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IRVINE

MY FAMILY'S KEEPER:

CHILDREN'S SOURCES OF SUPPORT IN IMMIGRANT AND NATIVE-BORN FAMILIES

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Yader Ruben Lanuza

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Cynthia Feliciano, Chair
Professor Nina Bandelj
Distinguished Professor Rubén G. Rumbaut
Chancellor's Professor Judith Treas

2017

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DEDICATION

To

Mami

Por sus sacrificios, sueños, tenacidad, y clarividencia

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

My Family's Keeper:

Children's Sources of Support in Immigrant and Native-born Families

by

Yader Ruben Lanuza

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2017

Associate Professor Cynthia Feliciano, Chair

Scholars argue that migration has short and long-term consequences on family life. Although investigators have documented reconfigured household dynamics subsequent to migration, which, in turn, generate immigrant-native differences in family dynamics, it is unclear how immigrant households differ from their native-born counterparts in one crucial dimension: the provision of resources to children. To address this gap, I examine who provides three different resources – academic, emotional, and financial – to children throughout the life course. To examine academic and emotional resources, I utilize the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study – Kindergarten Class of 1998-1999 data. I find that, relative to White children in native-born households, both Asian and Latino children in immigrant households are more likely to rely on siblings rather than their parents for homework help. In addition, I find that, compared to Whites with native-born parentage, Latino children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from parents and more likely to receive it from adult relatives, and Asian children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from parents and more likely to receive it from adult relatives and adults at school. Further, children of immigrants are also more likely to

receive emotional support from siblings compared to their native-born counterparts. Later on in the life course, using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, I find that White young adults living in native-born families are more likely to exhibit *monetary independence* (not giving or receiving money from parents), African Americans are more likely to exhibit *monetary interdependence* (both giving and receiving monetary support) and children of immigrants are more likely to exhibit *child-to-parent assistance* (providing monetary assistance to their parents without receiving it in return) compared to each other. Although parental constraints – including those associated with socioeconomic status, English language proficiency, time availability, and institutional know-how – explain *some* of the immigrant-native differential in who provides resources to children, I also suggest that children of immigrants engage in an *immigrant bargain* with their parents, which spurs them to provide resources to their household members, including siblings and parents. This adaptation strategy encourages children of immigrants to become productive and contributive members of their (parents') households.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES

The increasing presence of immigrants has had an indelible impact on a number of dimensions of social life in the United States, including a change in the demography of the American family. Because effective public policy relies on assumptions about how families function, it is critical to have a clear understanding of immigrant households, as they make-up an increasing share of *all* families in the United States. This project examines one dimension of family life: resource provision for children. In particular, the central question of my dissertation is, compared to their peers in native-born households, who provides resources to offspring (as children and young adults) in immigrant families? Further, if and when there are immigrant-native differences in the provision of resources to children, what accounts for this discrepancy? *I argue that the sources of academic, emotional, and financial support to children differ in immigrant and native-born families*. Unequal access to resources among parents partly explains these differences, but not entirely. I suggest that immigrant families engage in an *immigrant bargain*, which spur *children* to contribute resources to their (parents') households, contributions that are not as common from children in native-born families. My findings suggest that contributions from children in immigrant families are implicated in generating and sustaining racial/ethnic educational and economic inequalities.

In this introductory chapter, I provide a brief snapshot of migration across the world and to the United States. I lay out the importance of family reunification law as a driver of immigration to the United States, and present brief statistics on the importance of immigrant families in American society. Following this section, I focus on the importance and sources of support to immigrant families and their children, and discuss three theoretical perspectives that

can help us understand why we might observe differences in immigrant and native-born families. Finally, I explain why a life-course perspective is important to understand immigrant family dynamics, and how that perspective leads me to examine the case of academic, emotional, and financial resources for children. I end with a brief description of each chapter, including major findings, and the contributions that this dissertation makes to the scholarly literature on the intersection between (im)migration, family, and social inequality.

MIGRATION AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Across the globe, people are on the move. By some estimates, in 2015, 244 million people, about 3% of the world's population, could be found in a country other than the one where they were born (see United Nations 2016). Most of these individuals trace their origins to developing countries rife with economic, political, and cultural upheaval, often seeking refuge across the developed world. For example, political crises in the Middle East have uprooted large swaths of its population; their plight highlights the urgency with which people seek to settle in foreign lands, which often offers them a cool reception, if not worse (Kinsgley 2017; McDonald-Gibson 2016). In the coming years, scientists expect an increase in migration, as a changing climate wreaks havoc on ecological and socio-political systems (Sudmeier-Rieux et al. 2017). Therefore, migration is a key feature of our contemporary world with far and wide-reaching consequences for all nations, including those to which migrants are most likely to flock, like the United States.

Of all nations, the United States hosts the largest number of international migrants (about 47 million), a stunning 19% of the world's total migrant population, and 14% of the total U.S. population (Zong and Batalova 2017). Figure 1 shows that, as a share of the total population in the United States, current "foreign-stock" levels are almost as high as they were during the turn

of the last century, the timing of the last great wave of migration to the United States. Although similar with regards to the share of migrants in the population, the individuals in the current wave do not hail mostly from Europe, as they did about 100 years ago. Instead, the newcomers trace their birthplaces mostly to Latin America and Asia. Figure 2 shows that, in 2015, the top-sending countries were Mexico, China, India, the Philippines, El Salvador, Vietnam, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and South Korea. Due to immigrants' countries of origin and American racialization processes, the demography of the United States is rapidly shifting, with Latinos and Asians enjoying increased visibility (Colby and Ortman 2015).

The current and increasing presence of immigrants from Latin America and Asia in the United States is not accidental. Over the last 150 years, labor shortages, military and political interventions, and racist ideologies have shaped migration to the United States (Ngai 2004). National priorities find expression in immigration policy and law. Today's immigrant stock, mostly from Latin America and Asia, can be traced to the Hart-Celler Act of 1965. Although the law abolished national quotas established in 1924 and left intact in the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, it established and prioritized a family reunification system, which remains a central feature of immigration law (Menjívar, Abrego, and Schmalzbauer 2016). Of the three main types of admission to the United States today, including employment and refugee status, family reunification is the most common. For example, in 2011, family-sponsored relatives received 65% of all the visas for permanent residency in the United States (US Department of Homeland Security 2011). Thus, immigration from Latin America and Asia, regardless of its country-specific genesis, is sustained and multiplies through family reunification priorities (Tienda 2015).

Although immigration law prioritizes family reunification, its definition of a family – and the relatives whom these laws can benefit – is rather narrow, as it is based on a nuclear heterosexual framework (Hawthorne 2007), which impacts immigrants' family formation, practices, and reconstitution in the United States. Through its restricted articulation of "family," immigration law often excludes family members who do not meet these requirements, however critical they are to an immigrant, creating negative consequences for households (Hawthorne 2007). In addition, immigration law's normative family – an articulation of the Standard North American Family (SNAF heretofore; Smith 1993) – erects a strong discursive frame against which all families, including immigrant households, are measured, often to the detriment of all other family forms (Powell et al. 2010). For instance, a looming SNAF standard informs how parental behavior is interpreted, which tends to fuel parent-child conflicts in immigrant families where none existed before (Pyke 2000). Further, the "Western optic of the nuclear family" hides (immigrant) individuals' embeddedness is larger kin groups both in the United States and abroad (Aguilar 2013). Thus, the SNAF backdrop diminishes our understanding of American family life, as it obscures immigrant family functioning in the United States.

Due to the nexus of immigration admissions and family reunification, immigrant families are a growing segment of the United States population. For example, in 2015, 17.9 million children had at least one immigrant parent, which accounts for 26% of all children under age 18 in the United States (Zong and Batalova 2017). The presence of children in immigrant families has been steadily increasing over time. It is expected that, by 2040, about one-third of all children will raised in immigrant households (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, and Marks 2015). Importantly, continued migration is not central to the growing presence of immigrant families in the United States. Natural fertility can sustain the growth of immigrant families (e.g., Coleman

2006, but see Parrado 2011). For example, in 2015, most children of immigrants were U.S.-born (88%). Due to the growing presence of immigrant families in the United States, it is particularly important to understand how they function, as these practices can provide a window into the future of American family life, which, in turn, can help policy makers design targeted and effective social policy.

MIGRATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF FAMILY LIFE

Immigrant families often deal with two sets of dynamics – those associated with ties to their countries of origin (transnational dynamics) and those associated with their families here in the United States (Menjívar, Abrego, and Schmalzbauer 2016), the latter of which is explored in this dissertation. Scholars show that obstacles and opportunities associated with migration impact a range of family processes (Glick 2010; Sun 2014), including gendered expectations and sexual behavior (Cantú 2009; González-López 2005), family formation (Arias 2001; Meng and Gregory 2005; Qian and Lichter 2007), and family sources of support (Menjívar 2000). In particular, investigators document the extent to which relatives, and co-ethnics, provide support to immigrants (Hagan 1994; Massey, Alarcon, Durand, and González 1987), suggesting that they are more likely to rely on family members for support compared to their native-born counterparts (Kao 2004). Kibria (1993), for example, shows that immigrant families cobble together contributions from members, described as "patchwork," to meet household needs. Similarly, immigrant families are more likely to live in multigenerational and extended families compared to their native-born counterparts (Glick and Van Hook 2002; 2011; Kamo and Zhou 1994), another expression of the extent to which immigrant family members rely on each for support during the settlement process (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

In no other settings is the obligation to support stronger than in intergenerational relationships, as parents often argue that their decision to uproot their life and try their luck in the United States was to provide a better future for their children (Louie 2012). Although intergenerational obligations are not without tension (Foner and Dreby 2011; Song 1999), immigrant family members tend to meet their obligations, in whole or in part, without completely rupturing relationships, especially since these individuals are embedded within ethnic and immigrant enclaves that sanction non-compliance (Zhou and Bankston 1998; Gibson 1988). Although scholars have documented the extent to which immigrant family members rely on each other, especially in intergenerational relationships, the reasons that underlie these behaviors continue to be a source of debate. In particular, scholars point to cultural and structural conditions that impact resource exchanges in immigrant families. In the following section, I explore three perspectives that provide guidance as to the underlying causes of resource exchanges, including the contributions that children provide, in immigrant families and why they might differ from their native-born counterparts.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: RESOURCE EXCHANGE IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Collectivism

"At its core, collectivism is a label to describe family dynamics in which the family unit takes precedence over its individual members' goals, preferences, and actions – a group-based orientation that is often contrasted against the individualistic orientations of native-born White families" (Lanuza and Bandelj 2015: 424; see also Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Pyke and Bengtson 1995). Some scholars suggest that this collectivist orientation can be traced to immigrants' countries, and cultures, of origin. Importantly, scholars suggest (explicitly or implicitly) that immigrants from both Latin America and Asia exhibit collectivism (Baca Zinn,

1982/1983; Sean-Rivera, 1979). Andrew Fuligni, for example, writes "the hierarchical relationship between parents and children in many Chinese families traditionally should remain much the same through adolescence and adulthood, in part because of Confucian principles that dictate children should obey their parents their entire lives" (Fuligni, 1998:783). Similarly, observing the case of immigrants from Latin America, scholars suggest that they exhibit *familism*, a collectivist trait that is "integral" to Hispanic culture (see Desmond and Lopez Turley 2009; Hangulseth, Ispa and Rudy 2006; Harwood et al. 1995; Prins 2011; Valdés, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999a)

Although the collectivism perspective has been widely used to account for immigrant family dynamics, a number of scholars have rightly criticized it, urging a "move away" from this approach (Glick 2010:500). The case of scholarship about Asian immigrant families provides a good example. Shih and Pyke (2010) argue that "family scholarship tends to conflate Confucian cultural ideals such as *familism*, gender and generational hierarchies, reverence for tradition, and filial piety with actual Asian American family practices" (334), equating cultural *ideals* with household *practices*. Ishii-Kuntz (2000) criticizes this perspective as one that treats Asian culture as static and monolithic, an untenable view made all the more problematic given that "Chinese Confucianism [does] not influence the cultural systems of all Asian ethnic groups like Filipinos and Vietnamese" (Shih and Pyke 2010:334).

In addition to this static view of culture, the collectivism perspective suffers from other shortcomings. For one, expressions of close-knit resource exchanges and support is often assumed to be the outgrowth of collectivism without holding this explanation against alternative explanations. We know, however, that even close-knit resource exchanges in families often emerge in the context of conflict and tension, especially between parents and their children

(Song 1999). Further, coercion, subtle as it may be, can also help keep families together, especially when members do not feel that they have viable alternatives (Menjívar 2000; Rosales 2014). Further, no research documents the wholesale transportation of *familism* from countries of origin to the United Sates. In fact, one of the most important findings in immigrant family scholarship is the *renegotiation* of family roles and responsibilities that emerges subsequent to migration (Menjívar, Abrego, and Schmalzbauer 2016; Sun 2014). Even if some families did bring their collectivist practices from their countries of origin, it would not be applicable to all immigrants to the United States, as they arrive not only from different countries but from different social milieus within them, and new circumstances in the host countries put different demands on them, changing family dynamics.

Yet, scholars have repeatedly documented immigrant-native differences with respect to a number of dimensions of family life in the United States, so there is variation to be explained (Glick 2010). Below I expound upon the social exchange perspective, which highlights how parental resources – or lack thereof – can be implicated in immigrant family functioning in the United States, and how culture, as an outgrowth of structural features of the migration stream coupled with experiences in American society, is implicated in resource exchanges between family members.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory posits that exchanges between actors in an interconnected network depend on who has available resources and who needs those resources (e.g., Cook et al., 2013). Engaging with Homans (1961), Blau (1964) explicitly undergirded social exchange theory with a utilitarian view of behavior (one that anticipates and maximizes benefits for oneself). He underscored, along with Emerson (1962), the importance of power in this process, a

function of the dependence of one actor on another for valued resources. For these scholars, power is relational and is a function of dependence (Emerson 1962). In short, *power is a function of relative dependence* (Cook & Emerson 1978). Thus, the distribution of power among members emerges from the relative dependence of actors on one another, which, in turn, impacts exchanges between them. Applying this theoretical model to the family – an interconnected social network – suggests that household exchanges, including patterns of providing support, are a consequence of the distribution of resources – and, therefore, power – among household members. As such, resource exchange theory predicts that family members will contribute resources to their family based on the resources that they have relative to the resources that their members lack. Social exchange theory, in short, highlights the key role of the distribution of resources in a household in shaping family resource exchanges. This is particularly relevant in the case of immigrant families because migration often reorganizes resource availability in a household, often diminishing parental resources and providing opportunities for other members, including offspring, to access scarce resources that the family needs and that parents are unable to provide (Kasinitz et al. 2008).

Although not specific to social exchange theory, highlighting the role of resources suggest the importance of social class in family exchanges. In particular, for parents to be able to support their children, they have to have access to resources. Social institutions, including educational settings, expect parents to provide all manner of support to their children, including academic, emotional, and financial (among others; see Lareau 2011). But immigrant and native-born parents have unequal access to these resources. Immigrant parents, for example, have lower English proficiency, which limits their ability to provide academic support to their children (Alba et al. 2002; Hakuta and D'Andrea 1992;). Similarly, immigrant parents tend to work longer

hours (Yoshikawa 2011; Vasquez 2011) and have more economic difficulties than their native-born counterparts (Borjas 2011; Lichter, Qian, Crowley 2005; Van Hook, Brown, and Kwenda 2004). Therefore, they have fewer resources with which to invest in their children. This dearth of resources no doubt impacts the extent to which immigrant parents can support their children especially as compared to their native-born counterparts, pointing to a diminished role of parents in providing resources to children. If parents in immigrant families are limited in their ability to provide resources to their households, including their children, who steps in to fill the void? Although adult relatives often step in to help struggling parents, immigration scholars suggest that children themselves enlarge their power and roles in their households, as migration provides them with unique opportunities to capture needed resources imperative for household survival.

A growing literature document the multiple resources that children of immigrants provide to their households. Orellana (2009) and her colleagues document the extent to which children perform language brokerage, a linguistic resource, for their families – translating, interpreting, and speaking for their non-English speaking parents in English-dominant institutional settings (Orellana et al. 2003; Katz 2014). Similarly, children of immigrants provide financial resources to their families; money they earned through their labor in factory (Camayd-Freixas 2013), domestic (Menjívar 2000), agricultural (Holmes 2013; Sanchez 2015; Schmalzbauer 2014), and street vending (Estrada 2012; Estrada and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2010) settings as well as providing crucial support to their parents' ethnic (small) businesses (Hamilton and Chinchilla 2001; Park 2005; Song 1999). In the process, siblings become key players in their households, procuring resources and providing them to children, especially with regards to academic resources as older siblings help children navigate the American educational system (e.g., Hurtado-Ortiz and Guavian 2007; Louie 2012; Price, Simpkins, and Menjívar 2017; Valenzuela 1999). As Menjívar

et al. (2016) writes: “Often it is siblings who are in charge of taking care of younger children, of taking them home from school of preparing meals for them, and, importantly, of modeling their behavior.” Further, immigrant children often take on parenting responsibilities at home, not only to support their siblings (Vasquez 2011), but also their parents as well, in what is often referred to as a “role reversal” phenomenon (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Immigrant offspring’s importance to their household, however, is currently obscured in the mainstream family literature. To understand why this might be the case, we must first explore the role of children in native-born families.

“Economically Useless but Emotional Priceless” View of Children

Viviana Zelizer (1985) argues that, at the turn of the last century, the valuation of children shifted. Whereas once they had played a central economic role in their households, emerging and enduring notions of childhood between 1870 and 1930 rendered them economically useless but emotionally priceless in their homes. Through a sacralization process, they came to occupy a central feature of their family’s emotional life while they were moved to the economic periphery of the household, erecting strong boundaries against labor extraction from these priceless creatures (Aries 1962; Illick 2002; Jenks 2005). This passive and resource-starved role for children in the household features prominently in current notions of childhood (Lareau 2011), including sociological theories that seek to explain contemporary family dynamics, such as the resource dilution hypothesis, which assumes that children are consumers, not producers, of family resources (Blake 1992).

In the context of the “economically useless but emotionally priceless” view of children, it is not surprising that children’s possible productive role in their household has not garnered due attention. After all, family scholars assume that children are not active economic producers in

their households, but rather recipients and consumers of parental resources (Chin 2001; Pugh 2009). To highlight how children of immigrants can come to occupy productive and central roles in their households, it is important to compare their experiences to that of their low-SES counterparts, whose parents also experience limited resources with which to invest in their children.

The Role of Children in Low-income Households

Linda Burton (2007) suggests that children living in poverty undergo a process that she refers to as "adultification." This process comprises "contextual, social, and developmental processes in which youth are prematurely, and often inappropriately, exposed to adult knowledge and assume extensive adult roles and responsibilities within their family networks" (Burton, 2007: 329). Thus, adultified children "perform extensive labor in their families as a function of poverty." Further, she suggests, "these roles and responsibilities may be 'out of sync' with contemporary social and institutional notions of what children are expected to do" (Burton, 2007: 331). In other words, expanded roles for children emerge as a consequence of economic uncertainty. These findings have historical precedence, as Elder (1974) suggests that the economic devastation that families experienced during the Great Depression engendered some "downward extension of adult-like responsibilities." Further, Newman (1988) finds that among downwardly mobile families, adolescent and college-age children take on increasing financial responsibilities: older children become the family's "sub" parents or "junior breadwinners."

These examples suggest that parental resource limitations spur children into productive roles in their households. In light of the experience of low-income children, it is unclear whether the contributions that children of immigrants provide to their households is a function of social class or a migration-related phenomenon. To date, scholarship that examines and documents the

contributions that children of immigrants make to their household is largely based on children living in poverty. Thus, the existing literature does not adjudicate whether migration-related phenomena spur children into enlarged roles in their households, or whether children of immigrants provide resources because they live in low-income families. If it is the latter, we would conclude that migration does not impact the role of children in immigrant households as strongly as previous researchers suggest. To adjudicate between these alternatives, I account for family socioeconomic status to examine whether resource exchanges between family members, including the contributions that children make to their households, are related to something other than social class, including migration-related experiences. Importantly, a large literature does suggest that migration impact family resource flows, including the contributions that children provide to their family members – contributions that often raises their status and power in the family (Menjívar 2000; Ponizovsky, Kurman, and Roer-Strier 2012; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Waters 1999;). Having access to resources, however, may not translate into automatic contributions to their households. So, what could compel children of immigrants – apart from poverty – to provide resources to the family and more generally shift resource contributions compared to native-born households?

Immigrant Bargain

Earlier in this introduction, I suggested that one of the reasons that *collectivism*, a static rendering of culture, fails to account for family dynamics is because migrants hail from a wide range of settings, suggesting that a shared cultural imperative across all immigrant families is a tenuous claim. Migrant diversity, however, does not preclude a shared experience *as immigrants* in the United States. To understand how immigrants can come to share an experience, we must

understand the structural features of migration to the United States, and how those features impact group narratives.

Immigrants to the United States tend to be more educated than their nonmigrant compatriots, or positively selected with respect to education (Feliciano 2005; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). Because education is a proxy for social class, immigrants to the United States tend to be middle- and upper-class individuals in their countries of origin, often professionals and highly-skilled workers (Hagan, Hernandez-Leon, and Demonsant 2015). Due to context of reception difficulties (Portes and Rumbaut 2014), including limited English-language proficiency and credential non-transference, immigrants to the United States tend to experience downward mobility upon arrival (Chung 2016; Pong and Landale 2012). Immigrant parents therefore sacrifice socioeconomic status upon settling in the United States. Parents who hail from humbler origins, including undocumented migrants, sacrifice all the more through the migration journey, only to toil at the bottom of the American labor market (Yoshikawa 2011). All immigrant parents, therefore, believe that they are making huge sacrifices to be in the United States and hope that these sacrifices will be vindicated through their children's social mobility and opportunities in the United States, which are unavailable to their children in their countries of origin (Louie 2012). In short, immigrant parents make a "bargain" with their children in the United States: parents' sacrifices and hardships associated with migration will be vindicated through their children's socioeconomic mobility (Smith 2006; Louie 2012; Agius Vallejo 2012).

To fulfill the immigrant bargain, researchers find that offspring engage in a number of practices, such as providing support to household members, performing well in school, and taking ownership of their own education experience (Louie 2012; Smith 2006). In fact, previous research shows that both Latino and Asian children of immigrants are more likely to feel a sense

of obligation to their families compared to White children in native-born families (Fuligni 2001; Fuligni and Pedersen 2002; Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam 1999; Hardaway and Fuligni 2006). Children of immigrants often argue that their behaviors in and out of the household, but especially towards their parents, are a consequence of the sacrifice that their parents made on their behalf (Vallejo 2012). This narrative can spur children of immigrants to contribute to their parents, including material and non-material resources (Agius Vallejo 2012; Menjívar 2002).

The "immigrant bargain" framework helps us understand how migrants from distinct origins can come to share similar experiences, including family dynamics. No doubt the extent of the sacrifices that immigrant parents make differ widely, depending upon the capital – human and otherwise – that they bring to the United States. But that does not diminish the tangible, *subjective* experience of sacrifice parents felt through migration, or the enthusiasm with which these parents inculcate the immigrant bargain to their children (Louie 2012; Menjívar 2000). Further, the immigrant bargain framework departs from a static view of culture and highlights how culture matters a great deal in shaping the immigrant experience. This framework maps closely unto the relational work perspective in economic sociology, which points to the contested nature of social relations and the importance of meaning-making in everyday action (Zelizer 2005; 2012; Bandelj 2012). More specifically, the relational work perspective suggests that immigrant family behavior emerges as a response to new and enduring migration-related phenomena, paving the way for a cultural schema – the immigrant bargain – that provides immigrant family members with a logic of action towards their families and in other settings (see Calarco 2014; DiMaggio 1997).

Importantly, the theoretical underpinnings of the immigrant bargain have not been previously fleshed out. Ethnographic work suggests that immigrant parents, both implicitly and

explicitly, communicate to their children that their social mobility will vindicate their parents' sacrifices (Chung 2016; Menjívar 2000). However, it is not so simple as to say that parents are investing in their children – though migration – so that their children can provide for them in the future in a quid pro quo, as a rational choice perspective would suggest. No doubt parents expect vindication, but the form of that vindication varies. In some instances, parental vindication relates to the social status immigrants abandoned in their countries of origin: having their children reach or surpass their own country-of-origin social status is a form of vindication. Similarly, children's superior educational achievement is sometimes enough to validate parental sacrifice. Children do not need to provide financial resources to parents for them to feel that the journey was worth the sacrifice; bragging rights go a long way (Chung 2016). In other words, there is *meaning* in offspring's social mobility, beyond any material benefit it offers – if any – to parents. This is an indication that the "immigrant bargain" is best understood from a logic of action perspective, an enduring, flexible, and pragmatist cultural schema that guides individual behavior and that finds expression in a number of settings.

In addition, immigrants experience racialization in the United States (Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999). These processes differ for Latinos and Asians, uniquely shaping the immigrant experience for each group (Ngai 2004). For example, Asians often confront the "model minority" myth, while Latinos contend with "undocumented alien" discourse (Chavez 2008; Golash-Boza 2015; Lee and Zhou 2015). These processes, key to immigrant incorporation, further homogenize the immigrant experience for groups that hail from different countries and cultures of origin, while inflecting them with U.S.-specific notions of race. As I will show in the subsequent chapters, racialization processes likely impact the dynamics of family support

precisely because they stratify the availability of resources for children in Asian and Latino households.

LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE AND NORMATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS

To understand resource exchanges between family members and how immigrants differ from their native-born counterparts, it is essential to engage a life-course perspective. A key tenet of this approach suggests that the lives of family members, especially between parents and their children, are inextricably linked (Elder, Johnson, and Crosnoe 2003). This tenet suggests that children of immigrants will be impacted by the sacrifices and difficulties that migration poses for their parents, shaping the lives of children born abroad or in the United States (Dreby 2010; 2015). Although scholars show that children who are born here have differential access to resources relative to children who are not (Abrego and Menjívar 2011), difficulties associated with migration, including liminal legality (2006), negatively impacts all children (Dreby 2015). Therefore, all children of immigrants can come to experience migration-related obstacles even if they are born in the United States, which, in turn, shapes family dynamics, including the contributions that they make to their households (Gonzales 2016). This "linked lives" tenet further highlights the emergence of the immigrant bargain, as children of immigrants are inextricably tethered to their parents' migration experiences. In addition, linked-lives not only points to the inextricably intertwined lives of parents and their children at any given time, but throughout the life course, which can, in effect, serve as a sustenance mechanism for the immigrant bargain.

