pass" as non-Latino, while those with darker skin might be less likely to do so. Individuals who self-identify inconsistently as Hispanic/Latino might also be more likely than consistently self-identifying Latinos to have one or more parents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino but less likely than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos to have parents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino. In terms of gender, research shows that boys are more likely to shift from an ethnic to a non-ethnic identity, while girls are more likely to maintain their Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity for longer (Eschbach and Gomez 1998). Thus, inconsistent self-identifiers might be more likely than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and consistently self-identifying Latinos to be male.

In terms of neighborhood characteristics, assimilation models suggest that individuals who are more structurally and culturally integrated live in neighborhoods with more non-Latino white residents and in neighborhoods with more individuals who are fluent in English. Living among co-ethnics and among those who speak your ethnic language of origin is often associated with maintenance of ethnic self-identity (Gordon 1964). Thus, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers may live in neighborhoods with higher concentrations of linguistic minorities and Hispanics relative to consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos but may live in neighborhoods with lower concentrations of linguistic minorities and Hispanics relative to consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latinos.

3.2.2 Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification and Academic Success

After investigating these associations between inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school and individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics associated with structural integration, I next turn to the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and academic outcomes to see if Latino self-identification in school but not at home is related to academic success or failure, net of individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and the propensity to identify inconsistently between contexts in adolescence. This step will explore whether any selection on background characteristics related to inconsistent self-identification translates into increased academic advantage or disadvantage at the end of high school. I look at four separate academic outcomes: highest math course taken in high school, cumulative high

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school GPA, a dichotomous indicator of high school graduation, and a dichotomous indicator of post-secondary attendance.

3.2.3 Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification by Latino Family Origin

Finally, I investigate the interaction between inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school and Latino family origin to see if the impact of identifying as Latino in school but not at home on academic success varies by Latino family origin. This is especially important given the large percentage of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic in school but not at home who do not have Latino family origins. From an assimilation perspective, individuals who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and have Latino family origins may in fact be experiencing integration into the mainstream. Evidence of Latino origins in the home, either through parents self-identifying as Latino or through adolescents reporting Latino ancestry in young adulthood, suggests that an inconsistent Latino self-identification in adolescence may be related to a reassessment of one's Hispanic/Latino self-identity in the face of a non-Latino U.S. mainstream experienced within schools. Such a reassessment might be a sign of structural integration, and thus might be associated with increased academic success relative to consistently identifying Latinos. Alternatively, individuals from non-Latino families who self-identify as Latino in school but not at home might be experiencing more complex social-psychological processes that are unrelated to a structural understanding of group differences in educational outcomes.

3.3 Sample Characteristics

In the first part of this chapter I use the full analytic sample to assess the relationship between Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home, background characteristics and academic success. This sample includes 6,983 adolescents who consistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school and at home, 1,292 adolescents who consistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino, 293 adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, and 63 adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school. However, when running regression models, I exclude the 63 adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school. I also exclude this group when looking at the associations between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification, background characteristics, and academic outcomes.

In order to see if the relationship between inconsistent self-identification, background characteristics, and academic success varies by Latino family origin, I limit this initial analytic sample to those respondents who were not missing information on resident parents Latino ethnicity or Wave III family origins, resulting in a sample of 7,170, including 5,885 non-Latinos, 1,045 Latinos, 187 inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families, and 53 inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino families.

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Bivariate Analyses

Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification and Background Characteristics

Results in Table 3.1 show that adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are experiencing higher levels of structural integration relative to consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos. As expected from a classical assimilation perspective, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are also less structurally integrated than are consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, suggesting that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers fall in between consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos on typical measures of assimilation. For example, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers have lower levels of parental education than consistently self-identifying Latinos but have higher levels of parental education relative to consistently self-identifying non-Latinos.. A similar pattern holds true for parents' Latino ethnicity, racial classifications of 'other,' 'white,' and 'none', and interviewer's reports of skin color. However, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic in school but not at home do not live in neighborhoods that look significantly different than those consistently self-identifying non-Latinos live in.and are not more likely than non-Latinos to speak a language other than English at home.

For consistently self-identifying non-Hispanic/Latino adolescents, the average maximum level of parental education is 3.59. For consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latino adolescents it is 2.26, and for adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home it is 2.83. Adolescents who consistently self-

identify as Hispanic/Latino are the most likely to self-identify as "other" race, with 47% self-identifying as such. None of the consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and only 5% of inconsistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latinos report "other" race in adolescence. Similarly, while only 3% of consistently self-identifying non-Hispanic/Latino adolescents do not report a racial category, 20% of consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latino adolescents fail to report a racial self-identify in Wave 1. Adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino only in school are in between: 6% do not report a racial self-identity. Conversely, while only 24% of consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latino adolescents self-identify racially as white, almost half of those who self-identify as Hispanic in school but not at home identify as white, and 74% of adolescents who consistently self-identify as non-Hispanic self-identify racially as white.

Similar to racial self-identity, while 56% of consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latino adolescents and 18% of consistently self-identifying non-Hispanic/Latino adolescents are observed to have brown skin, 40% of those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school only are observed by interviewers to have brown skin. As Brown, Hitlin, and Elder (2006) pointed out, adolescents who inconsistently report their Hispanic/Latino identity are more likely to racially self-identify as black than are adolescents who consistently self-identify, either as Hispanic or non-Hispanic. In addition, adolescents who inconsistently report their Hispanic/Latino identity are more likely to be observed by interviewers to have black skin color. These findings suggest that those who inconsistently report their Hispanic/Latino identity are struggling to

manage their racial self-identification as black and their ethnic self-identification as
Hispanic/Latino.

Looking briefly at the small group of adolescents that self-identifies as Hispanic
at home but not in school, Table 3.1 shows that they are more structurally integrated than
consistently self-identifying Latinos, as seen by looking at parents' education,
generational status, parents' race/ethnicity, race, skin color, and neighborhood
composition. At the same time, while they are less structurally integrated than
consistently self-identifying non-Latinos in terms of generational status, parents' race and
ethnicity, race and skin color, and neighborhood characteristics, they do not have
significantly lower levels of parents' education, which is a very strong predictor of
academic success. They also are not more likely than non-Latinos to speak a language
other than English at home.

From a classical assimilation perspective, these results suggest that adolescents
who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home will also have higher
educational achievement and attainment by young adulthood than consistently self-
identifying Latinos because characteristics such as higher levels of parental education and
having non-Latino parents are associated with higher academic success. In addition,
these results also suggest that those self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not
at home will have lower educational achievement and attainment than will consistently
self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos. Alternatively, if Hispanic/Latino self-
identification in school but not at home is associated with more complex processes
occurring within the family or school such as resistance to mainstream norms that come

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with an adoption of a Latino identity, these higher levels of structural characteristics among adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may not be indicative of higher academic success.

In addition, for adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not at school, the majority of the bivariate results suggest that they may also be in-between consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos on measures of academic success. The one exception is their parents' relatively high levels of education, which is a very strong predictor of academic success.

Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification and Academic Outcomes

In fact, Table 3.2 shows that students who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home have lower academic achievement and attainment by young adulthood than both consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, suggesting that self-identification as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may be, rather than a forward step in the assimilation process, evidence of more complex social processes occurring within the home or school. Specifically, for highest math course taken in high school, inconsistent self-identifiers, on average, do not reach Geometry (represented by the value '4' on the sequence variable) by the end of high school, while consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos, on average, are close to reaching Algebra II (represented by the value '6' on the sequence variable), and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos take courses beyond Algebra II. In addition, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers have an average cumulative GPA of 2.12 at the end of high school, while consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos have an

average GPA of 2.67, and consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos have an average GPA of 2.37. In terms of educational attainment, while 85% of consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and 92% of consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos have graduated from high school, only 79% of adolescents self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home have graduated from high school. Moreover, only 30% of the inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers have graduated from or were enrolled in post-secondary education by the time of the Wave III survey, while 46% of consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and 53% of consistently self-identifying non-Latinos had graduated from or were attending college in young adulthood.

However, for the smaller group of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers, those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school, the results in Table 3.2 are more similar to what may have been predicted from bivariate background descriptives. Except for one academic outcome, post-secondary attendance, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school are doing worse academically than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. In addition, in contrast to inconsistent self-identifiers who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, this group of adolescents is not doing worse academically than Latinos as measured by highest math taken, cumulative GPA, high school graduation, or post-secondary attendance. Yet, unlike classical accounts of assimilation might suggest, they are not statistically outperforming consistently self-identifying Latinos academically. These results may shed light on alternative theories of assimilation, primarily segmented

assimilation, suggesting that a loss of ethnic identity or assimilation into mainstream peer culture may be negatively related to academic outcomes and other indicators of well-being. While not addressed here, further understanding of this group should be considered in future research.

Variation by Latino Family Origins

To understand how the relationship between Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home and individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics may vary by respondents' Latino origins, Table 3.3 presents weighted means of background characteristics for consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos, consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos, and for two groups of inconsistent self-identifiers, those with and without Latino family origins. As stated earlier, a structural explanation is more plausible for adolescents from Hispanic/Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in only one context. However, such an explanation holds less explanatory power for adolescents who appear to be from non-Latino families who choose to self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home. Thus, it is important to acknowledge any differences found in background characteristics between inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino and non-Latino families, particularly since the majority of adolescents in the sample who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home do not have reported Latino family origins.

It is important to mention again that this study is limited in its ability to measure whether or not an adolescent comes from a Latino family because only the resident parents were asked to identify themselves racially and ethnically. Thus, an adolescent

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may have a biological parent who is Hispanic/Latino, yet there is not way to identify this in Add Health. Thus, any negative association between inconsistent self-identification and academic performance among adolescents without observable Latino family origins could be due to differences in family structure, which is also associated with academic performance. For this reason I include an intact family structure variable in Table 3.3 to see whether or not those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and have no observable Latino origins are less likely to live with two biological parents in Wave I. If they are less likely to live in intact families, this may suggest that any academic disadvantage they experience could be related more to family structure than to other explanatory variables.

Results in Table 3.3 show that both groups of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, those with and without observable Latino family origins, are less likely than consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos to live with two biological parents in adolescence. However, while not significantly different, inconsistent self-identifiers without observable Latino family origins are more likely to live in an intact family in adolescence than are their counterparts with observable Latino family origins. Thus, it appears that any academic disadvantage experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers without observable family origins relative to other groups is not solely attributable to differences in family structure.

Table 3.3 shows that while both groups of inconsistent self-identifying adolescents are more likely than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and less likely than consistently self-identifying Latinos to be third or higher generation, inconsistent

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Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without Latino family origins are more likely than inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers with Latino family origins to be third or higher generation. Thus, inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families look more like non-Latinos than do inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino families. In addition, while both groups of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers are less likely than non-Latinos and more likely than Latinos to be second generation, those with Latino family origins are more likely than those without observable Latino family origins to be second generation.

Also, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home from non-Latino families are significantly less likely to self-identify as "other" race, which is an indicator of attachment to Hispanic/Latino ethnicity, than are those from Latino families. This similar pattern can be seen for other variables that signal a lack of assimilation, including proportion of Latinos in respondents' census block and the proportion usually speaking a language other than English at home.

Other patterns seen in 3.3 are interesting to note as well. While there is no difference between the inconsistent self-identifier groups in proportion white, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers who have no reported Latino family origins are much more likely than their counterparts with reported Latino family origins to report being black or Asian, suggesting that this group may be experiencing tension between their racial and ethnic self-identification that those from Latino families are not. Inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families are also more likely than their counterparts from Latino families to be observed by interviewers to have black skin. In

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addition, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without reports of Latino family origins are much less likely to be female than any of the other three groups, especially inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers with Latino family origins.

Table 3.3 also shows that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without Latino family origins are more likely than any other group to report their nativity inconsistently between the home and school survey and slightly more likely to inconsistently report their gender between the two surveys. These findings suggest that a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home among those from non-Latino families may be qualitatively different than a similar inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification among adolescents from Latino families.

Turning to the relationship between inconsistent self-identification and academic outcomes and the variation by Latino family origin, Table 3.4 shows that much of the initial disadvantage of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers in academic performance relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and non-Latinos shown in Table 3.2 is being driven by inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without reports of Latino family origins. Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without Latino family origins are doing significantly worse than all three other self-identification groups on highest math course taken in high school and college attendance. In addition, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without Latino family origins have a lower average cumulative high school GPA and rate of high school graduation than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and a lower average GPA than consistently self-identifying Latinos.

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While inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers who do not have observable Latino family origins are doing worse on a variety of academic outcomes than other self-identification groups, including consistently self-identifying Latinos, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers with Latino family origins are not doing significantly better or worse than other groups, with one exception. Adolescents from Hispanic/Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not home have lower GPAs than do consistently self-identifying Latinos.

3.4.2 Multivariate Regression Predicting Academic Outcomes

Highest Math Course Taken and Cumulative GPA

Table 3.5 presents multivariate linear regression models predicting highest math course taken and cumulative GPA in high school. These models show that much of the disadvantage that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers from non-Latino families experience in math course-taking and GPA in high school persists even after taking into account individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics and the propensity to report inconsistently between contexts in adolescence. The first model predicting highest math course taken shows the advantage that consistent Latino self-identifiers, consistent non-Latino self-identifiers, and inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino families have on highest math course taken relative to inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families. Results show that all three of these groups are outperforming inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families, with consistently self-identifying non-Latinos taking, on average, 1.63 more math courses, inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino families taking 1.60 more math courses, and consistently self-identifying Latinos taking 1.22 more

math courses during high school than adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home. In model 2 we see that these effects, although reduced, persist even after controlling for individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and the tendency to inconsistently report between the home and school surveys.

In the first model predicting cumulative GPA, we again see that respondents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home during adolescence are disadvantaged relative to all three other self-identification groups. However, in this case, the disadvantage relative to inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers from Hispanic/Latino families is not statistically significant. Consistently self-identifying Latinos end high school with an average cumulative GPA that is .35 points higher than adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos end high school with an average GPA that is .60 points higher than those from non-Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home. In model 2 we see that these advantages in GPA experienced by consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latino adolescents and consistently self-identifying non-Hispanic/Latino adolescents relative to inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families persist after controlling for background characteristics and the tendency to report inconsistently.

High School Graduation and College Attendance

Table 3.6 shows results of logistic regressions predicting high school graduation and post-secondary attendance. Model 1 for high school graduation shows that only

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consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos are advantaged relative to inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families. Consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics are 218% [exp(1.16)-1*100] more likely than inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families to graduate from high school. Model 2 shows that this advantage does persist after controlling for background characteristics and the tendency to report inconsistently between surveys. In addition, Model 2 shows that after background characteristics are controlled, a positive effect of inconsistent self-identification with Latino family origins emerges. Adolescents from Hispanic/Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are 357% [exp(1.52)-1*100] more likely to graduate from high school than their counterparts from non-Latino families.

For post-secondary attendance, results show that both groups of consistent self-identifiers, Latinos and non-Latinos, are more likely to go on to college than are without observable Latino family origins who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, and these advantages persist even after background characteristics and the propensity to report inconsistently are taken into account.

3.5 Conclusion and Discussion

This chapter has explored the characteristics of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home in relation to adolescents who consistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino and adolescents who consistently self-identify as non-Hispanic/Latino. In addition, this chapter looks at how adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are performing academically at the end of high school relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying

non-Latinos and if any advantage or disadvantage they may experience in academic performance is related to their background characteristics. Finally, this chapter investigates the relationship between Hispanic/Latino self-identification, background characteristics, and academic outcomes by Latino family origin in order to see if adolescents without Latino family origins who self-identify as Hispanic in school but not at home are unique relative to their counterparts with Latino family origins.

To answer the first question, How do the background characteristics and academic outcomes of adolescents vary by consistency of Latino self-identification between home and school?, I find that, consistent with an assimilation hypothesis, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are in between consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and non-Hispanics/Latinos on a variety of individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics typically associated with assimilation. However, these background advantages do not translate into better academic outcomes by the end of high school and young adulthood. Adolescents self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are doing worse on a variety of end of high school academic measures relative to their consistently self-identifying Latino and consistently self-identifying non-Latino counterparts, even after controlling for individual and family background characteristics and the tendency to report inconsistently between surveys. This suggests that more complex family or school processes may be associated with self-identification as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and academic performance, processes that will be further explored in the next chapter.

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To answer the final question, How does the association between inconsistent self-identification between home and school and academic performance vary by Hispanic/Latino family origin?, I find that the negative association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance is only present among inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without Latino family origins, and this disadvantage is not explained by background characteristics or the tendency to report inconsistently between the home and school survey. These findings suggest that further work should be done to understand the processes behind a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home, particularly among adolescents without Latino family origins.

In the following chapter I suggest other potential factors that may account for the negative relationship between a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home and academic performance, including dissonance between the home and school spheres, resistance to institutional norms that may arise from or lead to a Hispanic/Latino self-identification within school, the characteristics of the schools adolescents attend, and prior academic experiences.

CHAPTER 4: INCONSISTENT HISPANIC/LATINO SELF-IDENTIFICATION, FAMILY AND SCHOOL PROCESSES AND ACADEMIC OUTCOMES

4.1 Research Aim

 To identify what processes within the family and school are associated with inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and how these vary by Hispanic/Latino family origin. To identify whether or not these processes mediate the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic success.

4.2 Introduction

In the previous chapter it was found that adolescents who identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home fall in-between consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos on individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics often associated with assimilation, such as parents' education, language use at home, generational status, and percent language minority and Hispanic/Latino in the neighborhood. However, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are also doing worse academically at the end of high school and in young adulthood, as measured by highest math course taken in high school, cumulative high school GPA, high school graduation, and college attendance, than are consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos. This is paradoxical considering the predicted positive impact of parents' education and generational status on academic success as well as the

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predicted negative impact of non-English language use at home and percent language minority and Hispanic/Latino in the neighborhood on academic success.

I suggested in the previous chapter that adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may simply have a propensity to inconsistently identify between surveys and that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between contexts may be no more than "goofing off" and unrelated to more complex processes occurring within the school or family; however, the academic disadvantage of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home persists even after controlling for inconsistent reports of gender and nativity status between home and school. This academic disadvantage also persists after controlling for race and skin color, suggesting that the association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic disadvantage can not be explained by inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers being more likely to self-identify and to be perceived as black. In addition, it was found that the negative association between Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home and academic success is observed only among inconsistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latino adolescents who do not have reported Latino family origins, raising questions about the experiences these adolescents are having within home and school that might be related to a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home.

This chapter explores other possible explanations for the negative association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and academic success, explanations that focus on processes occurring within the family and

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school, including resistance to institutional norms, the characteristics of the schools

adolescents attend, dissonance between home and school, and measures of verbal ability

and prior course placement in high school. I first explore the bivariate relationships

between these family and school processes and inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-

identification and next test whether or not any of these factors reduce the negative

association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic

success. I do this by performing stepwise multivariate regression models that

progressively add in family and school factors to determine which, if any, are able to

reduce the negative effect of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification on highest

math course taken, cumulative high school GPA, high school graduation, and college

attendance.

4.3 Sample Characteristics

For the first part of this chapter I use the same sample used for the first set of

analyses in Chapter 3, which includes the core analytic sample (N=8,586). Additional

analyses limit the sample to the core analytic sample minus adolescents who self-identify

as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school (N=8,523). Again, I exclude these

adolescents because of my theoretical interest in the meaning of Hispanic/Latino self-

identify within schools and because of their small size. The second set of analyses in this

chapter, which explores the relationship between family and school processes and

inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification by Latino family origins, uses the sample

used for the second set of analyses in Chapter 3, which further limits the core analytic

sample to those who are not missing information on Latino family origins. This exclusion

leads to an analytic sample of 7,170 individuals: 5,885 consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, 1,045 consistently self-identifying Latinos, 240 adolescents who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school not at home from non-Hispanic/Latino families, and 53 adolescents who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home from Hispanic/Latino families.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Bivariate Analyses

Table 4.1 shows descriptive statistics for family and school processes that may potentially mediate the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic performance, across the following self-identification groups: consistently self-identifying Latinos, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. Table 4.2 also provides descriptive statistics for family and school processes by Hispanic/Latino self-identification categories but disaggregates the second category of individuals, those who identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, into two categories: inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers with reported Hispanic/Latino family origins and inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without Hispanic/Latino family origins.

