PARENTS’ EDUCATION

Children in immigrant families and third- and later-generation children in families with a father in the home were about equally likely in 1990 to have fathers who had graduated from college (23 to 26 percent), and the corresponding generations in families with mothers in the home were about equally likely to have mothers who had graduated from college (14 to 18 percent) (Hernandez and Darke, 1999). In addition, in 1990, among first- and second-generation children from about two dozen countries, 35 percent or more had a father in the home who had graduated from college, higher than the 29 percent recorded for third- and later-generation non-Hispanic whites (Figure 10). For a similar number of countries, 25 percent or more had a mother in the home who had graduated from college, notably higher than the 20 percent for third- and later-generation non-Hispanic whites (Figure 11). All of these proportions with parents graduating from college were at least 2 to 3 times greater than the corresponding rates for third- and later-generation black, Hispanic, and American Indian children.
Figure 10 (Part 1)


* Third-and-later- generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Figure 10 (Part 2)


* Third-and-later- generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Figure 11 (Part 1)

Percent with Mothers Graduating from College, Among those with Mothers in the Home, for First- and Second-Generation Children by Country of Origin, and Third-and Later-Generation Children by Race and Ethnicity: 1990

* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.
Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.
Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Figure 11 (Part 2)

Percent with Mothers Graduating from College, Among those with Mothers in the Home, for First- and Second-Generation Children by Country of Origin, and Third- and Later-Generation Children by Race and Ethnicity: 1990

* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
But children in immigrant families, overall, were also much more likely than third- and later-generation children to have parents with very low educational attainments, and this was especially true for the 12 countries of origin with children at greatest risk of living in poverty, with the sole exception of the former Soviet Union (Figures 12 and 13, and Table A); for example, among children living with fathers, the overall proportions with fathers not graduating from high school were 2 to 3 times greater for the first- and second-generation children than for the third- and later-generations, at 49, 36, and 15 percent respectively, and this difference is accounted for almost completely by differences in the proportions with fathers completing no more than eight years of schooling, which for the three generations were 34, 23, and 3 percent, respectively. Patterns in mothers’ education were quite similar.
Figure 12 (Part 1)


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin / Race / Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
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<td>Laos</td>
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<td>El Salvador</td>
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<td>Guatemala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st and 2nd Generation</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Italy</td>
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<td>Yugoslavia</td>
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<td>Haiti</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
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<td>Belize</td>
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<td>Brazilian</td>
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<td>Barbados</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Figure 12 (Part 2)


* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.
Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.
Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Figure 13 (Part 1)

Percent with Mothers Completing 8 or Fewer Years of Education, Among those with Mothers in the Home, for First- and Second-Generation Children by Country of Origin, and Third-and-Later-Generation Children by Race and Ethnicity: 1990

* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.  
Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.  
Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Figure 13 (Part 2)

Percent with Mothers Completing 8 or Fewer Years of Education, Among those with Mothers in the Home, for First- and Second-Generation Children by Country of Origin, and Third-and-Later-Generation Children by Race and Ethnicity: 1990

* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.
Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.
Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Generational differences in parental education followed a similar pattern in 1960, although differences in the proportions with very low educational attainments were substantially smaller than in 1990 (Figures 14 and 15); for example, among children with a father in the home, the proportions with fathers completing no more than eight years of school were 40 percent for both the first and the second generation, and 31 percent for the third and later generations. The only measure of educational attainment in the 1910 census is the literacy rate (Figure 16). Second and third and later generations of children were similar in their chances of having a parent in the home who was illiterate, at 9 to 14 percent, but the first generation was substantially more likely to have an illiterate father (22 percent) or mother (34 percent).

**Figure 14**


![Bar chart showing percentages of fathers with 8 or fewer years of education by generation and year.]  

- **1960:**  
  - First Generation: 40%  
  - Second Generation: 40%  
  - First and Second Generations: 31%  
  - Third and Later Generations:  
- **1990:**  
  - First Generation: 34%  
  - Second Generation: 23%  
  - First and Second Generations: 25%  
  - Third and Later Generations: 3%

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.
Source: Tables A and B, and calculated from 1960 Census IPUMS file.
Figure 15

Percent with Mothers Completing 8 or Fewer Years of Education, Among Those with Mothers in the Home, for First-, Second-, and Third-and-Later-Generation Children: 1960 and 1990

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.
Source: Tables A and B, and calculated from 1960 Census IPUMS file.
As with poverty, parental educational attainments vary enormously by country of origin for children in immigrant families, and by race and ethnicity among third- and later-generation children, both historically and today. In the 1990 census, children in immigrant families from the 12 countries with the highest poverty rates were also, with the exception of the former Soviet Union, somewhat to enormously more likely than third- and later-generation non-Hispanic whites to have parents in the home who had not graduated from high school or elementary school (Table A).