Second, the life-course perspective highlights the importance of age-norms in thinking about family dynamics (Elder 1974; Hagestad and Neugarten 1985). Family scholars suggest that an individuals' development is structured by age-norms, which are fulfilled, jettisoned, and

changed with increasing age. In thinking about the contributions that children make to their households, it is imperative to keep age-norms in mind, as legal and social norms limit the kind of resources that children have access to. For example, child labor laws and educational mandates prohibit children of certain ages from performing certain kinds of labor (Moehling 1999). Because I examine the contributions that children – and other family members – make to their households, it is important to consider the *age-appropriateness* of the resources in question. For example, although some very young children are working and earning money (e.g., Sanchez 2015), children younger than 16, by and large, rarely have access to a paying job; thus, comparing the amount of money that children in middle school provide to their households would not be a fruitful endeavor, as so few children engage in this practice (however, see Kruse and Mahony 2000). By contrast, adolescents, for example, can provide digital resources in their households, as they tend to adopt digital technologies earlier than their parents (Rafalow 2017).

THE CASE OF ACADEMIC, EMOTIONAL, AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES

In this dissertation, I explore resource exchanges between family members. In particular, I investigate who provides resources to children and highlight the contributions that children make to their households. To do so, I am strategic with regards to the kinds of resource that is examined and the timing of the exchange. Importantly, I am interested in examining whether children make contributions to their parents throughout the life course. Following a life-course perspective, I examine academic resources during childhood, emotional resources during adolescence, and financial resources during the transition to adulthood. Each of these resources maps unto age-norms, as I am interested how these resources are potentially contributed by children themselves.

Academic Resources

The success with which immigrants incorporate into American society is heavily dependent on their educational performance and attainment (Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Therefore, scholars of immigration have long focused on the educational adaptation of children of immigrants (Feliciano and Lanuza 2016). One of the most important resources that children need to perform well is *homework help* – an academic resource that is linked to positive performance and schooling experiences (Englund et al. 2004; Robinson and Harris 2004). In chapter 2, I examine who provides homework help to children in immigrant families. Using Early Childhood Longitudinal Study – Kindergarten Class of 1998-1999 (ECKS-K) data and quantitative analyses, I examine immigrant-native differences in who provides homework help to children in their households, a resource that most, if not all, children need and which parents are asked to provide. I find that, relative to White children in native-born households, both Asian and Latino children in immigrant households are more likely to rely on siblings – other children in the household – for homework help as opposed to parents. Unequal parental resources between native and immigrant parents do not completely explain these differentials. I show that far from being passive receivers of parental resources, children in immigrant families contribute much-needed resources – homework assistance, in this case – to their household members. I argue that this contribution is an expression of the immigrant bargain.

Emotional Resources

Although scholars have explored a number of dimensions of immigrant family life, scant attention has been given to the emotional realm. In particular, it is unclear who provides emotional support to children, especially when parents are not able to do so due to resource constraints. Chapter 3 uses data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study – Kindergarten

Class of 1998-1999 to examine immigrant-native differences in who provides emotional support to children, including providing advice about making important decisions and cheering up. I find that, compared to Whites with native-born parentage, Latino children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from parents and more likely to receive it from adult relatives, and Asian children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from parents and more likely to receive it from adult relatives and adults at school. Further, children of immigrants are also more likely to receive emotional support from siblings compared to their native-born counterparts. I argue that the structure of emotional support for children differs in immigrant and native-born families. Parental resource constraints, especially those associated with socioeconomic status and English language proficiency, spur children of immigrants to seek emotional support from other adults and their siblings. Further, I suggest that racialization processes in the United States specific to the educational domain further generate emotional support differences across racial/ethnic groups, widening the set of actors that provide emotional support to Asian children of immigrants.

Financial Resources

The dominant perspective among family scholars suggests that, in the United States, parents continue to economically support their young adult children through the transition to adulthood, serving as their children's financial "scaffolds" and "safety nets." This strand of research, however, fails to consider variation in parent-child monetary exchanges, particularly as it relates to the case of African Americans and children of immigrants. Chapter 4 uses data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health to examine variation in monetary exchanges across these diverse families. First, in contrast to the dominant perspective, I find that parents solely providing monetary assistance to their children (*parent-to-child investment*) is not

the primary exchange dynamic in American families – monetary independence is. Further, I find that White young adults living in native-born families are more likely to exhibit *monetary independence* (not giving or receiving money from parents), African Americans are more likely to exhibit *monetary interdependence* (both giving and receiving monetary support) and children of immigrants are more likely to exhibit *child-to-parent assistance* (providing monetary assistance to their parents without receiving it in return) compared to each other. My findings suggest that these differences can be partly explained by differences in structural conditions across these families, but also by cultural elements specific to Whites, African Americans, and children of immigrants, including *self-sufficient*, *linked-fate*, and *immigrant bargain* cultural scripts, respectively.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DISSERTATION

My dissertation makes a number of contributions to the sociological literature. Previous research examining family patterns of support are largely based on ethnographic accounts that rely on small, nonrepresentative samples of the U.S. population. I utilize two sets of nationally representative data to examine who provides resources to family members, especially children. In particular, previous research that explores children's contributions to their household members only examines immigrant-specific resources (such as language brokerage) or lacks a native-born comparison group. By contrast, I examine three resources – academic, emotional, and financial – that *all* offspring are able to provide so as to make direct immigrant-native comparisons. Further, claims as to the increasing productive and contributive role of children in immigrant families largely relies on low-income families; thus, the relative importance of social class versus migration-related phenomena in shaping children's contributive remains an empirical question. In this dissertation, I account for the socioeconomic background of families. I show that the

contributions that children make to their households are not completely accounted for by immigrant-native differences in parental socioeconomic resources. Finally, I use three different kinds of resources that children can provide at different ages, thereby allowing me to examine dynamics of support across the life course. Using three different resources at different points in time highlights the importance of the *immigrant bargain* in shaping family patterns of support across the life course, pointing to the long-term importance – and consequences – of migration dynamics to immigrant households.

Finally, this dissertation illustrates how family dynamics are implicated in social inequality. In particular, children of immigrants, especially those living in poverty, have enduring and increasing demands in their households. Often, they are a crucial part of their family's survival, contributing resources not only to make up for what their parents are unable to secure for their families, but also to vindicate their parents' sacrifices in coming to the United States. Although these dynamics can generate positive consequences for the family, it is also possible that they distract from possible resources and investment that children of immigrants need, including skills that will be used to stratify resource allocation outside of the household.

It is crucial to remember that children of immigrants are important *contributors* to their households are a time when middle and upper-class children are *receiving* unprecedented investment (Lareau 2011). Because children of immigrants are largely of Latin American and Asian descent, family dynamics specific to immigrant households can only exacerbate differences with respect to their native-born White and Black peers. Although the consequences of these family dynamics – especially the important contributions that children of immigrants make to their households – are up for debate, my dissertation suggests that they will no doubt impact racial/ethnic educational and economic inequality.

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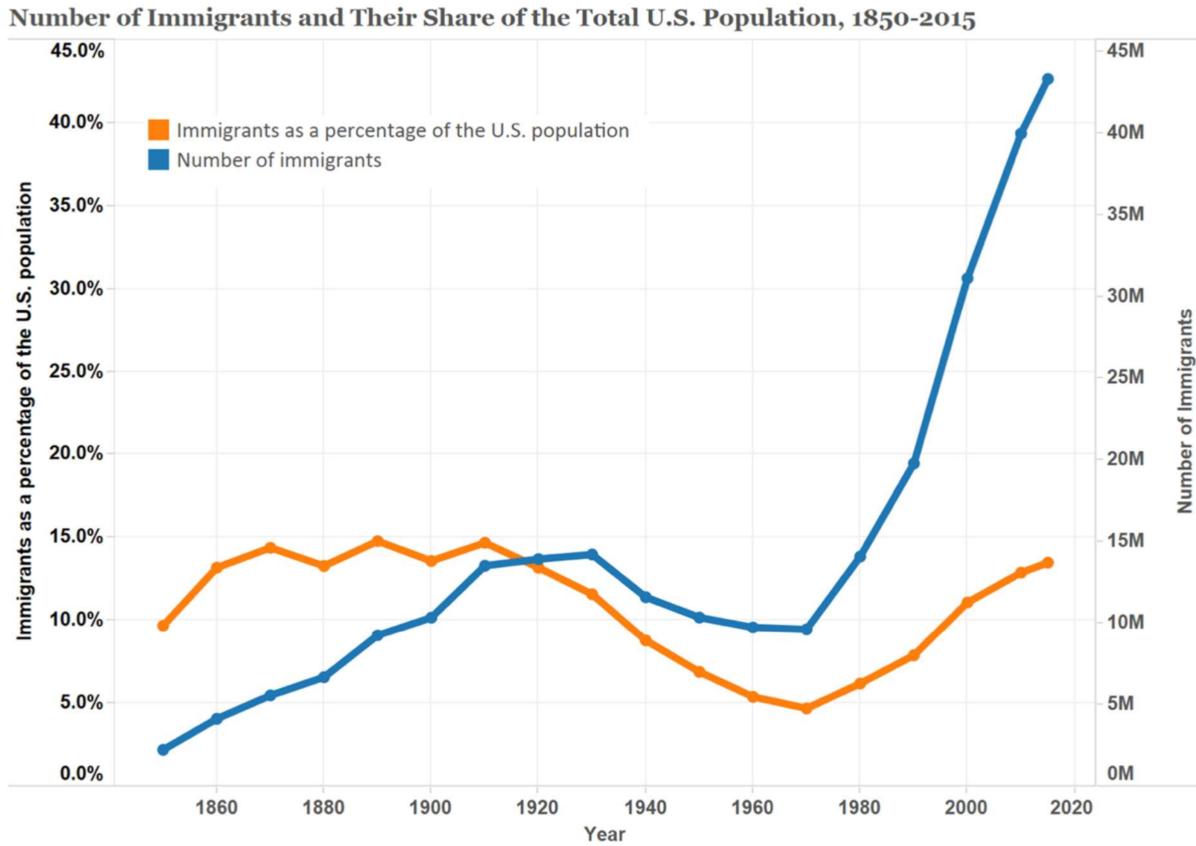
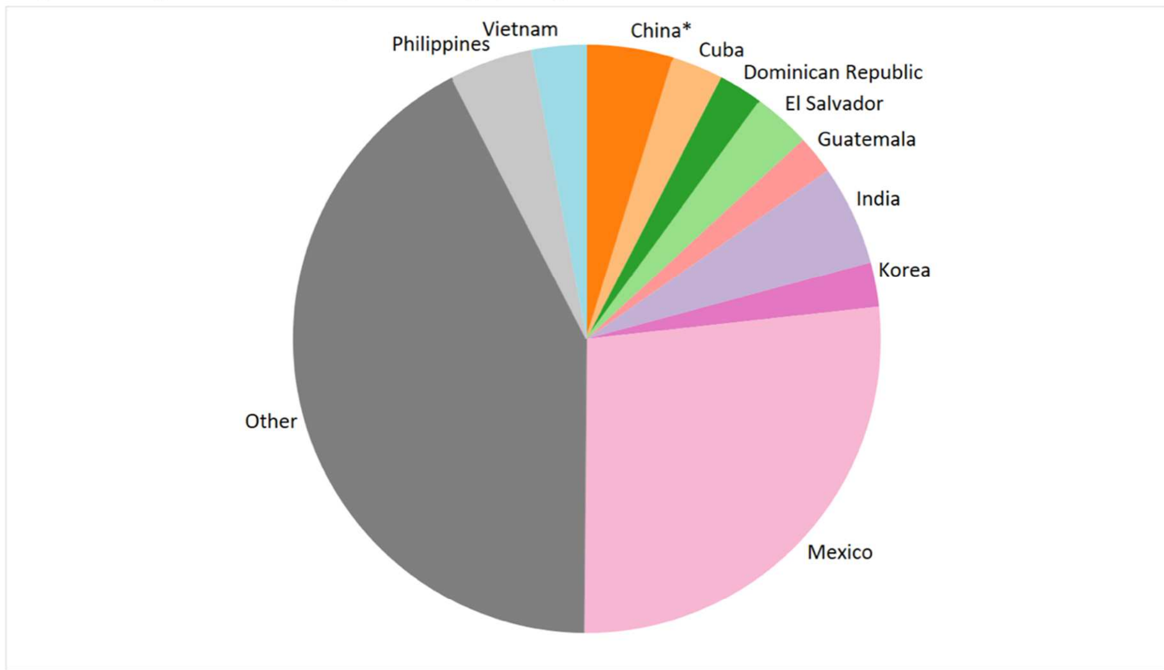
Figure 1.1. Share and Number of Foreign-born Persons in the United States, 1850-2015



Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub
http://migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub

Figure 1.2. Top Ten Largest Immigrant Groups, 2015



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CHAPTER 2

WHO HELPS?

IMMIGRANT-NATIVE DIFFERENCES IN PATTERNS OF HOMEWORK ASSISTANCE[1]

INTRODUCTION

American families spend, on average, about $300,000 on their children before their eighteenth birthday, excluding college tuition (Thomas 2014). This figure, which has been increasing over time, aligns with the dominant view of U.S. family dynamics, in which children are entities unto whom parents must unilaterally invest academic, emotional, and financial resources (Zelizer 1985). Under this view, children's role in the family is limited to being passive sites of parental investment (Friedman 2013; Lareau, 2011). This dynamic, scholars argue, is so firmly embedded in American family life that – in the last few decades – even grown children rely heavily on their parents for financial, emotional, and practical support during the newly extended transition to adulthood (Swartz et al. 2011). Despite this entrenched view of the role of children, it may not apply to large and growing segment of the U.S. population: immigrant families, which are projected, by 2040, to raise about one-third of all American children (Child Trends 2014; Rong and Preissle 2009). Investigators who argue that children in contemporary U.S. families play passive roles, however, for the most part omit immigrant households.

Although scholars have explored a number of dimensions of immigrant family life in the United States (Glick 2010), research on the contributions that children make to their households remains scant (e.g., Orellana et al. 2003). Because migration impacts children as much as it does parents (Dreby 2010), one of its consequences may be that children must step into more

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[1] See the published version here: Lanuza, Yader R. 2017. "Who Helps? Immigrant-native Differences in Patterns of Homework Assistance." *Sociological Perspectives,* 60(2):293-314. Copyright © 2017 Sage Publications. http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0731121416636086

contributive roles in their households (Dreby 2015; Ponizovsky et al. 2012). In this manuscript I argue that far from being passive receivers of household resources, children in immigrant household play supportive roles for their family members. Further, I suggest that this supportive role is not *only* a result of immigrant-native differences in parental resources, but also an adaptation strategy that immigrant families exhibit.

In this study, I use the case of homework assistance to show immigrant-native differences in the contributions that children make to their families. American educational institutions dictate what they expect parents to do in order to support the schooling efforts of their children (Souto-Manning and Swick, 2006). Parental involvement in children's schooling is widely regarded by educational institutions as necessary for children's success (Green et al. 2007). Homework help is one dimension of parental involvement that schools expect parents to engage in (Epstein and Van Voorhis 2012). Although scholars debate whether homework help is beneficial for children's achievement (Barnard 2004; Robinson and Harris 2014), it may nevertheless be consequential for the academic and emotional well being of students (Englund et al. 2004). At the very least, parental involvement with homework meets school expectations, which has ramifications for the way that administrators, teachers, and staff treat students (DeCastro-Ambrosetti and Cho 2005).

Homework help, however, requires a number of parental resources, including money, time, and human capital, especially education, parental English language proficiency, and parental knowledge of school-related norms (Louie 2012). Thus, homework help is more resource intensive that first meets the eye, but schools often assume that parents have these resources, or at the least a bare minimum of them, to help their children (Hoover-Dempsey et al. 1995). Further, because parents are solely expected to provide homework help, along with other

resources to their children, the supportive role of other family members if often minimized, obscured, if not totally ignored.

In this study, I explore who provides homework help for children during 5th grade. Examining homework support during middle childhood is particularly useful because it is during this stage that children's social world expands, thereby allowing children to seek help from a number of actors, both in and out of their households. Furthermore, at this age, children develop "social competence," which allows them to gauge the constraints of their social world and find solutions accordingly (Collins et al. 2010). Although children's social world expands, however, the family unit is, especially the parents, remains the primary source of support for children

My study makes a number of contributions. Previous research examining immigrant family patterns of support are based on ethnographic accounts that rely on small, non-representative samples (Azmitia et al. 2008; Valenzuela 2009). This study uses nationally representative data to examine immigrant-native differences in family support at the population level. Previous research that explores children's contributions to their households either only examines immigrant-specific resources (such as language brokerage) or lacks a native-born comparison group (Estrada 2012; Orellana et al. 2003; Park 2005; Song 1999; Valenzuela 1999). By using the case of homework assistance as the contribution that children provide to their households, I can make direct immigrant-native comparisons of the role of children in their respective homes. Finally, previous research that examines the role of children is limited to certain ethnic groups (for instance, Song 1999). By comparing Asian and Latino children in immigrant families, I examine whether this "expanded" role of children applies to most immigrant households. By using the case of *both* English Language Arts and Mathematics

homework, I suggest that immigrant-native differences in children's assistance contributions extend from disparate family dynamics, and *not* from subject-specific concerns.

BACKGROUND

The Role of Parental Resources for Immigrant-Native Differences in Family Support

Homework help often requires a number of resources, including money, time, education, English Language proficiency and knowledge of school norms (Louie 2012). Social exchange theory posits that exchanges between actors in an interconnected network depend on who has available resources and who needs those resources (Molm 1990; Cook et al. 2013). Applying this theoretical model to the family – an interconnected social network – suggests that household exchanges, including patterns of providing support, are a consequence of the distribution of resources among household members. Because parents procure and provide resources for their households, and, therefore, have more resources than any other household member to help their children with homework assignments, social exchange theory predicts that parents would be the primary source of homework help for their children. This is particularly true during middle childhood because children are more or less constrained in whom they have access to for homework help, relying heavily on their household members, especially their parents.

Compared to native-born parents, immigrant parents are, on average, more disadvantaged. Relative to their native-born counterparts, immigrant parents have less money, have lower levels of education, have lower English language proficiency, work longer hours, and have less knowledge of school related norms (Louie, 2012). Because immigrant parents have fewer resources needed to help children with homework, I expect immigrant parents, relative to their native-born counterparts, to be less likely the primary provider of homework assistance to children (Hypothesis #1).

When Siblings Help Each Other

If parents have fewer resources to help children with homework, where do children go for help? Children may either go to another adult in household, should they live in extended families (e.g., uncle), or they can seek assistance from an adult outside of the home (e.g., school staff) (see Cosden et al. 2001). Children might also rely on siblings for homework help, or simply do the best they can on their own (Louie 2012).

Although other adults in the household seem like a viable alternative, most children, including children of immigrants, live with their parents only (Manning and Brown 2014; Ruggles 2011). Furthermore, even though previous research finds immigrants to be more likely than their native-born counterparts to live in extended households, these arrangements are usually transitory (Glick and Van Hook 2002, 2011; Kamo and Zhou 1994) Even when immigrant children live with extended family members, these adults may be working long hours and have limited availability. Extended family members, especially grandparents, may also lack the English language proficiency required to provide homework help (Treas and Mazumdar 2002). Siblings, on the other hand, may be more likely than other household members to have the English language proficiency, time, and knowledge of school norms necessary to providing help with homework (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Therefore, I expect siblings to be more likely to provide homework help to children in immigrant families, relative to parents, compared to children in native-born families (Hypothesis #2).

This hypothesis is in line with the small but growing literature that finds that far from being "economically useless but emotionally priceless" to their households, children of immigrants play an "expanded" role in their homes. Among Latinos, a growing literature documents this "expanded" role. Abel Valenzuela (1999), for example, finds that siblings take on a "tutoring" role for children in poor Latino immigrant families. Similarly, Orellana and her

colleagues find that helping children with homework is part of the language brokering roles that siblings take on in their households, in addition to translating, interpreting, and advocating for their parents due to their parents' lack of English language proficiency (Jurkovic 1997; Orellana 2001, Orellana et al. 2003; Valenzuela 1999). Siblings may also provide homework help to children of immigrants because, in general, they bridge home-school differences in learning (Volk 1999). Moreover, Jurkovic (1997) finds that children of immigrants take on parental responsibilities due to their parents' lack of knowledge about school norms. More recently, scholars have documented child labor among children of low-income Latino immigrants – in meatpacking plants, street-vending, and as agricultural workers – to help support their families (Estrada 2012; Estrada and Hodagneu-Sotelo 2010; Romano 2011; Camayd-Freixas 2013). Thus, providing homework help to a sibling may be another expression of the contributions that children of immigrants provide to their households.

I find similar dynamics among Asian immigrants. Song (1999) and Park (2005) document the extent to which Chinese and Korean parents rely on their children for the financial sustainability of their family-owned businesses in Britain and the United States. Although all of this work points to the expanded role of children in immigrant families, most – if not all – is based upon either ethnographic accounts of poor families and/or small non-representative samples. Thus, it is unclear whether these findings apply more broadly. Notably lacking from this literature are direct immigrant-native comparisons in the resources that children provide to their families or the role that they take on in their households. For example, Orellana and colleagues argue that children in immigrant families engage in language brokerage, a much-needed resource that children provide to their households. Unfortunately, language brokerage

cannot be compared across immigrant and native-born households because all native-born parents speak English, therefore native-born children do not engage in this practice.

If parental resources – or their lack thereof – *alone* dictate family patterns of support, including the primary homework assistance role that siblings take on in immigrant families, then accounting for these resources should explain the higher likelihood of children in immigrant families to rely on siblings, as opposed to parents, for homework help. In other words, according to social exchange theory, <u>after controlling for parental socioeconomic status (income, education, and occupation), time availability, parental English language proficiency, and parental knowledge of school-related norms, I should not observe immigrant-native differences in relying on siblings, as opposed to parents, for homework help</u> (Hypothesis #3). Alternatively, research on immigrant families suggest that the contributions that children provide to their households also have an attitudinal component, generated as a consequence of migration-related difficulties and opportunities.

Attitudinal Explanation for Siblings' Contributions to their Families

Migration scholars document a number of dynamics in immigrant families that sets them apart from their native-born counterparts (Dreby 2015; Glick 2010; Kibria 1993; Zhou and Bankston 1998). One explanation for the "expanded" role of children in immigrant households is the "immigrant bargain" that these families engage in (Louie 2006; Smith 2006; Suarez-Orozco 1989). Due to the selective nature of migration (Feliciano 2006) and the context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut 2014), parents often experience steep downward mobility subsequent to migration (Hagan et al. 2015), experiencing unforeseen economic and emotional difficulties in the United States. These difficulties, parents believe, will be vindicated through their children's socioeconomic mobility and opportunities in the United States, which are unavailable to their

children in their countries of origin. In short, immigrant parents make a "bargain" with their children in the United States: Parents' sacrifices and hardships associated with migration will be vindicated through their children's socioeconomic mobility (Smith 2006).

In order to fulfill the immigrant bargain, children often engage in a number of practices and behaviors that, additively, vindicate their parents' sacrifices in the United States, such as providing support to household members, performing well in school, and taking ownership of their own educational experience early on (Louie 2012). These practices can be understood as expressions of the felt obligations and responsibilities that children feel in their households as a consequence of the immigrant bargain. Previous research shows that both Latino and Asian children of immigrants are more likely to feel a sense of obligation to their families compared to White children in native-born families (Fuligni 2001; Fuligni and Pedersen 2002; Fuligni et al. 1999; Hardway and Fuligni 2006). I suggest that siblings helping children with homework help is another expression of the obligations and responsibilities they feel towards their families. In other words, providing homework assistance to children is a contribution that siblings – other children in the home – provide to their households, a small gesture that helps in fulfilling the immigrant bargain.

As a part of this bargain, children may also feel like they should not bother their parents with their needs, including homework help, because they don't want to burden them with more responsibilities. In the case of homework help, children of immigrants may just bite the bullet and try to figure out their queries on their own. In short, felt obligations to their families include a sense of family responsibility *for each other* and *for themselves.* If these obligations are found in all immigrant households, children in *both* Latino and Asian immigrant families would *both* be more likely to rely on siblings as well as go without help (as opposed to receiving it from

parents) compared to their peers with native-born parentage. In sum, although siblings may be central figures in homework support, I expect children in immigrant families to be more likely to rely on themselves, as opposed to a parent, relative to children in native-born households, net of parental resources (Hypothesis #4).

Further, if the "immigrant bargain" is a viable explanation for immigrant family patterns of support, I expect no differences between Asian and Latino children in immigrant families in the likelihood of receiving homework help from a sibling as opposed to a parent, net of parental resources (Hypothesis #5). In other words, reliance on siblings (children in the households), which extends from the immigrant bargain, is part of an immigrant adaptation strategy in the United States that applies to *all* immigrant families (Glick 2010).

An alternative explanation to the expanded role of children in immigrant households is that they are endowed with country of origin mores – a culture – that endures in the United States (Baca Zinn 1982/1983; Fuligni 1998; Sena-Rivera 1979). This culture, in turn, dictates that they contribute resources for the family's wellbeing. In the case of Latinos, some scholars suggest that they exhibit *familism* (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Desmond and Lopez Turley 2009; Hangulseth et al. 2006), a collectivist cultural trait in which the desires and wants of the individual are secondary to the needs of the family unit, regardless of immigrant status. If *familism* spurs children into contributive roles in the family, I should *not* observe immigrant-native differences in the likelihood of receiving homework help from a sibling, as opposed to a parent, net of parental resources, among Latinos (Hypothesis #6).