Family and School Processes by Latino Self-Identification

Table 4.1 shows how inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers look on potential mediating variables relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and provides evidence that processes within the

family and school may be mediating the negative relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic success. Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers have lower levels of parental involvement than both consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and consistently self-identifying Latinos, suggesting that the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic success could be mediated by dissonance between home and school. While consistently self-identifying Latinos have an average parental involvement measure of 2.45 and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos have an average parental involvement measure of 2.43, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers have an average measure of 2.14, and these differences are statistically significant. However, inconsistent self-identifiers do not have parents with higher or lower levels of relative college expectations. The only statistically significant difference in relative college expectations is found between consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos, as shown by the parent's college expectations relative to the respondent's expectations mean of 1.10 for consistently self-identifying Latinos in Table 4.1. In addition, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school have significantly lower values of parents' college expectations relative to respondents' expectations than consistently self-identifying Latinos. The parental involvement among these inconsistent self-identifiers does not significantly differ from other groups.

Table 4.1 also suggests that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification is associated with signs of resistance to institutional norms: adolescents who self-identify as

Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home have lower college expectations than both consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, and they have higher levels of school disengagement than either two consistently self-identifying groups. Adolescents who self-identify as Latino in school but not at home have a mean value of 3.91 on the college expectations measure where "1" is low and "5" is high. Consistently self-identifying Latinos have a mean value of 4.09 on this measure of college expectations, and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos have a mean value of 4.30.

In terms of school disengagement, where "0" represents no disengagement and "4" represents disengagement everyday, adolescents who self-identify as Latino in school but not at home have a mean value of 1.25, which is in contrast to a value of 1.06 for consistently self-identifying Latinos and 1.02 for consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. Thus, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home experience higher levels of disengagement than do either consistently self-identifying groups; they also have lower college expectations than either consistently self-identifying group, suggesting that self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home is a unique process that is related to experiences within school. Turning to the other group of inconsistent self-identifiers, those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in school do not have significantly different levels of school disengagement than other groups, but they do have the highest levels of college expectations.

At the same time, the characteristics of the schools inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers attend differ from those of consistently self-identifying Latinos and

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consistently self-identifying non-Latinos in ways that suggest that school characteristics could be a mediating force in the association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and poor academic performance. Inconsistent self-identifiers attend schools with higher average student disengagement than do consistently self-identifying Latinos (but not consistently self-identifying non-Latinos). They also attend schools with lower levels of average parental education than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos (but not consistently self-identifying Latinos) and attend schools with greater proportions of students placed in low math than both consistently self-identifying groups. Adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home attend schools where 37% of the student body was placed in low math at the beginning of high school. In contrast, consistently self-identifying non-Latinos attend schools where only 30% of the student body was placed in low math in ninth grade, and consistently self-identifying Latinos attend schools where 32% of the student body was placed in low math in ninth grade.

Thus, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home appear to be disadvantaged relative to consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and consistently self-identifying Latinos on measures of parental involvement, school disengagement, and college expectations, and they attend schools where the academic climate may be lower than that of schools attended by both groups of consistently self-identifying adolescents. These differences suggest that the lower academic performance at the end of high school experienced by adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home may be due to dissonance between home and school (lack of

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parental involvement in school activities), resistance to educational norms (higher levels of school disengagement and lower college expectations), or school characteristics.

Table 4.1 also shows that inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers are disadvantaged on measures of early high school academic success, including low math placement in ninth grade and verbal ability. The relationship between inconsistent self-identification and low math placement is particularly strong, suggesting that a Hispanic/Latino self-identify in school but not at home may emerge in response to prior academic marginalization in school. While 50% of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are placed in low math in ninth grade, only 26% of consistently self-identifying non-Latinos and 33% of consistently self-identifying Latinos are placed in low math in ninth grade. Table 4.1 also shows, not surprisingly, that adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home but not in-school have higher levels of prior achievement relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos. However, they do not have significantly lower levels than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos.

Taken together, differences in math placement in ninth grade and lower verbal ability in Wave I suggest that the relationship between self-identification as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and academic success may be one that is formed prior to high school. If these prior measures of ability and placement are able to reduce the negative association between inconsistent Latino self-identification and academic success, it may simply suggest that the relationship between Latino self-identity in school but not at home and academic success is formed before secondary school. It may also suggest that a Latino self-identity in school emerges in response to lower course

placement, which becomes increasingly linked to social status in adulthood in secondary school.

Family and School Processes by Latino Self-Identification and Latino Family Origin

Similar to Table 4.1, Table 4.2 shows descriptive statistics for family and school processes that may potentially mediate the relationship between inconsistent Latino self-identification and academic success. However, unlike Table 4.1, Table 4.2 disaggregates the inconsistent self-identification group into those who do and do not have Latino family origins in order to see if the relationships between inconsistent Latino self-identification and family and school processes differ depending on whether or not the respondent has Hispanic/Latino family origins.

Results suggest both differences and similarities between adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and come from Latino families and those that come from non-Latino families. While as a whole inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers have lower levels of parental involvement compared to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, when disaggregated, it is only inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino families who have significantly lower levels of parental involvement than the consistently self-identifying groups. Thus, it does not appear that home-school dissonance, as measured by parental involvement in adolescents' school activities, is responsible for explaining the lower academic performance of adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home.

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There is also no clear evidence that dissonance between the college expectations of parents and respondents varies by the Latino family origins of inconsistent self-identifiers. In fact, both groups of inconsistent self-identifiers, as well as consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, have little if no dissonance between their own and their parents' expectations for college. As noted earlier, it is the consistently self-identifying Latinos that have lower expectations about college going than their parents do. These findings, in combination with those found for differences in levels of parental involvement, suggest that the large disadvantage in academic success among inconsistent self-identifiers without Latino family origins can not be explained by factors measuring dissonance between home and school.

Table 4.2 shows that there are no statistically significant differences between the two groups of inconsistent self-identifiers (with and without Latino family origins) on measures of resistance to institutional norms, as measured by school disengagement and college expectations. However, inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers without Latino family origins have significantly lower levels of college expectations than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, while their counterparts with Latino family origins do not. Thus, the low college expectations of inconsistent self-identifiers without Latino family origins may play a role in their academic disadvantage relative to consistently self-identifying non-Latinos.

Table 4.2 also shows no significant differences in the characteristics of the schools inconsistent self-identifiers without Latino family origins and inconsistent self-identifiers with Latino family origins attend; however, inconsistent self-identifiers

without Latino family origins attend schools that have, on average, higher levels of student disengagement, lower levels of parents' education, and a higher proportion of students in low math compared to the schools attended by consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. Similar significant differences in these measures are not found between adolescents with Latino family origins who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and those who consistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino at home and in school.

Finally, for prior achievement, there are significant differences between the two groups of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers. Those without Latino family origins are significantly more likely to be placed in low math, with 53% of those without Latino family origins and only 23% of those with Latino family origins being placed in low math in ninth grade. In addition, inconsistent self-identifiers without Latino family origins have significantly lower levels of verbal ability than consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, suggesting that much of the disadvantage in end of high school academic success experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers without Latino family origins relative to consistently self-identifying non-Latinos may be driven by lower academic success in the early years of high school. However, it is hard to disentangle the causal order between inconsistent Latino self-identification among those without Latino family origins and early academic success without having both academic measures and inconsistent self-identification measures at two points in time.

While AHAA provides academic measures at multiple points in time, Add Health does not have information about inconsistent self-identification between home and school

at multiple points in time, which makes it impossible to establish a causal link between prior academic outcomes and inconsistent Latino self-identification. However, as suggested earlier, if prior placement and ability are able to reduce the negative effect of inconsistent Latino self-identification for those without Latino family origins on end of high school academic outcomes, this may suggest that a Latino self-identification in school but not at home among those from non-Latino families may emerge in response to prior low performance and feelings of marginalization in the educational system.

4.4.2 Multivariate Regression Models Predicting Academic Outcomes

Tables 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6 show results from regressing the four academic outcomes of interest on 1) home-school dissonance, 2) resistance to institutional norms, 3) school characteristics, and 4) prior academic experiences. All models control for individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics and inconsistent reporting of gender and nativity and include three dichotomous variables representing consistently self-identifying Latinos, consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, and inconsistent self-identifiers with Latino family origins. Thus, the reference group in all models is individuals who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home with no Hispanic/Latino family origins in order to see how this group is disadvantaged academically relative to all other three self-identification groups.

Together, the four models for each outcome will tell us whether or not any of the family school processes described above can explain the academic disadvantage of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers from non-Latino families relative to consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos, consistently self-identifying non-

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Hispanics/Latinos, and inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers from Hispanic/Latino families. I focus on this group, adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, because of their lower academic performance at the end of high school relative to all other self-identification groups, as shown in the previous chapter.

Highest Math Course Taken in High School

Table 4.3 shows results from five stepwise regression models predicting highest math course taken in high school. Model 1 includes individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics and the tendency to inconsistently report between home and school surveys and serves as a baseline model. Model 2 adds one measure of home-school dissonance, parental involvement in school activities, to test whether or not any of the disadvantage experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families relative to other self-identification groups is due to home-school dissonance. Parental involvement is the only measure representing home-school dissonance used in multivariate models because descriptive statistics do not suggest that parents' relative college expectations are related to the low academic performance of adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home. However, descriptive statistics did show that both groups of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers had lower levels of parental involvement relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos.

However, while parental involvement has a positive effect on highest math course taken, and as seen from the descriptive statistics is negatively associated with inconsistent

Hispanic/Latino self-identification, it does little if anything to reduce the positive effects of consistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification or consistent non-Latino self-identification relative to inconsistent self-identification with non-Latino family origin. After controlling for background characteristics, inconsistent reports of gender and nativity, and parental involvement, consistently self-identifying Latinos, consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, and inconsistent self-identifiers with Hispanic/Latino family origins all have more than a one course advantage in highest math taken at the end of high school over adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home.

In Model 3 variables measuring individual resistance to institutional norms, school disengagement and college expectations, are added to the model. Both of these variables significantly predict highest math course taken, and while they reduce the coefficients from the previous model more so than parental involvement, the reduction is small. The positive effect of consistently Latino is reduced from 1.21 in the second model to 1.12 in the third model, the positive effect of consistently non-Latino is reduced from 1.17 in the second model to 1.07 in the third model, and the positive effect of in school only with Latino family origins is reduced from 1.54 in the second model to 1.52 in the third model. All three groups of adolescents, including consistently self-identifying Latinos, consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, and inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino families are still taking more math in high school than are inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families, even after controlling for individual, family, and

neighborhood characteristics, the propensity to report inconsistently between home and school, home-school dissonance, and individual resistance to institutional norms.

Model 4 includes variables measuring the climate of the respondents' schools, including the average level of school disengagement within the school, the average parental education level of students within the school, and the proportion of students placed in low math in ninth grade. Both average disengagement and proportion in low math are strongly and negatively associated with highest math course taken. In addition, these two variables slightly reduce the positive effect for consistently self-identifying Latinos from 1.12 to 1.07, for consistently self-identifying non-Latinos from 1.07 to .92, and for in school only with Latino family origins from 1.52 to 1.44. These reductions suggest that some of the disadvantage in highest math course taken experienced by inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers from non-Latino families relative to other self-identification groups may be due to the climate of the schools the students attend, yet the disadvantage experienced by this group is still strong even after controlling for these variables.

While the addition of parental involvement, school disengagement and college expectations, and school climate variables only slightly mediate the negative relationship between inconsistent self-identification with no Latino family origin and highest math course taken, the addition of prior academic experiences in Model 5 has a larger effect on the size of the self-identification coefficients. The consistently self-identifying Latino coefficient is reduced from 1.07 in model four to .64 in model five, the consistently self-identifying non-Latino coefficient is reduced from .92 to .57, and the inconsistent self-

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identification with Latino family origins coefficient is reduced from 1.44 to .83. Thus, it appears that prior math placement and verbal ability offer the largest explanations of the math course taking disadvantage experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos, consistently self-identifying non-Latinos, and adolescents from Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home. However, the advantage in highest math course taken experienced by these three groups relative to adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home remains even after taking into account background characteristics, inconsistent reports of nativity and gender, home-school dissonance, resistance to institutional norms, school characteristics, and prior academic experiences.

In combination, the results from these models suggest that the academic disadvantage experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families is strong and persistent but that some aspects of individual resistance and school characteristics may play a role in this disadvantage. In addition, there is evidence that a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home among adolescents from non-Latino families may emerge in response to academic marginalization in the school system that may occur prior to high school. This evidence appears through the large impact of ninth grade course placement and lower verbal ability in Wave I. While ninth grade course placement does not necessarily occur prior to the measurement of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school and at home because of the age

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structure of the Add Health data, research has shown a strong correlation between the level of coursework taken from one year to the next.

Cumulative High School GPA

Table 4.4 shows the results of regressing family and school processes on cumulative high school GPA. Model 1 shows that both consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos earn higher cumulative GPAs in high school relative to inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families, even after controlling for individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics and the propensity to report inconsistently between home and school. Specifically, both consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos have more than a .30 point advantage over inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families in cumulative high school GPA.

Model 2 in Table 4.4 adds parental involvement, and although it is positively associated with cumulative GPA, it does nothing to reduce the disadvantage experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families relative to either group of consistent self-identifiers. Adding school disengagement and college expectations in Model 3 reduces the positive effect of consistently self-identifying Latino only slightly from .34 to .30 and only slightly reduces the positive effect of consistent non-Latino self-identification from .31 to .26. The addition of school climate variables in Model 4 further reduces the consistent non-Latino self-identification coefficient from .26 to .22 and the Latino self-identification coefficient from .30 to .27. It is the school level disengagement measure that has a particularly strong, negative effect on cumulative GPA in Model 4.

Model 5 shows that, similar to highest math course taken, prior academic experiences do the most to mediate the relationship between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and cumulative GPA. In this case, low math placement and verbal ability reduce the positive effects of consistent Latino self-identification to non-significance, suggesting that the best way to understand the relationship between GPA and inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification among those from non-Latino families is to understand how this relationship is formed in earlier stages of a student's academic career.

High School Graduation

Table 4.5 presents logistic regression models predicting high school graduation. The baseline Model 1 shows that only consistently self-identifying non-Latinos are more likely than inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families to graduate from high school after controlling for individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics and the propensity to inconsistently report between home and school. The addition of parental involvement in Model 2 does little to reduce this effect. The addition of individual resistance measures in Model 3 reduces this effect from .82 in the second model to .75 in the third model. In the third model, the individual school disengagement variable is a strong negative predictor of high school graduation, and college expectations is a strong positive predictor of high school graduation. However, it is not until Model 4 that the positive effect of consistent non-Latino self-identification on high school graduation relative to inconsistent self-identification with non-Latino family origins is reduced to insignificance. In this model, both average school disengagement and proportion in low

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math are negative predictors of high school graduation, suggesting that they, in combination with individual level disengagement and low college expectations may be important links between a self-identification of Hispanic in school only among those from non-Latino families and rates of high school graduation.

College Attendance

Table 4.6 shows similar analyses for post-secondary attendance. Model 1 serves as a baseline model that includes individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics and the tendency to report inconsistently between home and school. In this model we see that both consistently self-identifying groups, those consistently self-identifying as Latino and those consistently self-identifying as non-Latino, are more likely to graduate from or attend college than are inconsistent identifiers from non-Latino families. Inconsistent self-identifiers from Latino families are not more likely than their counterparts from non-Latino families to attend or graduate from college. The addition of parental involvement in Model 2 does very little to reduce the positive effects of consistently self-identifying Latino and consistently self-identifying non-Latino, even though the effect of parental involvement on college attendance is positive and significant. In Model 3 the addition of the individual resistance variables actually increases the positive effect of consistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and does not reduce the positive effect of consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. The addition of the school climate variables does nothing to reduce the positive effect of consistently self-identifying Latinos relative to inconsistent identifiers from non-Latino families but reduces the positive effect of consistently self-identifying non-Latinos from .94 in the third model to .72 in the fourth model.

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Similar to highest math course taken, Model 5 shows that prior academic experience, including low math placement in ninth grade and verbal ability, does the most to reduce the disadvantage of inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. The consistently Latino coefficient is reduced from 1.20 to 1.02, and the consistently self-identifying non-Latino coefficient is reduced from .88 to .72. However, both effects are still statistically significant, suggesting that, as with highest math course taken, the disadvantage in college attendance experienced by inconsistent self-identifiers from non-Latino families is persistent and that more research is needed to understand the phenomenon of self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, particularly among adolescents who do not report having Latino family origins and have residential parents who also do not report a Hispanic/Latino self-identity.

4.5 Conclusion and Discussion

Results show that while inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identifiers are more 'assimilated' based on individual, family, and neighborhood background indicators (as seen in Chapter 3), they are disadvantaged in several other areas: they have lower levels of parental involvement and college expectations than either of their consistently self-identifying counterparts, and they have higher levels of school disengagement. In addition, they attend schools that have higher mean levels of school disengagement, relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos, and lower mean levels of parental education, relative to consistently self-identifying non-Latinos. Also, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home attend schools where a greater

proportion of students are placed in low math in ninth grade compared to consistently

self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos.

Descriptive statistics also show that it is adolescents without Latino family origins

who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home that have the lowest levels

of college expectations and attend schools with high levels of school disengagement.

These adolescents are also the most likely to be placed in low math in ninth grade and

have the lowest levels of verbal ability. This finding, in combination with the finding

that these adolescents have the lowest levels of college expectations, suggests that it may

be early educational experiences that serve as a precursor to a Hispanic/Latino self-

identification in school among adolescents without Latino family origins. In addition, it

is prior academic experience, especially low math course placement, that is best able to

reduce the negative association between inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification

among those without Latino family origins and academic performance at the end of high

school. While these models are not fully able to disentangle the causal order of an

inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic experiences, they do

suggest a relationship between a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school, prior

academic marginalization, and resistance to schooling.

In Chapter 4 I uncovered a strong, negative relationship between an inconsistent

Hispanic/Latino self-identification and academic achievement and attainment among

adolescents without Latino family origins, a relationship that persisted even after taking

into account a host of background characteristics and the propensity to report

inconsistently between surveys. In this chapter I have shown that this negative

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relationship persists even after accounting for factors related to home-school dissonance, resistance to educational norms, school characteristics, and prior academic measures. This persistent negative relationship seems particularly important to understand given that the majority of adolescents who inconsistently self-identify between home and school self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and the majority of these adolescents do not report having Latino family origins, suggesting that this group is an important one to understand and may be impacting aggregate measures of school performance.

In the next and final analytic chapter I evaluate whether or not this phenomenon of self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home impacts estimates of the Latino/non-Latino white gap in educational outcomes or estimates of generational decline among Latinos. In addition, I evaluate whether another type of inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification, that occurring between generations, impacts estimates of the Latino/non-Latino white gap in educational outcomes or estimates of generational decline among Latinos.

CHAPTER 5: ETHNIC SELF-IDENTIFICATION SELECTIVITY AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AMONG HISPANIC/LATINO ADOLESCENTS

5.1 Research Aim

To determine whether inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school and/or ethnic attrition contributes to a) an over-estimation of the observed educational disadvantage of Hispanics/Latinos relative to non-Hispanic/Latino whites and b) an over-estimation of the observed trend of generational decline in educational outcomes among Hispanics/Latinos.