Among children from these 11 countries, parental educational attainments generally increase substantially from the first to the second to the third and later generations (Tables A, B, and C). But the proportion of third- and later-generation Mexican-origin children with parents in the home not graduating from high school remains in the range of 30-34 percent, similar to the level for third- and later-generation black children and American Indian children (26-29 percent), and 2 to 3 times greater than for third- and later-generation non-Hispanic white children (12 percent).

The disadvantage in parental educational attainments for Mexican-origin children, compared to non-Hispanic whites, has remained large throughout the century, at a level similar to that for black and for American Indian children. For example, in 1960 among Mexican-origin children living with a father, the proportion with a father completing no more than 8 years of schooling was 76 to 79 percent for first- and second-generation children in immigrant families, and for third- and later-generation Spanish surname children in the 5 southwestern states. Although some third- and later-generation Mexican-origin children lived outside the 5 southwestern states in 1960, and some Spanish surname children in these 5 states were not of Mexican origin, estimates for these children are, no doubt, approximately equal to the proportion for third- and later-generation Mexican-origin children throughout the United States at that time. The proportion with low parental educational attainments are greater than the corresponding
proportions of 61 to 63 percent for blacks and American Indians in 1960. But each of these minority groups was about 2.5 to 3 times more likely than non-Hispanic white children (26 percent) to have a father in the home with this little education (Figure 17).

Figure 17

Percent with Fathers Illiterate in 1910, Completing No More than 8 Years of Education in 1960, and Not Graduating from High School in 1990, Among Those with Fathers in the Home, for Third-and-Later-Generation Non-Hispanic White, Black, American Indian, and Mexican-origin Children

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.
Source: Table C and calculated from 1910 Census and 1960 Census IPUMS files.

Similarly, at the upper end of the education distribution in 1960, the proportions with fathers in the home completing 12 years or more of school were only 13-19 percent for first- and second-generation Mexican-origin children, for third- and higher-generation Spanish surname children in the 5 southwestern states, and for blacks and American Indians. The corresponding proportion for non-Hispanic white children was more than 2.5 times greater at 51 percent.

Parental illiteracy rates are the only measure reflecting parental educational accomplishments in the 1910 census. Among children with a father in the home, the illiteracy rate was 66 percent for first-generation Mexican-origin children, and 37 to 39 percent for second- and later-generation Mexican-origin children, as well as for black and American Indian children. The corresponding father's illiteracy rate for white children was about one-sixth as great, at only 6 percent (Figure 17).

Between 1910 and 1990, the educational attainments of fathers in the homes of third- and later-generation children have improved greatly for Mexican-origin, black, and American Indian children, as well as
for non-Hispanic whites. But the gap separating the third- and later-generation racial and ethnic minorities from the third- and later-generation non-Hispanic whites remains large, and all three racial and ethnic minorities, Mexican-origin, black, and American Indian children, have experienced fairly similar levels of disadvantage throughout the century. Patterns of educational attainments across these groups and across the century for mothers in the home have been generally similar to those for fathers in the home.

**PARENTS’ LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION**

Throughout the century, the overwhelming majority of first-, second-, and third- and later-generation children with fathers in the home have had fathers who worked in the labor force (Hernandez and Darke, 1999). Among first-, second-, and third- and later-generation children the proportions ranged between 95-96 percent in 1910, and between 96-97 percent in 1960. As of 1990, 88 percent of first generation children with fathers in the home had a father in the labor force, compared to 94-95 percent for the corresponding second and later generations (Figure 18). The combined proportion for the first and second generations in 1990 was 93 percent, only slightly less than the 95 percent for the third and later generations. Differences in labor force participation rates among fathers in the homes of first-, second-, and third- and later-generation children cannot, therefore, account for most of the poverty differences between them in the 1960 or the 1990 censuses. Even among children in immigrant families from the 12 countries of origin with very high poverty rates of more than 25 percent in the 1990 census, the proportions with fathers in the home who were in the labor force was less than 89 percent for only the five countries of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, and the former Soviet Union (Table A).

![Figure 18](https://example.com/figure18.png)


Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.
Source: Tables A and B, and calculated from 1910 Census and 1960 Census IPUMS files.
Despite high levels of employment among fathers in the homes of children in immigrant families, overall, and for most specific countries of origin, many fathers worked less than full-time year-round in 1990 (Tables A-1 and A-2). Little difference existed between children in immigrant families and third- and later-generation children in 1960 in their chances of having a father in the home who worked full-time year-round (72-73 percent), but by 1990, the difference had expanded to 10 percentage points (69 versus 79 percent) (Figure 19). In fact, it is the lack of full-time year-round work among fathers in the home, along with very low father's educational attainments and linguistic isolation from English-speaking culture, that is especially common among children from the 12 countries of origin with very high poverty rates (Figure 20 and Table A).
Figure 20 (Part 1)


* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.

* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Although children in immigrant families from an additional 16 countries in 1990 had very high proportions of fathers who did not work full-time year-round, children from most of these 16 countries had two advantages compared to those of children from the 12 very high poverty countries of origin (Table A). Most did not have high proportions with very low parental educational attainments, and most had at least one person in the household, no doubt often the parent, who spoke English exclusively or very well; thus very high poverty rates for children in immigrant families tend to occur among children from countries with very low parental educational attainments (8 years of schooling or less), fathers who cannot find full-time year-around work, and parents who do not speak English exclusively or very well (Table A). These results suggest that the combination of very limited father’s educational attainments and linguistic isolation of the household are key factors which make it difficult for fathers in immigrant families to obtain full-time year-round work that pays well enough to lift the family out of poverty.

Of course, many mothers also work for pay, contributing to family income. Among children with mothers in the home, historic trends in mother’s labor force participation have been broadly similar for first- and second-generation children and for third- and later-generation children, rising from 6 and 12 percent, respectively, in 1910, to 27 percent in 1960, to 58 and 66 percent, respectively, in 1990 (Figure 21). Full-time year-round employment rates for mothers have also been similar, rising from 9 percent for children in immigrant families and third- and later-generation children in 1960 to 28 and 31 percent, respectively, in 1990 (Figure 22 and Table A).
As of 1990, of the 12 countries of origin with high proportions (50 percent or more) of first- and second-generation children with mothers who are not in the labor force, 7 had high proportions (68 to 80 percent) with fathers working full-time year-round (Table A). Children in immigrant families from the remaining 5 countries were among the 12 with very high poverty rates, and they had comparatively high proportions with fathers not working full-time year-round (38 to 68 percent), but they also had high proportions with mothers not graduating from high school (55 to 76 percent), and 4 had high proportions with 5 or more siblings in the home (19 to 42 percent). This pattern suggests that among mothers with very low educational attainments, large family size may often be inconsistent with mother’s employment outside the home, perhaps because of a trade-off between mothers’ work and providing care for children in the home.

**ONE-PARENT FAMILIES**

The proportion living with only one parent was smaller for the second than for the first generation overall, and both were less than for the third and later generations of children. For most specific countries of origin the proportion for the second generation was equal to or smaller than the first generation (Figures 23 and 24). Among most countries of origin for which estimates can be calculated in 1990, third- and later-generation children by country origin were more likely than first- and second-generation children from the same country to live with only one parent (Figure 23 and Tables B and B) (Hernandez and Darke, 1999). Third- and later-generation children from most of these countries were at least twice as likely as third- and later-generation non-Hispanic whites (at 18 percent) to live in one-parent families.
Figure 23 (Part 1)


* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Figure 23 (Part 2)


* Third-and-later-generation children shaded lightly.

Note: See Technical Appendix for description of variables.

Source: Table A and Hernandez and Darke, 1999.
Focusing on first- and second-generation children from the 12 countries of origin with very high poverty rates, those from Cambodia and the 6 Central American and Caribbean countries were substantially more likely to live in one-parent families (26 to 48 percent) than third- and later-generation white non-Hispanic children (17 percent) (Figure 23). Children from these countries tended to have smaller proportions with 5 or more siblings in the home than those high poverty countries with higher proportions in two-parent families, and they tended to have higher proportions with mothers in the labor force; thus, children in immigrant families from the 12 countries of origin with very high poverty rates in 1990 tended to live in families with a large number of siblings and comparatively few working mothers, or they tended to live in one-parent families, but not both. Overall, nearly all the countries of origin with high proportions of first- and second-generation children living in one-parent families were Caribbean islands or in Central America.

First-, second-, and third- and later-generation children in 1960 were, overall, about equally likely to live in a one-parent family (9 to 10 percent). First-generation children from Mexico, Central America, and Caribbean islands were, however, substantially more likely to live in one-parent families (16 to 17), although the differences disappear for children from Mexico and Central America by the second generation. A very large, one-fourth of third- and later-generation black children lived in one-parent families in 1960. In 1910, too, first-, second-, and third- and later-generation children were about equally likely to live in one-parent families, although third- and later-generation black children were substantially more likely than others to live in one-parent families, at 19 percent versus 8 to 10 percent.