Finally, previous research suggests that Asian students have access to a vast network of supplementary education that supports their schooling endeavors (Zhou and Kim 2006; Lee and Zhou 2014). These services cut across class boundaries, bolstering the academic achievement of

all Asian students. Thus, these findings suggest different family patterns of homework support between Latino and Asian students living in immigrant families, and between Asian students living in immigrant families relative to White peer in native-born households. <u>Thus, relative to White children in native-born families, I expect Asian children in immigrant families to be more likely to rely on adults outside of the household (such as an afterschool program teacher), as opposed to a parent, net of parental resources (Hypothesis #7).</u>

METHODS

Data

In order to answer my research questions, I rely on the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study – Kindergarten Class of 1998-1999 (ECLS-K). ECLS-K contains information about a cohort of children who started kindergarten in the 1998-1999 Academic Year. Parents, school administrators, teachers, and the focal children were interviewed over seven waves. Interviews about the focal child and his or her home and school life were conducted during the Fall and Spring of kindergarten, Fall and Spring of first grade, and Spring of 3rd, 5th, and 8th grade. These data are particularly useful for my research questions because they contain a wealth of information about household dynamics, including family provision of homework help in 5th grade, when children were in middle childhood. Out of the original 21,409 observations in the base year, 8,370 have valid weights in the 6th wave of data collection, when children were in 5th grade. I limit my analyses to individuals with valid weights so as to make my estimates nationally representative. As an analytical strategy, I further limit my sample to those individuals, in the first wave of data collection, whose parents identified them as a White child living in a native-born family (I explain my definition of an "immigrant family" and a "native-born family" below), a Latino child living in native-born family, a Latino child living in an

immigrant family, and an Asian child living in an immigrant family. I exclude native-born Asian children from the analysis due to small sample size. The analytic sample is limited to respondents with valid responses on both English Language Arts and Mathematics homework help measures. These exclusions reduce my analytical sample to 6,821 cases[2].

Because I am using longitudinal data across the first six waves of data collection, I employ the 6th wave panel weights with parental interview data. Using *weights*, *strata* and *primary stratification unit* values and the svy command in Stata, I account for unequal attrition and the data's multistage sampling design. To maintain the small percentage of observations with missing values on independent variables (described below), I employ a multiple imputation strategy, which takes into account errors associated with imputing values to missing data (Rubin, 1987, 1996). Tables present averaged coefficients over 20 multiply imputed data sets, which do not impute the dependent variables (Von Hipple, 2007).

Measures

Who Helps with Homework? During data collection interviews, parents were asked how often does his/her child do homework. If the parent said "never" – 1.2% of all participants[3] – the battery of homework questions was skipped. I also lose 4 more cases because parents refused to answer the question or did not know. For the rest of the participants, they asked parents if the child has "someone who can help him/her with homework in reading, language arts, or spelling?" The answer choices were either "yes" or "no." The children for whom parents

[2] In this project, I examine English Language Arts (ELA) and Mathematics homework help for children. In the case of ELA, of the 8,370 individuals with valid weights, 113 have missing values on the dependent variable, which reduces my sample to 8,257 observations. From these, I exclude 455 individuals whose racial identification is "Other" and 763 whose identification is Black. Finally, I exclude 129 White children in immigrant families and 86 Asian children in native-born families. The final number of observations for which a have a valid ELA homework help variable is available is 6,824 cases. With regards to Mathematics, of the 8,730 observations with valid weights, I lose 117 because they have a missing value on the dependent variable. I eliminate 455 and 762 individuals whose racial identification is "Other" and "Black," respectively. Finally, I exclude 129 White children in immigrant families and 86 Asian children in native-born families. The final number of observations for whom a have a valid ELA homework help variable is 6,821 cases.

[3] For Whites in native-born families, 1.1% never "do" homework, compared to 0.8% Latino children in native-born families, 0.9% Latino children in immigrant families, and 1.2% of Asian children in immigrant families.

answered answered "no" are categorized as having "no one" to help them with homework. If the question was not ascertained or if they answered "no," the rest of the questions were skipped. Then, survey administrators asked parents, "how often did someone help child with his/her reading, language arts or spelling homework." For individuals who answered "never," I categorize their children as having someone available to provide help yet do not receive any assistance[4]. These individuals were not asked the final question, which read "who usually helps child with his/her reading, language arts, or spelling homework?" The responses were mutually exclusive: mother, father, sister or brother, grandparent, another adult in the household, someone at an afterschool program, or adults who don't live in the household. From all of these questions, I create a single categorical measure of who helps the child with homework: parents, siblings, adults in the household, adults outside of the household, no one, or have someone available to provide help yet do not receive any assistance. Parents were asked the same questions about Mathematics homework help. Note that I have two dependent variables, one for each subject matter. The proportion of missing values in my dependent variables is similar across my groups of interest[5].

Immigrant Household. I theorize that immigrant households differ from native-born households because parents in immigrant households must contend with adaptation and settlement difficulties and opportunities, which native-born families do not. Therefore, I define an immigrant family as one where there is *no native-born parental presence*. In a family with one native-born and one immigrant parent, the native-born parent may have access to the resources that the immigrant parent (partner) cannot access for themselves and for their children.

[4] As I will show later on, the makeup of individuals in this category is not entirely clear.
[5] For ELA, the proportion of missing values in the dependent variable is 1.2%, 1.4%, 1.1%, and 1.8% for White children in native-born families, Latino children in native-born families, Latino children in immigrant families, and Asian children in immigrant families, respectively. For Math, the proportion of missing values in the dependent variable is 1.2%, 1.1%, 1.1%, and 1.8% for White children in native-born families, Latino children in native-born families, Latino children in immigrant families, and Asian children in immigrant families, respectively.

Therefore, families with two foreign-born parents or a single-parent family with a foreign-born parent are considered immigrant families, as well as those for which I only have information about one parent and that parent is foreign-born. The rest of the families are considered native-born. As a robustness measure, in the case of Latinos, I further disaggregate individuals with no immigrant parentage (3rd+ generation) from those with one immigrant and one native-born parent. This alternative specification further highlights immigrant-native differences.

With respect to nomenclature, "children of immigrant parents," "immigrant households," "immigrant families," and "children with immigrant parentage" are used interchangeably. Similarly, "children of native-born parents," "native-born households," "native-born families," and "children with native-born parentage" are used interchangeably. I then combine this immigrant household measure with a racial identification measure, as described earlier, to generate my key independent variable. In total, I examine four groups: White children in native-born families, Latino children in native-born families, Latino children in immigrant families, and Asian children in immigrant families.

Parental Resources

Parental Socioeconomic Resources (Income, Education, and Occupation). To ascertain parental socioeconomic resources, I used a composite socioeconomic status measure provided by ECLS-K administrators when the child was in 5th grade. I used this measure because parental education, financial, and occupation-related resources are all highly correlated, though in supplementary analyses I used education and financial measures separately and I arrived at substantively similar results. Thus, I chose the most parsimonious model.

Parental Time Resources (Work Hours). To account for the amount of time parents have available to provide homework help, I control for the number of hours parents work.

Presumably, the longer parents work, the less time they have available to provide homework help to their children. ECLS-K administrators provided a categorical variable of mother and father employment status, which includes the following categories: "35 hours or more per week," "less than 35 hours," "looking for work," "not in the labor force," "no [mother/father] in household." I decided to use this variable instead of a continuous variable of work hours because, in the continuous measure, all parents "looking for work," or "not in the labor force" would have "0" hours of work, but if parents are looking for work, they might have less time to provide homework help than if they are simply not in the labor force. My categorical variable allows for this possibility, and takes into account the absence of a parent from the household, if applicable.

Parental Knowledge (English Language Proficiency). ECLS-K administrators ascertained parental English language proficiency during the first (and last) wave of data collection. They asked parents "how well do you understand English," "how well do you read English," and "how well do you speak English," and "how well do you understand English." For each one of these questions, I coded the responses as follows: (1) not well at all, (2) not very well, (3) pretty well, (4) very well. As such, for each question, higher values indicate higher English Language proficiency. I then created a summary measure, which takes the average score of all of the different measures (speak, read, write, and understand), with (1) suggesting low proficiency and (4) suggesting high proficiency.

Parental Knowledge (Familiarity with School Norms and Expectations): To ascertain the level of familiarity with their child's school, I utilize a battery of questions parents were asked with respect to their relationship with their child's school in 5th grade. Parents either agreed or disagreed with possible scenarios about why their engagement with their children's school is limited, including (a) school does not make me fell welcome, (b) family cannot understand

school meetings, (c) parents don't hear about school activities, (d) notes from teacher are in a language parent cannot understand. I coded each parental reason for limited participation as "1" and "0" otherwise, if they did not experience this difficulty. I then added the number of reasons parents provided for explaining why they had limited participation in their child's school. Higher values denote more difficulties engaging with the school and less knowledge about its inner-workings.

Covariates

Gender. To account for the child's sex, I utilize a composite variable provided by ECLS-K administrators. The variable takes a value of 1 if the respondent is female, 0 otherwise. The information comes from the first wave of data collection.

Age. I calculated the respondents' ages using the birthdate information that parents provided about their children in the first wave of data collection. I present their ages in kindergarten.

Birth Order and Number of Siblings. To account for sibling configuration, I use the household roster to figure out how many siblings children have and the birth order among them. I created a categorical variable that distinguishes between first-borns, middle-borns, and last-borns. Once I establish birth order in the first wave, I ascertain whether new babies arrived in the home, which might change the birth order of the last-borns to middle-borns. New arrivals would be inconsequential to getting homework help from a sibling because they would be younger than the focal child, and thus would receive, not give, homework help from focal child. Nevertheless, more children might reduce the amount of time that parents can provide to the focal child.

Prior Achievement. To control for the possibility that homework help provision is a response to children's academic performance, I control for students' prior achievement in

Mathematics and Language Arts in 3rd grade (lagged one wave). I utilize Item Response Theory scores, which ECLS-K administrators provide. I also ran regressions that lagged other covariates, where applicable. The results are the same. In this manuscript, I chose to keep the covariates and dependent variable that were ascertained at the same time (in same wave), because the theoretical framework suggests that the roles that family members play in their households may be most related to *current* household circumstances.

School Type. To account for the possibility that homework help differentials are associated with the kind of school that children attend, I include a dummy variable for private vs. public schooling.

Family Structure. ECLS-K administrators asked parents if their household was composed of 2 parents plus siblings, 2 parents with no siblings, 1 parent plus siblings, 1 parent with no siblings, or other arrangements. I created three categories from this question: married (2-parents), single parent (1 parent), and other arrangement. Further, using the household roster, I created dummy variables for the presence of other people in the household, including siblings, grandparents, aunts or uncles, cousins or other relatives, and non-relatives.

Sample

Table 2.1 provides descriptive statistics for my sample. With respect to extended family in the household, most children in both immigrant and native-born households live with siblings (over 85% in all groups), with Latino children in immigrant families being the most likely to have a sibling at home (95%) (p<.001). With regards to parental socioeconomic resources, on average, Asian children live in families with the highest socioeconomic status, followed by White children in native-born families, Latino children in native-born families, and Latino children in native-born families (p<.001). With respect to parental time resources, the highest

percentage of mothers working full-time is found in Latino native-born families (56%) and in Asian immigrant families (56%), followed by mothers in White native-born families (49%), and mothers in Latino immigrant families (38%) ($p<.001$). With respect to father's employment, fathers in Asian immigrant households are the most likely to be employed full-time (81%), followed by fathers in White native-born households (76%), fathers in Latino immigrant households (70%), and finally, fathers in Latino native-born households (68%) ($p<.01$). Parents in immigrant households have lower English language proficiency scores compared to parents in native-born households, with Latino immigrant parents having the lowest score ($p<.001$), and, finally, immigrant parents have the most difficulty interacting with schools, and presumably, the least knowledge about its norms and expectations compared to parents in native-born households ($p<.001$).

RESULTS

Who provides homework help to children? Are there immigrant-native differences?

Table 2.2 provides weighted descriptive statistics of the distribution of who helps with ELA and Math homework. As expected, the distribution of who helps with homework differs for children in immigrant and native-born families ($p<.001$). Consistent with hypothesis #1, relative to other members in the household, parents provide homework help to the largest share of children in both immigrant and native-born families; however, the extent of their involvement differs across each group. With respect to ELA, when someone is available to help, White and Latino children in native-born families are more likely to primarily rely on parents than Latino and Asian children of immigrants (46% and 67% vs. 88% and 78%, respectively). By contrast, Latino and Asian children in immigrant families are more likely to primarily rely on siblings for homework assistance compared to White and Latino children in native-born families (31% and

14% vs. 2% and 8%, respectively). Importantly, Asian children in immigrant families are not more likely to receive homework help from an adult outside of the household, as previous research suggests; there are no appreciable percentage point differences across the groups. Further, Latino and Asian children in immigrant families are *more likely* to have no one available to help them with homework compared to White and Latino children in native-born families (10% and 8% vs. 1% and 2%). With regards non-parental adults in and outside of the household, immigrant-native differences are not as stark, and, perhaps most importantly, in terms of percentages, they do not play a large part of homework assistance for children in the United States. Although the percentages differ slightly, I find similar immigrant-native differences in who provides homework help to children in the case of Mathematics (Table 2.2, panel B).

In sum, Table 2.2 shows that compared to White and Latino children in native-born families, Asian and Latino children in immigrant households are less likely to receive homework help from a parent, more likely to receive homework help from a sibling, and more likely to have no one help them with homework. The importance of siblings for homework assistance among children living in immigrant families cannot be overstated, especially among Latino families: about *one-third* of all children primarily rely on a sibling for ELA and Math homework support. In supplemental analyses, I find that about 81% of these siblings are 17 years of age or younger during the focal child's 5th grade year (2004). In other words, we can surmise that about 4 out of 5 siblings who are providing homework help to children are *also children themselves*[6] (ages 0-17).

Social exchange theory suggests that parental resources explain the distribution of homework help for children. Table 2.3 shows multinomial regressions of immigrant-native

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[6] Sibling ages do not substantially differ across our samples of interest; nevertheless, I account for sibling configuration differences in the multivariate models.

differences in who provides ELA and Math homework help to children, using parents as the reference group. The models present relative risk ratios of Latino children in native-born families, Latino children in immigrant families, and Asian children in immigrant households relative to White children in in native-born households. With respect to ELA and Math, Model 1 shows that, relative to White children in native-born families, Latino children in both immigrant and native-born families and Asian children in immigrant families are more likely to primarily rely on a sibling (as opposed to a parent) for homework help. These results are consistent with hypothesis #2, which states that siblings are more likely to provide homework help to children in immigrant families, relative to parents, compared to children in native-born families.

In addition, relative to White children in native-born families, Asian and Latino children in immigrant families are more likely to rely on adults outside of the household and more likely to have no one available to help them. Finally, with respect to ELA only, relative to White children in native-born households, Latino children in immigrant families are more likely to have someone available to provide help yet not receive any assistance (as opposed to receiving help from parents). Model 2 introduces demographic characteristics, prior achievement, household composition, and school type. These controls do not explain Model 1 bivariate associations.

Do parental resources explain the immigrant-native differential in who helps with homework?

Model 3 of Table 2.3 introduces parental resources to evaluate social exchange theory's prediction. Hypothesis #3 states that differences in parental resources explain the higher likelihood of children in immigrant families to receive homework help primarily from a sibling (as opposed to parent), compared to children in native-born households. Model #3 does not support this hypothesis. Net of parental socioeconomic resources, work hours, English language proficiency, and knowledge of school-related norms, I find that, relative to White native-born

children, Latino and Asian children in immigrant households are more likely to rely on siblings for ELA and Math homework help as opposed to a parent ($p<.001$). Further, although I do not present the results here, I find that this heavier reliance on siblings for homework help among children of immigrants, relative to children in native-born households, is exhibited across the socioeconomic distribution, except at the highest quintile, and is most prominent among the poorest households.

Note that Latino children in native-born families are more likely to rely on siblings (as opposed to parents) compared to White children in native-born families, net of parental resources ($p<.01$ for ELA and $p<.10$ for Math), but these differences are a consequence of the 2.5-immigrant generation children (children with one native-born and one immigrant parent) in the "native-born" Latino sample (results not shown, but available upon request). When I separate 2.5 from 3rd+ immigrant generation Latino children (both native-born parents) in the native-born family category, I find no statistically significant Latino-White differences in reliance on siblings (as opposed to parents) in *native-born* households for ELA or Math homework assistance. Further, I find that 2.5 generation Latinos are more likely to rely on siblings for homework help (as opposed to parents) compared to White children in native-born households ($p<.05$ for ELA and $p<.10$ for Math), as suggested by the immigrant bargain predictions.

Further, relative to White children in native-born households, Latino and Asian children in immigrant households are more likely to not have anyone to help them with ELA and Math homework help, as opposed to parents, net of parental resources. Although these results can be interpreted as children in immigrant families being more likely to rely on themselves (as opposed to a parent) compared to children in native-born families (hypothesis #4), further examination of the findings tempers this interpretation. If we compare immigrant-native differences in "having

someone available to provide help yet do not receive any assistance," we only see a higher likelihood among Latino children compared to White children in native-born households, and parental resources account for these differences. The "having someone available to provide help yet do not receive any assistance" category can be interpreted as made up of children who do not need help, *or* as children who rely on themselves, even if someone is available to help them, so as to diminish the amount of obligations their family members, especially their parents, must meet in the household. If this category is, in fact, made up on individuals who rely on themselves to minimize parental burdens, then children in immigrant families are not more likely to rely on themselves for homework help compared to their native-born White peers. Children, in other words, do not contribute to their households by relying on themselves for homework help. They only rely on themselves if their parents do not have the resources to provide them with homework support. Alternatively, it may be the case that, relative to children in native-born households, children in immigrant families are more likely to have no one (as opposed to a parent) available to provide homework help because parents expect them to be more self-reliant, even if they have the resources available to provide help, as suggested by Model 3, which controls for parental resources. Thus, it may not be *children's* attitudes about their role in the household that leaves them with no one available to provide help, but their *parents'*, who may expect children to be more self-reliant.

Does reliance on siblings for homework help apply to most immigrant families?

To further examine whether reliance on siblings is a family strategy that most immigrant families engage in, I test Latino-Asian differences in children's reliance on siblings for homework help (as opposed to parents) only among those living in immigrant families. If this is a strategy that most immigrants engage in, I should not observe differences between Asian and

Latino children in immigrant families in the likelihood of receiving homework help from a sibling, as opposed to parent, net of parental resources (hypothesis #5). Model 3 in Appendix Table 2.1 shows comparisons between Asian and Latino children in immigrant households. These results support hypothesis #5. In other words, if parents in Asian and Latino immigrant households had the same amount of resources, reliance on siblings for homework assistance for children would not differ between these two groups.

Examining the case of Latinos only provides further support that reliance on siblings is specific to immigrant families. Previous research suggests that all Latinos exhibit familism, a collectivist orientation inherited from their family's country of origin. This orientation may engender more contributions from children to their households. If so, we should not observe immigrant-native differences among Latinos in reliance of siblings (as opposed to parents), because *familism* is purported to apply to all Latinos. Model 3 in Appendix Table 2.1 does not support this *familism* hypothesis. In the case of both ELA and Mathematics, Latino children in immigrant families are more likely to rely on siblings (as opposed to parents) compared to Latino children in native-born families, even after accounting for parental resource differentials ($p<.05$). We find the same results with regards to not receiving homework help (receiving help from "no one") as opposed to parents. Latino children living in immigrant families are more likely to have "no one" help them with homework, as opposed to parents, compare to Latino children living in native-born families.

The case of Asian children of immigrants and homework support

Keeping Min Zhou and colleagues in mind, I hypothesized that Asian children in immigrant families are more likely to rely on adults outside of the household (such as an afterschool program teacher), as opposed to a parent, net of parental resources (hypothesis #7).

My results do not provide support for this hypothesis. I find that Asian children are more likely to receive homework help from an adult outside of the household (as opposed to parent) compared to White children in native-born households, *but* these differences disappear once we account for differences in parental resources (see Table 2.3, Model 3 for ELA and Math). Further, in our descriptive findings earlier in this manuscript, I also show that a relatively small percentage of Asian children in immigrant households rely primarily on an adult outside of the household compared to their reliance on parents, siblings, or no one. Finally, Asian children are no more likely to rely on adults outside of the household (as opposed to parents) compared to Latino children in either immigrant or native-born households, net of parental resources (Appendix Table 2.1, Model 3).

With respect to having no one available to help, I find no Asian-Latino differences for children living in immigrant families, before accounting for parental resources (Models 1 and 2 on Appendix Table 2.1). We do not observe Latino-Asian differences because Asian children's parents in immigrant families have more resources than Latino children's parents in immigrant families, on average. Moreover, as parental resources increase, children are less likely to have "no one" available to help them with homework (results not shown). Thus, once we account for the fact that Asian children in immigrant families have more resources, we observe that they are actually more likely to have "no one" available to help them with homework (as opposed to parents) compared to Latino children immigrant families with similar parental resources. These counterintuitive results point to the importance of parental resources in helping us understand the needs of Asian children in particular, who are often held up as the "model minority" and assumed to have fewer academic needs. As alluded to earlier, it may be the case that Asian

immigrant parents *expect* more autonomy out of their children, especially with regards to schooling.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the United States, the contributions that children make to their households are rarely highlighted (Zelizer 2002). Part of children's invisibility can be traced to American conceptions of childhood, in which children are "economically useless but emotionally priceless" to the household (Zelizer 1985). Under this view, children are often thought as passive receivers of parental resources, and active sites of parental investment for the future (Lareau 2011; Friedman 2013). Thus, any visibility that they garner highlights the consumptive roles that they play in their households (Chin 2001). This valuation of childhood delegates children to the periphery of their household's productive roles, which renders *any* contribution largely invisible (Pugh 2014). This dominant view of children and their contributions in the households, rarely takes into account immigrant families, and the role that children play in their homes.

In contrast to this passive, consumptive view of children, I argue that, in immigrant families, children are important contributors to their households. In particular, relative to White children in native-born households, I find that children in immigrant families are more likely to receive homework help primarily from a sibling – another child in the household – as opposed to a parent. Children in immigrant families take on a "tutoring" role for their siblings (Valenzuela 1999). This role is an example of the contributions that children in immigrant families make to their households, a contribution that children in native-born families, do not, by a large, provide. Importantly, this tutoring role applies to both Asian and Latino children in immigrant families.

Comparing the case of Latino and Asian children in immigrant families suggests that the contributions that children of immigrants provide to their households are directly tied to their

experience as immigrants in the United States (Dreby 2015). In particular, I find that the reliance on siblings – as opposed to a parent – for homework help does not vary between Asian and Latino children with equally resourced parents. Comparing Latino children in immigrant and native-born families further bolsters my argument. Latino children in immigrant families are more likely to rely on a sibling, as opposed to a parent, for help compared to Latino children in native-born families. Both of these comparisons suggest that the immigrant experience is intimately implicated in the contributions that children make to their households.

Children of immigrants may be contributing to their households as a result of an immigrant bargain, which states that parents' difficulties associated with migration will be vindicated through their children's socioeconomic mobility in the United States (Smith 2006). Parents often remind their children of the sacrifice that they made by coming to this country and the obligations and responsibilities that children must endure to make this sacrifice worth the trouble. Children may, in turn, internalize these obligations and responsibilities, which spurs them into action in their homes, schools, and jobs. They keep their end of the "bargain" in a number of ways, including doing well in school, taking responsibility for their schooling, and supporting their households (Louie 2012). In this manner, children come to be central and contributive players in their household's sources of support.

The fact that we observe contributions among both Asian and Latino children in immigrant families suggests that ethnic-specific *essentialist* cultural features are not central to the contributions that children make to their households. It is not *familism* or *Confucianism* – both essentialist cultural values associated with immigrants' country of origin – that spurs Latino and Asian children into action in their households (Fuligni 1998; Hangulseth et al. 2006). The process is much more negotiated and interactive than this essentialist cultural perspective

suggests. Smith (2006: 126), for example, writes: "Cultures of the countries of origin and destination are themselves both evolving and internally inconsistent." Immigrant family dynamics, in short, are constantly negotiated. This description fits the relational work perspective newly introduced in economic sociology (Zelizer 2005, 2012; Bandelj 2012). This perspective suggests that family members constantly negotiate the meaning of their relationships – and the appropriate corresponding behavior – through everyday interactions, responding to emerging and enduring household circumstances. Migration-related difficulties and opportunities, in other words, require that family members renegotiate their roles, positions, attitudes, expectations in relation to one another in the family, and behave according to this shift in their relationships subsequent to migration.

The fact that children in immigrant households heavily rely on their siblings for homework help does not contradict the fact that parents are also involved in their children's schooling. Consistent with social exchange theory, I find that, for a large proportion of children in the United States, children are receiving homework help primarily from their parents. However, reliance on parents for homework help differs by immigrant status. When parents do not provide this resource other adults step in. Unequal parental resources explains the immigrant-native differences in the role of other adults – in and out of the household – in helping children with homework. In other words, these actors provide homework assistance when parents are unable to, which is *not* what I find for the reliance on siblings for the household. It is not just a matter of lack of parental resources that spurs children step into contributive roles, but also attitudinal differences that emerge out of the immigrant experience, which may be strongly tethered to the immigrant bargain.

This study makes a number of contributions. For one, the few studies that explored the contributions of children of immigrants to their households either explore resources that are specific to immigrant households (i.e., language brokerage), are based on small, usually poor families, lack a direct comparison to native-born households, or are based on ethnographic studies that cannot be generalized to the U.S. population. To advance the sociological literature on immigrant families, especially the contributions of children to their homes, I address each of these concerns in turn. The case of homework help is particularly instructive because it is a resource that all children need and may be able to provide to their siblings. Thus, homework help allows me to compare patterns of support in both immigrant and native-born households directly. ECLS-K provides a rare opportunity to examine immigrant-native differences in patterns of support. Building upon excellent ethnographic insights, this is the first nationally representative study of the immigrant-native differences in the contributions children make to their households.

Due to the growing presence of children of immigrants in the United States (Rong and Preissle 2008), it is imperative to bring immigrant families to larger studies of household dynamics (Glick 2010). For one, understanding immigrant family life may provide a glimpse into forthcoming changes in American family life. With respect to children, the growing presence of immigrant families may challenge the dominant view of children as only passive consumers of parental resources. We might see, for example, a growing acceptance of more consequential responsibilities for children in their homes. On the other hand, it might be that contributions that children make to their families may be yet another mechanism that exacerbates family inequalities. Responsibilities that children of immigrants endure in their households might hinder their own socioeconomic mobility (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Flores and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2014). Helping siblings with homework, for example, may detract from their own

academic needs. Further, receiving help from a sibling may not be as useful as receiving help from a parent.

In sum, relative to children in native-born families, my findings support the “expanded” role of children of immigrants in their households, a proposition which a number of scholars suggest but do not directly test. Using the case of homework help, I find that the patterns of support differ in immigrant and native-born families. In particular, children in immigrant families, far from being passive receivers of parental resources only, are central contributors of needed resources to their households.