5.2 Introduction

Research has shown that a Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity in the U.S. is associated with both structural integration and social psychological processes, both of which are related to schooling outcomes. However, not all types of Hispanic/Latino self-identification entail the same meanings or outcomes, such that there is heterogeneity within individuals who identify as "Hispanic." In addition, not all individuals with Latino family origins continue to self-identify as such, and the choices individuals make about when and where to self-identify as Hispanic/Latino may involve important selection processes. As shown in previous chapters, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in only one context, school, may be negatively selected on the outcomes most often used to gauge the well-being of the population, including educational achievement and attainment. In addition, prior research suggests that adolescents with

Latino family origins who choose to no longer identify as Latino may be positively

selected on these same outcomes (Duncan and Trejo 2005; Waters 2000).

In this chapter I investigate whether or not the context in which adolescents report

their Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity impacts estimates of a) Latino/non-Latino white

gaps in educational outcomes, and b) estimates of generational decline between second

and third plus generations of Latinos. I also investigate whether individuals with Latino

family origins choosing to self-identify as non-Hispanic/Latino (ethnic attriters) impact

estimates of a) Latino/non-Latino white gaps in educational outcomes, and b) estimates

of generational decline between second and third plus generations of Latinos.

5.3 Sample Characteristics

I make several sample restrictions for this chapter (see Table 2.3). For the first set

of analyses, which investigate the combined effect of ethnic attrition and inconsistent

Latino self-identification between home and school on the over-estimation of Latino

educational disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites, I limit the sample to third plus

generation Latino, non-Latino white, and non-Latino black adolescents who were not

missing data on parents' Latino ethnicity or Wave III self-reported Latino family origins.

This results in an analytic sample of 5,282 adolescents, including 3,505 adolescents who

self-identified as non-Latino white, of whom 3,437 have Latino family origins and 44 do

not have Latino family origins; 197 adolescents who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in

school but not at home, of whom 35 do have Latino family origins and 168 do not have

Latino family origins; 332 adolescents who self-identified as Hispanic/Latino both in

school and at home; and 1,248 adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino black.

The second set of analyses in this chapter investigates the impact of ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school on observed generational decline in academic outcomes among Hispanics/Latinos. Thus, I limit the sample to Latinos of all family origins and non-Latinos with Latino family origins. This results in an analytic sample of 1,454 adolescents, including 237 first generation Hispanics/Latinos, 222 of whom consistently identified as Latino and 14 of whom did not; 502 second generation Latinos, 488 of whom consistently identified as Latino and 26 of whom did not; 529 third generation Latinos, 331 of whom consistently identified as Latino and 197 of whom did not; and 176 adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino but who had Latino resident parents or self-reported Latino family origins in young adulthood.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Latino Academic Disadvantage Relative to Non-Latino Whites

Bivariate Analyses

Table 5.1 shows weighted means of educational outcomes by Latino self-identification and Latino family origin among third plus generation non-Latino whites with no Latino family origins, third plus generation non-Latino whites with Latino family origins, third plus generation adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school only, those with and without Hispanic/Latino family origins, third plus generation consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos, and third plus generation self-identifying non-Latino blacks. Among third plus generation adolescents, those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in-school only and who do not have Hispanic/Latino family origins are

disadvantaged relative to those who consistently self-identify as Hispanic/Latino on all educational outcomes shown.

Third plus generation adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in-school only and come from non-Latino families, on average, do not quite reach Geometry ("5"), while those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school and at home are close to reaching Algebra II ("6"), a critical course for college admission and success. Also, third plus generation adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in-school only with no Latino family origins have a cumulative high school GPA that is, on average, .41 of a grade point lower than that of consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos. Third plus generation adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in-school only are also less likely to graduate from high school: while 85% of consistently self-identifying Latinos graduate from high school, only 75% of adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Latino in school but not at home do. In addition, while 42% of consistently self-identifying Latinos attend or graduate from college, only 24% of adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Latino in school but not at home graduate from college.

These bivariate results suggest that observed academic disadvantages of self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos relative to non-Latino whites among third plus generation adolescents may be partly due to the identification of inconsistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos from non-Latino backgrounds as Hispanic/Latino. In other words, if adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are included in the Hispanic/Latino category the mean differences in educational outcomes between

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third plus generation non-Hispanic/Latino whites and Hispanics/Latinos would be larger than they would be if inconsistent Latino self-identifiers from non-Latino families were not included in the Latino category.

Table 5.1 also shows that non-Latino whites with Latino family origins (second column) are advantaged on all academic outcomes relative to all three groups of Latinos shown here, including adolescents with Latino family backgrounds who self-identify as Latino in-school only, adolescents without Latino family backgrounds who self-identify as Latino in-school only, and adolescents who self-identify as Latino in school and at home. However, only some of these differences are statistically significant.

Self-identifying non-Latinos with Latino family origins (ethnic attriters) reach higher levels of math in high school than do adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Latino in-school only; self-identifying non-Latinos with Latino family origins have higher levels of cumulative high school GPA than do adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Latino in-school only and consistently self-identifying Latinos; self-identifying non-Latinos with Latino family origins are more likely to graduate from high school than are adolescents from Latino families who self-identify as Latino in school only; and they are more likely to graduate from or attend college than adolescents from non-Latino families who self-identify as Latino in school only.

These differences suggest that the inclusion of non-Latino white adolescents with Latino family origins in the Latino category might reduce the observed disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites in empirical analyses that rely on self-reported

Hispanic/Latino ethnicity. Taken together, the descriptive statistics shown in Table 5.1 suggest that the combination of including self-identifying non-Latino adolescents with Latino origins as non-Latino and including adolescent with no Latino family origins who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school only as Latino may over-estimate the disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites in quantitative analyses that rely on self reports of Latino ethnicity.

Multivariate Regression

Table 5.2 presents results of multivariate regression models predicting highest math course taken in high school. In the first model, the Latino category includes all adolescents who self-identify as Latino in Wave 1, either in school or at home. The coefficient for Latino is negative and statistically significant. Thus, on average, third plus generation Latinos reach one course lower on the high school math sequence than do their non-Latino white counterparts. We see a similar pattern for cumulative high school GPA in Table 5.3, high school graduation in Table 5.4, and college attendance in Table 5.5. Thus, there is a clear pattern of Latino disadvantage in academic achievement and attainment relative to non-Latino whites among third plus generation adolescents when we include all adolescents who self-identified as Latino in adolescence, either in school or at home, in the Latino category.

Ethnic Attrition

For highest math course taken in high school, shown in Table 5.2, we see that classifying non-Latino whites with Latino family origins as Latino, or taking into account ethnic attrition, slightly reduces the overall negative effect of Latino from -1.04 to -.90.

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Table 5.3 shows a similar reduction in the negative effect of Latino for cumulative high school GPA (-.49 to -.41), and we also see a similar pattern for high school graduation in Table 5.4 (-1.01 to -.91), yet there is no change in the Latino coefficient between Model 1 and Model 2 for college attendance in Table 5.5. However, taking into account ethnic attrition only slightly reduces the negative effect of Latino ethnicity in all of these models, and there remains a large and statistically significant negative effect of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity for all of the educational outcomes, suggesting that including self-identifying non-Latino whites with Latino family origins (ethnic attriters) in the Hispanic/Latino category does little to impact the Hispanic/non-Hispanic white gap in educational achievement and attainment.

Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification between Home and School

For highest math course taken in Table 5.2, adding the two dichotomous indicators for inconsistent Latino self-identification reduces the negative effect of Latino from -.90 in Model 2 to -.48 in Model 3, and it is the inconsistent Latino self-identification with no Latino family origins coefficient that is negative and statistically significant. A similar pattern can be seen for the remaining educational outcomes in Tables 5.3-5.5. Adding indicators of inconsistent Latino self-identification reduces the negative effect of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites from -.41 to -.26 for cumulative high school GPA, from -.91 to -.70 for high school graduation, and from -.80 to -.44 for college attendance. However, for all outcomes, a statistically significant negative effect of Latino persists even after taking into account ethnic attrition and inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school.

Figures 5.1-5.4 show how taking into account ethnic attrition first and then ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification together reduces the gap in educational outcomes between third plus generation Latinos and their non-Latino white counterparts. Within the first set of bars for each outcome, which represent predicted means taken from Model 1, the bars on the left represent predicted means for self-identifying non-Latino whites and the bars on the right represent predicted means for all self-identifying Latinos (in school or at home). Within the second set of bars, which represent predicted means calculated from Model 2, the bars on the left again represent predicted means for non-Latino whites. However, unlike in the first set of bars, the non-Latino white category now excludes adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino white but have Latino family origins, or ethnic attriters. Thus, the bars on the right, or the "Latino" bars, now represent predicted values for all individuals who self-identified as Hispanic in adolescence as well as adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino white in adolescence but have Latino family origins. In the last set of bars, which represent predicted means taken from Model 3 and taken into account both ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification in adolescence, the non-Latino white bars represent predicted means for self-identifying non-Latino white adolescents without Latino family origins and the "Latino" bars represent predicted means for adolescents who *consistently* self-identified as Hispanic/Latino in adolescence as well as ethnic attriters. Thus, in Figures 5.1-5.4, the definition of non-Latino white and Latino change as we move across the models, as do the educational gaps between non-Latinos and Latinos.

In Figure 5.1, which shows predicted means of highest math taken for non-Latino whites and Latinos, we see that the gap between the two groups is reduced from 1.04 to .48 of a math course after taking into account ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification. Figure 5.1 also shows that the gap in highest math course taken between non-Latino whites and Latinos is reduced more by accounting for inconsistent self-identification than it is by accounting for ethnic attrition. A similar pattern can be seen in Figure 5.2, which represents predicted cumulative GPA, in Figure 5.3, which represents predicted probabilities of high school graduation, and Figure 5.4, which represents predicted probabilities of college attendance.

Controlling for Background Characteristics

For each outcome, Models 4-6 replicate Models 1-3 but include individual and family background characteristics in order to see if accounting for ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification between contexts impacts the Latino/non-Latino white gap in educational outcomes even after important background factors are taken into account. These models are also run to see if the combination of background characteristics, ethnic attrition, and inconsistent self-identification can explain away any disadvantage experienced by Latinos relative to non-Latino whites. For highest math course taken, shown in Table 5.2, we see a negative effect of Latino in Model 4, even after taking into account individual and family background characteristics. This negative effect remains in Model 5, which takes into account ethnic attrition, but disappears in Model 6, which adds controls for Latino self-identification in-school only.

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A similar pattern emerges for cumulative GPA in Table 5.3. The negative effect of Latino is reduced to statistical insignificance in Model 6, when background factors, ethnic attrition, and inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification are taken into account. For high school graduation in Table 5.4, we see no negative effect of Latino after taking into account background characteristics in Model 4. For college attendance, shown in Table 5.5, the addition of ethnic attrition and background characteristics reduces the negative effect of Latino to statistical insignificance in Model 5, before inconsistent Latino self-identification between contexts is introduced in Model 6. Thus, while we see similar patterns in models run with and without controls for background characteristics, there are some differences. For one outcome, high school graduation, there is no negative effect of Latino to explain after taking into account background factors. For other outcomes, including highest math taken, cumulative high school GPA, and college attendance, taking into account measurement issues and background characteristics explains the disadvantage that third plus generation Latinos experience relative to third plus generation non-Latino whites.

5.4.2 Latino Generational Decline

Bivariate Analyses

Table 5.6 shows weighted means of academic outcomes by Latino self-identification and generational status for the second analytic sample of this chapter, which includes all adolescents who self-identified as Latino in adolescence (in school or at home) and adolescents who self-identified as non-Latino but have Latino family origins. The left side of the table shows outcomes across generational status among those

who self-identified as Latino in school and at home. While results show that third plus generation, consistently self- identifying Latinos take fewer math courses in high school and are more likely to attend college than then their second generation counterparts, these differences are not statistically significant. Thus, among consistently self-identifying Latino adolescents, there is no evidence of decline in academic outcomes between the second and third generation.

The right side of Table 5.6 shows outcomes across generational status among those who self-identified as Latino inconsistently in adolescence. Here we see that for one outcome, highest math course taken, there is a statistically significant difference between second generation and third plus generation adolescents. On average, third plus generation adolescents who inconsistently report their Latino identity between home and school do not reach Geometry, while their second generation counterparts, on average, reach higher, and take Algebra II. Thus, evidence of generational decline is seen among adolescents self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home, suggesting that taking into account inconsistent self-identification may reduce evidence of generational decline found in analyses that rely on Latino self-identification.

In addition to this finding, Table 5.6 also shows that non-Latinos of Latino family origin, or adolescents who have experienced ethnic attrition, have higher levels of academic achievement and attainment than either group of third plus generation self-identifying Latinos. However, these differences are not statistically significant, which suggests that classifying non-Latinos of Latino family origin as third plus generation Latino may have a relatively small impact on observations of generational decline found

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in studies that rely on ethnic self-identification. Taken together, results in Table 5.6 suggest that the combination of ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification may lead to an over-estimation of generational decline in academic outcomes among Latinos in analyses that rely on self-identification.

Multivariate Regression

I use multivariate models to determine first if there is evidence of generational decline among Latinos and second if taking into account ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification reduces any evidence of generational decline among Latinos. For highest math course taken in Table 5.7 and college attendance in Table 5.10, there is evidence of generational decline between second and third plus generation Latinos. Second generation Latinos reach .67 of a math course higher than do third plus generation Latinos and are 124% more likely to attend college than are third plus generation Latinos.

While the reference category in Model 1 includes only adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino, in school or at home, the reference category in Model 2 includes third plus generation self-identifying Latinos as well as self-identifying non-Latinos who have Latino family origins (ethnic attriters). In Model 2 in Table 5.7 we see that the positive coefficient for second generation is reduced from .67 in Model 1 to .54 in Model 2 after taking into account ethnic attrition. For college attendance in Table 5.10 we see that accounting for ethnic attrition in Model 2 reduces the positive effect of second generation to statistical insignificance. Results are not reported for cumulative

GPA and high school graduation because no evidence of generational decline was seen in Model 1 for these outcomes.

Model 3 in Tables 5.7-5.10 adds controls for Hispanic/Latino self-identification in-school only. For highest math course taken in Table 5.7, adding this indicator to the model explains away the remaining positive effect of second generation relative to third plus generation. Thus, it appears that evidence of generational decline seen in analyses that rely on self-identification may be, in part, due to the lower academic performance of adolescents who choose to self-identify as Latino in school, who are also more likely to be third plus generation, as well as to the categorization of self-identifying non-Latinos with Latino family origins as non-Latino rather than third plus generation Latino. While the Latino in-school indicator is significant in Model 3 predicting college attendance in Table 5.10, the positive effect of second generation relative to third plus generation was explained away in Model 2.

Figures 5.5 and 5.6 show how taking into account ethnic attrition first and then ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification together reduces the gap in highest math course taken and the probability of college attendance between second generation and third plus generation Latinos. For the first series of bars, which represent predicted means calculated from Model 1, the bar on the left represents the predicted mean for second generation self-identifying Latinos (in school or at home) and the bar on the right represents the predicted mean for third plus generation self-identifying Latinos. In the second series of bars, which represent predicted means calculated from Model 2, the bar on the left still represents the predicted mean for second generation self-

identifying Latinos; however, the bar on the right now represent the predicted mean for third plus generation self-identifying Latinos as well as self-identifying non-Latinos with Latino family origins. In the last series of bars, which represent predicted means calculated from Model 3, the bar on the left represents the mean for second generation consistently self-identifying Latinos, and the bar on the right represents the predicted mean for consistently self-identifying Latinos as well as self-identifying non-Latinos with Latino family origins (ethnic attriters).

In Figure 5.5, which shows predicted means of highest math taken for second generation and third plus generation Latinos, we see that the gap between second and third plus generation Latinos is reduced from .67 (Model 1) to .46 (Model 2) of a math course after taking into account ethnic attrition and is further reduced from .46 (Model 2) to .27 (Model 3) after taking into account ethnic attrition and Latino self-identification in-school but not at home. A similar pattern can be seen in Figure 5.6, which represents predicted probabilities of college attendance. The gap in the predicted probability of college attendance between second and third plus generation Latinos is reduced from .14 (Model 1) to .09 (Model 2) of a math course after taking into account ethnic attrition and is further reduced from .09 (Model 2) to .04 (Model 3) after taking into account ethnic attrition and Latino self-identification in-school but not at home.

Controlling for Background Characteristics

Models 4-6 replicate Models 1-3 but include important individual and family background characteristics associated with generational status and the outcomes being measured. For highest math taken, shown in Table 5.7, we see that including background

factors increases the positive effect of second generation relative to third plus generation Latino and that accounting for both ethnic attrition in Model 5 and then inconsistent Latino self-identification between home and school in Model 6 reduces this positive effect. However, taking into account ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification does not reduce the positive effect of second generation relative to third plus generation to statistical insignificance as it did in Model 3. This same story emerges for college attendance in Models 4-6 in Table 5.10.

5.5 Conclusion and Discussion

While previous research has demonstrated that the context in which racial and ethnic identity is measured matters and that self identity changes over time, little has examined the effects of ethnic identity selectivity on empirical trends. The majority of what has been done is based on parent and child reported ethnicity taken from the Census and shows that there may be unmeasured intergenerational progress among Mexican Americans due to the selective nature of Mexican intermarriage (Duncan and Trejo 2005). Additional work has looked at the effect of using observer reports rather than self-reports of race on racial income gaps (Saperstein 2006). This study takes a different approach by looking at how the same individual may report his or her ethnicity differently in different contexts and how this might impact observations of both intra- and intergenerational trends of Latino educational progress. At the same time, it integrates an ethnic attrition analysis by including self-identifying non-Latino whites with Latino family origins and examining how counting these adolescents as Latino rather than non-Latino impacts observed educational disadvantages among Latinos and generational decline.

In previous chapters I found that adolescents who report a Latino ethnic identity within a school context, surrounded by peers and current understandings of race in the U.S., but do not report one at home, are negatively selected on a variety of academic outcomes relative to non-Latino whites and consistently self-identifying Latinos. In addition, I found that it is inconsistent Latino self-identifiers without reported Latino family origins that are driving this negative selection, suggesting that a Latino ethnicity within secondary schools may be associated with academic failure or resistance to educational norms. This Latino self-identify within school but not at home may either be in response to academic marginalization or a precursor to poor academic performance.

In addition, in this chapter I find that non-Latino whites with Latino family origins have higher cumulative GPAs than consistently self-identifying Latinos, are more likely to graduate from high school than inconsistent self-identifiers with Latino family origins, and take more math, have higher average GPA, and are more likely to attend college than inconsistent self-identifiers without Latino family origins. Finally, when comparing the educational outcomes of Latinos to non-Latino whites using regression models, the negative effect of Latino declines slightly after taking into account ethnic attrition, and it declines even more after taking into account Latino self-identification in-school but not at home. This pattern is consistent across all academic outcomes except college attendance, where ethnic attrition is not able to decrease to negative effect of Latino. In addition, controlling for Latino self-identification in-school but not at home does more to decrease the negative effect of Latino more than ethnic attrition does in all

models for all outcomes, including highest math course taken, cumulative GPA, high school graduation, and college attendance.

In addition to contributing to the educational disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites, ethnic attrition and inconsistent Latino self-identification between contexts also impacts observations of generational decline among Latinos. Results show that the decline in educational outcomes experienced by Latinos between the second and third plus generations is stronger among adolescents who self-identify as Latino in school but not at home. In addition, self-identifying non-Latino whites with Latino family origins (ethnic attriters) fare better academically than do either third plus generation consistently self-identifying Latinos or third plus generation inconsistently self-identifying Latinos, suggesting that observations of generational decline among Latinos may be over-estimated by not taking into account ethnic attrition or self-identification as Hispanic/Latino in-school but not at home. Multivariate regression results further support these findings. However, the impact of self-identification in-school but not at home has a larger effect on estimates of both Latino disadvantage relative to whites and generational decline among Latinos than ethnic attrition does.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

The increasing size of the Latino population, especially in non-traditional receiving areas of the country (Capps et al. 2005), persistent findings of Latino academic disadvantage and generational decline (Kao and Thompson 2003), the pervasive use of quantitative data to analyze trends in academic progress, and the complex task of ethnic self-identification within a multi-ethnic and multi-racial context (Hitlin, Brown, and Elder 2007; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002) all point to a need to better understand the relationship between a "Hispanic" or "Latino" self-identification and academic outcomes.

In addition, the strong link between ethnic identity and academic success calls for an unpacking of the "Hispanic/Latino" label in U.S. schools to understand how Hispanic self-identification in school is related to academic achievement and attainment. Research suggests that, similar to that experienced by African Americans, a history of discrimination and limited opportunities within the educational system have helped to foment resistance to educational goals among disillusioned U.S. born Latinos and have helped to establish a broader cultural association between academic disadvantage and Latino ethnic identity (Lewis 2003; Rodriguez 2000; Valenzuela 1999; Matute-Bianchi 1991). If such an assumption is accurate, relying on self-reports of Hispanic/Latino identity to measure academic progress among adolescents within U.S. schools may reify these cultural associations (Zuberi 2001). Adolescents may identify as Hispanic/Latino due to factors unrelated to ethnicity or phenotype, factors that may also predict academic failure.

It is important to acknowledge that Latino ethnicity is a made in the U.S. phenomenon (Rodriguez 2000) and that the formation of a Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity is a process that occurs through interaction between various racial and ethnic groups within and between stratified U.S. institutions (Phinney 1990; Tajfel and Turner 1979). It is also important to acknowledge that a Latino ethnicity is not homogeneous (Matute-Bianchi 1991), just as the Latino population in the U.S. is not homogeneous. Who is self-identifying as Latino and why? Why are some adolescents self-identifying as Latino in school but not at home? What meaning is behind such a self-identification, and how do these inconsistent self-identifications impact academic trends that are based on self-reports of ethnicity?

Answering these questions may shed light on what meanings are attached to a Hispanic/Latino identity in U.S. schools and how a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school is related to academic success. They may also suggest how analysts might think more critically about the way racial and ethnic identity is measured and how "effects" of such measures are interpreted. Below I review some of the main findings of this research, further explore the implications of these findings, discuss the limitations of the study, and finally, suggest some future research directions.

6.2 Main Findings

6.2.1 Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification and Background Characteristics

This study has attempted to address three main research questions and has resulted in several conclusions. In regards to the first question, "How does inconsistent

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Latino self-identification between home and school vary by individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and academic success at the end of high school?," I find that, consistent with an assimilation hypothesis, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are in between consistently self-identifying Hispanic/Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos on many individual and family background characteristics typically associated with a classical assimilation model.

However, these background advantages do not translate into better academic outcomes by the end of high school and in young adulthood. Adolescents self-identifying as Latino in school but not at home are doing worse than their consistently self-identifying Latino and consistently self-identifying non-Latino counterparts on a variety of end of high school academic measures, even after controlling for individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics and the propensity to report inconsistently between the home and school surveys. In addition, the strong negative association between a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home is being driven by inconsistent self-identifiers who do not report Latino family origins. This finding suggests that adolescents experiencing academic marginalization in schools may adopt a Hispanic/Latino identity in school as a way to fit others' images of a poor student or to downplay normative educational goals as a way to deflect feelings of inferiority. Alternatively, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic in school but not at home may be managing the impressions of peers and school personnel by conforming to negative stereotypes of Hispanics as academic underachievers.

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6.2.2 Family and School Processes, Inconsistent Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification, and Academic Outcomes

To further investigate these possibilities, the second research question asks, "What processes within the family and school are associated with a Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home and how do these vary by Latino family origin?" Descriptive statistics reveal interesting patterns. While adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home are more 'assimilated' based on individual, family, and neighborhood background characteristics, they are disadvantaged in several other areas: they have lower levels of parental involvement and college expectations, higher levels of school disengagement, and lower levels of prior measures of verbal ability and course placement than either of their consistently self-identifying counterparts. In addition, they attend schools that have lower levels of parental education and that have a greater proportion of students placed in low math in ninth grade than their consistently self-identifying counterparts attend. Several of these factors at the individual and school level have been linked to resistance to educational norms in previous literature, suggesting that a Hispanic/Latino self-identity in school but not at home may be associated with academic resistance or marginalization, either in response to a Hispanic self-identity in school or as a precursor to such an identification within school.

Disaggregating these results by Latino family origins shows that adolescents who self-identify as Latino in-school only and do not report Latino family origins or live with Hispanic/Latino parents do not have significantly higher levels of school disengagement, lower levels of college expectations or parental involvement, nor do they attend schools

with a higher proportion of students in low math or lower average parents' education than their counterparts with Latino family origins. However, adolescents without reported Latino family origins who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in-school only are significantly more likely than their counterparts with reported Latino family origins to be placed in low math in ninth grade, to have lower verbal ability scores, and to attend schools that have significantly higher levels of school disengagement. These findings suggest that the strong negative relationship between academic performance and Hispanic/Latino self-identification is unique among adolescents without Latino family origins.

Results from Chapter 5 also show that inconsistent self-identifiers without reported Latino family origins are disadvantaged relative to consistently self-identifying non-Latinos on measures of parental involvement, college expectations, school characteristics, and prior achievement, and are disadvantaged relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos on parental involvement and low math placement, suggesting that these characteristics may mediate the negative association of Hispanic self-identification in-school only among those without reported Latino family origins relative to consistently self-identifying Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Latinos.

Multivariate regression models predicting end of high school academic outcomes find that while parental involvement and factors associated with resistance at both the individual and school level help to reduce the negative association between academic outcomes and Hispanic/Latino self-identification in school but not at home among adolescents with reported non-Latino backgrounds, relative to all three other self-

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identification groups, prior verbal ability and prior low course placement do a better job of reducing this association. This suggests that an adoption of a Hispanic/Latino identity within school among those without reports of Latino family origins may emerge in response to, rather than prior to, academic marginalization. Regardless, there is a strong and persistent association between academic marginalization and a Hispanic/Latino self-identify in school among adolescents who do not report Latino family origins, and this association warrants more attention.

6.2.3 Ethnic Self-Identification Selectivity and Educational Progress among Latinos

In response to the third research question, "Does inconsistent self-identification and/or ethnic attrition over-estimate the educational disadvantage of Latinos and/or the observed trend of generational decline among Latinos?," I find that counting adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home as Hispanic/Latino over-estimates the end of high school academic disadvantage of Latinos relative to non-Latino whites. I also find that counting adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home over-estimates trends in generational decline between the second and third plus generations of U.S. born Latinos. In addition, I find that adolescents experiencing ethnic attrition, or who self-identify as non-Latino white but have Latino family origins, have higher educational outcomes than self-identifying Latinos; however, these differences are not significant enough nor are there enough adolescents in the sample who have experienced ethnic attrition to lead to any significant over-estimation of Latino disadvantage relative to non-Latino whites or generational decline among Latinos.

However, together, re-classifying ethnic attriters as Hispanic/Latinos rather than non-Hispanic and controlling for inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between contexts helps to decrease observed gaps in educational outcomes between Latinos and non-Latinos and generational decline among Latinos. Yet accounting for adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic in-school only reduces these gaps much more than does re-classifying ethnic attriters as Hispanic. This finding further suggests that the phenomenon of Hispanic/Latino self-identification in-school only warrants further attention among researchers interested in understanding ethnic gaps in educational achievement and attainment.

6.3 Implications

It has been suggested that Latino educational disadvantage has become one of the most important social issues of the 21st century (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001); some have even forewarned that Hispanics' unwillingness to assimilate will ultimately "divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages" (Huntington 2004, p. 30). However, when debating the progress made by Latinos in the U.S., it is important to understand who is self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino and how this identification is related to larger social structures and embedded systems of inequality.

The first set of implications I see from this research are those related to measurement issues. That race and ethnicity are socially constructed categories is not a new idea. However, given the persistent and increased use of standard race/ethnic coding schemes in data collection and analyses (e.g. No Child Left Behind) it is important to think more carefully about how and why people self-identify racially and ethnically and

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if the questions being asked by social scientists are valid and reliable. Results presented here suggest that, at least among adolescents, a significant group of individuals are self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in one context but not another, and, in terms of estimates of Latino educational progress, it matters how they are counted because of the characteristics of these individuals. Individuals self-identifying as Hispanic/Latino in only one context look more similar to non-Hispanics than to Hispanics on other socio-demographic characteristics and have significantly lower levels of academic performance than consistently self-identifying Hispanics/Latinos and consistently self-identifying non-Hispanics/Latinos.

Thus, perhaps analysts need to think more carefully about what the variables used to represent "Hispanic" and other identities mean and how these variables may be related, in unexpected ways, to the outcomes being measured. This includes thinking more critically about what information an indicator is based on – self report, parent report, school report, interviewer report, or other reasonable identifiers. Perhaps, as recently suggested, it is more appropriate to base racial and ethnic categories on a handful of relevant indicators, similar to a latent class variable approach (Saperstein 2008).

In addition, thinking more critically about indicators of racial and ethnic identity also includes considering how context might shape identification. In 1980 the Census Bureau shifted from enumeration based on interviewer reports to enumeration based on self-reports of race and ethnicity because of the variability in geographic contexts in which interviewers were recording race and ethnicity. The argument was that because race is socially constructed, it means different things in different contexts, so the Bureau

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would not get reliable data if it relied on interviewers' reports (Rodriguez 2000).

However, if the meanings of race do in fact vary across space, as has been argued, why would *self* reports of race and ethnicity also not vary across context? I bring this up only to emphasize the obvious impact that context (e.g. home vs. school) has on understandings of race and ethnicity. Yet while obvious, this point is more often than not overlooked in analyses that rely on standard indicators of race and ethnicity.

The typical response to implications that standard race/ethnic categories are invalid or unsophisticated is that self-reports serve the function they were designed for, even if imperfectly, and that there are few reasonable alternatives. While I somewhat agree with this, it is not inconceivable that alternative ways of measuring race and ethnicity might be designed and implemented, especially considering the growing interest in the issue and the increasing complexity of measuring these concepts in the U.S. Even if more nuanced measures are not introduced, analysts should be encouraged to more tightly link their theories to their measures (O'Connor, Lewis, and Mueller 2008; Zuberi 2001).

A second set of implications I see from this research relates to the strong and persistent links between racial identities and academic achievement and attainment. Previous research suggests that the school underperformance among African Americans can be traced to low expectations of future opportunities in adulthood and a link between academic success and "acting white" (Ogbu 2008). While less research has looked at Hispanics/Latinos and the acting white hypothesis, what has been done suggests that Latinos may perceive fewer structural barriers (e.g. discrimination) to success than do

African American youth and that such perceptions among Hispanics may vary more by gender and class (Taylor 2008; Flores-Gonzalez 2002). However, other research within schools emphasizes the role of non-white identities, either black or Latino, in academic underachievement and resistance to schooling (Morris 2006; Lewis 2003), as schools reflect the larger U.S. social structure that relegates racial and ethnic minorities or "others" to the bottom (Bonilla-Silva 2001; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

Results presented here support research suggesting that a Hispanic/Latino identity within school, divorced from meanings derived from family and community, may be associated with academic marginalization and resistance to normative educational values and goals. However, the findings are not suggesting that it is necessarily "Hispanics" who are resisting schooling. Rather, they suggest a link in U.S. schools, among Hispanics and non-Hispanics, between underachievement and the Hispanic social category, one which has been socially constructed and used in the U.S. to mark boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. These boundaries, while related to ethnic origins and phenotype, are also related to other social behaviors, including performance within school. If this association exists and is pervasive, findings of educational disadvantage among those who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino, particularly among third plus generation individuals, may simply lead to the reification and perpetuation of such cultural assumptions about Hispanics in the U.S., which only complicate, even more, estimates of educational progress among "Latinos" and understandings of the performance of Latinos within U.S. schools.

If nothing else, these findings add more to a literature that emphasizes the fluid and complex nature of race and ethnicity. They also bring more attention to measurement issues in social science in general and a warning about what conclusions can be made using large survey data, especially when such conclusions may reify cultural assumptions about ethnic minority groups. Caution should be taken when using self-reports of race and ethnicity to understand trends in educational disadvantage. It is not possible to estimate the effect of using school reports of race and ethnicity versus home reports in large, nationally representative education studies such as those sponsored by NCES because these studies do not ask students to self-identify in multiple contexts. However, given the findings of the current study, more research should be done to understand inconsistent racial and ethnic self-identifications and how they may impact empirical trends in race/ethnic disadvantage and in turn reify racial differences, especially when a large proportion of our accumulated knowledge about trends in achievement and attainment are based on self-reports obtained within schools.

6.4 Limitations

The current study is unique in that it investigates the characteristics and academic outcomes of adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and shows how these adolescents differ in important ways from their counterparts who consistently report their Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity between home and school. There are few if any data sets other than Add Health/AHAA that allow for such analyses, primarily because it is uncommon for school based surveys to ask students to also self-report their race and ethnicity at home. In addition, while many school based surveys are

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longitudinal, they do not always ask respondents to report their racial/ethnic identity in follow-up waves. However, while the Add Health/AHAA data sets offer this unique opportunity, they also have their limitations related to the specific research questions posed by this study.

First, conclusions about the meanings adolescents attach to Hispanic/Latino self-identification within school are limited because Add Health does not specifically ask adolescents to identify their or others' perceptions of race/ethnic groups within the school or the broader culture. Thus, more qualitiative or survey research designed for this specific purpose may better tap the meanings adolescents assign to various racial and ethnic groups and how this might impact their own self-identifications within school and future academic performance.

Second, as noted earlier, in this study I am unable to determine the causal order between a Hispanic/Latino self-identity in school only and academic performance. I suggest that such an identity may either be in response to academic marginalization or a precursor to academic marginalization. Results show that prior academic placement and verbal ability help to mediate the relationship between Hispanic self-identification in-school only and academic outcomes. However, I am unable to determine whether or not inconsistent self-identification earlier on in one's educational career impacts academic achievement because I do not have multiple measures of inconsistent ethnic self-identification.

Also, while I argue that a Hispanic/Latino identity may vary by context, such as between home and school, I do not look at how the association between Hispanic/Latino

ethnicity in school and academic outcomes varies from school to school. I also do not look at how the relationships between Hispanic/Latino identity in school and important measures of resistance vary by school. While investigating school effects may be difficult given sample size constraints, these issues warrant additional investigation.

A final and significant limitation of this study is my inability to conclusively determine whether or not an individual has Latino family origins. This is relevant to one of the most important findings of this dissertation, that showing the poor academic performance of adolescents who do not report Latino family origins or self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in home yet identify as such in school. While descriptive statistics show that these individuals are not more likely to live in non-intact family structures relative to their counterparts who do report Latino family origins or who have a resident parent who reports such, I can not conclude that these individuals do not actually have Latino family origins. Thus, their self-identification as Hispanic/Latino in school could be due to a non-resident parent or additional family member who identifies as Hispanic/Latino or with the Hispanic/Latino culture. However, it does not appear that the negative relationship between inconsistent self-identification among those who do not report Latino family origins and academic outcomes is being caused by differences in family structure.

An additional limitation to this study is related to cell sizes, which precludes my ability to further analyze those adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic at home but not in school. Small cell sizes also give me very little power to estimate the effects of ethnic attrition on measures of Latino progress because of the small number of ethnic attriters

found in the sample. In addition, as discussed below, small cell sizes make it difficult to investigate important questions that the current study may leave unanswered.

Related to this issues, the group identified here as having significantly low academic outcomes, adolescents who self-identify as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and do not report Latino family origins, is a small minority of the sample. The fact that I was able to find significant differences given this limitation says something about the powerful association between inconsistent self-identification between home and school and academic outcomes, yet this group may be so select that it may not have relevance to larger measurement issues in race and ethnicity.

6.5 Future Directions

Given the importance of understanding racial and ethnic gaps in educational achievement and attainment, these findings suggest that more research should be undertaken to understand the meanings adolescents attach to certain racial and ethnic identities within school and what goes into the decisions individuals, particularly adolescents, make regarding their racial and ethnic self-identifications. Thus, perhaps the first step is to advocate for additional measures of race/ethnicity on large surveys and/or to initiate more studies focused on these specific research questions.

In addition, future research in this area might examine inconsistent self-reports of ethnic identity within more specific Hispanic ethnic groups such as Mexicans or Cubans, to see if the relationships observed in this study vary by ethnic group. Also, given the large proportion of inconsistent self-identifiers who are male, a finding not emphasized in the current study, additional research might try to understand the role of gender in self-

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identifying as Hispanic/Latino in school but not at home and how this gender bias might

be connected to resistance. However, these future directions may be difficult given the

current data limitations, again suggesting that additional measures of race/ethnicity on

large surveys might be needed.

While this study investigates the relationship between academic achievement and

attainment and inconsistent Hispanic/Latino self-identification between home and school,

other research should look at inconsistencies in other indicators of race and ethnicity,

including self-reports of race versus observer reports of race or interviewer reported skin

color. Also, Add Health asks respondents to racially and ethnically self-identify in

adolescence as well later in young adulthood. Future research should be done to

understand how many and what types of individuals are likely to shift racial and ethnic

identities.

Also, while this study focuses on Hispanic/Latino identity as an "othered" identity,

other identities related to race and ethnicity, particularly an African American identity, as

well as those related to social class and sexuality can be considered "othered." Add

Health does ask about race and social class in both home and school; it also asks about

sexual orientation at two points in time, adolescence and young adulthood, although the

measures are not identical. Thus, future work might investigate inconsistencies in these

measures to determine whether any similar patterns emerge or if a Hispanic/Latino

inconsistency is a unique phenomenon. In addition, because identities can have multiple

meanings, such that a Hispanic identity among a middle class individual might entail

something different than it does among a working class individual, future work should

look to see if social class can mediate the relationship between an "othered" identity

within school and academic outcomes. Also, in this same vein, future work could

investigate whether or not people adjust their racial or ethnic identities within schools to

match their social class identities.