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Table 2.1. Weighted Percentages and Means of Variables in Analytic Sample (N=6,821), by Immigrant Parentage and Race

	Native-Born (2.5 & 3rd Gen)				Immigrant (1.5 & 2nd Gen)				
	Whites		Latinos		Latinos		Asians		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Difference
Independent variables									
Female	48%		50%		51%		51%		n.s.
Family Structure									
Not Single Parent	78%		66%		79%		87%		***
Single Parent	21%		32%		20%		13%		
Other	1%		3%		2%		0%		
Household Roster									
Sibling in Household	86%		88%		95%		85%		***
Grandparents in Household	8%		14%		10%		27%		***
Aunt or Uncle in Household	3%		8%		13%		8%		***
Other Relative in Household	4%		10%		12%		6%		***
Non-Relative in Household	3%		6%		4%		2%		*
Private School	15%		9%		4%		11%		***
Mother's Working Hours									
Not in Labor Force	21%		20%		37%		26%		***
Looking for Work	3%		4%		7%		3%		
Less than 35 Hours	25%		18%		17%		13%		
More than 35 Hours	49%		56%		38%		56%		
No Mother in Household	3%		2%		1%		2%		
Father's Working Hours (lagged)									
Not in Labor Force	2%		3%		6%		5%		**
Looking for Work	1%		1%		1%		2%		
Less than 35 Hours	3%		4%		5%		2%		
More than 35 Hours	76%		68%		70%		81%		
No Father in Household	17%		24%		18%		11%		
Age at first wave	5.51	0.35	5.48	0.35	5.42	0.34	5.44	0.32	***
Socioeconomic Status	0.14	0.72	-0.23	0.68	-0.77	0.64	0.21	0.88	***
Number of Siblings	1.61	1.13	1.90	1.23	2.22	1.25	1.79	1.93	***
IRT Reading Score (lagged)	132.31	25.31	124.42	26.94	109.55	26.53	134.23	24.43	***
IRT Math Score (lagged)	104.07	22.57	97.24	23.22	87.46	22.82	107.38	24.39	***
Parental English Language Proficiency	3.99	0.06	3.84	0.54	2.24	1.07	3.34	0.75	***
Lack of Parental Institutional Know How	0.15	0.36	0.27	0.50	0.65	0.81	0.73	0.77	***
N	5,077		731		693		320		

Note: All significant tests come from the first of the 20 multiply imputed data. For continous variables, significance tests suggest that at least one category is significantly different from another at the shown level of significance.

Table 2.2. Distribution of Who Helps Children with Homework in 5th Grade. Weighted Percentages.

	Native			Immigrant	
	Whites	Latinos		Latinos	Asians
Dependent variables					
Panel A: English Language Arts					
Parents	88%	78%		46%	67%
Siblings	2%	8%		31%	14%
Adults in HH	3%	7%		3%	1%
Adults outside HH	2%	3%		5%	4%
No one	1%	2%		10%	8%
Available, Yet Does Not Receive Help	4%	2%		5%	6%
Panel B: Mathematics					
Parents	84%	73%		51%	65%
Siblings	5%	11%		28%	16%
Adults in HH	3%	7%		3%	1%
Adults outside HH	2%	3%		5%	5%
No one	1%	1%		10%	10%
Available, Yet Does Not Receive Help	4%	4%		3%	4%
N	5,077	731		693	320

Note: The distribution of who helps differs across our immigrant/ethnic groups (p<.001) in the case of both English Language Arts and Mathematics in the analytic sample (N=6,821).

Table 2.3. Multinomial Regressions Predicting Who Helps with Homework as a Function of Immigrant Status and Ethnic Group.

	English Language Arts			Mathematics		
Reference: Parents	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
[Panel A: Siblings]						
Latino, Native-Born	3.810***	3.150***	2.335**	2.298**	1.996*	1.616+
Latino, Immigrant	24.561***	21.607***	4.843***	8.461***	8.065***	2.840***
Asian, Immigrant	8.127***	7.573***	4.456***	3.721***	3.502***	2.677**
[Panel B: Adults in Household]						
Latino, Native-Born	2.723**	2.129	2.384	2.474***	1.670+	1.705+
Latino, Immigrant	1.931	1.586	1.986	1.376	0.919	1.032
Asian, Immigrant	0.526	0.529	0.492	0.295+	0.266+	0.300
[Panel C: Adults Outside Household]						
Latino, Native-Born	2.049	1.541	1.378	1.805	1.447	1.330
Latino, Immigrant	6.430***	4.193***	1.748	4.164***	3.205**	1.692
Asian, Immigrant	3.323*	3.969*	2.311	3.044*	3.368*	2.724+
[Panel D: No One]						
Latino, Native-Born	4.719***	4.014**	2.982*	1.366	1.378	1.035
Latino, Immigrant	44.198***	34.732***	4.958**	18.915***	22.810***	4.952**
Asian, Immigrant	24.399***	25.050***	18.449***	13.623***	16.147***	10.834***
[Panel E: Available, yet does not receive assistance]						
Latino, Native-Born	0.617+	0.580+	0.544*	1.376	1.486	1.224
Latino, Immigrant	2.092**	2.660***	0.976	1.519	2.114**	0.501
Asian, Immigrant	1.663	1.848+	1.250	1.522	1.468	0.977
Demographics and Prior Achievement		x	x		x	x
Parental Resources			x			x
N	6,821	6,821	6,821	6,821	6,821	6,821

Note: The reference category in the dependent variables is *parents*. Coefficients are relative risk ratios. + $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. Demographic and Prior Achievement (Model 2) controls include age, gender, number of siblings, birth order, parental marital status, 3rd grade achievement, school type, and household roster. In addition to Model 2 controls, Model 3 includes parental socioeconomic resources (education, income, occupation), parental time resources (work hours), parental English language proficiency, and parental knowledge of school-related norms.

Appendix Table 1. Multinomial Regressions Predicting Who Helps with Homework as a Function of Immigrant Status and Ethnic Group.

	English Language Arts			Mathematics		
Reference: Parents	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
[Panel A: Siblings]						
Latino, Native-Born vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LN-AI)	LN-**AI***	LN-**AI***	LN-**AI+**	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Latino, Native-Born vs. Latino, Immigrant Differences (LN-LI)	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI***	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI***
Latino, Immigrant vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LI-AI)	**LI**-AI***	**LI**-AI**	N.S.	**LI**-AI**	**LI**-AI**	N.S.
[Panel B: Adults in Household]						
Latino, Native-Born vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LN-AI)	**LN**-AI**	**LN**-AI+	**LN**-AI*	**LN**-AI**	**LN**-AI*	**LN**-AI*
Latino, Native-Born vs. Latino, Immigrant Differences (LN-LI)	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Latino, Immigrant vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LI-AI)	**LI**-AI+	N.S.	**LI**-AI+	**LI**-AI*	N.S.	N.S.
[Panel C: Adults Outside Household]						
Latino, Native-Born vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LN-AI)	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Latino, Native-Born vs. Latino, Immigrant Differences (LN-LI)	LN-**LI****	LN-**LI***	N.S.	LN-**LI****	LN-**LI***	N.S.
Latino, Immigrant vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LI-AI)	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
[Panel D: No One]						
Latino, Native-Born vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LN-AI)	LN-**AI*****	LN-**AI*****	LN-**AI*****	LN-**AI*****	LN-**AI*****	LN-**AI*****
Latino, Native-Born vs. Latino, Immigrant Differences (LN-LI)	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI*****	N.S.	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI****
Latino, Immigrant vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LI-AI)	N.S.	N.S.	LI-**AI****	N.S.	N.S.	LI-**AI***
[Panel E: Available, yet does not receive assistance]						
Latino, Native-Born vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LN-AI)	LN-**AI***	LN-**AI***	LN-**AI+**	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Latino, Native-Born vs. Latino, Immigrant Differences (LN-LI)	LN-**LI*****	LN-**LI*****	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Latino, Immigrant vs. Asian, Immigrant Differences (LI-AI)	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Demographics and Prior Achievement		x	x		x	x
Parental Resources			x			x
N	6,821	6,821	6,821	6,821	6,821	6,821

Note: Bold letters indicate a higher likelihood to receive homework help from the household member indicated in the **Panel** (as opposed to a parent) between the two groups. Models 1, 2, 3 include the corresponding controls found in Table 3. + $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ indicate significance level.

CHAPTER 3

CAN WE TALK?

THE SOURCES OF EMOTIONAL SUPPORT FOR CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT AND NATIVE-BORN FAMILIES

INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the last century, Zelizer (1985) argues, the valuation of children shifted from economically useful to "economically useless but *emotionally* priceless." The emotional life of the child, therefore, became a more central concern for American families. Importantly, a number of scholars show that emotional support – although acquiring less attention than other forms of support (e.g., material) – is paramount for children's well-being (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2005; McLoyd and Smith 2002; Ross and Mirowsky 2002; Thoits 2011). But who is providing emotional support to children? Emotional support, as any other resource, must be generated, and work must be performed to produce it (Erickson 2005). Thus, there is emotional work to be completed in families to develop and support the emotional well-being of children (DeVault 1999). In the context of a family, in the United States, it is expected that *parents* provide the necessary emotional resources to their children (and there is evidence that mothers, in particular, take on this responsibility [e.g., Raey 2004]), but their centrality in providing emotional support may not apply to a large and growing segment of the U.S. population: immigrant families, which are projected, by 2040, to raise about one-third of all American children (Child Trends 2014; Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, and Marks 2015). Investigators who examine the emotional world of American households seldom examine immigrant families, in which parents may not hold such a monopoly over the provision of emotional support to children, as their ability to do so is hampered due to the context of migration (Chung 2016).

Although scholars have examined a number of dimensions of immigrant family life in the United States (Glick 2010; Menjívar, Abrego, and Schmalzbauer 2016), research on the emotional domain, including the sources of emotional support for children, is seldom highlighted (e.g. Baldassar 2007). Because migration affects the functioning of a family, including roles, responsibilities, and resources that each member brings to the familial unit, one of its consequences may be that family members – other than parents – take on the responsibility of providing emotional support to children, including siblings (e.g. Chung 2016). In this paper, I argue that the sources of emotional support for children differ for children in immigrant and native-born families. Furthermore, I suggest that these differences can be explained by differential parental resources and racialized receptions of children in school.

In this study, I use the provision of "cheering up" and "advice" to examine immigrant-native differences in who provides emotional support to children. In particular, my investigation takes place during children's 8th grade, an important transitional period for children, precisely when other individuals – adults and peers alike – become increasingly important for their emotional sustenance and social competence, becoming "significant others" in their lives as they transition to adolescence (Cauce et al., 1990; Furman and Buhrmester, 1992; Vollebergh, Meeus 2000: 321). Given the importance of emotional health for the well-being of children, it is critical to examine who children of immigrants can count on, particularly because their parents contend with migration-related obstacles that may limit their ability to provide children with emotional support at a crucial stage of their development. Further, given the importance of educational settings in children's – and their families' – adaptation to the United States (Gonzales 2016), I also examine the role of school-associated individuals in providing emotional support to children.

My study makes a number of contributions. Previous research that examines immigrant family life seldom highlights the provision of emotional support, and, when it is mentioned, it is usually based on small, non-representative samples that do not make direct comparisons to their born counterparts – an important strategy to understand the *unique* experience of children of immigrants (e.g., Chung 2016; Menjívar 2000; Valenzuela 1999). This study uses nationally-representative data to examine immigrant-native differences in children's emotional support at the population level. Previous research also shows that, in the general population, more emotional support is exchanged in friendships than in sibling relationships (see Campbell, Connidis, and Davies 1999; McGlone Park, and Roberts 1999; Voorpostel and van der Lippe 2007:1272). In other words, the importance of friendships in the provision of emotional support increases while that of siblings decreases as children enter adolescence. By contrast, previous research suggests that siblings play an increasingly important role for children in immigrant families (e.g., Louie 2012). We do not know, however, if this reliance on siblings extends to the emotional domain. Therefore, I highlight the role of siblings in supporting children of immigrants. Consistent with previous research (Lanuza 2017), the case of sibling emotional support can help us understand how family dynamics change subsequent to migration, especially the availability of resources to support the well-being of children. Finally, I examine the case of Latinos and Asians in immigrant families to further understand how migration impacts the availability of emotional support.

BACKGROUND

The Role of Parental Resources in Immigrant-Native Differences in Emotional Support

Emotional labor is "how people actively shape and direct their feelings [at work] and a recognition that social structure and institutions impose constraints on these efforts" (Wharton

2009:248). Examples include showing appreciation, expressing empathy, offering encouragement, listening to difficulties and accomplishments related to everyday life, and providing advice (I will explore these last two in this project) (see Erickson, 2005; Wharton and Erickson, 1993). Since Hochschild's (1983) seminal scholarship, emotional labor (also called *emotional work* or *management*) has been explored in a number of occupations, but less attention has been provided to its dynamics in families (Yanchus et al., 2010; Zapf, 2002; Zedeck, 1992). Given that to provide emotional support, emotional labor must be performed, family members must negotiate who will produce and provide emotional resources, such as providing advice and cheering up. Social exchange theory posits that exchanges between actors in an interconnected network depend on who has available resources and who needs those resources (Bonacich and Bienenstock 2009; Cook et al. 2003). Applying this theoretical model to the family – an interconnected social network – suggests that household exchanges, including patterns of emotional support, are a consequence of the distribution of resources among household members. Because parents are in charge of the household, and procure and provide most of its resources, social exchange theory predicts that parents are the primary source of emotional support for their children.[7]

Three parental resources, in particular, can impact the emotional provision of resources to children in the United States, including socioeconomic status, time availability, and English language proficiency (see Chung 2016 for extended discussion). Previous research shows that middle-class parents are more likely to engage in concerted cultivation, a child-rearing strategy that prioritizes the cultivation of children's proclivities and inclinations through intensive

[7] Mothers are the ones who perform emotion work compared to fathers to maintain the emotional life of the family health (see DeVaul1999). Unfortunately, I do not know which parent provides the emotional support, but I would venture to guess that it is more likely to be the mother (compared to the father).

investment to the detriment of other household needs (Lareau 2011). Although scholars usually focus on material resources that parents bring to bear on the cognitive, intellectual, and physical development of their children (e.g., Friedman 2013), emotional resources are also provided through this parenting strategy. Jessica Calarco's (2014) work, for example, shows that parents coach their children how to behave in the classroom, performing emotional labor in the process and devising strategies for their children so that they can, in turn, monopolize resources in their educational settings. Similarly, Chin (2000) shows that emotional labor – management of their children's and parents' feelings – are part and parcel of a concerted cultivation strategy that upper class parents engage in as they navigate their children's enrollment in private schools. By contrast, working class women/mothers – the parent who bears the disproportionate burden of providing emotions support – find it more difficult to supply emotional "capital" to their children compared to their middle-class counterparts because they are limited by poverty and lack of confidence (Reay 2004:65). Confidence – or a sense of entitlement – is another resource that middle-class parents possess and instill in their children as part of a concerted cultivation strategy (Calarco 2014; Lareau 2011; Raey 2004).

In addition to socioeconomic resources, parental time availability determines how much emotional support they can provide to their children (Artis and Pavalko 2003; Coverman 1985). Bourdieu, for example, has argued that parental time spent with children is one way that cultural capital is transmitted within the family, especially mother's time, since they are the most likely to provide childcare and, therefore, spend the most time with the child (Graham 1993; Lawler 2000; Oakley 1993; Reay 2004). Broadening Bourdieu's claim to include emotional resources as part of the "capital" that parents transmit, it becomes clear that time spent with children requires emotion work, which can only be performed if parents are available. Further, parent's ability to

provide emotional support to their children requires English language proficiency, as children of immigrants show an unambiguous preference for English (Portes and Schauffler 1994; Tran 2010). Divergent language preferences between parents (country of origin language) and children (English) can limit emotional support that parents can provide to their children (Chung 2016).

Importantly, a large literature documents immigrant-native differences with regards to parental resources – SES, time, and English language proficiency, in particular – that are crucial for the provision of emotional support to children. Compared with their native-born counterparts, immigrant parents have, on average, lower socioeconomic status in the United States (Borjas 2011; Lichter, Qian, Crowley 2005; Van Hook, Brown, and Kwenda 2004). Similarly, immigrant parents tend to work longer hours (Vasquez 2011; Yoshikawa 2011), have lower English proficiency (Alba et al. 2002; Hakuta and D'Andrea 1992), and have less knowledge of their children's school (Chung 2016; Louie 2012; Suaréz-Orozco, Suaréz-Orozco, Todorova 2009; Turney and Kao 2009). Therefore, I expect children of immigrants to be less likely to receive emotional support from *parents* compared to their native-born counterparts (H1).

If Not Parents, Who? When Other Adults Provide Emotional Support.

Previous research also finds immigrant-native family structure differences, which may be implicated in the provision of emotional support. In particular, previous research shows that children of immigrants are more likely to live with extended family members, often as a survival strategy (Glick and Van Hook 2002, 2011; Kamo and Zhou 1994; Qian 2014). Although these arrangements are usually transitory, they, nevertheless, avail children of immigrants with other adults in the household to whom they can turn to – in addition to, or instead of, their parents – for emotional support. These very arrangements, as mentioned above, are often a survival strategy,

highlighting insufficient parental resources to meet children's emotional needs, which are then fulfilled by other adult family members (Van Hook and Glick 2007). Thus, children of immigrants may rely on other adult relatives for emotional support because their parents do not have the resources to provide it themselves. If this is the case, I expect children of immigrants to be more likely to receive emotional support from an adult relative compared to their White counterparts with native-born parentage, and for these differentials to be associated with unequal parental resources, including SES, time, and English language proficiency (H2).

Finding Emotional Support at School

So much of children of immigrant's adaptation and integration into American society is dependent on what happens at school (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009). It is not just that schools abet (or hinder) socioeconomic mobility in the long run, but also that schools tell students – in one way or another – whether or not they belong in their parents' adopted society (Gonzales 2016). One way to measure the reception that children of immigrants receive at school is their ability to find adults that provide them with emotional support. As researchers have found, emotional labor is one of the key tasks that teachers and other school members perform (see Hamre and Pianta 2005). Positive school climates and teacher's successful emotional labor, for example, are linked to greater self-regulation (Skinner, Zimmer-Gembeck and Connell 1998), better social competence (Zins et al. 2004), decreases in externalizing problem behavior (NICHD ECCRN 2003), more on-task learning (Pianta et al. 2002), gains in student engagement (Furrer and Skinner 2003), increases in motivation to learn (Roeser, Eccles, and Sameroff 2000) and better academic achievement (Crosnoe, Johnson, Elder 2004). Given the difficulties associated with integration, children of immigrants may be most in need of emotional labor from their teachers or other school staff, especially if parental resources

– SES, time, and English language proficiency – are not abundant at home. Thus, if schools provide a welcoming environment for children of immigrants, this probably entails emotional support from school staff, especially during middle-school, when their reliance on parents for emotional support wanes as children find significant others outside of their households to meet these developmental needs (Cauce et al., 1990; Furman and Buhrmester, 1992; Vollebergh and Meeus 2000).

But not all children of immigrants receive similar reception at school. In particular, Asian children, including children of immigrants, find school a particularly welcoming environment, as racialized accounts of achievement favor them. Jimenez and Horowitz (2014:851) show an emergent and inverted ethnoracial encoding of academic achievement in the United States in which "Asianness" represents "high achievement, hard work, and success;" while Whiteness, "represents low-achievement, laziness, and academic mediocrity." Due to these racialized accounts of achievement, school staff, including teachers, are happy to welcome Asian students into their classroom, assuming uniform academic prowess and behavioral conformity. This dynamic, Lee and Zhou (2015) argue, generates a stereotype promise – "the promise of being viewed through the lens of a positive stereotype what leads one to perform in such a way that confirms the positive stereotype, thereby enhancing performance" (Lee and Zhou 2015). These dynamics, research shows, occur across the United States, as evidenced by the widespread and enduring "model minority" myth (Louie 2004). Partly as a result of this racialization process, school staff members, including teachers, welcome their Asian students into their educational settings, and may be more likely to invest in these children, including investment in the form of emotional support, compared to their White peers with native-born parentage. If this is the case, I

expect Asian children of immigrants to be more likely to rely on an adult at school for emotional support compared to their White peers with native-born parentage (H3).

Unfortunately, Latino children of immigrants do not experience the same reception from their schools (Lopez 2003; Ochoa 2013), even when there is evidence of superior performance or intellect. In some cases, Latino children's own cultural resources are not deployed by teachers (and other school members) to scaffold their learning experience, if they are not outright dismissed as irrelevant or worse (see Valenzuela 1999a). The racialization of achievement does not benefit Latinos, including children of immigrants, at school. Therefore, teachers – and other school adults – may not be as receptive to their Latino students in schools to make them feel like they can seek emotional support from school staff members, including teachers, compared to their White counterparts with native-born parentage. For example, Azmitia, Cooper, and Brown (2008), using a small Latino (mainly Mexica) sample, find that teachers, arguably the most important school representative for students, were the least likely to provide emotional support to children. Therefore, I expect Latino children, with and without immigrant parentage, to be less likely to receive emotional support from an adult at school compared to their White peers (H4).

The preceding discussion suggests that the emotional attachment children have with their school is implicated in who children of immigrants rely on for emotional support. Therefore, I account for children's emotional attachment to school. I expect children's emotional attachment to school to be particularly relevant in their likelihood of receiving emotional support from an adult at school. Children who are more attached to school should also be more likely to find emotional support in educational settings. Finally, children's own emotional needs are implicated in their likelihood of receiving emotional support from parents (or another individual).

Therefore, I account for children's emotional needs to understand immigrant-native differences in the provision of emotional support.

How Siblings and Peers Are Implicated in Emotional Support

Sibling configuration – another dimension of family structure – may not only shape parental provision of emotional resources, but also emotional resources produced and provided by siblings in the household. Previous research shows that Latino immigrant women have higher fertility than their native-born White counterparts (Parrado and Morgan 2008), which means that Latino children of immigrants are more likely to have siblings in the household compared to Whites with native-born parentage. Relatedly, researchers document that support networks of individuals with fewer siblings are more likely to be composed of nonsibling ties, developing stronger connections with other relations such as parents (Gondal 2012). Gondal (2012:751) writes: "Individuals who have fewer siblings 'compensate' by being more reliant on their parents. In a sense, parents substitute for siblings by providing support that might otherwise have been drawn from brothers/sisters."

Further, reliance on siblings, in addition to sibling structure, can also be a consequence of parental resource availability. Specifically, children rely on their siblings not only because a sibling is more likely to be present, but because their parents' lack the resources to support them (Pyke 2005). This is particularly important to highlight in the immigrant case. As mentioned before immigrant parents may have reduced time due to long hours, lack language proficiency to understand English-dominant settings, and, most important, lack the ability to deploy resources associated with socioeconomic status, such as a concerted cultivation strategy, to provide the ideal emotional support to their children, even if they want to. For these reasons, I expect

children of immigrants to be more likely to rely on siblings for emotional support compared to Whites with native-born parentage (H5).

Alternatively, children of immigrants may be more likely to rely on siblings for emotional support due to family dynamics forged through the migration process, especially an *immigrant bargain*. Due to dynamics associated with the migration stream to the United States and subsequent downward mobility that immigrants often experience (Chung 2016; Feliciano 2005; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Pong and Landale 2015), immigrant parents make a "bargain" with their children in the United States: Parents' sacrifices and hardships associated with migration will be vindicated through their children's socioeconomic mobility (Agius Vallejo 2012; Louie 2012; Smith 2006). In fact, children of immigrants often argue that their behaviors in and out of the household, but especially towards their parents, are a consequence of the sacrifice that their parents made on their behalf (Chung 2016; Louie 2012).

To fulfill the immigrant bargain, researchers find that offspring engage in a number of practices, such as providing support to household members, performing well in school, and taking ownership of their own education experience (Chung 2016; Louie 2012). The immigrant bargain can spur children of immigrants to contribute to their parents, including material and non-material resources. One of the resources that siblings provide to the household may be emotional support for children. If this dynamic is correct, I expect, after accounting for family structure, socioeconomic, linguistic, and time resources, children of immigrants to be more likely to rely on siblings for emotional support compared to Whites with native-born parentage (H6). This dynamic would be consistent with previous work suggesting children in immigrant households take on larger and more consequential productive roles in their households compared

to their peers with native-born parentage (Azmitia, Cooper, and Brown 2008; Chung 2016; Estrada 2012; Katz 2009; Lanuza 2017; Orellana 2009; Park 2005; Song 1999; Valenzuela 1999)

In addition, parental resource constraints can also spur children to seek emotional support in their friends. Similar to the case of siblings, if parents do not have the socioeconomic, time, or English proficiency resources to help children, they might seek these resources in their peers, especially during the transition to adolescence. It is at this stage of the life course that children seek more independence from their parents and find refuge – and freedom – among their peers. If immigrant parents have less resources to support their children, it would reinforce the developmentally normative distance that children develop towards their parents and closeness with their peers. I expect children of immigrants to be more likely to rely on friends for emotional compared to their White counterparts, and I expect parental resource differences to explain the immigrant-native differential in emotional support (H7).

METHODS

Data

In order to answer my research questions, I rely on the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study – Kindergarten Class of 1998-1999 (ECLS-K). ECLS-K contains information about a cohort of children who started kindergarten in the 1998-1999 Academic Year. Parents, school administrators, teachers, and the focal children were interviewed over seven waves. Interviews about the focal child and his or her home and school life were conducted during the Fall and Spring of kindergarten, Fall and Spring of first grade, and Spring of 3rd, 5th, and 8th grade. These data are particularly useful for my research questions because they contain a wealth of information about household dynamics, including provision of emotional support during the last wave of data collection, when most children were in 8th grade. Out of the original 21,409

observations in the base year, 9,725 have valid weights in the 7th wave of data collection. I limit my analyses to individuals with valid weights so as to make my estimates nationally representative. As an analytical strategy, I further limit my sample to those individuals, in the first wave of data collection, whose parents identified them as a White child living in a native-born family (I explain my definition of an "immigrant family" and a "native-born family" below), a Latino child living in native-born family, a Latino child living in an immigrant family, and an Asian child living in an immigrant family. I exclude native-born Asian children from the analysis due to small sample size. The analytic sample is limited to respondents with valid responses on all of my dependent variables (see below). These exclusions reduce my analytical sample to 7,441 cases.