Table 2.1: Transcript Study Sample and Analytic Sample by Adolescent Latino Self-Identification Categories

Transcript Study Sample[a] Categories

Consistent Self-Identification

Non-Latino	6384
Latino	1292
Don't Know	4

Inconsistent Self-Identification

Don't Know in School and Non-Latino at Home	535
Latino in School and Non-Latino at Home	290
Non-Latino In-School and Don't Know at Home	14
Non-Latino at School and Latino at Home	44
Don't Know at School and Latino at Home	19
Latino in School and Don't Know at Home	3
	8586

Analytic Sample Categories

Non-Latino

Consistent Non-Latino	6384
Don't Know in School and Non-Latino at Home	535
Non-Latino In-School and Don't Know at Home	14
Consistent Don't Know	4
	6938

Latino

Consistent Latino	*1292*

Latino in School and Not at Home

Latino in School and Don't Know at Home	3
Latino in School and Non-Latino at Home	290
	293

Latino at Home but Not in School

Don't Know at School and Latino at Home	19
Non-Latino at School and Latino at Home	44
	63
	8586

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study
[a]Excludes respondents who are missing on In-Home or In-School report of Latino ethnicity

Table 2.2 Analytic Samples by Adolescent Latino Self-Identification and Latino Family Origins

Core Analytic Sample[a]	N	Chapter 3a and 4a Analytic Sample	N	Chapter 3b and 4b Analytic Sample	N
Consistently Non-Latino	**6938**	*Consistently Non-Latino*	**6938**	*Consistently Non-Latino*	**5885**
Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	5709	Neither Parent Latino and no Latino Family Origins	5709	Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	5709
Neither Parent Latino but Latino Family Origins	99	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	176	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	176
One Latino Parent in Household	54				
Two Latino Parents in Household	23				
Missing Family Origins Data	1053	Missing Family Origins Data	1053	Missing Family Origins Data	(-1053)
Consistently Latino	**1292**	*Consistently Latino*	**1292**	*Consistently Latino*	**1045**
Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	25	Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	25	Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	25
Neither Parent Latino but Latino Family Origins	58	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	1020	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	1020
One Latino Parent in Household	165				
Two Latino Parents in Household	797				
Missing Family Origins Data	247	Missing Family Origins Data	*247*		*(-247)*
Latino in School but Not at Home	**293**	*Latino in School but Not at Home*	**293**	*Latino in School but Not at Home*	**240**
Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	187	Neither Parent Latino and no Latino Family Origins	187	Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	187
Neither Parent Latino but Latino Family Origins	26	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	53	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	53
One Latino Parent in Household	13				
Two Latino Parents in Household	14				
Missing Family Origins Data	53	Missing Family Origins Data	53	Missing Family Origins Data	(-53)
Latino at Home but Not in School	**63**	*Latino at Home but Not in School*	**0**	*Latino at Home but Not in School*	**0**
Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	23	Neither Parent Latino and no Latino family origins	(-23)	Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	(-23)
Neither Parent Latino but Latino Family Origins	16	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	(-32)	At Least One Parent Latino or Latino Family Origins	(-32)
One Latino Parent in Household	9				
Two Latino Parents in Household	7				
Missing Family Origins Data	8	Missing Family Origins Data	(-8)	Missing Family Origins Data	(-8)
	8586		8523		7170

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from AHAA
[a]Excludes respondents who are missing on In-Home or In-School report of Latino ethnicity

Table 2.3: Chapter 5 Analytic Samples by Adolescent Latino Self-Identification and Latino Family Origins

First Analytic Sample[a]	N	Second Analytic Sample[b]	N
Non-Latino	*4753*	*Non-Latino*	*176*
Non-Latino White	3505	Non-Latino White	176
Without Reported Latino Family Origins	3437	Without Reported Latino Family Origins	0
With Reported Latino Family Origins	68	With Reported Latino Family Origins	176
Non-Latino Black	1248	Non-Latino Black	0
Latino		*Latino*	
Consistent Latino	*332*	Consistent Latino	*1041*
		First Generation	222
		Second Generation	488
		Third Generation	331
Latino in School and Not at Home	*197*	*Latino in School and Not at Home*	*237*
Without Latino Family Origins	162	First Generation	14
With Latino Family Origins	35	Second Generation	26
		Third Generation	197
	5282		**1454**

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study
[a]Excludes 1st and 2nd generation respondents, those who are missing on home or school report of Latino ethnicity or Latino Family Origins, and those who self-identify as Latino in home but not at school
[b] Excludes non-Latinos without Latino family origins and those who are missing on home or school report of Latino ethnicity or Latino family origins, and those who self-identify as Latino in home but not at school

Table 2.4: Comparison of Weighted Means of Analytical Variables by Sample Selection Stages

	WI	WI & III & AHAA	Ch. 3a and Ch. 4a Analytic Sample	Ch. 3b & Ch. 4b Analytic Sample	Ch. 5a Analytic Sample	Ch. 5b Analytic Sample
Consistently Non-Latino	NA	NA	0.87	0.88	0.92	0.16
Latino in School but not at Home	NA	NA	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.21
Consistently Latino	NA	NA	0.10	0.09	0.05	0.63
Latino Family Origin Variables						
Neither Parent Latino and No Latino Family Origins	0.73	0.73	0.75	0.88	0.93	0.18
Neither Parent Latino but Latino Family Origins	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.15
One Latino Parent in Household	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.2
Two Latino Parents in Household	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.47
Missing Family Origins Data	0.16	0.15	0.15	NA	NA	NA
Academic Outcomes						
Highest Math Taken	NA	6.02	6.19	6.21	6.23	5.75
Cumulative GPA	NA	2.55	2.62	2.64	2.65	2.39
Graduated from High School	NA	0.87	0.91	0.91	0.91	0.86
Graduated from/Attending College	NA	0.49	0.52	0.52	0.52	0.46
Background Characteristics						
Parents' Education	3.25	3.38	3.43	3.49	3.56	2.71
First Generation	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.04	NA	0.14
Second Generation	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.09	NA	0.31
Third Generation	0.83	0.84	0.85	0.87	1.00	0.55
White	0.68	0.69	0.69	0.70	0.78	0.35
Black	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.12
Other Race	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.31
Native American	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.002	0.02
Asian	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.001	0.04
Multiple or Inconsistent Race	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02
No Race Reported	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.14
Skin Color – Black	NA	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.04
Skin Color – Brown	NA	0.23	0.23	0.22	0.18	0.47
Skin Color –White	NA	0.72	0.72	0.73	0.76	0.49

Table 2.4, cont.: Comparison of Weighted Means of Analytical Variables by Sample Selection Stages

	WI	WI & III & AHAA	Ch. 3a and Ch. 4a Analytic Sample	Ch. 3b & Ch. 4b Analytic Sample	Ch. 5a Analytic Sample	Ch. 5b Analytic Sample
Female	0.49	0.49	0.51	0.50	0.50	0.48
Wave III Age	NA	22	22	22	22	22
Percent Latino in Census Block	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.22
Usually Speak Non-English at Home	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.003	0.27
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.08
Urban School	0.26	0.26	0.24	0.24	0.21	0.47
Rural School	0.15	0.16	0.19	0.19	0.21	0.09
Suburban School	0.58	0.57	0.57	0.57	0.58	0.45
Propensity to Report Inconsistently						
Inconsistent Report of Gender	NA	NA	0.003	0.002	0.003	0.01
Inconsistent Report of Nativity	NA	NA	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06
Dissonance Between Home and School						
Parent Involvement	2.33	2.40	2.42	2.46	2.43	2.37
Parent's College Expectations Relative to Respondent's Expectations	1.06	1.04	1.01	1.01	1.00	1.06
Resistance to Institutional Norms						
School Disengagement	1.11	1.10	1.06	1.07	1.07	1.07
College Expectations	4.11	4.19	4.27	4.27	4.29	4.14
School Characteristics						
Average School Disengagement	1.60	1.6	1.61	1.61	1.6	1.68
Average Parents' Education	3.37	3.38	3.35	3.36	3.37	3.14
Proportion in Low Math 9th Grade	0.31	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.33
Prior Achievement						
Picture Vocabulary Test	100.72	102.16	102.96	103.27	103.93	97.99
Low Math 9th Grade	0.30	0.30	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.34
Unweighted N	**18924**	**11637**	**8523**	**7170**	**5282**	**1454**

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

Table 3.1: Weighted Means of Background Variables by Latino Self-Identification

	Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence			
	Consistently Non-Latino	Latino In-School Only	Latino In-Home Only	Consistently Latino
N	*6938*	*293*	*63*	*1292*
Parents' Education	3.59	2.83	3.43	2.26 [a,b,c,f]
Generational Status				
First Generation	0.03	0.05	0.08	0.21 [b,c]
Second Generation	0.06	0.10	0.25	0.40 [b,c,d,e]
Third Generation	0.90	0.84	0.65	0.39 [a,b,c,d,e,f]
Parents' Race/Ethnicity				
No Latino Parents	0.86	0.75	0.68	0.08 [a,b,d,f]
One Latino Parent	0.01	0.04	0.15	0.17 [a,b,c,d,e]
Two Latino Parents	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.57 [a,b,c,d,f]
Missing	0.13	0.16	0.09	0.17 [c]
Intact Family Structure	0.60	0.48	0.51	0.60 [a]
Race and Skin Color				
White	0.74	0.47	0.61	0.24 [a,b,c,d,f]
Black	0.16	0.34	0.11	0.03 [a,b,c,e,f]
Other Race	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.47 [a,b,c,e,f]
Native American	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.03 [b,c]
Asian	0.04	0.05	0.13	0.01 [b,c,d,f]
Multiple or Inconsistent Race	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.02
No Race Reported	0.03	0.06	0.10	0.20 [a,b,c,d]
Skin Color – Black	0.05	0.11	0.01	0.01 [a,b,c,d,e]
Skin Color - Brown	0.18	0.40	0.35	0.56 [a,b,c,d,f]
Skin Color –White	0.76	0.49	0.65	0.43 [a,c,f]
Female	0.51	0.43	0.48	0.50
Age	22	22	22	22
Percent Latino in Census Block	0.04	0.05	0.11	0.32 [b,c,d,f]
Usually Speak Non-English at Home	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.43 [b,c,f]
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.11 [b,c,d,f]
Propensity to Report Inconsistently				
Inconsistent Report of Gender	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01 [a,d,e,f]
Inconsistent Report of Nativity	0.24	0.34	0.12	0.19 [a,b,c]

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

[a] Difference in means between Non-Latino and In-School Only groups significant at <.05 level

[b] Difference in means between In-School Only and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[c] Difference in means between Non-Latino and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[d] Difference in means between In-Home Only and Non-Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[e] Difference in means between In-Home Only and In-School Only groups significant at <.05 level

[f] Difference in means between In-Home Only and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

Table 3.2: Weighted Means of Academic Outcomes by Latino Self-Identification

	Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence			
	Consistently Non-Latino	Latino In-School Only	Latino In-Home Only	Consistently Latino
N	*6938*	*293*	*63*	*1292*
Highest Math Taken	6.28	4.88	5.34	5.78 [a,b,c,d]
Cumulative GPA	2.67	2.12	2.28	2.37 [a,b,c,d]
Graduated From High School	0.92	0.79	0.76	0.85 [a,c,d]
Graduated From/Attending College	0.53	0.30	0.48	0.46 [a,b,c,e]

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

[a] Difference in means between Non-Latino and In-School Only groups significant at <.05 level

[b] Difference in means between In-School Only and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[c] Difference in means between Non-Latino and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[d] Difference in means between In-Home Only and Non-Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[e] Difference in means between In-Home Only and In-School Only groups significant at <.05 level

[f] Difference in means between In-Home Only and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

Table 3.3: Weighted Means of Background Characteristics by Latino Self-Identification and Latino Family Origins

| | Adolescent Self-Identification | | | |
	Consistently Non-Latino	Latino In-School Only, No Reported Latino Family Origins	Latino In-School Only, Latino Family Origins	Consistently Latino
N	5885	187	53	1045
Background Characteristics				
Parents' Education	3.63	2.77	2.91	2.39 [b,e]
First Generation	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.19 [a,c,e]
Second Generation	0.06	0.07	0.29	0.40 [a,c,d]
Third Generation	0.92	0.86	0.68	0.40 [a,c,d,e]
No Latino Parents	0.99	1.00	0.48	0.09 [a,b,c,d,e]
One Latino Parent	0.01	0.00	0.21	0.21 [a,b,c,d]
Two Latino Parents	0.00	0.00	0.31	0.70 [a,b,c,d,e]
Intact Family Structure	0.60	0.47	0.38	0.60 [b,c,d,e]
White	0.76	0.46	0.48	0.25 [b,c,d,e]
Black	0.16	0.40	0.08	0.03 [a,b,c]
Other Race	0.00	0.02	0.20	0.47 [a,b,c,d,e]
Native American	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.03
Asian	0.03	0.06	0.04	0.01 [b,c,d,e]
Multiple or Inconsistent Race	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.03 [c,e]
No Race Reported	0.03	0.04	0.17	0.19 [a]
Skin Color – Black	0.05	0.14	0.06	0.01 [b,c,e]
Skin Color – Brown	0.18	0.38	0.43	0.54 [b,c,d]
Skin Color –White	0.77	0.48	0.51	0.45 [b,d]
Female	0.51	0.36	0.56	0.51 [a,b,c]
Age	22	22	22	22
Usually Speak Non-English at Home	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.40 [c,e]
Percent Latino in Census Block	0.03	0.03	0.15	0.32 [a,c,d,e]
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.12 [a,c,d]
Propensity to Report Inconsistently				
Inconsistent Report of Gender	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.01
Inconsistent Report of Nativity	0.24	0.38	0.19	0.19 [a,b,c]

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study
[a] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins significant at <.10 level
[b] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Non-Latino significant at <.05 level
[c] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino significant at <.05 level
[d] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins and Consistently Non-Latino significant at <.05 level
[e] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino significant at <.05 level

Table 3.4: Weighted Means of Academic Outcomes by Latino Self-Identification and Latino Family Origins

	Adolescent Self-Identification			
	Consistently Non-Latino	**Latino In-School Only, No Reported Latino Family Origins**	**Latino In-School Only, Latino Family Origins**	**Consistently Latino**
N	*5885*	*187*	*53*	*1045*
Highest Math Taken	6.29	4.66	6.26	5.88 [a,b,c]
Cumulative GPA	2.68	2.07	2.38	2.42 [b,c,d]
Graduated From/Attending College	0.54	0.25	0.43	0.48 [a,b,c]
Graduated From High School	0.92	0.78	0.94	0.86 [a,b]

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

[a] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins significant at <.10 level

[b] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Non-Latino significant at <.05 level

[c] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino significant at <.05 level

[d] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins and Consistently Non-Latino significant at <.10 level

[e] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino significant at <.10 level

Table 3.5: Multivariate Linear Regression Predicting Academic Outcomes

	Highest Math Taken				Cumulative GPA			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*
Latino Self-Identification (In-School Only with No Latino Family Origins)								
Consistently Latino	1.22	0.23***	1.25	0.30***	0.35	0.11**	0.36	0.14*
Consistently Non-Latino	1.63	0.18***	1.19	0.17***	0.60	0.10***	0.31	0.08***
In-School Only with Latino Family Origins	1.60	0.42***	1.54	0.44***	0.30	0.20	0.19	0.17
Background Characteristics								
Female			0.26	0.07***			0.32	0.03***
Parents' Education			0.32	0.02***			0.13	0.01***
Age			-0.03	0.03			0.00	0.01
Intact Family Structure			0.50	0.07***			0.21	0.03***
Generational Status (3+)								
First Generation			0.48	0.18**			0.09	0.07
Second Generation			0.29	0.13*			0.05	0.05
Parents' Ethnicity (No Latino Parents)								
One Latino Parent			-0.05	0.23			-0.02	0.10
Two Latino Parents			-0.29	0.22			-0.05	0.14
Skin Color (White)								
Brown			-0.36	0.13**			-0.12	0.05*
Black			-0.76	0.19***			-0.26	0.08***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home			0.24	0.17			0.06	0.06
Race (White)								
Other Race			0.14	0.19			-0.11	0.07
Black			0.18	0.17			-0.27	0.07***
Native American			-1.07	0.34**			-0.32	0.12**
Asian			0.66	0.26*			0.18	0.08*
Multiple Races			0.11	0.20			-0.08	0.12
No Race			-0.19	0.15			-0.17	0.07*
Percent Hispanic in Census Block			0.31	0.53			-0.03	0.19
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood			-1.38	1.18			-0.57	0.40
Propensity to Report Inconsistently								
Inconsistent Report of Gender			0.32	0.43			0.44	0.11***
Inconsistent Report of Nativity			-0.28	0.23			-0.13	0.11
R^2	.01		.17		.02		.27	
Intercept	4.66	.19***	4.17	.59***	2.07	.11***	1.67	.23***
N	**7142**				**7107**			

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 3.6: Multivariate Logistic Regression Predicting Academic Outcomes

	High School Graduation				Post-Secondary Attendance			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*
Latino Self-Identification (In-School Only with No Reported Latino Family Origins)								
Consistently Latino	0.53	0.34	0.76	0.72	1.04	0.23 ***	1.20	0.42 **
Consistently Non-Latino	1.16	0.30 ***	0.83	0.35 *	1.26	0.20 ***	0.97	0.23 ***
In-School Only with Latino Family Origins	1.47	0.81	1.52	0.73 *	0.83	0.48	0.89	0.53
Background Characteristics								
Female			0.33	0.12 **			0.44	0.08 ***
Parents' Education			0.33	0.05 ***			0.39	0.03 ***
Age			0.16	0.04 ***			-0.06	0.03 *
Intact Family Structure			0.68	0.13 ***			0.63	0.08 ***
Generational Status (3+)								
First Generation			0.51	0.38			0.96	0.28 ***
Second Generation			0.04	0.36			0.49	0.17 **
Parents' Ethnicity (No Latino Parents)								
One Latino Parent			0.19	0.55			-0.02	0.26
Two Latino Parents			-0.20	0.61			0.04	0.34
Skin Color (White)								
Brown			0.13	0.35			-0.25	0.17
Black			-0.79	0.37 *			-0.52	0.22
Usually Speak Non-English at Home			0.27	0.34			0.17	0.21
Race (White)								
Other Race			-0.49	0.38			-0.28	0.23
Black			0.15	0.40			0.24	0.21
Native American			-0.13	0.53			-0.37	0.56
Asian			0.41	0.58			0.29	0.27
Multiple Races			0.41	0.52			0.20	0.32
No Race			-0.35	0.36			-0.33	0.20
Percent Hispanic in Census Block			0.07	0.87			-0.53	0.61
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood			-1.35	1.45			0.69	1.19
Propensity to Report Inconsistently								
Inconsistent Report of Gender			.95	0.98			0.04	0.45
Inconsistent Report of Nativity			-0.34	0.40			-0.20	0.25
Intercept	1.25	0.31 ***	-3.37	1.01 ***	-1.12	0.20 ***	-1.62	0.63 *
N			**7142**				**7170**	

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

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Table 4.1: Weighted Means of Analytic Variables by Latino Self-Identification

	Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence			
	Consistently Non-Latino	Latino In School Only	Latino In Home Only	Consistently Latino
N	*6938*	*293*	*63*	*1292*
Dissonance Between Home and School				
Parent Involvement	2.43	2.14	2.67	2.45 [a,b]
Parent's College Expectations Relative to Respondent's Expectations	1.00	1.04	0.94	1.10 [c,f]
Resistance to Institutional Norms				
School Disengagement	1.06	1.25	1.22	1.02 [a,b]
College Expectations	4.30	3.91	4.40	4.09 [a,b,c,e,f]
School Characteristics				
Average School Disengagement	1.60	1.68	1.66	1.69 [a,c]
Average Parents' Education	3.39	3.20	3.23	3.04 [a,b,c]
Proportion in Low Math 9th Grade	0.30	0.37	0.30	0.32 [a,b]
Prior Achievement				
Picture Vocabulary Test	103.96	95.30	102.07	96.3 [a,c,e,f]
Low Math 9th Grade	0.26	0.50	0.21	0.33 [a,b,c,e,f]

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

[a] Difference in means between Non-Latino and In-School Only groups significant at <.05 level

[b] Difference in means between In-School Only and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[c] Difference in means between Non-Latino and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[d] Difference in means between In-Home Only and Non-Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[e] Difference in means between In-Home Only and In-School Only groups significant at <.05 level

[f] Difference in means between In-Home Only and Latino groups significant at <.05 level

Table 4.2: Weighted Means of Analytic Variables by Latino Self-Identification and Latino Family Origins

	Adolescent Self-Identification			
	Consistently Non-Latino	**Latino In-School Only No Reported Latino Family Origins**	**Latino In-School Only Latino Family Origins**	**Consistently Latino**
N	5885	187	53	1045
Dissonance Between Home and School				
Parent Involvement	2.46	2.08	1.92	2.50 [d,e]
Parent's College Expectations Relative to Respondent's Expectations	1.00	1.02	.97	1.11
Resistance to Institutional Norms				
School Disengagement	1.07	1.19	1.47	1.00 [d,e]
College Expectations	4.30	3.94	4.23	4.12 [a]
School Characteristics				
Average School Disengagement	1.60	1.70	1.63	1.69 [a,c,e]
Average Parents' Education	3.39	3.20	3.26	3.04 [a, e]
Proportion in Low Math 9th Grade	0.30	0.38	0.34	0.32 [a]
Prior Achievement				
Picture Vocabulary Test	104.18	94.22	102.11	97.06 [a,c]
Low Math 9th Grade	0.26	0.53	0.23	0.32 [a,b,c]

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

[a] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Non-Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[b] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino groups significant at <.05 level

[c] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/No Latino Family Origins and In-School Only/Latino Family Origins groups significant at <.05 level

[d] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins and Consistently Non-Latino groups significant at <.10 level

[e] Difference in means between Latino In-School Only/Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino groups significant at <.10 level