Because I am using cross-sectional data across, I employ the 7th wave cross-sectional weights. Using *weights*, *strata* and *primary stratification unit* values and the svy command in Stata, I account for unequal attrition and the data's multistage sampling design. To maintain the small percentage of observations with missing values on independent variables (described below), I employ a multiple imputation strategy. This strategy is preferable because it takes into account the error that may be involved with assigning a value to the missing information (Rubin, 1987, 1996), and following previous research, I do not impute the dependent variable (Von Hipple 2007). I created 5 multiply imputed data sets to generate results. The tables present averaged coefficients over these data sets.

Measures

Who Provides Emotional Support? During the last wave of data collection, children were asked a battery of questions regarding their experience at home and at school. In particular, children were asked "What **adult** do you talk to when you need…. 'someone to cheer you up?' and 'advice

about making important decisions.'" For each of these two emotional support dimensions (cheer & advice), available choices included "Parent," "Adult relative," "Adult at school," "Other adult," and "No one." Similarly, they then asked children, "what **kid** do you talk to when you need… 'someone to cheer you up?' and 'advice about making important decisions?'" For each of these two emotional support dimensions (cheer & advice), available choices included "brother or sister," "Friends at school," "Other friends," "No one." It is important to note that the instructions read, "mark all that apply in each row," which means that their answers are *not* mutually exclusive, so children had the opportunity to reveal all of the individuals who provide them with emotional support, regardless of how much emotional support each person provided. In the analyses that follow, then, I investigate whether each of these individuals provided emotional support and what kind, was it "cheering up" or "advice"? The proportion of missing values in my dependent variables is similar across the dependent variables.

Immigrant Household. I theorize that immigrant households differ from native-born households because parents in immigrant households must contend with adaptation and settlement difficulties and opportunities, which native-born families do not. Therefore, I define an immigrant family as one where there is *no native-born parental presence*. In a family with one native-born and one immigrant parent, the native-born parent may have access to the resources that the immigrant parent (partner) cannot access for themselves and for their children. Therefore, families with two foreign-born parents or a single-parent family with a foreign-born parent are considered immigrant families, as well as those for which I only have information about one parent and that parent is foreign-born. The rest of the families are considered native-born.

With respect to nomenclature, “children of immigrant parents,” “immigrant households,” “immigrant families,” and “children with immigrant parentage” are used interchangeably. Similarly, “children of native-born parents,” “native-born households,” “native-born families,” and “children with native-born parentage” are used interchangeably. I then combine this immigrant household measure with a racial identification measure, as described earlier, to generate my key independent variable.

Parental Resources

Parental Socioeconomic Resources (Income, Education, and Occupation). To ascertain parental socioeconomic resources, I used a composite socioeconomic status measure provided by ECLS-K administrators when the child was in 8th grade. I used this measure because parental education, financial, and occupation-related resources are all highly correlated, though in supplementary analyses I used education and financial measures separately and I arrived at substantively similar results. Thus, I chose the most parsimonious model.

Parental Time Resources (Work Hours). To account for the amount of time parents have available to provide emotional support, I control for the number of hours parents work. Presumably, the longer parents work, the less time they have available to provide emotional support to their children. ECLS-K administrators provided a categorical variable of mother and father employment status, which includes the following categories: “35 hours or more per week,” “less than 35 hours,” “looking for work,” “not in the labor force,” “no [mother/father] in household.” I decided to use this variable instead of a continuous variable of work hours because, in the continuous measure, all parents “looking for work,” or “not in the labor force” would have “0” hours of work, but if parents are looking for work, they might have less time to provide emotional support than if they are simply not in the labor force. My categorical variable

allows for this possibility, and takes into account the absence of a parent from the household, if applicable.

Parental Knowledge (English Language Proficiency). ECLS-K administrators ascertained parental English language proficiency during the first and last wave of data collection (I use the latter in this project). They asked parents “how well do you understand someone speaking English,” “how well do you read English,” and “how well do you speak English,” and “how well do you write English.” For each one of these questions, I coded the responses as follows: (1) not well at all, (2) not very well, (3) pretty well, (4) very well. As such, for each question, higher values indicate higher English Language proficiency. I then created a summary measure, which takes the average score of all of the different measures (speak, read, write, and understand), with (1) suggesting low proficiency and (4) suggesting high proficiency.

School Attachment. Children were asked, “this school year, how often did you…” “(a) Fee like you fit in at your school?” “(b) Feel close to classmates at your school?” “(c) Feel close to teachers at your school?” “(d) Enjoy being at your school?” “(e) Feel safe at your school.” For each of these choices, the alternatives were, “never (=0),” “sometimes (=1),” “often (=2),” and “always (=3).” To create an overall measure, I added the values for each of these questions and divided by the number of questions (5). Alternative ways to get at “school attachment,” such as principal component analysis, were tested as well. These alternative ways yielded the same results; thus, I chose the most straightforward variable.

Children’s Emotional Needs. Children were asked to “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Agree,” and “Strongly agree” to a battery of statements, including “I feel good about myself,” “I feel like a person of worth,” “Because they hardly work out, planning makes me unhappy,” “When I make plans, I can make them work out,” and “I feel I do not have much to be proud of,”

among others. Higher values meant that children had less emotional needs (they had high self-esteem). For this reason, some of the questions were reversed coded. I chose these statements because they were consistent associated with who provides emotional support. [In future iterations, I will revise this variable]

Covariates

Gender. To account for the child's sex, I utilize a composite variable provided by ECLS-K administrators. The variable takes a value of 1 if the respondent is female, 0 otherwise. The information comes from the first wave of data collection.

Age. I calculated the respondents' ages using the birthdate information that parents provided about their children in the first wave of data collection. I present their ages in kindergarten.

Birth Order and Number of Siblings. To account for sibling configuration, I use the household roster to figure out how many siblings children have and the birth order among them. With regards to the number of siblings, in order to understand, who precisely is providing emotional support, I create four variables that indexed the number of number of older sisters, the number of younger sisters, the number of older brothers and the number of younger brothers. In addition, I created a categorical variable that distinguishes between first-borns, middle-borns, and last-borns. Once I establish birth order in the first wave, I ascertain whether new babies arrived in the home, which might change the birth order of the last-borns to middle-borns. New arrivals would be inconsequential to receiving emotional support from a sibling because they would be younger than the focal child, and thus would be more likely to receive, not give, emotional support from the focal child. Nevertheless, more children might reduce the amount of time that parents can provide to the focal child.

Family Structure. ECLS-K administrators asked parents if their household was composed of 2 parents plus siblings, 2 parents with no siblings, 1 parent plus siblings, 1 parent with no siblings, or other arrangements. I created three categories from this question: married (2-parents), single parent (1 parent), and other arrangement. Further, using the household roster, I created dummy variables for the presence of other people in the household, including siblings, grandparents, aunts or uncles, cousins or other relatives, and non-relatives. This is particularly important because who lives in the house is no doubt consequential to who provides emotional support to children.

Sample

Table 3.1 provides descriptive statistics for my sample. With respect to extended family in the household, most children in both immigrant and native-born households live with siblings (over 73% in all groups), with Latino children in immigrant families being the most likely to have a sibling at home (84%) ($p < .01$). With regards to parental socioeconomic resources, on average, White children have a higher percentage of children living in the highest income quintile (28%), followed by Asian children in immigrant families, Latino children in native-born families (12%), and Latino children in immigrant families (4%) ($p < .001$). With respect to parental time resources, the highest percentage of mothers working full-time is found among Latino children with native-born families (56%) and among Asian children with immigrant families (56%), followed among White children with native-parentage (51%), and Latino children with immigrant parents (45%) ($p < .001$). With respect to father's employment, Asian children with immigrant parents are the most likely to have fathers employed full-time (79%), followed by White children with native-born parentage (74%), Latino children with immigrant parents (67%), and finally, Latino children with native-born parentage (65%) ($p < .001$). Parents

in immigrant households have lower English language proficiency scores compared to parents in native-born households, with Latino immigrant parents having the lowest score ($p < .001$), and, finally, Latino children in immigrant households have the lowest mean school attachment and Asian children of immigrants have the highest mean school attachment ($p < .01$).

RESULTS

Immigrant-native differences in parental emotional support

Table 3.2 provides weighted cross tabulation of parental emotional support and our racial/ethnic categories of interest. This table shows that, consistent with hypothesis #1, the percentage of children receiving parental emotional support (as examined here) is lowest for children of immigrants compared to Whites with native-born parentage ($p < .001$). About 74% of White children receive parental advice about making important decisions compared to 65% among Latino children of immigrants and 69% among Asian children of immigrants. Similarly, about 62% of White children receive cheering up from parents compared to 52% among Latino children of immigrants, and 46% among Asian children of immigrants. Importantly, Latino children with native-born parentage are also more likely to receive cheering up from parents compared to children in immigrant families, but less likely to receive advice about making important decisions.

Social exchange theory suggests that parental resources explain the distribution of homework help for children. Table 3.3 shows multivariate regression models predicting whether parents provide emotional support to children. With respect to advice (*Panel A*), relative to Whites with native-born parentage, children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from parents (Model 1), but socioeconomic status explains this difference. Higher-SES parents are more likely to provide advice to their children, but immigrant parents are, on average,

more socioeconomically disadvantaged; therefore, they are less likely to provide advice about making important decisions to their children[8]. With respect to cheering up, children of immigrants are less likely to receive this kind of emotional support from parents compared to Whites, but the Latino – White gap is explained, again, mostly by SES (about 37%) as well as other parental constraints. However, in the case of the Asian – White gap, none of the covariates explain the differential. In sum, in the case of Latino children of immigrants, they are less likely to receive emotional support from parents (compared to Whites) because they tend to live in lower-SES families, which are less likely to provide emotional support to children. One explanation for this dynamic is that Lower-SES parents are less likely to provide emotional support to children because they do not engage in concerted cultivation (Lareau 2011), a child-rearing strategy that requires extensive and prioritized investment in children, including emotional management, so that they can effectively engage with institutional actors and settings (Calarco 2014).

But this explanation does not apply to cheering up in the case of Asian children of immigrants. Asian children of immigrants are less likely to receive cheering up from parents compared to Whites with native-born parentage, and this differential is not explained by SES (or any covariate). In the case of Asian children of immigrants, socioeconomic status explains the "advice" but not the "cheering up" emotional support dimensions. Perhaps Asian immigrant parents – many of which came from high SES status in their countries of origin (see Feliciano and Lanuza 2017) – deploy middle-class child-rearing strategies (as defined in the U.S.), but do not see "cheering up" as particularly important for future mobility and, therefore, do not engage in this practice. Another explanation is that immigrant parents' countries of origin do not

[8] Although the coefficient on Asian children of immigrants is still significant at the .10 level, in additional regressions, when I just control for SES (and not the rest of the covariates), the differences are not statistically significant relative to Whites, suggesting that SES explains the White-Asian in receiving advice from parents.

prioritize cheering up – a kind of emotional investment – as part of child-parent relations; parental love is more associated with instrumental help and support (Chang and Leong 1994; Pyke 2000). For example, previous research suggests that in some Asian societies, "emotional expressiveness, including displays of affection, is discouraged, while self-control is emphasized" (see Hurh 1998; Uba 1994). Pyke (2000), for example, found that Asian young adults (Korean and Vietnamese) were critical of their parents' lack of expressive love (in contrast to "American" [White] families), hoping for "more communicative, more expressive, and more affectionate" parents (246). However, Latino children of native-born parentage are also less likely to receive emotional support (both advice and cheering up) compared to Whites with native-born parentage. In their case, none of the covariates explains the differential. Although socioeconomic status explains some of this variation (Latino children of immigrants are poorer than Whites), the results point to another mechanism driving the difference that I have yet to account in my regression. It is possible, for example, that immigrant parents' own emotional coping mechanism includes not revealing the emotional toll that comes from their everyday survival in the United States, which reduces parental emotional availability for children, and children feel constrained in their ability to bring emotional concerns to their parents; they might feel that there are not a lot of opportunities to bring these up or make want to spare their parents from worrying about their emotional dilemmas (see Chung 2016).

If Not Parents, Which Adult Steps Up to Provide Emotional Support?

In addition to – or instead of – parents, children may seek emotional support from other adults in their lives, including adult relatives, school adults, or someone else. Table 3.4 documents immigrant-native differences in emotional support for children from adults other than parents. All groups of interest are more likely to rely on an *adult relative* for emotional support

compared to Whites. In particular, children of immigrants are more likely to receive advice about important decisions and cheering up compared to their White counterparts living in native-born families (at least at $p < .05$). Further, Asian children of immigrants are more likely to rely on adults at school for emotional support, especially advice, compared to all other groups, which are comparable in this regard. Differences with regards to emotional support from other adults or no adult are not as striking.

What explains immigrant-native differences in receiving emotional support from adult relatives or from adults at school? Table 3.5 provides multivariate regressions exploring possible reasons for these discrepancies. With regards to Latino children with native-born parentage, they are more likely to rely on adult relatives (compared to Whites) due to family structure and SES differences. Only partially supporting hypothesis #2, with respect to children of immigrants, they are more likely to rely on adult relatives (compared to Whites) and none of the covariates explains much of the difference, except in the case of Latino children of immigrants receiving advice. In the case of Latino children with immigrant parents, they are more likely to rely on adult relatives for advice for important decisions (compared to Whites) because their parents are limited – with respect to time and English language proficiency – in their ability to help them.

In addition, compared to Whites with native-born parentage and consistent with hypothesis #3, Table 3.5 shows that Asian children of immigrants are more likely to rely on an adult at school for emotional support – both advice and cheering up – compared to Whites, a difference that is not explained by any of the covariates and that is unique to them (no Latino – White differences, inconsistent with hypothesis #4). These results suggest that Asian children of immigrants are more likely to find an adult at school that provides them with emotional support.

These findings are consistent with previous research that shows that Asian students generally, including children of immigrants, receive a warm welcome from school staff members.

Part of the reason for their emotional support at school may be that school staff assume that they are going to be academically superior and well-behaved students – a model minority in the classroom (Louie 2004). Therefore, teachers and other adults may be more likely to invest in them, thereby providing Asian children with emotional resources as well as academic ones. These results may reflect the power of contemporary racial dynamics with respect to schooling in the United States (Jimenez and Horowitz 2015). Importantly, these results suggest that one of the mechanisms that bolsters the 'stereotype promise' among Asian children is teacher's investment in their emotional well-being (Lee and Zhou 2015), which, in turn, further boosts their educational performance and achievement (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). Finally, there are no differences with respect to receiving emotional support from another adult (not a school adult or adult relative), as we saw in the bivariate case.

In sum, compared to Whites, Latino children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from parents and more likely to receive it from adult relatives due, in large part, to parental constraints and difficulties, especially those associated with lower-socioeconomic status. Further, compared to Whites, Asian children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from parents and more likely to receive it from adult relatives and adults at school[9]. For the most part, these Asian-White differentials are not explained by parental constraints. Notice, too, that children's emotional attachment to school or their own emotional needs (Models 5 & 6) do not explain the differential. Thus, another mechanism – instead of parental constraints – is involved. One explanation is the warm reception that Asian children

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[9] Notice that when I include other adults in the regression for receiving emotional support from parents, it explains the rest of the Asian-White difference. In other words, part of the reason that Asian children of immigrants do not get advice from parents is that they get it from other adults.

receive at school, which makes them more likely to find emotional support from adults in educational settings, but that is only a partial explanation as it does not address why Asian children of immigrants, compared to Whites, are also more likely to get emotional support from adult relatives. Combined, these results suggest a "push factor" in Asian immigrant families that spurs children to get emotional support outside of the home; perhaps, normative child-parent relations with respect to emotional domains (e.g. Pyke 2000). In terms of emotional support, Latino children with native-born parentage may fare the worst, as they are less likely to receive emotional support from parents, and there is scant evidence that they are receiving it from another adult.

Immigrant-native difference in sibling and peer emotional support

Table 3.6 shows that, consistent with hypothesis #5, children of immigrants are more likely to receive emotional support from siblings compared to their counterparts with native-born parentage, both White and Latino ($p < .001$). About 39% of children in immigrant families receive advice from siblings compared to 30% and 33% for White and Latino children with native-born parentage. Similarly, about 31% and 29% Latino and Asian children of immigrants, respectively, receive cheering up from siblings compared to 23% and 25% White and Latino children with native-born parentage ($p < .001$). These results show a clear patter: children in immigrant families are more likely to receive emotional support compared to their native-born counterparts. Further, it is important to note that about 60% of these siblings are 17 years of age or younger, which suggests that many of the siblings providing emotional support to children are also children themselves. Why? Table 3.6 shows the multivariate regressions that test possible reasons for this discrepancy, including parental resource constraints.

In Table 3.7, Model 1 shows that children of immigrants (both Asian and Latino) are more likely to receive emotional support from siblings compared to their White native-born counterparts. Although SES explains some of this variation, the most important factor explaining this immigrant-native difference in receiving support from a sibling is parental time and English proficiency constraints (Model 4). In particular, as parental English language proficiency increases, reliance on siblings for emotional support decreases. Children of immigrants have parents with lower English language proficiency, therefore, they are more likely to rely on their siblings for emotional support[10]. These results suggest that lack of parental resources – and not the immigrant bargain – accounts for reliance on siblings for emotional support in immigrant families, which contradicts hypothesis #6.

With respect to other peers at school and otherwise, differences across my groups are not stark (see Appendix Table 3.1), except for Latino children of immigrants who are less likely to receive emotional support from friends at school or other friends compared to Whites, an inconsistent finding with hypothesis #7 (see Table 3.8). Parental socioeconomic status explains this difference. One explanation for the lower likelihood of Latino children of immigrants to rely on friends, at school or otherwise, (compared to Whites) is that low parental socioeconomic resources often means that these families are limited to living in rougher neighborhoods, and those neighborhoods are less hospitable to – or safe for – children, which is why they may be less likely to find (or seek, really) friends in school or in the community. Previous research shows that lower income Latino immigrant parents often must live in low-income, less hospitable neighborhoods (Noguera 2003).

[10] This applies to Asian children of immigrants as well: When I only include parental constraints (including English language proficiency) without any of the other covariates, it explains the Asian-White difference in receiving help from siblings.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The ongoing demographic shifts in the United States population, a result of decades of migration, highlight the importance of examining the lives of immigrant families to understand not-so-distant family dynamics in American households (Menjívar, Abrego, Schmalzbauer 2016). Although a large literature documents a number of dimensions of immigrant family life, attention to the emotional realm has remains scant (Chung 2016; Menjívar, Abrego, Schmalzbauer 2016). But the current context of heightened immigrant visibility in the United States makes explorations of children's emotional support particularly important, as children's emotional resources may be crucial to withstand the current onslaught of negative attention (Dreby 2015). This study follows the scant but necessary work that seeks to understand the emotional life of children of immigrants. Importantly, previous research shows that providing emotional support requires emotional labor, a kind of work that further taxes the strained resources that immigrant parents possess to support their children (Wharton 2009; Erickson 2005; Hochschild 1983). Therefore, it is important to examine who provides emotional support to children of immigrants, as their parents confront migration-related difficulties that hinder their ability to support their emotional well-being (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Although parents are assumed to be the primary provider of emotional support, I find that children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from their parents compared to their White counterparts with native-born parentage. Further exploration of this differential does not support the idea that a single immigrant-specific factor shapes the provision of emotional support from immigrant parents. In fact, examining the largest racial groups in the United States – Latinos and Asians – show that the reasons for the lower likelihood of parental provision of emotional resources in immigrant families (compared to their native-born

counterparts) varies across groups. In the case of Latinos, results show that parental lack of resources, especially socioeconomic ones, explain why immigrant parents are less likely to provide emotional support to their children. Thinking of concerted cultivation, a middle-class parenting strategy, as a resource illustrates why Latino children of immigrants are less likely to receive parental emotional support compared to Whites with native-born parentage (Lareau 2011). This parenting strategy not only focuses on emotional, cognitive, and physical investments on children, but also on emotional ones (Calarco 2014). As Calarco (2014) and Chin (2000) show, parental emotional labor – usually performed by mothers – is deployed in a concerted manner for children. Because Latino children of immigrants' parents are not as likely to engage this strategy because they are more socioeconomically disadvantaged; they are, therefore, less likely to provide emotional support to their children directly – at least as measured in this paper.

In the case of Asian children of immigrants, parental resources explain the differential with respect to "advice for important decisions," but not with respect to "cheering up" children. One possibility is that "cheering up" children may be more affective dimension of emotional support while providing advice may be more instrumental. Perhaps Asian immigrant parents, due to renegotiated dynamics in the context of migration, focus more on instrumental needs of the child compared to the affective dimension. Chang and Leong (1994), in the case of Chinese Americans, show their love through tending to the children's physical and material and working to secure a better future for their children as opposed to verbally articulating feelings. Chung (2016:64) finds a similar dynamic among Korean and Chinese families. She writes:

> A parent saying the words 'I love you' to a child however is les meaningful and if anything superficial and selfish than sacrificing wordlessly for the good of the family. In day-to-day conversation, the things parents don't say are just as important as those they do, especially if they believe that revealing their feelings through the imperfect medium of another language

could only aggravate intergenerational tensions. The context of immigration also requires that parents focus even more intensely on the practical matters of survival over issues of social and emotional growth. If anything, they believe that the tactic of tough love best prepares their children for the harsh realities and struggles of day-to-day survival.

Future research should explore emotional needs more broadly to further understand family dynamics that give rise to parental involvement in the emotional needs of Asian children of immigrants.

Of course, that is not to say that children of immigrants do not receive emotional support. In fact, examining support from other adults – biological or otherwise – further clarifies why immigrant parents are less likely to provide emotional support themselves. Children of immigrants are more likely to rely on adult relatives for emotional compared to their counterparts with native-born parentage. Although the Latino-White differential in receiving advice is explained by parental resource constraints (especially time and English language proficiency), lending credence to the claim that parents lower involvement in the emotional support of children is because they constraints that prevent them from doing so, with respect to "cheering up" (and advice in the case of Asian), children of immigrants' higher reliance on an adult relative is not explained by parental constraints or any other reasons directly explored in this paper. These results suggest that the reasons for providing emotional support to children may be immigrant-specific, as a heightened sense of responsibility for nieces, nephews, grandchildren, and others, in immigrant families encourages adult relatives to protect children of immigrants from their own hostile reception in the society (Zhou and Bankston 1998).

Further, an exploration of adult emotional support at school highlights how racialization processes impact all dimensions of social life, including emotional support distribution for children. In particular, only Asian children of immigrant are more likely to receive emotional

support from adults at school compared to Whites (no Latino-White difference). These results are consistent with the unique reception that Asian children receive upon entering American schools compared to other racial/ethnic groups (Lee and Zhou 2015). Although I do not test it directly, one explanation for the emotional support that Asian children receive at school is that school staff, including teachers, are already well-disposed to receive Asian students, because they assume and perceive them to be more academically focused and behaviorally docile. Not only do teachers, for example, support the academic trajectories of their Asian students well beyond what would be expected by their prior performance, but they also provide emotional support in the process. The embrace with which adults in schools receive Asian students in further highlighted when I examined immigrant-native differences in peer emotional support, as Asians are *no* more likely to receive emotional support from their peers compared to other groups. In other words, it is *adults* – not other children – who provide special (emotional) attention to Asian children at school. Given that emotional support bolsters academic outcomes (Crosnoe, Johnson, Elder 2004), especially attention from adults, it is not wonder that Asian children of immigrants perform at higher levels than would be expected by other objective indicators, including social class (Lee and Zhou 2015). The racialization of school processes, in short, abets the emotional support that children find at school.

Parental constraints not only affect the involvement of other adults in the provision of emotional support for children, but also in the involvement of siblings. I find that children of immigrants are more likely to rely on their siblings for emotional support compared to their native-born peers (White and Latinos). Although parental socioeconomic status explains some of this differential, it is precisely because immigrant parents have diminished English language proficiency (compared to their native-born counterparts) that their children go to their siblings

for support. These results are consistent with previous scholarship that suggests that children of immigrants take on a larger role in their households subsequent to migration, but do not support the claim that an "immigrant bargain" is implicated in urging children to take on emotional labor in their households (Lanuza 2017). In addition, these findings highlight the key difference in family dynamics between immigrant and native-born families, as previous resource that finds sibling support for children usually decreases in from childhood to adolescence in European American families. My findings, although not based on longitudinal data, suggest siblings in immigrant families either maintain levels of emotional support or increase it for children due to difficulties that parents encounter during the integration process; offspring must spring into (emotional) action, taking nonnormative household responsibilities (see "adultification" in Burton 2007). Note that most children in my sample have siblings that are 17 years of age, or younger. Thus, these results further support the notion that children of immigrants take on enlarged roles in their households (compared to their counterparts with native-born parentage), providing academic, financial, linguistic, and emotional resources to their families (Lanuza 2017, Estrada 2012; Orellana 2009; Katz 2010).

In sum, I argue that the structure of emotional support for children differs in immigrant and native-born families. Parental resource constraints, especially those associated with socioeconomic status and English language proficiency, spur children of immigrants to seek emotional support from other adults and their siblings. Further, racialization processes in the United States further generate emotional support differences across racial/ethnic groups, widening the set of actors that provide emotional support to Asian children of immigrants.