Table 4.3: Multivariate Linear Regression Predicting Highest Math Course Taken

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Latino Self-Identification (In School Only w/o Reported Latino Family Origins)										
Consistently Latino	1.24	0.30 ***	1.21	0.30 ***	1.12	0.27 ***	1.07	0.25 ***	0.64	0.20 **
Consistently Non-Latino	1.19	0.17 ***	1.17	0.17 ***	1.07	0.16 ***	0.92	0.16 ***	0.57	0.12 ***
In School Only with Latino Family Origins	1.53	0.44 ***	1.54	0.44 ***	1.52	0.37 ***	1.44	0.34 ***	0.83	0.28 **
Background Characteristics										
Female	0.26	0.07 ***	0.26	0.07 ***	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.06 *	0.13	0.05 *
Parents' Education	0.32	0.02 ***	0.31	0.02 ***	0.22	0.02 ***	0.19	0.02 ***	0.09	0.02 ***
Age	-0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.02	-0.04	0.02	-0.02	0.02
Intact Family Structure	0.50	0.07 ***	0.50	0.07 ***	0.39	0.06 ***	0.35	0.07 ***	0.27	0.06 ***
First Generation (Third+)	0.46	0.19 *	0.47	0.18 *	0.39	0.19 *	0.44	0.16 **	0.64	0.14 ***
Second Generation	0.29	0.13 *	0.29	0.13 *	0.22	0.12	0.21	0.11 *	0.15	0.10
One Latino Parent (None)	-0.05	0.23	0.01	0.23	-0.04	0.22	-0.05	0.21	0.00	0.18
Two Latino Parents	-0.31	0.22	-0.29	0.22	-0.30	0.22	-0.29	0.21	-0.18	0.19
Brown Skin Color (White)	-0.36	0.13 **	-0.36	0.13 **	-0.39	0.12 **	-0.34	0.11 **	-0.15	0.09
Black Skin Color	-0.75	0.19 ***	-0.76	0.19 ***	-0.83	0.19 ***	-0.69	0.17 ***	-0.34	0.15 *
Speak Language Other than English	0.24	0.18	0.21	0.17	0.19	0.16	0.17	0.15	0.27	0.14 *
Other Race (White)	0.15	0.19	0.15	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.01	0.17	0.12	0.15
Black	0.17	0.17	0.18	0.17	0.16	0.18	0.20	0.15	0.34	0.14 **
Native American	-1.07	0.34 **	-1.06	0.34 **	-0.81	0.27 **	-0.55	0.21 *	-0.58	0.16 ***
Asian	0.66	0.26 *	0.64	0.26 *	0.60	0.26 *	0.70	0.20 ***	0.49	0.16 **
Multiple Races	0.11	0.20	0.10	0.20	0.18	0.19	0.14	0.18	-0.13	0.17
No Race	-0.19	0.15	-0.18	0.15	-0.11	0.14	-0.13	0.14	-0.12	0.12
Percent Hispanic in Census Tract	0.14	0.48	0.11	0.48	0.01	0.42	0.01	0.40	-0.07	0.35
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood	-0.85	1.08	-0.81	1.08	-0.70	0.78	-0.10	0.67	0.12	0.63
Propensity to Report Inconsistently										
Inconsistent Report of Gender	0.30	0.42	0.25	0.43	0.19	0.42	0.04	0.44	0.16	0.34
Inconsistent Report of Nativity	-0.30	0.22	-0.28	0.22	0.00	0.17	0.04	0.21	0.12	0.18
Home-School Dissonance										
Parent Involvement			0.08	0.02 ***	0.04	0.02 *	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02
Resistance										
School Disengagement					-0.27	0.05 ***	-0.23	0.05 ***	-0.22	0.04 ***
College Expectations					0.53	0.04 ***	0.51	0.03 ***	0.37	0.03 ***
School Characteristics										
Average School Disengagement							-0.79	0.33 *	-0.67	0.30 *
Proportion in Low Math 9th Grade							-1.65	0.25 ***	0.10	0.22
Average Parents' Education							0.01	0.09	0.06	0.08
Prior Academic Experiences										
Picture Vocabulary Test									0.03	0.00 ***
Low Math 9th Grade									-1.83	0.08 ***
Intercept	4.17	0.59 ***	3.99	0.58 ***	2.41	0.60 ***	4.94	0.92 ***	2.42	0.89 **
R^2		0.17		0.17		0.26		0.29		0.48
N					7142					

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study
*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

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Table 4.4: Multivariate Linear Regression Predicting Cumulative GPA

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Coef.	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*	*Coef.*	*s.e.*
Latino Self-Identification (In School Only w/o Reported Latino Family Origins)										
Consistently Latino	0.35	0.14 *	0.34	0.14 *	0.30	0.14 *	0.28	0.13 *	0.17	0.11
Consistently Non-Latino	0.31	0.08 ***	0.31	0.07 ***	0.26	0.07 ***	0.22	0.07 **	0.12	0.07
In School Only with Latino Family Origins	0.18	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.21	0.15	0.17	0.14	0.02	0.13
Background Characteristics										
Female	0.32	0.03 ***	0.31	0.03 ***	0.24	0.03 ***	0.25	0.03 ***	0.26	0.02 ***
Parents' Education	0.13	0.01 ***	0.13	0.01 ***	0.10	0.01 ***	0.09	0.01 ***	0.06	0.01 ***
Age	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.01
Intact Family Structure	0.22	0.03 ***	0.22	0.03 ***	0.17	0.03 ***	0.15	0.03 ***	0.13	0.03 ***
First Generation (Third+)	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.04	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.15	0.07 *
Second Generation	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.04
One Latino Parent (None)	-0.03	0.10	-0.02	0.10	-0.02	0.10	-0.02	0.09	-0.01	0.08
Two Latino Parents	-0.05	0.14	-0.06	0.14	-0.07	0.13	-0.07	0.12	-0.02	0.10
Brown Skin Color (White)	-0.12	0.05 *	-0.12	0.05 *	-0.14	0.05 **	-0.11	0.05 *	-0.05	0.05
Black Skin Color	-0.26	0.08 **	-0.26	0.07 **	-0.28	0.07 ***	-0.22	0.07 **	-0.12	0.07
Speak Language Other than English	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.05	0.07	0.06
Other Race (White)	-0.10	0.08	-0.10	0.07	-0.08	0.07	-0.11	0.08	-0.07	0.07
Black	-0.27	0.07 ***	-0.27	0.08 ***	-0.29	0.07 ***	-0.25	0.07 ***	-0.19	0.07 **
Native American	-0.32	0.12 **	-0.32	0.12 **	-0.21	0.10 *	-0.12	0.09	-0.13	0.10
Asian	0.19	0.08 *	0.18	0.08 *	0.17	0.08 *	0.19	0.08 *	0.15	0.08
Multiple Races	-0.08	0.12	-0.09	0.12	-0.04	0.11	-0.03	0.10	-0.09	0.11
No Race	-0.17	0.07 *	-0.17	0.07 *	-0.14	0.07 *	-0.14	0.06 *	-0.13	0.06 *
Percent Hispanic in Census Tract	-0.06	0.24	-0.07	0.24	-0.10	0.27	0.01	0.23	-0.02	0.22
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood	-0.27	0.53	-0.26	0.53	-0.25	0.58	-0.31	0.52	-0.25	0.49
Propensity to Report Inconsistently										
Inconsistent Report of Gender	0.44	0.11 ***	0.43	0.11 ***	0.46	0.12 ***	0.40	0.12 ***	0.42	0.13 **
Inconsistent Report of Nativity	-0.12	0.09	-0.12	0.08	-0.01	0.08	-0.01	0.10	0.01	0.09
Home-School Dissonance										
Parent Involvement			0.02	0.01 **	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
Resistance										
School Disengagement					-0.20	0.02 ***	-0.20	0.02 ***	-0.19	0.02 ***
College Expectations					0.17	0.01 ***	0.16	0.01 ***	0.12	0.01 ***
School Characteristics										
Average School Disengagement							-0.65	0.13 ***	-0.60	0.13 ***
Proportion in Low Math 9th Grade							-0.18	0.09 *	0.21	0.09 *
Average Parents' Education							0.03	0.02	0.03	0.03
Prior Academic Experiences										
Picture Vocabulary Test									0.01	0.00 ***
Low Math 9th Grade									-0.40	0.03 ***
Intercept	1.67	0.23 ***	1.62	0.23 ***	1.24	0.22 ***	2.87	0.34 ***	1.90	0.36 ***
R^2	0.23		0.23		0.32		0.34		0.41	
N					**7107**					

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 4.5: Multivariate Logistic Regression Predicting High School Graduation

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Latino Self-Identification (In School Only w/o Reported Latino Family Origins)										
Consistently Latino	0.75	0.72	0.71	0.74	0.65	0.74	0.64	0.67	0.49	0.65
Consistently Non-Latino	0.83	0.35*	0.82	0.35*	0.75	0.35*	0.63	0.35	0.46	0.36
In School Only with Latino Family Origins	1.52	0.74*	1.53	0.74*	1.96	0.92*	1.86	0.94*	1.67	0.87
Background Characteristics										
Female	0.33	0.12**	0.33	0.12**	0.13	0.13	0.15	0.12	0.22	0.12
Parents' Education	0.34	0.05***	0.33	0.05***	0.28	0.05***	0.23	0.05***	0.18	0.04***
Age	0.16	0.04***	0.16	0.04***	0.18	0.05***	0.12	0.05*	0.13	0.05*
Intact Family Structure	0.68	0.13***	0.68	0.14***	0.63	0.14***	0.58	0.14***	0.56	0.14***
First Generation (Third+)	0.49	0.37	0.51	0.38	0.41	0.40	0.52	0.39	0.79	0.43
Second Generation	0.05	0.35	0.06	0.36	0.03	0.35	0.07	0.34	0.01	0.35
One Latino Parent (None)	0.19	0.56	0.23	0.56	0.20	0.53	0.22	0.49	0.24	0.50
Two Latino Parents	-0.22	0.61	-0.21	0.62	-0.31	0.60	-0.30	0.55	-0.22	0.55
Brown Skin Color (White)	0.14	0.35	0.14	0.35	0.05	0.38	0.08	0.35	0.26	0.37
Black Skin Color	-0.78	0.37*	-0.81	0.37*	-0.98	0.39*	-0.80	0.36*	-0.59	0.38
Speak Language Other than English	0.29	0.34	0.25	0.34	0.27	0.37	0.20	0.35	0.33	0.36
Other Race (White)	-0.49	0.38	-0.50	0.38	-0.44	0.42	-0.56	0.40	-0.54	0.38
Black	-0.14	0.42	0.15	0.40	0.16	0.43	0.33	0.42	0.48	0.42
Native American	-0.13	0.53	-0.10	0.54	0.35	0.62	0.80	0.72	0.76	0.85
Asian	0.40	0.58	0.37	0.59	0.36	0.66	0.41	0.65	0.29	0.66
Multiple Races	0.40	0.47	0.40	0.52	0.62	0.59	0.67	0.60	0.47	0.61
No Race	-0.35	0.36	-0.33	0.36	-0.22	0.37	-0.22	0.36	-0.22	0.35
Percent Hispanic in Census Tract	-0.07	0.76	-0.14	0.79	-0.16	0.88	0.14	0.87	-0.08	0.90
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood	-0.93	1.30	-0.88	1.51	-1.03	1.67	-1.02	1.57	-0.80	1.62
Propensity to Report Inconsistently										
Inconsistent Report of Gender	0.99	1.01	0.95	1.00	1.23	1.11	0.90	1.14	0.86	1.20
Inconsistent Report of Nativity	-0.41	0.37	-0.39	0.37	-0.07	0.43	0.00	0.38	0.09	0.43
Home-School Dissonance										
Parent Involvement			0.10	0.04**	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.06	0.04
Resistance										
School Disengagement					-0.60	0.08***	-0.61	0.08***	-0.60	0.07***
College Expectations					0.32	0.05***	0.30	0.05***	0.25	0.05***
School Characteristics										
Average School Disengagement							-1.92	0.62**	-1.83	0.64**
Proportion in Low Math 9th Grade							-1.02	0.44*	-0.33	0.48
Average Parents' Education							0.15	0.15	0.14	0.15
Prior Academic Experiences										
Picture Vocabulary Test									0.03	0.01***
Low Math 9th Grade									-0.52	0.17**
Intercept	-3.38	1.00***	-3.67	0.98***	-4.24	1.01***	0.58	1.65	-2.49	1.91
N					**7142**					

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 4.6: Multivariate Logistic Regression Predicting College Attendance

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Latino Self-Identification (In School Only w/o Reported Latino Family Origins)										
Consistently Latino	1.19	0.42**	1.17	0.42**	1.20	0.45**	1.20	0.44**	1.02	0.41*
Consistently Non-Latino	0.96	0.23***	0.95	0.23***	0.94	0.24***	0.88	0.25***	0.72	0.26**
In School Only with Latino Family Origins	0.87	0.53	0.88	0.53	0.92	0.56	0.87	0.55	0.63	0.53
Background Characteristics										
Female	0.43	0.08***	0.43	0.08***	0.28	0.08***	0.31	0.08***	0.35	0.08***
Parents' Education	0.39	0.03***	0.39	0.03***	0.32	0.03***	0.26	0.02***	0.22	0.02***
Age	-0.06	0.03*	-0.06	0.03*	-0.05	0.03*	-0.08	0.03**	-0.08	0.03**
Intact Family Structure	0.63	0.08***	0.63	0.09***	0.56	0.09***	0.53	0.09***	0.50	0.09***
First Generation (Third+)	0.94	0.28***	0.95	0.28***	0.91	0.30**	0.96	0.16***	1.15	0.32***
Second Generation	0.48	0.17**	0.48	0.16**	0.43	0.16**	0.41	0.16*	0.40	0.17*
One Latino Parent (None)	-0.03	0.27	-0.00	0.27	-0.03	0.29	-0.06	0.28	-0.03	0.26
Two Latino Parents	0.04	0.36	0.05	0.35	0.04	0.39	0.06	0.37	0.13	0.36
Brown Skin Color (White)	-0.26	0.17	-0.26	0.17	-0.29	0.17	-0.20	0.16	-0.08	0.17
Black Skin Color	-0.53	0.22*	-0.54	0.22*	-0.60	0.23*	-0.39	0.22	-.18	0.23
Speak Language Other than English	0.14	0.22	0.12	0.23	0.10	0.24	0.11	0.23	0.17	0.22
Other Race (White)	-0.27	0.23	-0.27	0.23	-0.26	0.26	-0.30	0.26	-0.26	0.25
Black	0.25	0.22	0.25	0.21	0.25	0.21	0.23	0.19	0.35	0.20
Native American	-0.37	0.57	-0.37	0.57	-0.15	0.65	0.03	0.62	0.02	0.65
Asian	0.29	0.27	0.28	0.27	0.24	0.28	0.21	0.27	0.11	0.27
Multiple Races	0.20	0.32	0.20	0.33	0.29	0.33	0.24	0.34	0.11	0.34
No Race	-0.33	0.20	-0.33	0.20	-0.30	0.23	-0.35	0.23	-0.35	0.23
Percent Hispanic in Census Tract	-0.45	0.71	-0.48	0.72	-0.58	0.78	-0.27	0.71	-0.28	0.69
Percent Speaking English Not Well in Neighborhood	0.81	1.45	0.83	1.44	1.03	1.64	0.87	1.54	0.96	1.51
Propensity to Report Inconsistently										
Inconsistent Report of Gender	-0.01	0.43	-0.05	0.42	-0.23	0.44	-0.26	0.42	-0.23	0.40
Inconsistent Report of Nativity	-0.23	0.25	-0.22	0.25	0.03	0.24	0.09	0.25	0.11	0.27
Home-School Dissonance										
Parent Involvement			0.06	0.02*	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
Resistance										
School Disengagement					-0.22	0.06***	-0.25	0.05***	-0.24	0.06***
College Expectations					0.61	0.05***	0.58	0.05***	0.52	0.05***
School Characteristics										
Average School Disengagement							-0.59	0.34	-0.49	0.35
Proportion in Low Math 9th Grade							-0.35	0.25	0.36	0.25
Average Parents' Education							0.42	0.07***	0.43	0.07***
Prior Academic Experiences										
Picture Vocabulary Test									0.02	0.00***
Low Math 9th Grade									-0.72	0.10***
Intercept	-1.60	0.64*	-1.74	0.63**	-3.74	0.72***	-3.06	1.11**	-5.04	1.18***
N					7170					

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.1: Weighted Means of Educational Outcomes by Latino Self-Identification and Latino Family Origin

	Adolescent Self-Identification by Latino Family Origin					
	Non-Latino White / No Latino Family Origins	Non-Latino White / Latino Family Origins	Latino In School Only / No Latino Family Origins	Latino In School Only / Latino Family Origins	Consistently Latino	Non-Latino Black
N	*3437*	*68*	*162*	*35*	*332*	*1248*
Highest Math Taken	6.43 [a, c]	6.31 [e]	4.43	6.27	5.85 [d]	5.72
Cumulative GPA	2.79 [a,b,c]	2.84 [e,g]	2.03	2.53	2.44 [d]	2.21
Graduated From/ Attending College	0.56 [a,b,c]	0.54 [e]	0.24	0.43	0.42 [d]	0.43
Graduated From High School	0.93 [a,b,c]	0.92 [f]	0.75	1.00	0.85	0.88

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

[a] Difference in means between Non-Latino White/No Latino Family Origins and Latino In School/No Latino Family Origins significant at <.05 level

[b] Difference in means between Non-Latino White/No Latino Family Origins and Latino In School/Latino Family Origins significant at <.05 level

[c] Difference in means between Non-Latino White/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino significant at <.05 level

[d] Difference in means between Latino In School Only/No Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino significant at <.05 level

[e] Difference in means between Non-Latino White/Latino Family Origins and Latino In School/No Latino Family Origins significant at <.05 level

[f] Difference in means between Non-Latino White/Latino Family Origins and Latino In School/Latino Family Origins significant at <.05 level

[g] Difference in means between Non-Latino White/Latino Family Origins and Consistently Latino significant at <.05 level

Table 5.2: Linear Regression Predicting Highest Math Taken by Type of Latino Self-Identification Among 3rd+ Generation Latino, Non-Latino White, and Non-Latino Black Individuals Only

	Highest Math Taken											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White)												
Latino (In school or at home)	-1.04	0.15 ***					-0.42	0.13 ***				
Non-Latino Black	-0.71	0.14 ***					0.07	0.11				
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White with No Latino Family Origin)												
Latino (In school or at home or Non-Latino with Latino Family Origins)			-0.90	0.15 ***	-0.48	0.17 **			-0.39	0.14 **	-0.11	0.14
Non-Latino Black			-0.72	0.14 ***	-0.72	0.14 ***			0.07	0.11	0.05	0.11
Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification (Consistent)												
Inconsistent w/ Latino Parents					0.32	0.54					0.22	0.49
Inconsistent w/ No Latino Parents					-1.52	0.22 ***					-1.00	0.20 ***
Urban School (Suburban)							-0.07	0.15	-0.07	0.15	-0.08	0.15
Rural School							-0.19	0.14	-0.19	0.14	-0.18	0.14
Age							-0.04	0.03	-0.04	0.03	-0.04	0.03
Parents' Education							0.24	0.02 ***	0.24	0.02 ***	0.24	0.02 ***
PVT							0.05	0.00 ***	0.05	0.003 ***	0.05	0.00 ***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							0.17	0.57	0.15	0.57	-0.10	0.59
Female							0.36	0.07 ***	0.36	0.07 ***	0.36	0.07 ***
Intercept	6.43	0.08 ***	6.43	0.08 ***	6.43	0.08 ***	1.15	0.63	1.15	0.63	1.26	0.63
R^2	0.035		0.033		0.043		0.221		0.221		0.226	
N							5263					

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.3: Linear Regression Predicting Cumulative GPA by Type of Latino Self-Identification Among 3rd+ Generation Latino, Non-Latino White, and Non-Latino Black Individuals Only