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Table 3.1. Descriptives. Weighted Percentages. (N=7,441)

	Native					Immigrant				
	Whites		Latinos			Latinos		Asians		
Female	0.47	SD	0.49	SD		0.50	SD	0.48	SD	*n.s.*
Family Structure										***
Not Single Parent	0.78		0.71			0.74		0.87		
Single Parent	0.16		0.23			0.23		0.08		
Other	0.05		0.05			0.03		0.06		
Mother's Working Hours										***
Not in Labor Force	0.18		0.24			0.30		0.23		
Looking for Work	0.03		0.01			0.04		0.04		
Less than 35 Hours	0.24		0.16			0.19		0.14		
More than 35 Hours	0.51		0.56			0.45		0.56		
No Mother in Household	0.04		0.03			0.25		0.02		
Father's Working Hours										***
Not in Labor Force	0.03		0.03			0.04		0.06		
Looking for Work	0.05		0.04			0.04		0.06		
Less than 35 Hours	0.04		0.04			0.04		0.02		
More than 35 Hours	0.74		0.65			0.67		0.79		
No Father in Household	0.14		0.22			0.22		0.16		
SES										***
First Quintile	0.09		0.23			0.63		0.24		
Second Quintile	0.17		0.25			0.19		0.18		
Third Quintile	0.21		0.21			0.11		0.12		
Fourth Quintile	0.24		0.19			0.04		0.18		
Fifth Quintile	0.28		0.12			0.04		0.26		
Household Roster										
Sibling in Household	0.79		0.73			0.84		0.75		**
Grandparents in Household	0.06		0.10			0.07		0.17		***
Aunt or Uncle in Household	0.02		0.04			0.10		0.08		***
Other Relative in Household	0.04		0.08			0.09		0.05		***
Non-Relative in Household	0.03		0.04			0.04		0.03		*n.s.*
Birth Order										***
First Born	0.52		0.50			0.53		0.59		
Middle-Born	0.19		0.22			0.25		0.15		
Last Born	0.30		0.28			0.22		0.27		
Age at first wave	5.539	0.352	5.463	0.349		5.466	0.340	5.402	0.314	***
Number of Older Sisters	0.352	0.649	0.381	0.675		0.376	0.734	0.375	0.946	*n.s.*
Number of Younger Sisters	0.225	0.465	0.233	0.484		0.209	0.476	0.157	0.448	*
Number of Older Brothers	0.354	0.670	0.402	0.700		0.423	0.773	0.382	0.948	*
Number of Younger Brothers	0.232	0.475	0.217	0.480		0.208	0.479	0.169	0.439	+
Mean School Attachment	3.095	0.539	3.066	0.568		2.989	0.558	3.104	0.543	**
Emotional Needs										
I feel good about myself	3.319	0.626	3.319	0.604		3.282	0.651	3.269	0.629	*n.s.*
I feel like a person of worth	3.243	0.642	3.157	0.687		3.117	0.716	3.311	0.661	**
Because they hardly work out, planning makes me unhappy (reverse)	3.170	0.726	3.118	0.788		2.940	0.825	3.138	0.751	***
When I make plans, I can make them work out	3.014	0.644	2.951	0.711		2.900	0.697	2.949	0.639	**
I feel I do not have much to be proud of (reverse)	3.345	0.765	3.308	0.839		3.115	0.852	3.320	0.727	***
Parental English Language Proficiency	4.008	0.142	3.830	0.522		2.382	0.943	3.339	0.829	***

Note: All significant tests come from the first of the 20 multiply imputed data. For continous variables, significance tests suggest that at least one category is significantly different from Whites at the shown level of significance.

Table 3.2. Parental Emotional Support for Children in 8th Grade. Weighted Proportions. (N=7,441)

	Native		Immigrant		
	Whites	Latinos	Latinos	Asians	
Parents					
Advice	0.74	0.63	0.65	0.69	***
Cheer Up	0.62	0.54	0.52	0.46	***
N	5,451	781	792	417	

Table 3.3. Logit Regressions Predicting Whether Parents Provide Emotional Support to Children by Immigrant Status and Ethnic Group.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Reference: Whites with Native-born Parentage							
Panel A: Advice							
Latino, Native-Born Parentage	-0.524***	-0.446***	-0.363**	-0.371**	-0.395**	-0.434**	-0.385**
Latino, Immigrant Parentage	-0.469***	-0.420***	-0.203	-0.310+	-0.290	-0.298	-0.293
Asian, Immigrant Parentage	-0.277+	-0.327+	-0.290+	-0.342+	-0.359+	-0.380+	-0.337
Panel B: Cheering Up							
Latino, Native-Born Parentage	-0.360**	-0.329**	-0.277**	-0.277*	-0.295**	-0.326**	-0.296**
Latino, Immigrant Parentage	-0.445***	-0.393***	-0.274*	-0.237	-0.215	-0.216	-0.196
Asian, Immigrant Parentage	-0.682***	-0.764***	-0.753***	-0.739***	-0.766***	-0.790***	-0.734***
Female		x	x	x	x	x	x
Age		x	x	x	x	x	x
Sibling Structure		x	x	x	x	x	x
Family Composition		x	x	x	x	x	x
Family Structure (Ref=Not Single Parent)		x	x	x	x	x	x
Socioeconomic Status (Ref=Lowest SES Quintile)			x	x	x	x	x
Mother's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x	x
Father's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x	x
Parental English Language Proficiency				x	x	x	x
Mean School Attachment					x	x	x
Emotional Needs						x	x
Receives Advice/Cheering Up from Adult Relative							x
Receives Advice/Cheering Up from Adult at School							x
Receives Advice/Cheering Up from Another Adult							x

Table 3.4. Adult Emotional Support for Children in 8th Grade. Weighted Proportions. (N=7,441)

	Whites	Native Latinos	Immigrant Latinos	Asians	
Panel A: Adults					
Relatives					
Advice	0.17	0.21	0.21	0.21	*
Cheer Up	0.18	0.22	0.23	0.24	**
Adult at School					
Advice	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.19	***
Cheer Up	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.13	*n.s.*
Other Adult					
Advice	0.09	0.12	0.06	0.10	*
Cheer Up	0.11	0.12	0.09	0.14	*n.s.*
No Adult					
Advice	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.16	*n.s.*
Cheer Up	0.18	0.21	0.22	0.31	**

Table 3.5. Logit Regressions Predicting Whether Adult Relatives Provide Emotional Support to Children by Immigrant Status and Ethnic Group.

	PANEL A: ADVICE						PANEL B: CHEERS					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Ref: Whites with native-born parentage)												
Adult Relative Advises							*Adult Relative Cheers*					
Latino, Native-Born	0.269+	0.239	0.232	0.214	0.212	0.222	0.241+	0.241+	0.218	0.228+	0.225+	0.233+
Latino, Immigrant	0.284*	0.252*	0.291+	0.271	0.281	0.285	0.311**	0.322**	0.283+	0.338+	0.345+	0.341**
Asian, Immigrant	0.302+	0.350*	0.375*	0.360+	0.359+	0.350+	0.367*	0.367*	0.364*	0.367*	0.366*	0.347+
School Adult Advises							*School Adult Cheers*					
Latino, Native-Born	0.327	0.343	0.372+	0.367	0.373+	0.383	-0.006	-0.005	0.028	0.013	0.004	-0.004
Latino, Immigrant	0.162	0.181	0.287	0.430+	0.447+	0.480+	0.021	-0.017	0.107	0.199	0.219	0.235
Asian, Immigrant	1.068***	1.116***	1.148***	1.221***	1.228***	1.235***	0.598*	0.606*	0.637*	0.705*	0.709*	0.711*
Other Adult Advises							*Other Adult Cheers*					
Latino, Native-Born	0.298	0.318	0.365+	0.348+	0.348	0.353	0.116	0.099	0.098	0.087	0.087	0.084
Latino, Immigrant	-0.496*	-0.487*	-0.307	-0.485	-0.488	-0.492	-0.157	-0.178	-0.217	-0.351	-0.351	-0.359
Asian, Immigrant	0.056	0.092	0.144	0.061	0.061	0.042	0.335	0.381	0.367	0.318	0.318	0.317
Female		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Age		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Sibling Structure		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Birth Order (Ref=First Born)		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Family Composition		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Family Structure (Ref=Not Single Parent)		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Socioeconomic Status (Ref=Lowest SES Quintile)			x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
Mother's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x				x	x	x
Father's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x				x	x	x
Parental English Language Proficiency				x	x	x				x	x	x
Mean School Attachment					x	x					x	x
Emotional Needs						x						x

Table 3.6. Sibling Emotional Support for Children in 8th Grade. Weighted Proportions. (N=7,441)

	Native		Immigrant		
	Whites	Latinos	Latinos	Asians	
Siblings					
Advice	0.30	0.33	0.39	0.39	***
Cheer Up	0.23	0.25	0.31	0.29	***
N	5,451	781	792	417	

Table 3.7. Logit Regressions Predicting Whether Siblings Provide Emotional Support to Children by Immigrant Status and Ethnic Group.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Reference: Whites with Native-born Parentage							
Panel A: Advice							
Latino, Native-Born Parentage	0.134	0.137	0.143	0.121	0.119	0.117	0.134
Latino, Immigrant Parentage	0.408***	0.409***	0.389**	0.137	0.161	0.165	0.155
Asian, Immigrant Parentage	0.382*	0.532**	0.518**	0.407*	0.405*	0.403*	0.531**
Panel B: Cheering Up							
Latino, Native-Born Parentage	0.129	0.155	0.119	0.115	0.111	0.111	0.146
Latino, Immigrant Parentage	0.412***	0.416***	0.234+	0.134	0.147	0.149	0.174
Asian, Immigrant Parentage	0.274+	0.351*	0.282+	0.236	0.232	0.229	0.312
Female		x	x	x	x	x	x
Age		x	x	x	x	x	x
Sibling Structure		x	x	x	x	x	x
Family Composition		x	x	x	x	x	x
Family Structure (Ref=Not Single Parent)		x	x	x	x	x	x
Socioeconomic Status (Ref=Lowest SES Quintile)			x	x	x	x	x
Mother's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x	x
Father's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x	x
Parental English Language Proficiency				x	x	x	x
Mean School Attachment					x	x	x
Emotional Needs						x	x
Receives Advice/Cheering Up from School Friends							x
Receives Advice /Cheering Up from Other Friends							x

Table 3.8. Logit Regressions Predicting Whether a Kid Provides Emotional Support to Children by Immigrant Status and Ethnic Group.

	PANEL A: ADVICE						PANEL B: CHEERS					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Ref: Whites with native-born parentage)												
School Friend Advises							*School Friend Cheers*					
Latino, Native-Born	-0.173+	-0.130	-0.013	0.020	0.018	0.008	-0.130	-0.062	-0.089	0.111	0.101	0.113
Latino, Immigrant	-0.584***	-0.573***	-0.092	0.010	0.031	0.021	-0.644***	-0.601***	-0.162	-0.018	0.009	0.012
Asian, Immigrant	0.101	0.085	0.212	0.253	0.254	0.232	0.121	0.111	0.226	0.305	0.304+	0.285+
Other Friend Advises							*Other Friend Cheers*					
Latino, Native-Born	-0.072	-0.075	-0.081	-0.116	-0.116	-0.114	-0.183	-0.177	-0.156	-0.194	-0.195	-0.190
Latino, Immigrant	-0.233+	-0.232+	-0.198	-0.366+	-0.373+	-0.375+	-0.288*	-0.271*	-0.175	-0.428*	-0.440*	-0.439*
Asian, Immigrant	0.218	0.131	0.151	0.076	0.077	0.080	0.302*	0.286+	0.317*	0.209	0.210	0.215
Female		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Age		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Sibling Structure		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Birth Order (Ref=First Born)		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Family Composition		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Family Structure (Ref=Not Single Parent)		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Socioeconomic Status (Ref=Lowest SES Quintile)			x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
Mother's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x				x	x	x
Father's Working Hours (Ref=Not in Labor Force)				x	x	x				x	x	x
Parental English Language Proficiency				x	x	x				x	x	x
Mean School Attachment					x	x					x	x
Emotional Needs						x						x

Appendix Table 3.1. Emotional Support from Other Children in 8th Grade. Weighted Proportions. (N=7,441)

	Whites	Native Latinos	Immigrant Latinos	Asians	
Panel A: Children					
School Friends					
Advice	0.53	0.49	0.39	0.56	***
Cheer Up	0.70	0.67	0.55	0.72	***
Other Friends					
Advice	0.27	0.25	0.22	0.31	*n.s.*
Cheer Up	0.30	0.26	0.24	0.36	*
No Child					
Advice	0.14	0.12	0.14	0.08	*n.s.*
Cheer Up	0.07	0.05	0.09	0.06	*n.s.*

CHAPTER 4

MONEY FLOWS

PARENT-CHILD MONETARY EXCHANGES IN AFRICAN AMERICAN AND IMMIGRANT FAMILIES DURING THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

INTRODUCTION

A dominant perspective among scholars who study American family life suggests that children are sites of unilateral parental investment (Friedman 2013; Lareau 2011), stemming from an "economically useless but emotionally priceless" view of children (Zelizer 1985) that renders their economic roles in their parental home to be virtually non-existent. Recent scholarship suggests that this view may be applicable even through children's transition to adulthood (Schoeni and Ross 2005; Swartz et al. 2011), as empirical work shows that nowadays young adults rely heavily on their parents for all manner of support, including financial assistance (Wightman et al. 2012) during this increasingly protracted stage of the life course (Fingerman et al. 2012, 2012; Osgood et al. 2005; Settersten et al. 2005, 2010; Waters et al. 2010). At the same time, independence – financial and otherwise – is a key feature by which contemporary young adults (and their parents) define adulthood, providing strong incentives for children to attain economic independence as soon as possible (Arnett 2014).

These two perspectives – investment and independence – rest on the premise that young adult children do *not* play contributive roles in their families. However, this may be a White-centric perspective, as previous research on African Americans and children of immigrants suggests that children in these families play contributive roles in their households, including helping their parents financially (Agius Vallejo 2012; Dreby 2015; Gonzales 2016; Lanuza 2017; Patillo-McCoy 1999; Rumbaut and Komaie 2010; Song 1999; Stack 1974). Much of this work

relies on qualitative research. Thus, we do not know whether these findings apply to the general population. Nevertheless, these early accounts point to the importance of examining family financial exchanges across race and immigrant status.

Using nationally representative data, I examine patterns of monetary exchanges between parents and their young adult children, and show how these patterns vary by race/ethnicity and immigrant origin. Note that I am examining the specific case of *monetary exchanges* among the many kinds of financial exchanges that parents and children can engage in. In doing so, I make several contributions. First, I examine the extent to which young adults in the United States exhibit *parent-to-child investment* (receiving monetary support from parents without providing them with monetary assistance), *monetary independence* (neither receiving nor giving monetary support to parents), *monetary interdependence* (receiving and giving monetary support to parents) and *child-to-parent assistance* (giving monetary support to parents without receiving monetary assistance from them). Further, I test the relative importance of each of these exchanges simultaneously, as previous work only examines them in isolation (see Manzoni 2016, for example). Second, moving beyond studies that focus on a single ethnic or racial group (Patillo-McCoy 1999), or only immigrant families (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009), I make direct comparisons between racial and ethnic groups, and between immigrant and native-born families. Third, I examine possible mechanisms that may explain any between-group variation.

My findings reveal that parent-to-child investment (also referred to as "downward flows") is not the primary monetary exchange dynamic across increasingly diverse American families. In particular, White young adult children living in native-born families are more likely to exhibit monetary *independence*, African American young adult children are more likely to exhibit monetary *interdependence*, and young adult children of immigrants and more likely to

exhibit *child-to-parent assistance* relative to each other. Although parental socioeconomic status, concurrent milestones in the transition to adulthood (such as living on their own), having been raised in a two-parent household, and the young adult child's own income explain part of these group differences, these racial/ethnic and immigrant-native variations can, I suggest, also be linked to group-specific dominant cultural scripts: A "self-sufficient" cultural element among Whites, a "linked fate" cultural element among African Americans, and an "immigrant bargain" cultural element among children of immigrants may also help explain financial exchanges differences across these groups.

Family monetary exchange differences across these groups not only reflect social inequality, but also suggest that family dynamics is a central feature through which inequality is generated and exacerbated in American society. While Whites are more likely to begin adulthood without economic responsibilities towards their parents, African Americans and children of immigrants are more likely to "give back" monetary resources to their parents, which reduces their own economic investment during the transition to adulthood. Over time, these missed opportunities generate cumulative social disadvantages, which, in turn, fuel racial/ethnic and economic inequality.

BACKGROUD

The Determinants of Family Financial Exchanges

Previous research finds that financial exchanges are largely a consequence of (1) family structure, (2) parental resources, and (3) children's needs (see Fingerman et al. 2015). With regards to family structure, previous research finds that children that live, or grew up, in two-parent households ("intact" families) are more likely to receive financial assistance relative to other arrangements, as their parents are more likely to agree that they should provide economic

help during the transition to adulthood (Aquilino 2005). Similarly, parental socioeconomic status, especially parental income and education, strongly influences parent-young adult child financial exchanges. In particular, higher income families provide more financial support to adult children relative to lower income families (Fingerman et al. 2015; McGarry and Schoeni 1995; Schoeni and Ross, 2005; Swartz et al. 2011; Wightman et al. 2012), as family income is the most important predictor of both the receipt and value of parental assistance to children (Wightman et al. 2012)[11]. A low-SES family, in addition to being less able to provide financial resources to children, may also be more likely to have economic needs. Thus, we can more broadly understand parental SES as both a measure of ability to provide resources to young adult children and a multidimensional measure to gauge parental needs, which is less often emphasized because parents are assumed to be the *provider* of resources in parent-young adult child financial exchanges.

Finally, recipient needs are often thought of as the needs of the young adult child, which are intricately linked to the timing of concurrent milestones during the transition to adulthood. In line with these predictions, previous research finds that parent-young adult child financial exchanges are associated with milestones during the transition to adulthood, including school enrollment, having children, employment, living at home, and being married. For example, school enrollment increases the odds of parental financial support, especially post-secondary schooling (Fitzpatrick and Turner 2006; McGarry and Schoeni 1995; Swartz et al. 2011; also Hamilton 2013). Similarly, unemployment increases the odds of parental support (Fitzpatrick and Turner, 2006; Swartz et al., 2011). Along the same vein, Sarkisian and Gerstel (2008) find that married women and men have less intense ties with their parents than their non-married

[11] It is important to note that the income effect is related to absolute income, not relative income. Previous research finds that all families provide about the same proportion of financial support to their adult children, which is, on average, about 10%.

peers, with married adult children being less likely to provide or receive financial support to and from their parents. In addition, having children may reduce disposable income for young adult children to provide financial resources to their parents, especially as the number of children increases (see Blake 1992; Owens 2016). Finally, co-residence is considered to be the most important source of support – financial and otherwise – to children during the transition to adulthood. Most scholars assume that co-residence is a source of support that parents provide to their children (Manzoni 2016), not the other way around. Finally, because young adult children's needs spur financial support, it follows that children's increasing economic resources would diminish financial assistance from parents. Indeed, previous research shows that the income level of the child is inversely related to the chance of receiving financial transfers from parents (Hochguertel and Ohlsson, 2009). Consequently, as their economic resources increase, young adults may be more likely to provide financial assistance to their parents.

The aforementioned determinants – family structure, parental socioeconomic status, concurrent milestones in the transition to adulthood, and own income – can be thought of as *structural* features that impact family financial exchanges. I expect racial/ethnic and immigrant-native differences in family financial exchanges because these racial/ethnic and immigrant identities capture differences in structural features across these groups.

Indeed, previous research documents differences in the structural features across these groups. For example, with respect to racial differences, relative to African Americans, White children are more likely to grow up in "intact families," as their parents are more likely to be married (Raley, Sweeney, and Wondra 2015), are more likely to live in families with higher socioeconomic status (Lichter, Qian, Crowley 2005), are less likely to to live at home during the transition to adulthood (Britton 2013), to be enrolled in and complete college (Alon and Tienda

2007; Brown and Hirschman 2006), and less likely to be unemployed during the transition to adulthood (Danziger and Ratner 2010).

In addition, previous research finds immigrant-native differences with regards to these structural determinants as well. On average, for example, children of immigrants are more likely to live in two-parent families (Glick 2010: 504) and more likely to experience multigenerational living arrangements (Glick and Van Hook 2011; Holdaway 2011; Landale, Thomas, Van Hook 2011). Second, scholars document parental SES differentials between immigrant and native-born families (Borjas 2011; Chiswick and DebBurman 2014; Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005; Smith and Edmonston 1997). For example, minority and children of immigrants usually have higher than average poverty rates (Hernandez 2004; Van Hook, Brown, and Kwenda, 2004), with children from Latin American immigrants exhibiting higher poverty rates than children from Asia (Lollock 2001). Finally, scholars document differential timing in transitions to adulthood between immigrant and native-born families (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). For example, children of immigrants tend to live at their parental home longer than their native-born counterparts (Holdaway 2010; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). This research, however, does not examine within family monetary exchanges and it's not specific to the transition to adulthood. In their review of the very limited literature on native-immigrant differences in financial exchanges during the transition to adulthood, Rumbaut and Komaie (2010) suggest that "the pattern of support in immigrant families more often flows reciprocally or even in the opposite direction than that indicated by data on preponderantly native-parentage families" (p. 56). Although these studies provide excellent insights, the data are specific to certain locales (e.g. Southern California, Miami, and New York City), are based on non-

representative samples (Agius Vallejo 2012; Gonzales 2016), and often lack a native-born comparison group. This project addresses each of these shortcomings in turn.

Differences in structural features create (and are created by) distinct experiences in the United States. These differences require that families develop responses that are both similar within each group and distinct across them. Therefore, **I expect disparate monetary exchanges across racial/ethnic groups and between immigrant and native-born families before I adjust for these structural features (Hypothesis #1).** Logically, if structural features are the only driver of racial/ethnic and immigrant-native differences, **I expect structural features to explain all between-group differences in monetary exchanges (Hypothesis #2).** If, on the other hand, between-group differences remain after accounting for structural features, these results would suggest that cultural features also shape monetary exchanges between parents and their young adult children.

Cultural Dimension Shaping Family Monetary Exchange Dynamics

Although structural features matter for family dynamics, previous research shows that people attach meaning to monetary transfers (Bandelj et al. 2017; Carruthers and Ariovich 2010; Zelizer 1994), which suggests that monetary exchanges have a cultural dimension. In his extensive longitudinal study of the transition to adulthood, Arnett (2014) finds that normative conceptions of adulthood in the United States heavily rely on becoming "self-sufficient" – a strong cultural element with three internal criteria: "taking responsibility for [one]self, making independent decisions, and becoming financially independent" (pg.313). Arnett argues that American young adults strive to be *financially independent* from their parents (neither giving nor receiving money) during the transition to adulthood. A strand of research on the transition to adulthood, however, suggests otherwise. Some scholars find continued parental *financial*

investment in their children during the transition to adulthood, as some scholars find financial exchanges flow "downward" (from parents to children), with parents serving as their children's financial "scaffolds" and "safety nets" (Manzoni 2016; Swartz et al. 2011). To date, no research has examined these contradictory (investment vs. independence) forces simultaneously. Further, these two perspectives – investment and independence – rest on the premise that parents are the key (and only) financial actors in families with young adult children: parents are either *giving* or *not giving* to their children, who, in turn, do not play contributive roles in their households (Manzoni 2016). Taking the economic, contributive role of young adult children seriously suggest two additional kinds of family patterns of financial exchange in the United States: one where young adult children both receive and give monetary support to their parents (*monetary interdependence*), and one where young adult children provide but do not receive monetary assistance from their parents (*child-to-parent assistance*).

Although the "independence" narrative is strong in American culture (Arnett 2014), previous research shows racial and ethnic differences in the degree to which young adults adhere to this 'self-sufficient" narrative (Badger et al. 2006; Hochschild 1995; Newman 1988; see also Silva 2012), with Whites being the most likely to adhere to it (Badgert et al. 2006; Higginbotham and Weber 1992; Hochschild 1995; Newman 1988). Thus, **I expect that Whites, relative to all other groups, are more likely to exhibit monetary independence, net of structural features (Hypothesis #3).**

To understand the distinct cultural elements among African Americans and children of immigrants, we must understand broader family dynamic differences across these groups. Neckerman, Carter, and Lee(1999) argue that minority groups share internal cultural elements that allows them to successfully acclimate to the wider mainstream society. Scholars argue that

these cultural elements emerge out of their structural situation, including an "enduring familiarity with poverty," economic precariousness, discrimination, bias, and demands for conformity, among others (Heflin and Patillo-McCoy 2000; Higginbothan and Webber 1992; Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004). Consequently, in the case of African Americans, scholars suggest that they feel that their fate is intricately bound to that of their co-ethnics, which engenders a responsibility towards them, which Dawson (1992) termed a "linked fate." The idea of a "linked fate" has a long history among scholars who study African American families, suggesting that the obligation to give back may be strongest towards parents, their closest co-ethnic kin. For example, Stack (1974) argued that poverty generated a "collective adaptation" among family kin, in which individual members felt a "powerful obligation to exchange," and a particular "strong sense of obligation and sacrifice" towards their parents (see pg. 36; also see Burton (2007) and the case of "adultification"). Similarly, among African American middle class families, many of the "grown kids" assume adult responsibilities in their parents' home: "They work and contribute to the household finances" (Patillo-McCoy,1999:56). In most of the literature, the inherent, if not explicit, comparison group is White, native-born families (see Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004 for a review of the White-Black family comparisons). Therefore, African American parents, as all parents, try their best to economically support their children through the transition to adulthood (Arnett 2014), but, unlike their White peers, young adults feel the obligation to "give back" monetary support to their parents as well, generating a *bi*directional monetary flow. White young adults do not have a strong cultural element that propels them to concurrently provide economic assistance to their parents (Arnett 2014). Thus, **relative to Whites, African Americans are more likely to exhibit monetary interdependence**

(giving and receiving monetary assistance) between parents and their young adult children, net of structural features (Hypothesis #4).

Neckerman, Carter and Lee's (1999) culture of mobility argument suggest that children of immigrants also develop cultural elements that are specific to their experience in and to the United States, which impact family dynamics (Dreby 2010; 2015; Lee and Zhou 2015; Louie 2012). Previous research shows immigrant parents often experience a loss of status subsequent to migration (Akresh 2006, 2008; Gans 2009, Hagan, Hernandez León, and Demonsant 2015; Louie 2012; Neiswand 2012; Pong and Landale 2011; Pong and Landale 2012), a sacrifice that they make sure to communicate to their children (see Fernandez-Kelly 2008; Louie 2012). Consequently, parents and children engage in an "immigrant bargain": parent sacrifices associated with migration will be vindicated through their children's socioeconomic mobility (Agius Vallejo 2012; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Lanuza 2017; Louie 2004, 2012; Smith 2006).

Among children, the "immigrant bargain" generates a strong sense of obligation towards their parents, which they fulfill in a number of ways (Gonzales 2016; Lanuza 2017; Louie 2012), including giving monetary support to them as soon as they are able to (Agius Vallejo 2012; Gonzales 2016; Louie 2004; Rumbaut and Ima 1989). In other words, upon earning money, children of immigrants are compelled to provide monetary support to their parents to *relieve them* of their financial responsibilities, as they have sacrificed enough through migration. Importantly, previous research suggests that the "immigrant bargain" applies to the largest ethnic groups (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 192), including Asians (Chung 2016; Louie 2004; Rumbaut and Ima 1988;) and Latinos (Louie 2012; Smith 2006; Vallejo 2012), especially the undocumented (Gonzales 2016). For example, Vietnamese children of immigrants are required to give a financial "tax" back to their parents – an adult child filial obligation to their

parents (see Rumbaut and Ima 1988; see also Lee and Zhou 2015:87). It is important to note that although children of immigrants feel ambivalence regarding their financial obligations to their parents, there are strong normative expectations to fulfill it as well (Kasinitz et al. 2008:179; Song 1999:81). Thus, if the immigrant bargain shapes family financial exchanges**, I expect, relative to Whites, that children of immigrants are more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistance (giving without receiving monetary support to their parents), net of structural features (Hypothesis #5)**.

Both African American and children of immigrant young adults feel compelled to "give back" to their parents (Agius Vallejo 2012; Patillo-McCoy 1999), but the "linked fate" perspective suggests that parents continue to provide monetary support to their children, generative bidirectional exchanges, but the "immigrant bargain" cultural element suggests that young adult children of immigrants are more likely to provide monetary support to their parents as a way to *relieve* their financial responsibilities, generating one-way (children-to-parent assistance) monetary exchanges. Thus, **relative to African Americans, I expect children of immigrants to be more likely to exhibit children-to-parent assistance as opposed to monetary interdependence, net of structural features (Hypothesis#6).**

METHODS

Data

To answer my research questions, I rely on the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health, henceforth), a nationally representative sample of U.S. individuals. Add Health is a longitudinal, school-based study whose data collection began during the 1994-1995 academic year with children in grades 7-12 (for the sample design, see Harris et al., 2009). Thus far, individuals have been interviewed four times (with a fifth wave of data collection in the

progress): 1994-1995 (Wave 1), 1996 (Wave 2), 2001-2002 (Wave 3), and in 2007-2008 (Wave 4). I limit my analyses to respondents who were 25 years or older during wave 4, capturing middle young adulthood (25-31). Because I am using information from wave 1, 3, and 4, I use the longitudinal study weights, and account for attrition and survey design. Of the original 20,745 observations, my analytic sample is reduced to 7,816 cases with valid weight, strata, primary stratification units and non-missing values in the dependent variable. I limit my analyses to individuals with valid weights as to make my estimates nationally representative. I employ a multiple imputation strategy to retain cases with missing data (Rubin 1987, 1996). Tables show averaged coefficients over 20 imputed data sets. Following standard practice, I do not impute dependent variables (Von Hipple 2007).

Measures: Dependent Variable

<u>Monetary Exchanges Between Parents and Their Young Adult Children</u>. In wave 4 respondents were asked, "how many times has (mother figure/father figure) paid your living expenses or given you $50 or more to pay for living expenses during the past 12 months?" I created a dummy variable that takes a value of 1 for respondents who received money at least once; 0 for those who never received financial support. Similarly, respondents were asked, "how many times have you paid your (mother figure/father figure's) living expenses or given her/him more than $50 to pay living expenses during the past 12 months?" The dummy variable takes a value of 1 for respondents who provided financial support at least one; 0 for those who never provided financial support. I combined these two variables into a categorical variable with four choices: neither giving nor receiving monetary assistance from parents (monetary independence), only receiving monetary support from parents (parent-to-child investment), only giving financial

support to parents (child-to-parent assistance), and both giving and receiving monetary support from parents (monetary interdependence)[12].

Measures: Key Independent Variable

Consistent with previous research, to examine racial/ethnic and immigrant-native differences in financial exchanges, I created 5 mutually exclusive categories: individuals who self-identify as White and come from a native-born family (N=4,370), individuals who self-identify as Black/African American and come from a native-born family (N=1,335), individuals who self-identify as Latinos and come from both immigrant and native-born families (N=573 and N= 613, respectively), and individuals who self-identify as Asian and come from an immigrant family (N=346). Due to small sample sizes, I had to omit Whites in immigrant families, Asians in native-born families and Blacks in immigrant families.

Consistent with previous research (Lanuza 2017), I define an immigrant family as one where there is *no native-born parental presence*. In a family with one native-born and one immigrant parent, the "immigrant bargain" may be diluted if both parents have not experienced difficulties associated with migration, and, therefore, parents don't communicate their hardships to their children, which, in turn, undermines – or does not foster – the "immigrant bargain." Therefore, families with two foreign-born parents or a single-parent family with a foreign-born parent are considered immigrant families, as well as those for which I only have information about one parent and that parent is foreign-born. The rest of the families are considered native-born. Throughout the manuscript, when I refer to Whites, I am talking about children who self-identify as White and who live in native-born families. In additional analyses to evaluate hypothesis #8, I compare Latinos in immigrant and native-born families. For this analysis, I

[12] I do not present logistic regressions that model each monetary exchange separately (through logit models), because part of my contribution is to model these exchanges simultaneously.

compare Latinos with two native-born parents (or with a native-born single parent) with Latinos with two foreign-born parents (or with a foreign-born single parent).

Measures: Demographics

I account for parents' marital status (1=married, 0=otherwise) and the respondents' number of siblings, both measured at Wave 1. Also, I control for age, as previous research shows that as age increases (in adulthood) parents are less likely to provide resources (Swartz et al. 2011) and gender (1=female; 0 otherwise), as gendered scripts influence parental support differences between men and women (Ward and Spitze 2007).

Measures: Parental Socioeconomic Status

Following previous research (NCES 2012), I use parental education, household income, and parental occupation to control for family socioeconomic status. With regards to education, I first take parental educational levels for both parents (where applicable) from the parent's interview at Wave 1. When that information was unavailable, I use respondents' home reports from Wave 1. For each parent, I create a continuous variable, assigning a "0" to parents who did not attend school, "8" to parents whose highest educational attainment was 8th grade or less, a "10" to parents who completed some high school, a "12" to parents who completed high school, a "14" to parents who completed some college, a "16" to parents who graduate from college, and an "18" to parents who completed some graduate study or more. Then, I chose the highest parental level of education (where applicable).

Second, parent respondents provided their households' income during the first wave of data collection. I use the logged version to normalize its distribution, which helps the imputing process for those for whom we do not have valid observations. Finally, respondents provided their parents' occupations. I reduced the 15 categories in the data set to five. Then, I assumed an

occupational hierarchy of professionals, office/sales workers, blue-collar workers, crafts/military/farm/other, and unemployed workers, in that order. I then chose the "highest" occupation of the two parents (where applicable). In short, I use the highest educational attainment, highest occupational attainment, and household income to account for parental socioeconomic status.

Measures: Transition to Adulthood Milestones

Previous research suggests that leaving home, finishing school, working, being married and having children of their own are notably important in shaping financial transfer between parents and their adult children. For each transition to adulthood milestone, I created a binary variables that ascertained whether the respondent (1) lives at home, (2) is currently working, (3) is enrolled in school, and (4) is currently married. I also created a continuous measure of (5) the number of children – all at wave 4. I also account for the respondents' own income, which is a proxy for the child's ability to provide financial resources to their parents (or their child's lack of financial resources that, in turn, hinders economic contributions to their parents). To do so, I created 6 income categories: (1) no income, (2) <$10,000, (3) $10,000 -- <$25,000, (4) $25,000-- <50,000, (5) $50,00--<$75,000 or higher. Because those without income may be qualitatively different from those who have some income, I separated them into their own category, so as to "control" for these differences, such as propensity for idleness, in the multiple regression framework[13].

Analytic Strategy

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[13] In additional analyses (not shown), I also created a variable that compared parental household income to child's own income in young adulthood. I replicated the "own income" categories in a new categorical version of the household income variable and then compared the parent and child income, creating a three-category variable that demarcated whether respondents' income is the same as their parents (no income mobility), whether respondents' income was lower than their parents (downward mobility), and whether respondents' income was higher than their parents (upper mobility). Multivariate results adding this covariate show the same substantive results.

To understand financial exchanges between parents and children, I limit my analyses to 25 to 31 year olds during 2008[14], the last wave of data collection. I limit my analyses to this life course stage because previous research suggest that 18-24 year olds are, for the most part, still enrolled in school, most live with their parents, a few marry, and, most relevant for the current project, children may not earn enough to provide support to their parents, even if they wanted to, thereby dampening variation in my dependent variable, and obscuring family dynamics, including financial exchanges, that may emerge later in the life course (such as when they graduate from college and enter the labor market). For these reasons, examining monetary exchanges when children are ages 25-31[15] may be a better indicator of long-term family dynamics that exhibit the cultural features that not only impact monetary exchanges but other kinds of within-household support dynamics.

I utilize descriptive and regression techniques to explore racial/ethnic and immigrant-native differences in monetary exchanges between parents and their young adult children, as well as the possible reasons for observed patterns. In particular, to explain bivariate associations, I employ multinomial logit models, as my dependent variable has four mutually exclusive categories, characterized as *independence*, *parent-to-child investment*, *child-to-parent assistance*, and *interdependence*.

Sample

Table 4.1 provides descriptive statistics for my analytic sample. With respect to demographics, the gender distribution varies slightly across my groups of interest, with Latino children in immigrant families having the highest percentage of women and Latino children in

[14] The last wave of data collection was done in 2007/2008. My estimates may be conservative, because I would expect these between-group dynamics to be most explicit during financially difficult times.

[15] The upper age range reaches 31 because that is the age of the oldest member of the Add Health respondents for whom I have valid data.

native-born families having the lowest (55% vs. 46%, respectively; $p < .05$). Likewise, parental marital status varies across my groups of interest ($p < .001$). Consistent with prior research, Asian children are the most likely to hail from families with married parents, and Black children are the least likely (85% vs. 53%, respectively). Further, Latino children in immigrant families have the most siblings (2.03) and Whites have the fewest (1.36). With regards to parental socioeconomic status, I find large differences across my groups of interest ($p < .001$). In particular, Latino children in immigrant families are the most disadvantaged, with the lowest educational attainment (11.1 years of education), the lowest logged household income (2.85), and the largest proportion of parents in blue-collar work (48%). Conversely, White children are the most advantaged, with the highest educational attainment (14.36), the highest logged household income (3.73), and the highest proportion of professional parents (45%).

With regards to transitions to adulthood, I also find differences across my groups of interest. Notably, Asian children are the most likely to still live with parents (41%) and the least likely to be working (72%). There are no marked differences in school enrollment across my groups of interest (n.s.), but marked differences in marriage rates, with Black children being the least likely to be married (24%) and Latino children in immigrant families being the most likely (48%). In addition, Asian average the lowest number of children (.38), while Blacks average the highest (1.04). Finally, with regards to own income, Asian children have the highest representation in the highest income category (\$75,000 or more; 13%), while Black children continue to be overrepresented in the lowest income category with some income (>\$0 & <\$10,000; 17%).

RESULTS

Table 4.2 shows the percentage of individuals who receive and contribute monetary resources from and to their parents. First, the distribution of the dependent variable across the entire sample shows that monetary *independence* is the most prominent financial exchange dynamic across American families (45%), followed by parent-to-child investment (24%), monetary interdependence (22%) and child-to-parent assistance (10%). These basic descriptive findings question the dominant perspective among family scholars who argue that "downward flows" (parent-to-child investment during the transition to adulthood) is the most common exchange dynamic in the United States between parents and their young adult children. If we did not further investigate monetary exchanges across diverse families, however, we would overlook the tremendous heterogeneity in the United States. Consistent with hypothesis #1, I find monetary exchange variation across racial/ethnic groups and between individuals in immigrant and native-born families. A higher percentage of Whites exhibit monetary independence (52%) compared to Latinos in native-born families (39%), Latinos in immigrant families (29%), African Americans (23%) and Asians in immigrant families (22%). Similarly, a higher percentage of Whites in native-born families exhibit parent-to-child investment (27%) compared to African Americans and Latinos in native-born families (21%), and their children of immigrant counterparts (10% and 18% for Latinos and Asians, respectively). The results show that the case of "minorities" in the United States highlights the contributive, supportive economic role of young adult children for their parents: A higher percentage of children of immigrants (Latinos and Asians) exhibit child-to-parent assistance (26% and 25%, respectively) compared to their African American (12%), Latino in native-born families (13%), and White (7%) counterparts. Finally, a higher percentage of African Americans exhibit financial interdependence (48%)

compared to their children of immigrant (34%), Latinos in native-born families (28%), and White (15%) counterparts.

Before I examine these patterns in a multivariate framework, I examine the possibility that household arrangements heavily impact these bivariate results. Previous research suggest that co-residence is one of – if not - *the* primary way that parents financially support their children. If this is the case, monetary exchange differences across my groups of interest should differ depending on whether children live at home or not. Table 4.3 & 4.4 shows the distribution of financial exchanges for young adults living at home and outside the home, respectively. As expected, there are significant differences in the distribution of monetary exchanges depending on whether the young adult child lives at home.

Among those who live at home, the most common monetary exchange is *interdependence* (45%). Note, too, that this is the modal exchange dynamic for all groups. However, when we compare *across* groups within the same monetary exchange (across rows), we find that Latinos in native-born families are more likely to experience monetary independence (closely followed by Whites, 23% vs. 21%, respectively), Whites are more likely to experience parent-to-child investment (33%), children of immigrants are more likely to experience child-to-parent assistance (25% and 30% for Latinos and Asians, respectively), and African Americans are more likely to experience monetary interdependence (57%). Note that these are individuals *who live at home*, yet say that they are financially independent. How can you live at home and be financially independent? Although this is a possibility (such as paying your way – rent, groceries, and all amenities – in your parents'), there is no research that suggests that this is a common experience. These results may highlight, if not true financial

flows, racial/ethnic and immigrant-native differences in the degree to which young adults *recognize* the how financially dependent they are on their parents.

Among those who do not live at home, as expected, the most common monetary exchange dynamic is monetary *independence* (51%). With the exception of African Americans, monetary independence in the modal experience for all groups. However, when we compare *across* groups within the same monetary exchange (across rows), we find that Whites are more likely to experience monetary independence (57%) and parent-to-child investment (26%), children of immigrants are more likely to experience child-to-parent assistance (27% and 22% for Latinos and Asians, respectively), and African Americans are more likely to experience monetary interdependence (40%).

In short, overall, young adult children who live at home versus those who do not live at home do differ in terms of their monetary exchanges with their parents, with the former most likely to experience monetary interdependence and the latter most likely to experience monetary independence. Nevertheless, regardless of co-residence status, when I compare monetary exchange dynamics *between* groups, I find that Whites are more likely to experience monetary independence and parent-to-child investment, African Americans are more likely to experience financial interdependence, and children of immigrants are more likely to experience child-to-parent assistance relative to each other.

Explaining Racial/Ethnic and Immigrant-native Variation in Financial Exchanges

As previous research suggests, racial/ethnic and immigrant-native variation in financial exchanges between parents and their young adult children may reflect – and, thus, be accounted for – differences in the structural features across these families (Hypothesis #2). To examine this possibility, Table 4.5 presents results for two different multinomial models that predict

differences in financial exchanges across my groups of interest. Model 1 provides the bivariate results and Model 2 provides results that account for demographic, parental SES, transition to adulthood outcomes, and young adults' own income differences across my groups of interest. Contrary to hypothesis #2, structural features do not explain all between-group differences in monetary exchanges. To examine these results more closely, I calculated predicted probabilities for each of my outcome categories: *monetary independence, parent-to-child investment, child-to-parent assistance,* and *monetary interdependence* controlling for all aforementioned structural features, as shown in Table 4.6.

Whites

Looking across monetary exchange categories in Table 4.6 (across rows), I find that, by far, monetary independence is the modal experience among Whites in native-born families, net of structural features. Further, consistent with hypothesis #3, relative to other groups (across column), Whites are more likely to exhibit monetary independence, net of structural features. Importantly, these results control for parental socioeconomic status, milestones in the transition to adulthood, and young adult's own income. One explanation for these results is that Whites may be more likely to experience independence due to higher wealth compared to other groups, as previous research shows that wealth holdings are higher among Whites compared to other groups with comparable socioeconomic status (e.g. Conley 1999; Shapiro and Oliver 2004).

A second, if complementary, explanation suggests that White privilege allows these individuals to engage monetary independence. For example, even if a White young adult does not have reliable credit, a large income, or an established, favorable rental record, a landlord may, nevertheless, still rent to her/him, because his/her Whiteness signals cues of responsibility and worthiness. In other words, the landlord may cut this White person some slack and rent to

her/him, even if objective indicators suggest otherwise. By contrast, due to rental housing discrimination, African Americans or Latino individuals, who meet all rental requirements, may be prevented from renting the same apartment. These White privilege dynamics, spread over all dimensions of social life, provide fertile ground for White young adults to enact strong and widespread (financial) independence norms during the transition to adulthood (Arnett 2014). Predicted probability results buttress this explanation, as monetary independence is the modal experience for *all* groups, as expected since financial independence is a widespread cultural script (Arnett 2014), but Whites are the most likely to exhibit it, possibly, as I suggest, because they are the ablest to enact it. Being able to enact a "self-sufficiency" cultural script and believing in it is probably mutually constitutive, which explains why it may be most prominent among Whites. Notice, too, that, among Whites, interdependence and child-to-parent assistance do not feature prominently in monetary financial exchanges, an expectation consistent with the "downward flows" dynamic *assumed* to be most prominent in American society.

African Americans

Consistent with hypothesis #4, compared to Whites, African Americans are more likely to exhibit monetary interdependence, net net of demographics, parental SES, concurrent transition to adulthood milestones, and own income (comparison across column). These results provide support to the contention that African Americans families adhere to a "linked fate" dynamic, in which young adults feel responsible for the fate of their parents as part of their own. Wealth disparities may explain part of these Black-White monetary exchange differential. I pursue this possibility in additional analyses. Add Health respondents were asked whether young adults or their partners had received financial assistance from parents or relative to help buy/remodel/furnish their home. Providing financial support of this kind requires a large sum of

money. Results show (Appendix Table 4.1) that young adult Black respondents are less likely to receive this kind of hefty financial support from their parents relative to their White counterparts, net of demographics, parental socioeconomic status, transitions to adulthood, and own income differences. Further, another indication that class background matters for African American-White differences in monetary exchanges between parents and their young adult children are the results with regards to the likelihood of exhibiting financial investment. In order to exhibit parent-to-child investment parents must be in an economic situation such that they can provide support without needing it in return from their children. Relative to African Americans, Whites are more likely to exhibit financial independence, but these differences are explained by socioeconomic status.

These additional analyses point to the economic precariousness of African American families and suggest that it impacts monetary exchanges in families. Comparisons between African Americans and children of immigrants suggest that class (dis)advantages are a strong component of why African American families engage in monetary interdependence. When compared to a similarly disadvantage group, namely Latino children of immigrants, we do not see monetary interdependence differences, net of structural features. Although these results point to the importance of class disadvantages in shaping monetary interdependence, they also suggest that "linked fate" is not specific to African Americans, as there are no differences between them and children of immigrants. Why are there no differences? It is true that the predicted probability for monetary interdependence is larger for African Americans compared to their children of immigrant counterparts (.33 vs. .27 and .26 for Latinos and Asians). So, it may be that the estimate is not as precisely estimated due to limited data (as I believe is the case for the African American-Asian comparison, as standard errors for all Asian estimates are much larger

compared to other estimates for other groups), and, thus, results do not reach statistical significance. Perhaps with a larger sample these differences would be statistically significant. A second explanation for the lack of difference between African Americans and children of immigrants is that there is no cultural script specific to African Americans that shapes monetary exchanges. For it to be unique, African Americans have to differ from both Whites and children of immigrants. Let's examine the case of children of immigrants more closely.

Children of Immigrants

If an "immigrant bargain" cultural element impacts family life, I expect children of immigrants to be more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistances relative to Whites. Predicted probabilities in Table 4.6 support this hypothesis. Both Asian and Latino children of immigrants are significantly more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistances relative to Whites. To further examine whether this is an immigrant-specific phenomenon, I should not observe differences in the likelihood of exhibiting monetary child-to-parent assistance between Asian and Latino children of immigrants. My results confirm this hypothesis, as the predicted probabilities are the same. Similarly, if this is an immigrant-specific phenomenon, I expect child-to-parent assistance differences *among* Latinos, for those that live in immigrant versus those who live in native-born households, net of structural features. Figure 4.1 shows financial exchange results for Latinos only. Findings show that Latinos in immigrant families are more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistance relative to Latinos in native-born families. To further test whether this is an immigrant-specific phenomenon, I have to directly compare children of immigrant to African Americans, to which I now turn.

The multinomial context provides a stringent test that allows me to examine whether monetary interdependence is specific to African Americans and child-to-parent assistance is

specific to children of immigrants, as I can compare these two mutually exclusive monetary exchanges simultaneously – comparisons that are not directly shown with the predicted probabilities. These results are shown in Table 4.7. Relative to Blacks, Asian and Latino children of immigrants are more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistance as opposed to monetary interdependence, net of all covariates, suggesting less "multidirectionality" in their financial exchanges in immigrant households, as is the case of African Americans. In other words, while African American respondents are more likely to both give and receive financial support to and from their parents, Asian and Latino children of immigrants are more likely to just "give back" to their parents (Agius Vallejo 2012). Combined with the fact that monetary interdependence predicted probabilities, although not statistically significant, are higher for African Americans compared to their children of immigrant counterparts, these results suggest that "linked fate" operates among – and it's specific to – African Americans, as their monetary exchanges differ, in significant ways, from those in White and children of immigrant households.

Although African Americans and children of immigrants' monetary exchanges differ, they both highlight the contributive economic role of young adults in their households. Among African Americans, if one adds the predicted probabilities of monetary interdependence (.33) and child-to-parent assistance (.12), we find that almost half (.45) engage in providing monetary support to their parents. Similarly, among children of immigrants, if one adds the predicted probabilities of monetary interdependence (.27) and child-to-parent assistance (.18), we find that almost half (.45) engage in providing monetary support to their parents.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The common story – in the popular press and in scholarly work – regarding financial exchanges between parents and their young adult children suggest that parents continue to

provide economic support to their children *through* the transition to adulthood (Danziger and Rouse 2007), what some have termed a “downward flows” dynamic. These assertions are contextualized as another expression of the delayed transition to adulthood in the industrialized world (Newman 2012), for which the most emblematic marker is the “boomerang” child, who returns to the parental home after facing increasing difficulty sustaining him/herself in an unforgiving labor market, if s/he was able to leave home in the first place (Mitchell 2006). By contrast, I find that the common story about financial exchanges – the downward flows dynamic – does not accurately describe what is happening across a wide swath of families in the United States. First, I find that the most common monetary exchange dynamic between parents and their young adult children is monetary *independence*, not parent-to-child investment. Even when I examine monetary flows among those who live and who do not live at home separately, I find that monetary independence and interdependence, respectively, are the most common monetary exchange patterns between parents and their young adult children, further highlighting the fact that parent-to-child investment has received undue attention, to the detriment of other, more prominent, monetary exchange dynamics in the United States during the transition to adulthood.

Further, I find substantial monetary exchange variation across racial/ethnic and immigrant and native households. In particular, my results show that Whites are more likely to exhibit monetary independence and investment, African Americans are more likely to exhibit financial interdependence, and, finally, children of immigrants are more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistances compared to each other. Structural features explain some of this variation, including demographic characteristics, milestones in the transition to adulthood, young adult’s own income, but especially socioeconomic status. For example, a prominent reason why children of Latino immigrants are more likely to engage in child-to-parent monetary assistance is low

parental SES. These young adults, even at this early stage of adulthood, are more likely to have *more individual* income than the *total parental* income (during adolescence) compared to other groups. Although racial/ethnic and immigrant-native structural differences impact monetary exchanges across these groups (especially parent-to-child investment), there is still variation to be explained, which points to the importance of cultural features in shaping monetary exchanges across these groups.

To understand why monetary independence, interdependence, and child-to-parent assistance maps unto White, African American, and children of immigrant families, respectively, I suggest that we must look to cultural elements that differentially impact these disparate households. Although I do not test this explicitly, financial exchange patterns covary with cultural scripts predictions, including “self-sufficient” among Whites, “linked fate” among African Americans, and “immigrant bargain” among children of immigrants. In the case of Whites, my results support Arnett’s (2004) contention that young adults in the United States adhere to a “self-sufficient” narrative, which includes financial independence from their parents, a central tenet in their (and their parents’) definitions of adulthood. This adherence, however, is most prominent among Whites (Badgert et al. 2006; Higginbotham and Weber 1992; Hochschild 1995; Newman 1988). White privilege may be implicated in this adherence. Whites’ ability to enact the “self-sufficiency” cultural script may impact their adherence to it, which, in turn, increases their belief (adherence) in it – a mutually constitutive process. For example, positive reception from employers, property owners, romantic partners, institutional representatives (and others) that result from having White skin allows these young adults to be “self-sufficient.” In short, White individuals may be more likely to believe and exhibit “self-sufficiency” because White privilege enables it. My findings suggest that the experience of Whites living in native-

born families are disproportionally featured in Arnett's (2014) depiction of the contemporary transition to adulthood in the United States.

Further, my findings support Neckerman, Carter, and Lee's (1999) argument that African Americans and children of immigrants develop cultural elements that affects each community, which partly emerge from the social structural location of these communities. I extend this argument to suggest that these cultural elements feature strongly in their households. Consistent with a long line of research about African American families in the United States, I suggest that a "linked fate" perspective shapes financial exchanges between parents and their young adult children. The African American experience, including their "enduring familiarity with poverty," engenders a responsibility to "give back" financial assistance to their parents even as their parents are supporting them, creating mutual financial dependence. Together, these findings suggest that parental economic precariousness partly explains financial exchanges among African Americans, but cultural elements, such as the "linked fate" script, may also be implicated in this process.

Consistent with the minority cultures of mobility argument (Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999), I also find that financial exchanges between immigrant parents and their young adult children overlap with a cultural element specific to this community, which partly emerges out of the loss of status that immigrants experience subsequent to migration (Chung 2016). Parents communicate their struggles to their children, inculcating the belief that their sacrifices will be vindicated with their children's upward mobility, generating the "immigrant bargain" between immigrant parents and their children (Chung 2016; Louie 2012; Smith 2006). One of the ways that the immigrant bargain is fulfilled is to "give back" to their parents, including financial support, relieving their parents of some economic pressures (Chung 2016; Agius and Lee 2009).

I find children of immigrants – both Asian and Latinos – are more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistance relative to their native-born White and African American counterparts. A direct comparison to African Americans suggest that children of immigrants are more likely to exhibit child-to-parent assistances as opposed to monetary interdependence.

The case of African Americans and children of immigrants highlight the central economic-producing role of children in their parents' household during the transition to adulthood. These findings suggest rethinking contemporary family dynamics during children's transition to adulthood. For example, current research suggests an exponential increase in the percentage of young adults who live in the parental home (Kahn, Goldscheider, and García-Manglano 2013). This finding is interpreted to mean that parents increasingly bear the child-to-parent assistance of child-rearing, as it extends into young adulthood. But examining the case of minorities, especially the case of children of immigrants, suggest that multigenerational living does not imply higher child-to-parent assistance for parents. Rather, it may be that children are coming home *to help their parents* and, in some cases, to take the primary economic role in the household. In short, the case of African Americans and children of immigrants suggest that "money bears culture and carries a history", as do, consequently, financial exchanges (Bandelj, Wherry, and Zelizer 2017).