	Cumulative GPA											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White)												
Latino (In school or at home)	-0.49	0.06***					-0.22	0.05***				
Non-Latino Black	-0.58	0.08***					-0.28	0.06***				
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White with No Latino Family Origin)												
Latino (In school or at home or non-Latino white with Latino Family Origins)			-0.41	0.06***	-0.26	0.06***			-0.18	0.05***	-0.09	0.05
Non-Latino Black			-0.58	0.08***	-0.58	0.08***			-0.28	0.06***	-0.28	0.06***
Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification (Consistent)												
Inconsistent w/ Latino Parents					0.00	0.21					-0.06	0.18
Inconsistent w/ No Latino Parents					-0.50	0.12***					-0.29	0.10**
Urban School (Suburban)							-0.08	0.06	-0.08	0.06	-0.08	0.06
Rural School							0.05	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.06
Age							-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.01
Parents' Education							0.11	0.01***	0.11	0.01***	0.11	0.01***
PVT							0.02	0.00***	0.02	0.00***	0.02	0.00***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							0.26	0.14	0.24	0.14	0.16	0.14
Female							0.35	0.03***	0.35	0.03***	0.35	0.03***
Intercept	2.79	0.03***	2.79	0.03***	2.79	0.03***	0.46	0.27	0.45	0.27	0.48	0.28
R^2	0.09		0.084		0.089		0.281		0.280		0.281	
N	5263											

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.4: Logistic Regression Predicting High School Graduation by Type of Latino Self-Identification Among 3rd+ Generation Latino, Non-Latino White, and Non-Latino Black Individuals Only

	High School Graduation											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White)												
Latino (In school or at home)	-1.01	0.25***					-0.42	0.25				
Non-Latino Black	-0.57	0.26*					0.20	0.24				
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White with No Latino Family Origin)												
Latino (In school or at home or non-Latino white with Latino Family Origins)			-0.91	0.25***	-0.70	0.29**			-0.39	0.26	-0.31	0.30
Non-Latino Black			-0.57	0.26*	-0.57	0.26*			0.20	0.24	0.20	0.24
Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification (Consistent)												
Inconsistent w/ Latino Parents					3.54	0.81***					3.51	.87***
Inconsistent w/ No Latino Parents					-0.77	0.38*					-0.36	0.39
Urban School (Suburban)							-0.24	0.26	-0.24	0.27	-0.25	0.27
Rural School							-0.20	0.23	-0.2	0.23	-0.2	0.23
Age							0.14	0.05**	0.14	0.05**	0.13	0.05**
Parents' Education							0.30	0.06***	0.29	0.06***	0.29	0.06***
PVT							0.05	0.01***	0.05	0.01***	0.05	0.01***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							1.11	1.11	1.12	1.11	1.09	1.11
Female							0.52	0.15***	0.52	0.15***	0.51	0.15***
Intercept	2.56	0.12***	2.56	0.12***	2.56	0.12***	-6.32	1.05***	-6.33	1.04***	-6.25	1.05***
N					5263							

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.5: Logistic Regression Predicting College Attendance by Type of Latino Self-Identification Among 3rd+ Generation Latino, Non-Latino White, and Non-Latino Black Individuals Only

	College Attendance											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White)												
Latino (In school or at home)	-0.80	0.15 ***					-0.30	0.15 *				
Non-Latino Black	-0.52	0.16 **					0.11	0.15				
Race/Ethnicity (Non-Latino White with No Latino Family Origin)												
Latino (In school or at home or non-Latino white with Latino Family Origins)			-0.80	0.15 ***	-0.44	0.18 *			-0.27	0.15	-0.10	0.19
Non-Latino Black			-0.52	0.16 **	-0.52	0.16 **			0.11	0.15	0.11	0.15
Inconsistent Latino Self-Identification (Consistent)												
Inconsistent w/ Latino Parents					-0.10	0.53					-0.22	0.54
Inconsistent w/ No Latino Parents					-0.95	0.26 ***					-0.63	0.29 *
Urban School (Suburban)							-0.08	0.14	-0.08	0.14	-0.09	0.14
Rural School							-0.05	0.14	-0.05	0.14	-0.04	0.14
Age							-0.07	0.03 *	-0.07	0.03 *	-0.07	0.03 *
Parents' Education							0.39	0.03 ***	0.39	0.03 ***	0.39	0.03 ***
PVT							0.03	0.00 ***	0.03	0.00 ***	0.03	0.00 ***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							0.25	0.69	0.23	0.69	0.06	0.71
Female							0.50	0.09 ***	0.51	0.09 ***	0.50	0.09 ***
Intercept	0.23	0.08 **	0.24	0.08 **	0.24	0.08 **	-3.69	0.73 ***	-3.69	0.74 ***	-3.64	0.74 ***
N						5263						

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.6: Weighted Means by In-Home and In-School Latino Self-Identification and Generational Status among a Sample of Latino Adolescents and Non-Latino Adolescents of Latino Family Origin

	Latino Self-Identification by Generational Status						
	In-Home and In-School			In-School Only			Non-Latino / Latino Family Origin
	1st	2nd	3rd+	1st	2nd	3rd+	
N	222	488	331	14	26	197	176
Highest Math Taken	5.64	6.05	5.85	6.92	6.25	4.74 ***	6.17
Cumulative GPA	2.43	2.40	2.44	2.47	2.22	2.11	2.62
Graduated From/Attending College	0.58	0.50	0.42	0.21	0.43	0.27	0.56
Graduated From High School	0.88	0.85	0.85	0.98	0.89	0.79	0.91

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

Note: ***Difference in means between 3rd+ and 2nd generation significant at $p < .001$

Table 5.7: Linear Regression Predicting Highest Math Taken by Type of Latino Self-Identification and Generational Status, Latinos and Non-Latinos of Latino Family Origin

	Highest Math Taken											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Generational Status (Third Plus Generation Latino)												
First Generation Latino	0.34	0.33	0.13	0.33	-0.08	0.34	0.68	0.31*	0.57	0.31	0.51	0.31
Second Generation Latino	0.67	0.20***	0.46	0.20*	0.27	0.19	0.65	0.20***	0.54	0.20**	0.47	0.20*
Non-Latino with Latino Family Origin	0.78	0.21***					0.44	0.19*				
Identified as Latino by: (In-School and In-Home)												
In-School Only					-0.89	0.18***					-0.57	0.18**
Urban School (Suburban)							0.18	0.21	0.14	0.22	0.11	0.21
Rural School							-0.82	0.28*	-0.87	0.28*	-0.76	0.34
Age							-0.05	0.05	-0.05	0.05	-0.04	0.05
Parents' Education							0.16	0.04***	0.16	0.04***	0.16	0.04***
PVT							0.04	0.01***	0.04	0.01***	0.04	0.01***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							0.05	0.24	0.08	0.24	-0.02	0.24
Female							0.22	0.14	0.23	0.14	0.21	0.14
Intercept	5.39	0.15***	5.61	0.14***	5.87	0.13***	1.68	1.14	1.76	1.19	2.08	1.13
R^2	0.028		0.016		0.046		0.221		0.219		0.230	
N						1454						

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.8: Regression Predicting Cumulative GPA by Type of Latino Self-Identification and Generational Status, Latinos and Non-Latinos of Latino Family Origin

	Cumulative GPA											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Generational Status												
(Third Plus Generation Latino)												
First Generation Latino	0.13	0.15	0.05	0.15	-0.03	0.14	0.29	0.14*	0.25	0.14	0.22	0.14
Second Generation Latino	0.08	0.08	-0.01	0.08	-0.08	0.08	0.11	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.08
Non-Latino with Latino Family Origin	0.31	0.11**					0.15	0.09				
Identified as Latino by:												
(In-School and In-Home)												
In-School Only					-0.34	0.09***					-0.26	0.07***
Urban School (Suburban)							-0.22	0.10	-0.24	0.09	-0.25	0.09*
Rural School							-0.20	0.15	-0.23	0.13	-0.17	0.12
Age							0.00	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.02
Parents' Education							0.08	0.02***	0.08	0.02***	0.08	0.02***
PVT							0.01	0.00***	0.01	0.00***	0.01	0.002***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							0.11	0.10	0.12	0.10	0.08	0.10
Female							0.25	0.06***	0.25	0.06***	0.24	0.06***
Intercept	2.30	0.06***	2.39	0.05***	2.49	0.05***	0.68	0.54	0.71	0.54	0.86	0.53
R^2	0.011		0.001		0.025		0.172		0.171		0.184	
N					1454							

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.9: Logistic Regression Predicting High School Graduation by Type of Latino Self-Identification and Generational Status, Latinos and Non-Latinos of Latino Family Origin

	High School Graduation											
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**		**Model 5**		**Model 6**	
	Coef.	**s.e.**	**Coef.**	**s.e.**	**Coef.**	**s.e.**	**Coef.**	**s.e.**	**Coef.**	**s.e.**	**Coef.**	**s.e.**
Generational Status												
(Third Plus Generation Latino)												
First Generation Latino	0.48	0.36	0.30	0.35	0.20	0.35	1.04	0.42*	0.96	0.42*	0.92	0.43*
Second Generation Latino	0.23	0.31	0.06	0.31	-0.04	0.31	0.40	0.32	0.31	0.32	0.27	0.33
Non-Latino with Latino Family Origin	0.79	0.39*					0.47	0.41				
Identified as Latino by:												
(In-School and In-Home)												
In-School Only					-0.41	0.31					-0.22	0.32
Urban School (Suburban)							-0.22	0.40	-0.26	0.39	-0.27	0.40
Rural School							-0.59	0.45	-0.63	0.46	-0.58	0.46
Age							0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08
Parents' Education							0.20	0.07**	0.20	0.07**	0.20	0.08**
PVT							0.03	0.01**	0.03	0.01**	0.03	0.01**
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							-0.05	0.38	-0.03	0.38	-0.06	0.39
Female							0.43	0.23	0.43	0.23	0.42	0.24
Intercept	1.55	0.23***	1.72	0.22***	1.86	0.23***	-3.42	2.23	-3.34	2.22	-3.24	2.26
N						1454						

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 5.10: Logistic Regression Predicting College Attendance by Type of Latino Self-Identification and Generational Status, Latinos and Non-Latinos of Latino Family Origin

	College Attendance										
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.	Coef.	s.e.
Generational Status (Third Plus Generation Latino)												
First Generation Latino	0.81	0.30**	0.58	0.31	0.41	0.31	1.41	0.39***	1.28	0.40**	1.21	0.38**
Second Generation Latino	0.56	0.24*	0.33	0.23	0.17	0.25	0.78	0.24**	0.64	0.24**	0.57	0.25*
Non-Latino with Latino Family Origin	0.81	0.22***					0.55	0.22*				
Identified as Latino by: (In-School and In-Home)												
In-School Only					-0.83	0.21***					-0.73	0.23**
Urban School (Suburban)							-0.08	0.19	-0.14	0.19	-0.18	0.19
Rural School							-0.61	0.33	-0.65	0.33	-0.56	0.39
Age							-0.12	0.05*	-0.12	0.05*	-0.12	0.05*
Parents' Education							0.24	0.05***	0.25	0.05***	0.25	0.05***
PVT							0.03	0.01***	0.03	0.01***	0.03	0.01***
Usually Speak Non-English at Home							0.03	0.21	0.06	0.22	-0.05	0.20
Female							0.41	0.17*	0.42	0.17*	0.41	0.17*
Intercept	-0.58	0.13***	-0.35	0.12***	-0.12	0.14	-1.99	1.16	-1.89	1.15	-1.50	1.16
N							1454					

Source: Waves I and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and transcript data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

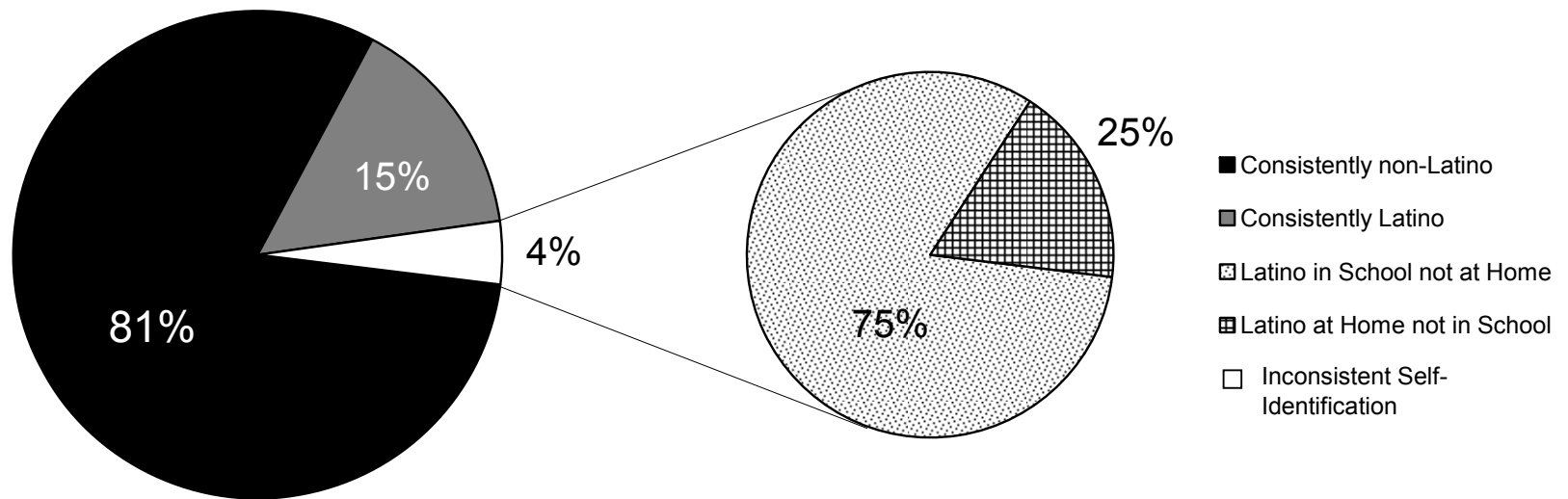**Figure 2.1: Hispanic/Latino Self-Identification in Adolescence**

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Figure 2.2 Adolescents Self-Identifying as Hispanic/Latino in School but Not at Home, by Latino Family Origins

- No Latino Family Origins
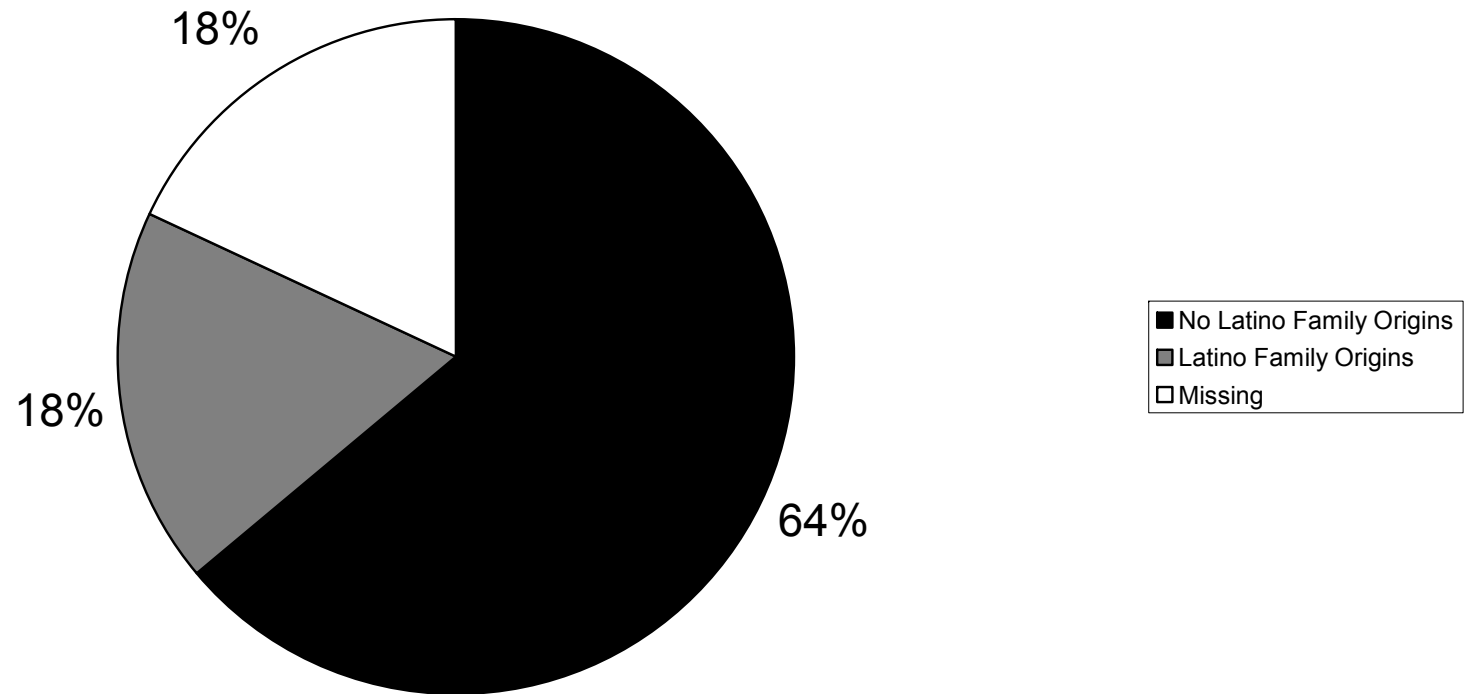- Latino Family Origins
- Missing

18%

18%

64%

Figure 5.1 Predicted Highest Math Taken by Hispanic/Latino Ethnicity
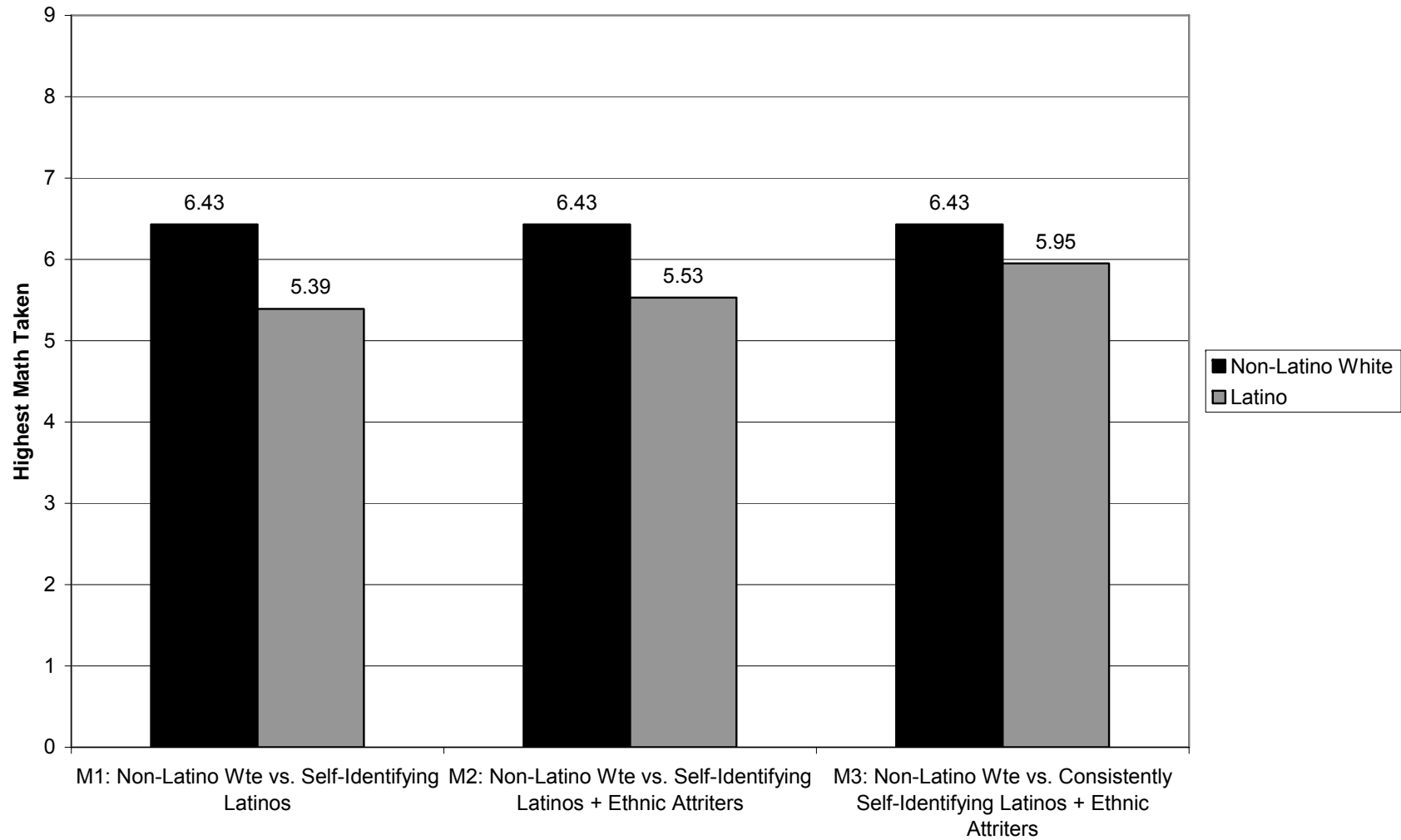
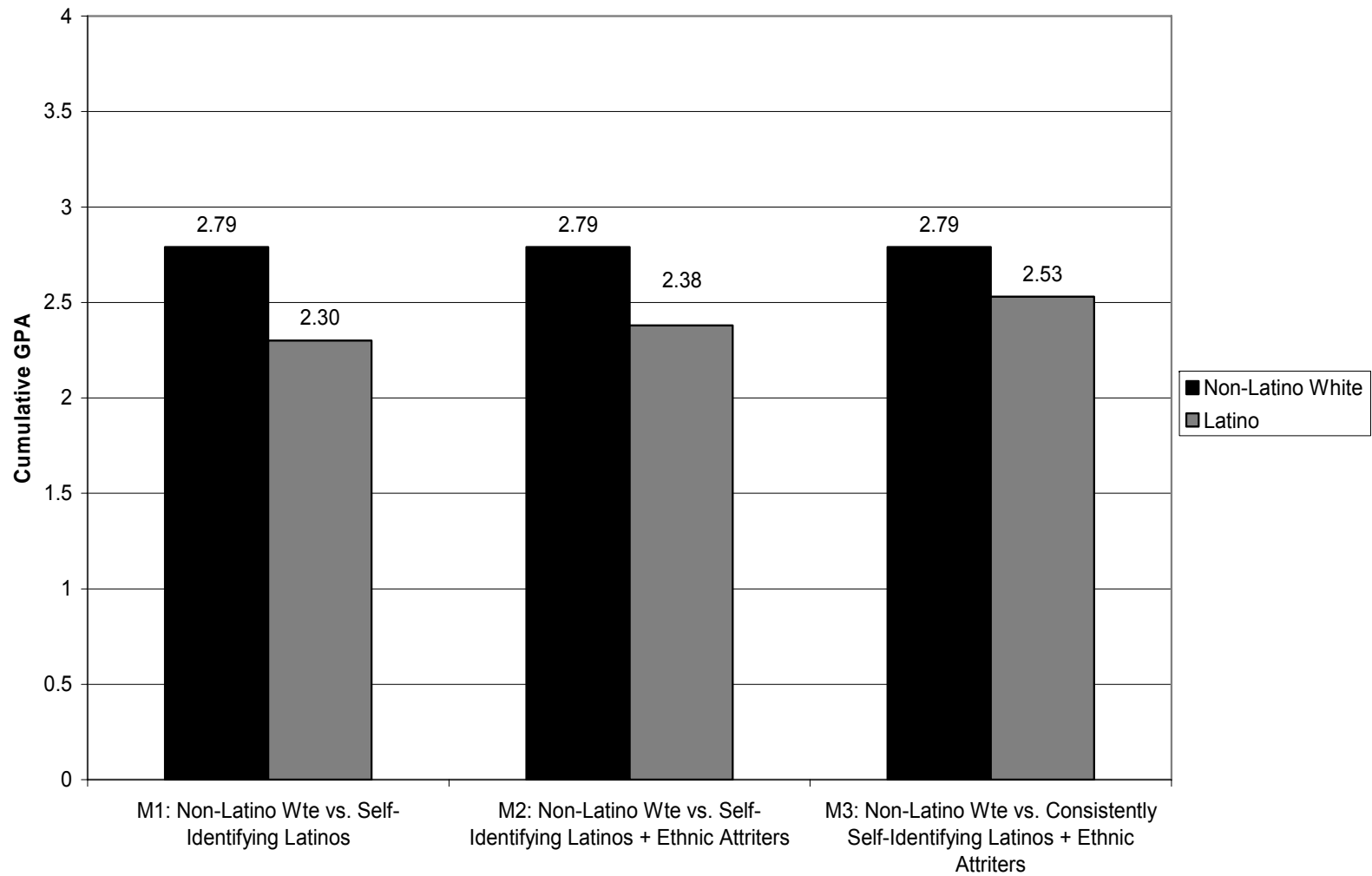**Figure 5.2: Predicted Cumulative GPA by Hispanic/Latino Ethnicity**

Figure 5.3: Predicted Probability of High School Graduation by Hispanic/Latino Ethnicity
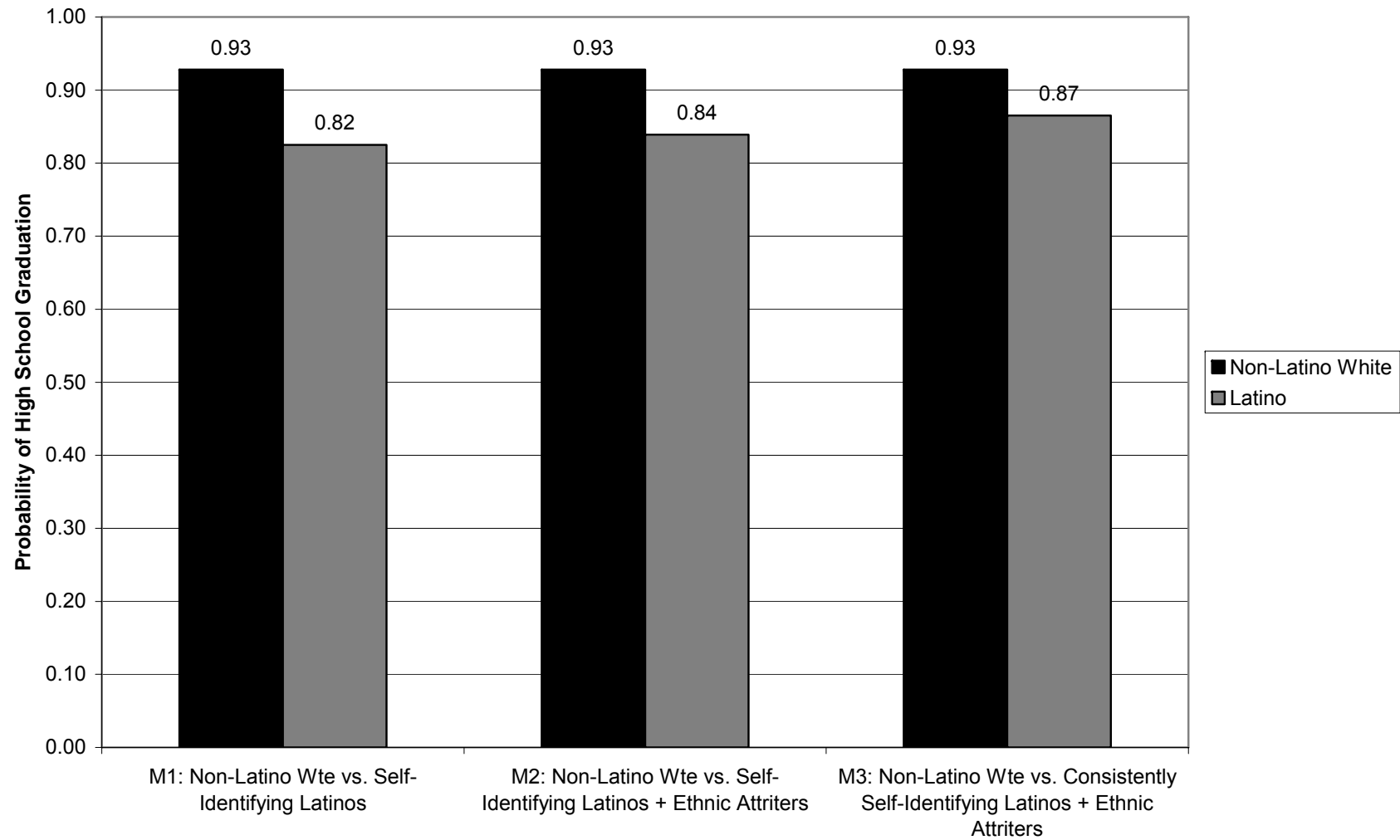
Figure 5.4: Predicted Probability of College Attendance by Hispanic/Latino Ethnicity
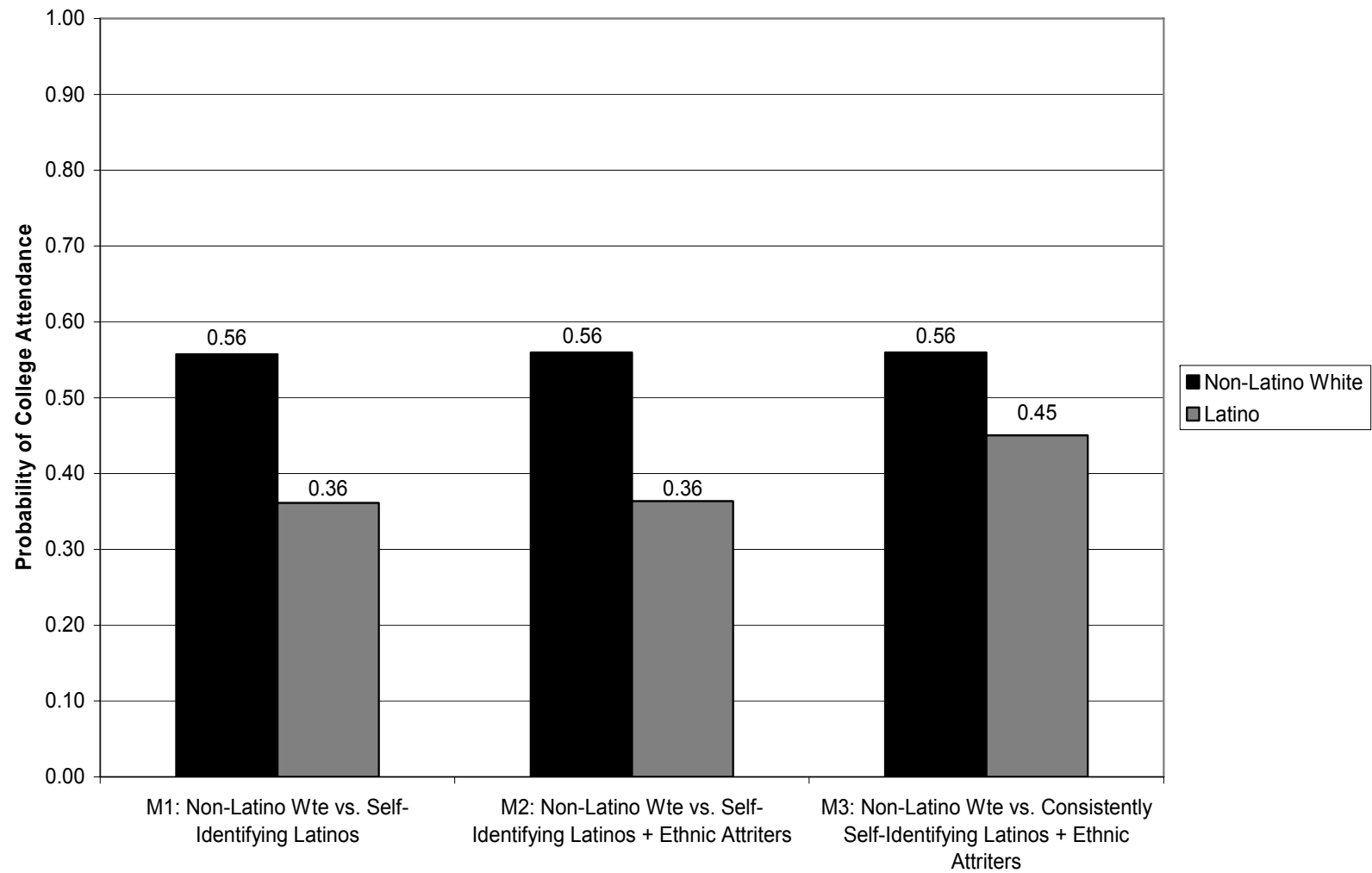
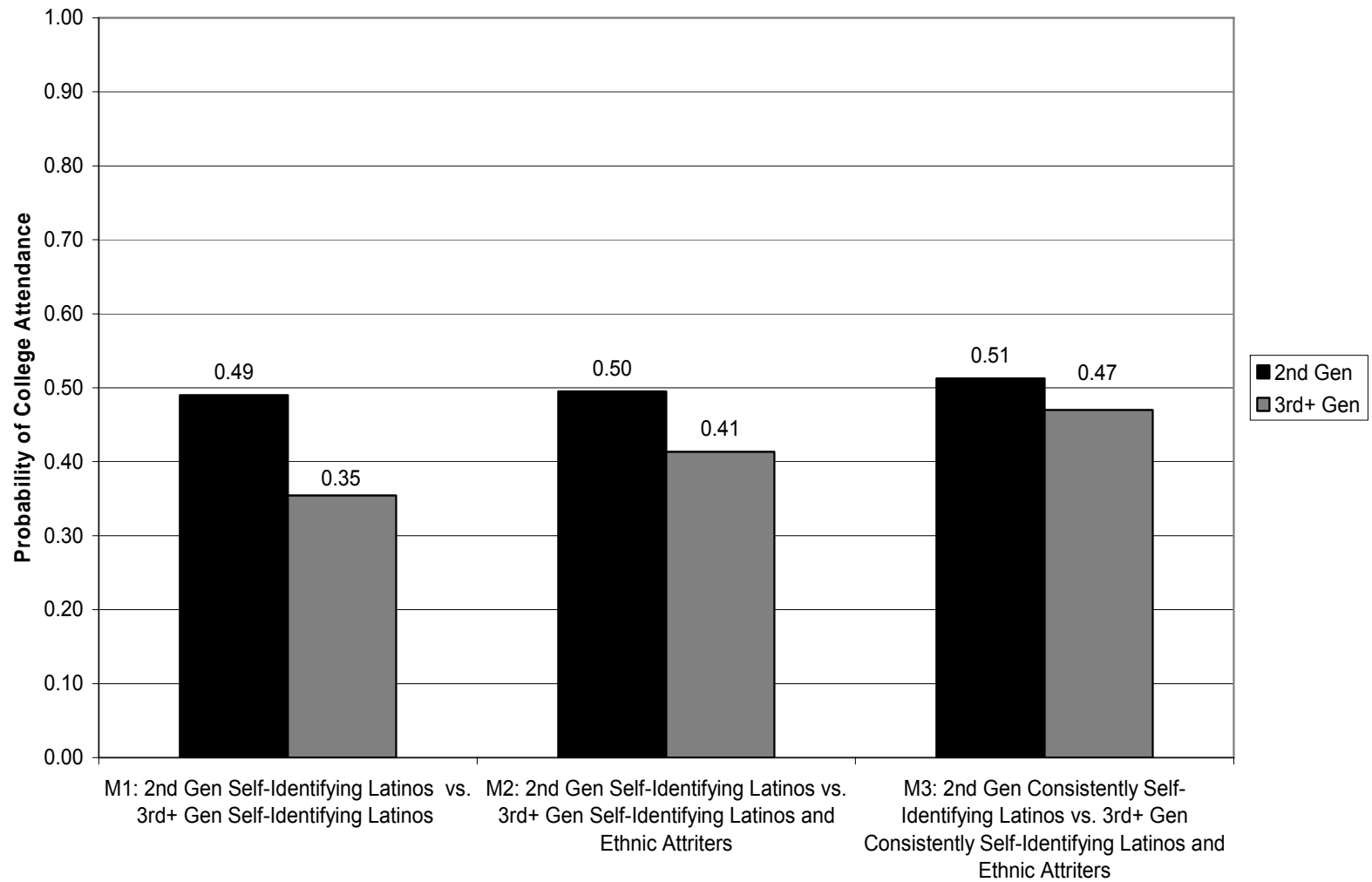**Figure 5.5: Predicted Highest Math Taken by Generational Status**
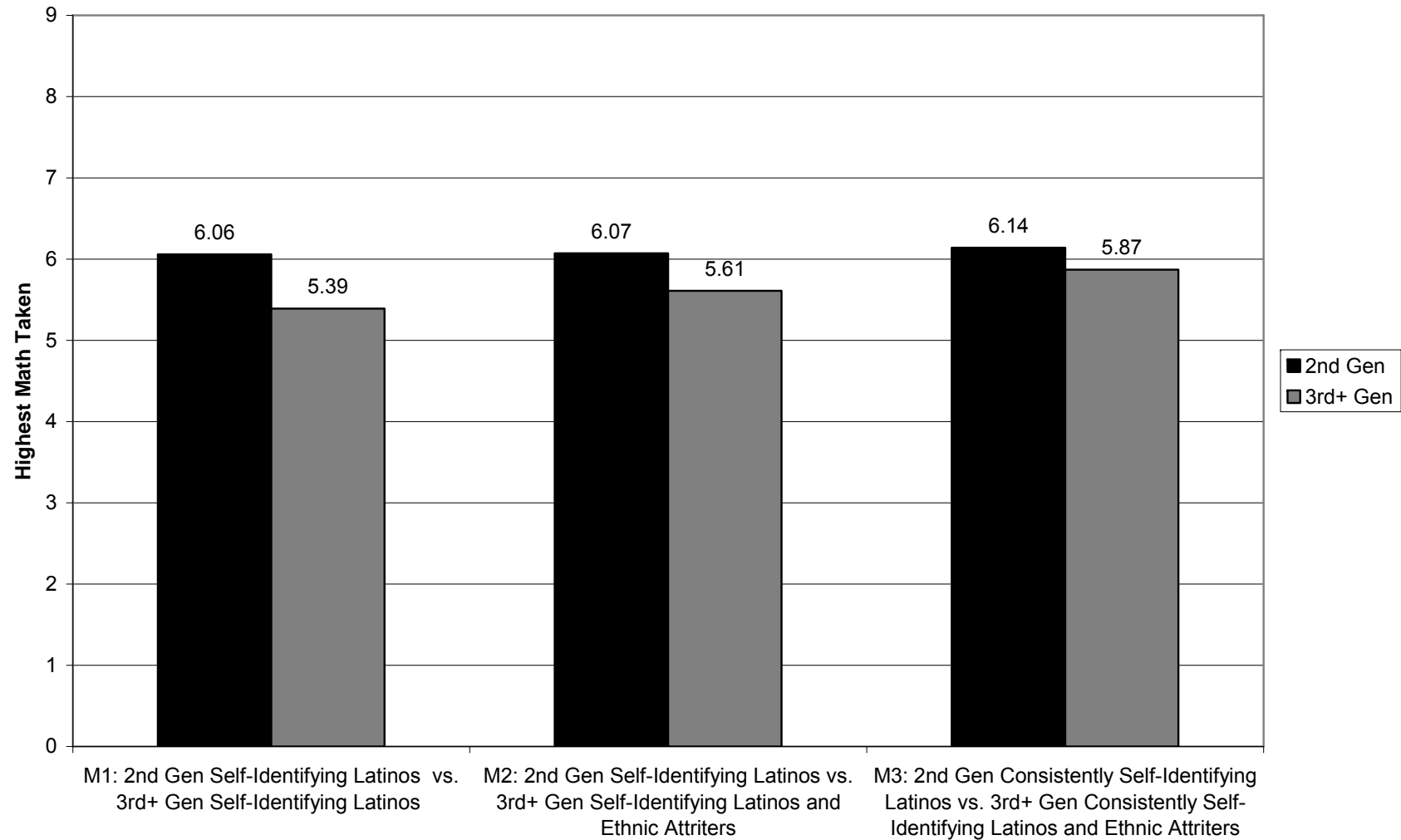
Figure 5.6: Predicted Probablity of College Attendance by Generational Status

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