My findings have wide-reaching implications. Much of the concern regarding financial investment dynamics during children's young adulthood emerges because parents may deplete their resources in raising children for a longer period of time. If this is the case, parents may, for example, diminish their retirement money, reduce money for investment opportunities, or lower their financial readiness for an unexpected (and costly) event, such as an illness. In fact, monetary investment is most common among Whites, and only for those whose parents can

afford it. Future research should explore whether, among middle and upper-class families, these investments in children during the transition to adulthood are, in fact, generating negative consequences for their parents, even as they are helping their children emerge from the transition to adulthood with a stronger footing. My findings suggest, however, that monetary independence is more common. From the perspective of the child, this may be worrying, as they may need more financial support through the transition to adulthood, despite strong cultural norms to be set (economically) free.

At its core, my findings imply that financial exchanges may be a possible mechanism that exacerbates racial/ethnic inequalities. As I show, African Americans and children of immigrants are more likely to have economic roles in their parents' households. Even if unwittingly, parents may be putting undue pressure on their young adult children to start contributing money at a time when their own economic lives are in flux and wages are not great. These responsibilities may stunt their mobility for years to come, as their choices may hinder financial opportunities in the future. For example, Flores (2014) finds that Latina women disproportionately choose to go into the teaching profession, mostly because it is a secure job, if not the best-paying, that allows them to financially support their parents. Responsibilities at home channels them into entering a low-paying, low-mobility occupation, which stuns their future mobility. Because Whites, African Americans, and children of immigrants face disparate economic roles in their households, these family dynamics may be a central mechanism that exacerbates racial/ethnic inequality in the United States.

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Table 4.1. Mean of Variables, by Group (Weighted; N=7,816)

	NB White	NB Black	NB Latino	IMM Latino	IMM Asian	
Demographics						
Female	0.505	0.493	0.455	0.552	0.434	*
Age	21.702	21.895	21.739	21.954	22.150	n.s.
Married Parents, W1	0.820	0.529	0.784	0.769	0.844	***
Number of Siblings, W1	1.358	1.557	1.768	2.029	1.804	***
Parental Socioeconomic Status						
Parental Years of Education, W1	14.360	13.418	13.207	11.129	13.977	***
Log Household Income, W1	3.728	3.152	3.481	2.851	3.474	***
Parental Highest Occupation						***
Professionals, W1	0.452	0.321	0.335	0.151	0.360	
Office/Sales Workers, W1	0.222	0.171	0.184	0.110	0.140	
Blue Collar Workers, W1	0.205	0.308	0.302	0.475	0.370	
Crafts/Military/Farm/Other, W1	0.101	0.108	0.123	0.205	0.117	
Unemployed, W1	0.020	0.093	0.055	0.059	0.013	
Transition to Adulthood						
Lives with Parents, W4	0.143	0.245	0.257	0.358	0.406	***
Currently Working, W4	0.792	0.730	0.788	0.847	0.719	*
Enrolled in School, W4	0.154	0.178	0.165	0.164	0.176	n.s.
Currently Married, W4	0.465	0.245	0.393	0.480	0.382	***
Number of Children, W4	0.741	1.043	1.001	0.908	0.378	***
Respondent's Own Income, W4						***
No Income	0.060	0.081	0.053	0.078	0.088	
0-9,999	0.103	0.173	0.110	0.068	0.063	
10,000-24,999	0.215	0.285	0.246	0.149	0.207	
25,000-49,000	0.415	0.353	0.403	0.526	0.326	
50,000-74,999	0.140	0.076	0.145	0.146	0.188	
75,000 or More	0.067	0.033	0.044	0.032	0.129	
N	4,370	1,335	573	613	346	

Note: Statistics come from the first of the multiply imputed data. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, ^p<.10, ns >.10

Table 4.2. Percentages of Financial Exchanges Between Parents and Their Young Adult Children (Weighted).

	White, NB	African Americans	Latino, NB	Latino, CI	Asian, CI	Total
Dependent Variable						
Independence	52.0%	23.3%	39.2%	29.3%	22.3%	44.7%
Parent-to-Child Investment	26.6%	20.6%	20.5%	10.1%	17.7%	24.0%
Child-to-Parent Assistance	6.6%	12.4%	12.7%	26.4%	25.3%	9.7%
Interdependence	14.9%	43.7%	27.6%	34.1%	34.7%	21.6%
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100.0%

Note: Differences in distribution of exchanges across groups are statistically significant ($p < .001$)

Table 4.3. Percentage in the Distribution of Financial Exchanges Between Parents and Their Young Adult Children When Children Live at Home (Weighted).

	White, NB	African Americans	Latino, NB	Latino, CI	Asian, CI	Total
Dependent Variable						
Independence	21.3%	12.5%	23.0%	12.1%	9.1%	17.7%
Parent-to-Child Investment	33.4%	20.5%	24.7%	6.5%	12.8%	25.8%
Child-to-Parent Assistance	10.3%	10.3%	14.6%	25.1%	29.8%	14.1%
Interdependence	35.0%	56.7%	37.7%	56.3%	48.4%	42.5%
Proportion of Total	12.9%	24.9%	25.3%	35.1%	39.9%	
Subgroup N	565	333	145	215	138	
Total N	4,370	1,335	573	613	346	

Table 4.4. Percentage of the Distribution of Financial Exchanges Between Parents and Their Young Adult Children When Children DO NOT Live at Home (Weighted).

	White, NB	African Americans	Latino, NB	Latino, CI	Asian, CI	Total
Dependent Variable						
Independence	57.2%	26.8%	44.7%	38.9%	31.4%	50.9%
Parent-to-Child Investment	25.4%	20.6%	19.1%	12.1%	21.0%	23.6%
Child-to-Parent Assistance	5.9%	13.1%	12.1%	27.2%	22.2%	8.7%
Interdependence	11.5%	39.5%	24.1%	21.8%	25.4%	16.8%
Proportion of Total	87.1%	75.1%	74.7%	64.9%	60.1%	
Subgroup N	3805	1002	428	398	208	
Total N	4,370	1,335	573	613	346	

Note: Differences in distribution of exchanges across groups are statistically significant for who those who do and do not live at home ($p < .001$).

Table 4.5. Multinomial Regression Models Comparing Parent-Adult Child Financial Exchanges Across Groups (N=7,816)

Groups (Ref= White, Native-born Parentage)	Model 1	Model 2
Panel A: Parent-to-Child Investment		
Black, Native-born Parentage	0.550***	0.383**
Latino, Native-born Parentage	0.027	-0.068
Latino, Children of Immigrants	-0.390	-0.236
Asian, Children of Immigrants	0.439	0.562+
Other	0.126	0.028
Panel B: Child-to-Parent Assistance		
Black, Native-born Parentage	1.446***	0.940***
Latino, Native-born Parentage	0.950***	0.509**
Latino, Children of Immigrants	1.969***	1.078***
Asian, Children of Immigrants	2.196***	1.861***
Other	1.120***	0.911***
Panel A: Interdependence		
Black, Native-born Parentage	1.881***	1.409***
Latino, Native-born Parentage	0.901***	0.544**
Latino, Children of Immigrants	1.404***	0.951***
Asian, Children of Immigrants	1.693***	1.719***
Other	0.902***	0.761***
Demographics		x
Family Socioeconomic Status		x
Transitions to Adulthood		x
Respondent's Own Income		x

Note: Reference in Dependent Variable is *Independence. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, ^p<.10, ns >.10*

Table 4.6. Predicted Probabilities of Monetary Exchanges Across Racial/Ethnic Groups.

	Independence	Interdependence	Parent-to-Child Investment	Child-to-Parent Assistance
African American	0.34^{W}	0.33^{W}	0.21^{LI}	$0.12^{W,LI}$
Latino, CI	0.40^{W}	0.27^{W}	$0.15^{AA,W}$	$0.18^{W,AA}$
Asian, CI	0.34^{W}	0.26^{W}	0.22	0.18^{W}
White, NB	$0.54^{AA, LI,AI}$	$0.13^{AA, LI, AI}$	0.25^{LI}	$0.08^{AA, LI, AI}$

Note: Superscript denote significant differences across groups per financial exchange type (at least $p < .05$). Regression results come from model in Appendix Table 1. Covariates set at their means.

Table 4.7. Multinomial Regression Models Comparing Parent-Adult Child Financial Exchanges Across Groups (N=7,816)

	(1)	(2)
Groups (Ref= African Americans)		
Panel C: Child-to-Parent Assistance		
Latino, Children of Immigrants	1.000***	0.596*
Asian, Children of Immigrants	0.938***	0.611*

Note: Reference for the dependent variable is financial *interdependence*. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, ^p<.10, ns >.10. I omit coefficients associated with Whites, African Americans, and Latinos living in native-born families. Model 1 shows the bivariate associations. Model 2 includes all covariates.

Appendix Table 4.1. Logistic Regressions Predicting Whether Respondent/Respondents' Partner Received Financial Assistance from Parents or Relatives to Help Buy/Remodel/Build/Furnish a Home?

	(1)	(2)
Groups (Ref= White, Native-born Parentage)		
Black, Native-born Parentage	-0.626***	-0.245*
Demographics		x
Family Socioeconomic Status		x
Transitions to Adulthood		x
Respondent's Own Income, W4		x

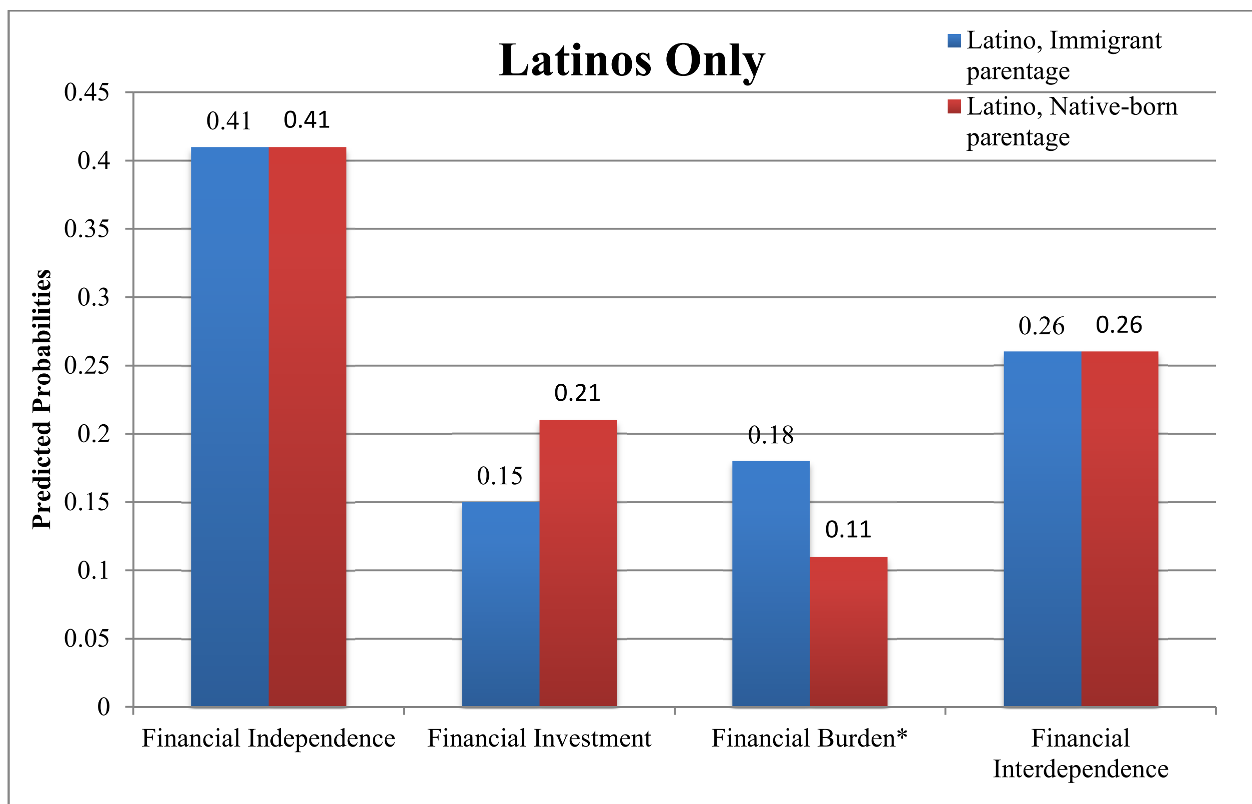
***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, ^p<.10, ns >.10

Appendix Table 4.2. Proportions of Income Mobility, by Group (Weighted; N=7,816)

	NB White	NB Black	NB Latino	IMM Latino	IMM Asian
Child Income Mobility (Relative to Parent)					
No Mobility	0.272	0.285	0.250	0.236	0.276
Downward Mobility	0.544	0.438	0.493	0.295	0.459
Upper Mobility	0.185	0.277	0.255	0.469	0.265
N	4,370	1,335	573	613	346

Note: Distribution of income mobility is significantly different across my groups of interest ($p < .001$)

Figure 4.1: Financial Exchange between Parents and Young Adult Children Among Latinos.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The current and increasing presence of immigrant families in the United States is one of the most significant demographic shifts in contemporary American society (Menjívar, Abrego, Schmalzbaeur 2016). Understanding immigrant family dynamics, therefore, is of utmost importance because so much public policy depends on assumptions about how American households operate, especially how families procure and allocate resources for their members. In addition, family dynamics are implicated in broader patterns of social inequality, as the resources that children receive at home (or do not) are consequential to their ability to further secure resources for themselves and their families in the broader society (Lareau 2011). In other words, the resources and skills that children receive and develop at home allow them to secure resources in their schools, jobs, and other institutions (Calarco 2014). Thus, it is particularly important to understand who provides resources to children, especially because scholars suggest that immigrant parents are limited in their ability to provide support to their children subsequent to migration, and so many social institutions operate from the assumption that parents are the primary resource providers to their children (Menjívar 2000).

In lieu of parents' hindered ability to secure and provide resources to their families subsequent to migration, scholars of immigration argue that children of immigrants take on an enlarged role in their households and provide resources to their (parents') households – resources that their peers with native-born counterparts are not commonly asked to provide (Chung 2016; Estrada 2012; Katz 2014; Lanuza 2017; Louie 2012; Orellana 2009; Park 2005; Song 1999). Although scholars have documented changing family dynamics, including the productive role of children, most of this scholarship is based on small samples, usually from poor families or a

single ethnic group, examining resources that are not comparable across immigrant status, and often lack direct immigrant-native comparisons. Thus, it is unclear whether (1) the sources of support for children differ in immigrant and native-born families, (2) whether children do take on enhanced roles in their households, especially as contributors of resources, (3) or a clear explanation as to why these immigrant-native differences and dynamics emerge. In this dissertation, I systematically analyze immigrant-native differences in the sources of support for children throughout the life course, and evaluate possible reasons for these differentials.

Following empirical findings documented in this dissertation, I make three important claims. First, *I argue that the sources of support for children differ in immigrant and native-born households*. In particular, compared to their peers in native-born families, immigrant parents are less likely to provide academic, emotional, and financial support to their children. Consequently, relatives and school officials step in to provide support to children. It is not just other adults, however, that provide resources to children of immigrants. I also find that siblings – or other children in the household – also step in to provide resources to children, including academic assistance and emotional support. Later in the life-course, young adult children of immigrants are more likely to provide financial resources to their parents without receiving them in return. In other words, *I argue that children of immigrants take on enlarged, productive, and contributive roles in their households*. Finally, although I find that parental constraints, especially those associated with lower socioeconomic status, lack of English language proficiency, and time constraints, inhibits their ability to secure resources for their families and, therefore, children (and other adults) step in to help, *I also suggest that children's enlarged role in the household emerges because parents and children engage in an "immigrant bargain*" – a cultural logic of action that is forged out of the migration experience, which argues that parents' sacrifices

associated with migration will be vindicated through their children's socioeconomic mobility in the United States. The enlarged, productive role of children in their household, I believe, is an expression of this bargain and endures throughout their children's life course, at least to young adulthood.

My findings and associated arguments have important implications for ongoing (im)migrant research and debates. Previous research suggests that migration disrupts family dynamics, which spurs a renegotiation of roles and power dynamics in the home subsequent to migration (Arias 2001; Cantú 2009; González-Lopez 2005; Meng and Gregory 2005; Menjívar, Abrego, Schmalzbaeur 2016; Qian and Lichter 2007). In particular, scholars argue that migration hinders parents' ability to support their children and provide them with necessary and expected resources. My findings support this argument. In particular, I find that children of immigrants are less likely to rely on parents and more likely to rely on other adults (in and out of the household) and siblings in the household for academic and emotional resources, in large part, due to parental lack of socioeconomic resources and English language proficiency.

With respect to providing homework help, for example, scholars suggest that providing this kind of support is more resource-intensive that first meets the eye, requiring money, time, education, English language proficiency, and knowledge of school norms (Louie 2012). Immigrant parents often struggle to provide these resources to their children, even if they were middle-class in their countries of origin, as many experience downward mobility subsequent to migration (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Pong and Landale 2009). In addition, it is not just that parents have less money – or any other *single* SES-related resource – than their native-born counterparts (as some don't), but that they may not exhibit concerted cultivation, a child-rearing strategy whose priority is the intensive investment of resources in their children (Lareau 2011).

Thinking of concerted cultivation as a logic of action that generates a range of resources, including emotional support, further clarifies immigrant-native differences in the set of individuals who provide support and why, as immigrant parents may lack the cultural capital to understand the advantages that concerted cultivation garners for their children. For example, Calarco (2014) and others have documented that a concerted cultivation strategy includes emotional labor that instills emotional capital in middle-class children, which they deploy in schools – and other settings – to monopolize resources (e.g., Chin 2000). Immigrant parents may not prioritize this investment, as I find that children of immigrants are less likely to receive emotional support from their parents compared to their White counterparts with native-born parentage. In the case of both Asians and Latinos, parental socioeconomic standing largely explains the differential (not in the case of "cheering up" for Asians, a discussion for which I will return later).

Differences in family social class, including a concerted cultivation strategy, do not, however, explain all immigrant-native differences in sources of emotional support, especially the expanded role of children in their households. After all, low-SES native-born families do not exhibit concerted cultivation (instead they engage in the accomplishment of natural growth). Even after accounting for social class differences and other parental constraints, I find that children of immigrants are more likely to rely on siblings for homework help and, later in the life course, they are more likely to exhibit child-to-parent financial assistance (without receiving any support in return) compared to their White peers with native-born parentage. In a cultural context in which children are viewed as "economically useful but emotionally priceless," it is no wonder that their contributive role in the household has not been properly highlighted (Zelizer 1985).

Examining the case of children of immigrants shows that they are central producers of resources to their families. Further, lack of parental resources do not immediately spur children into contributive roles in their households, though poverty provides a strong incentive, as the "adultification" framework suggests (Burton 2007). Children of immigrants, I suggest, have yet another incentive – in addition to poverty – to contribute resources to their households. Due to structural features of the migration stream, especially socioeconomic selection, and subsequent downward mobility, immigrant parents feel like they have made an enormous sacrifice to come to this country (Chung 2016; Feliciano 2005). They communicate this sacrifice to their children (explicitly and implicitly), which they, in turn, internalize – what is often referred to as the "immigrant bargain" (Louie 2012). The immigrant bargain spurs children to contribute resources to their families.

Importantly, I find that children of immigrants are more likely to provide academic, emotional, and financial resources to their family members. However, in the case of emotional support, parental constraints related to SES and lack of English language proficiency explains the immigrant-native differential. Although these findings concur with my larger argument that children of immigrants take on a larger role in their households subsequent to migration due to parental resource constraints, I do not find support that a cultural narrative – such as the immigrant bargain – is also implicated in other children in the households providing emotional support. It is possible, for example, that the immigrant bargain only finds expression in material resources, or those that are more directly associated with socioeconomic mobility, such as academic and financial support. Although children of immigrants feel that it is important to provide resources to their households as a way to vindicate their parents' sacrifices, they may not prioritize emotional labor in this process. Instead, they may *only* associate material resources

with parental vindication. Here the case of Asian families is instructive, as children of immigrants are less likely to receive "cheering up" from parents compared to their White counterparts with native-born parentage, and parental constraints do not explain this difference. Chung (2016) finds that, "the context of migration also requires that parents focus even more intensely on the practical matters of survival over issues of social and emotional growth." Her work suggests that children are following their parents' lead and not prioritizing emotional support as another way to express the immigrant bargain – as opposed to other domains, including schooling and finances, which are directly related to socioeconomic mobility.

As the case of emotional resources shows, the role that I attribute to the immigrant bargain in family dynamics remains an empirical question. After all, I do not test it directly, given the limitations of my data. Part of the reason why the role of the immigrant bargain in family life remains in question is that, to date, a clear theoretical underpinning of the concept has not been fully fledged out, which undermines our ability to operationalize it. An important step for scholars utilizing this idea (if not necessarily explicitly by name) is to ground it on a particular theory of action. One alternative is to understand immigrant family dynamics through social exchange theory, a rational-actor perspective which suggests that, in making decisions, actors engage in a cost-benefit analysis, based on rewards and costs associated with them. In particular, this perspective suggests that the behavior of any member in a family unit is foremost undertaken for instrumental reasons – to direct future rewards to oneself, as individuals are assumed to have clear goals and stables preferences who strive to maximize utility (Cook et al. 2013; Lanuza and Bandelj 2015). Scholars, however, have criticized this approach. Importantly, scholars point out that the reasons for individual behavior are varied and unstable; thus, reducing

a complex process to a self-centered utility argument does not match with recent developments in sociology.

Alternatively, I suggest that to understand immigrant family behavior, it is important to engage the "logics of action" concept in cultural sociology. Following DiMaggio's call (1997; 2010) for cultural sociologists to include social psychological work on culture, Calarco (2014a:188) writes that logics of action are "the mental structures – [knowledge, beliefs, expectations] – that guide actors in activating a particular behavior." Once a logic of action is identified, Calarco (2014a) suggests that individuals then activate strategies of action, given how they have defined the situation. In this way, strategies of action can be many and varied, but they all relate to the same "logic" from which they spring. This is how I think of the immigrant bargain – as a logic of action – a way to interpret and give meaning to the migration experience, a shared experience that, in turn, has varied strategies of action.

For example, in the educational domain, the immigrant bargain spurs children to engage a number of strategies of action, including providing academic support to household members, performing well in school, and taking ownership of their own educational experiences early on (e.g., Chung 2016; Louie 2012; Gonzales 2016). Similarly, scholars document that children of immigrants engage a number of strategies to fulfill the immigrant bargain later in the life course, including providing financial support to parents, serving as parents' financial 'safety nets', supplementing parental income, engaging careers that ensures their parents' financial security, among other strategies (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Chung 2016). In other words, the immigrant bargain provides a strong discursive frame with which to view the migration journey, which, in turn, activates a number of strategies of action to meet this logic. If this is the case, one of the possible implications of this work is to understand why this logic does not apply to the

emotional domain. Is there a competing logic that governs the strategies of action in this field, or does the immigrant bargain logic itself articulate a particular stance towards the emotional realm that does not encourage emotional labor directed towards family members?

Examining the relationship between the immigrant bargain and emotional labor is one of many future directions that my dissertation research suggests. For example, although I have used key tenets of a life course perspective to inform my dissertation, a more direct application would be to examine the same resource over time. I have examined each resource (academic, emotional, and financial) at one point in time, but a more robust test of the presence of an immigrant bargain would be to examine whether a resource – say, academic support – is provided by siblings to children over time regardless of the changing socioeconomic position of the household. If the immigrant bargain operates as I have theorized, I would expect that, compared to children in native-born households, children of immigrants are more likely to receive academic resources from their siblings even as parental constraints, including socioeconomic resources, time availability, and language proficiency, are eased or change. Fortunately, ECLS-K 1998-99 has information about homework help – my example of an academic resource – over the last three waves, which I will use to provide a more comprehensive and longitudinal picture of academic resource provision in immigrant and native-born families. The case of emotional support suggests that there are domains in which the immigrant bargain may operate more strongly than others. Therefore, future work can examine other resources, not just the three examined here, to establish immigrant-native differences, but also – and more importantly – to document whether resources are clustered in particular ways. Does the logic of the immigrant bargain extend to certain resources and not others, and, if so, why?

Most importantly, my work hints but does not engage the consequences of these immigrant-native differences in provisions of resources, especially the productive role of children in their (parents') households. A strong case could be made for children of immigrants gaining domain-specific advantages *and* disadvantages due to these family dynamics. For example, in the academic realm, Katz (2014) suggests that linguistic resources that children provide to their families are ultimately helpful for their children. Children, however, experience these contributions with much more ambivalence (Song 1999; Orellana 2009), so it is not yet clear whether these responsibilities are ultimately helpful or harmful to children, and whether they, in fact, impact racial/ethnic educational inequality. Future work should make the explicit connection between children's responsibilities and objective measures of academic performance and attainment. No doubt this work would require the examination of within-family dynamics, as stratification of responsibilities – and its academic consequences – begin at home, advantaging some siblings over others (Chung 2016).

In short, in this dissertation, I argue that the source of support for children in immigrant and native-born families differ. In particular, children take on a larger role in providing resources to their family members, often because their parents lack the resources to do so, but also because they want to vindicate their parents' sacrifices through the migration journey. In addition to the *empirical* findings, my dissertation underscores how important a strategic site the immigrant family is to advance sociological *theoretical* debates. I have highlighted, for example, the importance of the immigrant family to inform debates in cultural sociology. Further, as I mentioned in my introduction, the importance of the immigrant family to the future of American society cannot be overstated. At the current historical moment, social inequality is at the forefront of public debates, including how dangerous current levels can become to a functioning

democracy. Importantly, my dissertation highlights possible mechanisms – including the responsibilities that some children and young adults take on in their households – that may be exaggerating social inequalities and points to possible solutions in the public policy arena. For example, having a clear grasp regarding the provision of support for children in immigrant and poor households can help policy makers revisit long-held assumptions about family dynamics in the United States, especially the dominant assumption that resources flow from parents to children, which, in turn, can help them develop programs to support overburdened children in immigrant and poor families.

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