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Parental divorce, educational expectations, and children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment

by

Camron Devor

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Sociology

Program of Study Committee: Susan Stewart, Major Professor Anastasia Prokos Cassandra Dorius

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2014

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ABSTRACT

Previous research has shown parental divorce to be negatively associated with academic achievement. However, most of this research has been focused on the educational outcomes of children and adolescents as opposed to young adults. Using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate whether and how parental divorce affects children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. An important factor found to be associated with children's educational success, particularly elementary and secondary educations is parental educational expectations. Therefore, I assess the extent to which these educational expectations might explain the association between parental divorce and children's postbaccalaureate educational attainment. Multivariate regression analyses demonstrated that parental divorce and parental educational expectations, individually, were significantly associated with children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. In particular, adult children from divorced parental families had lower post-baccalaureate educational attainment compared to those from continuously married parent families. The parents of adult children who divorced and parents of adult children who remained continuously married had similar educational expectations for their child. These findings suggest that parental educational expectations do not mediate the relationship between parental divorce and children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. Future research should examine the different types of family structures on children's graduate school enrollment and degree attainment to help facilitate policy aimed at adult children's educational success and economic viability.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the United States, about half of marriages will end in divorce, and half of American children will experience their parents' divorce before the age of 18 (Amato, 2000; Copen et al., 2012). The divorce rate in America is calculated as the number of divorces per 1,000 married women, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the divorce rate reached a historic high of 22.6 divorces (United States Census Bureau, 2013). Given the large number of children affected by divorce, research has focused on why and how divorce affects children's adjustment. Research consistently shows a negative relationship between parental divorce and children's well-being. For example, children from divorced families have been found to have higher rates of depression (Strohschein, 2005) and antisocial behaviors (Vandewater & Lansford, 1998). In addition to these measures, educational success is an important indicator of children's adjustment. Studies have found parental divorce to have a significant negative effect on children's educational success, such as academic achievement and attainment (Amato, 2001; Amato & Keith, 1991; Frisco et al., 2007; Lansford, 2009; Potter, 2010; Sun & Li, 2001; Sun & Li, 2011). Among children of divorce, relatively few studies have examined educational success after high school. Even less research on the effect of parental divorce has focused on children obtaining graduate degrees.

Research is especially needed on the post-secondary educational outcomes of children of divorce. A college degree has never been more important to the economic success of American adults. The percentage of men and women with a four-year college degree increased by an average of 73% between 2000 and 2013 (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Master's, professional, and/or doctoral degree have become a requirement for entry into many professions and is strongly

related to income (Thomas & Zhang, 2005). Jobs requiring a graduate degree are expected to grow by an average of 18% between 2008 and 2018 in the United States, "due to the growing shift towards a knowledge-based economy" (Crosby & Moncarz, 2006, p. 46). Post-baccalaureate enrollment had been steady at 1.6 million in the late 1970s and early 1980s but rose 78% between 1985 and 2010 with a majority of the increase due to enrollment during 2008-2010 (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). A Master's, Professional (M.D., D.D.S., J.D.) and Doctoral degrees increased by an average of 70% between 2000 and 2013 with each degree increasing by 68%, 83%, and 75%, respectively (U.S. Department of Education, 2014).

There has been a wealth of research dedicated to understanding the effects of parental divorce on children. In particular, research has focused on the variety of negative effects of parental divorce on children's educational success. In terms of negative elementary educational success, research has found children from divorced families have lower math and reading scores and lower school engagement compared to their in-tact family counterparts (Amato, 2000, 2010; Ahrons, 2007; Brown, 2010; Chatterji, 2005; Gennetian, 2005; Lee & Brown, 2006; Magnuson & Berger, 2009; Potter, 2010; Strohschein, 2005; Shriner et al., 2009; Sun & Li, 2001, 2011 Teachman, 2007; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998). Divorce scholars have also extended their analysis to children's secondary (e.g., high school) educational success, finding parental divorce continues to have a negative effect on children's secondary standardized test scores, grade point averages, drop-out/completion rates and school participation (Anguiano, 2004; Boyce Rodgers & Rose, 2001; Carlson & Corcoran, 2001; Cavanagh, Schiller, & Riegle-Crumb, 2006; Falci, 2006; Frisco et al., 2007; Gennetian, 2005; Ginther & Pollak, 2004; Heard, 2007; Hill et al., 2004; Melby et al., 2008; Magnuson & Berger, 2009; Qian & Blair, 1999; Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1996; Tillman, 2007).

Within the last two decades, the divorce literature has begun to investigate parental divorce effects on adult children's post-secondary (e.g., college) educational success, such as entrance rates into college and bachelor's degree completion (Black & Sufi, 2002; Bulduc, Caron, & Logue, 2007; Conley, 2001; Perna & Titus, 2005), finding there are long-term problems for children from divorced families. There are a few studies which have investigated post-baccalaureate educational attainment of children from non-intact versus intact families (Björklund & Sundström, 2006; Björklund, Ginther, & Sundström, 2007). However, these studies focus on family structure as opposed to parental divorce specifically; they also do not attempt to understand the mechanisms underlying this relationship. Therefore, we do not have a clear picture of the effect of divorce on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment.

An important variable associated with children's educational success, particularly elementary and secondary education, is parental educational expectations (Davis-Kean, 2005; Dika & Singh, 2002; Fan & Chen, 2001; Englund et al., 2004; Kim & Schnieder, 2005; Perna & Titus, 2005; Reynolds & Burge, 2008). In terms of young adult's educational success, the relationship between parental educational expectations and children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment has yet to be examined. Using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth of 1997, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate whether and how parental divorce affects children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. In particular, I assess the extent to which these educational expectations might explain the association between parental divorce and children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

The American family has gone through remarkable changes in the last five decades. There are now a multitude of family structures present in today's society including married, divorced, cohabitating, stepfamilies, single, foster, same sex couples, and intergenerational households. Nevertheless, marriage remains a coveted status in society, with much of the early research on family change using stable married families as the reference group in analytic models. Decades of research have been dedicated to understanding the effect of parental divorce on children. Research has found that children who experienced parental divorce are at risk for a variety of negative outcomes (Amato, 2010; Cherlin et al., 1991; Lansford, 2009). Research has measured children's educational success in a variety of ways, including elementary reading and math scores, secondary grade point average (GPA), standardized test scores (ACT, SAT, etc.), school engagement, participation in extracurricular activities, and cognitive test scores (PIAT). These studies have consistently found a negative relationship between parental divorce or otherwise non-intact family structure and children's educational success (Chatterji, 2005; Carlson & Corcoran, 2001; Cavanagh, Schiller, & Riegle-Crumb, 2006; Frisco et al., 2007; Gennetian, 2005; Ginther & Pollak, 2004; Magnuson & Berger, 2009; Shriner et al., 2009; Sun & Li, 2011; Teachman, 2007).

For example, Carlson and Corcoran (2001) used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth of 1979 (NLSY79) to study the effect of various family structures on children's (ages 7 to 10) cognitive outcomes. The results showed on both measures of math and reading recognition, children from two-parent homes since birth, on average, significantly out-achieved children from single-parent and multiple transition homes by 80%. Using the National

Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 child and young adult cohort, Gennetian (2005) found similar results.

A limitation these studies are their focus on young children and adolescents. Yet, Cherlin et al. (1998) maintains that some negative impacts of parental divorce during childhood may not manifest itself until late adolescence and/or adulthood. For example, Lansford (2009) found that parental divorce contributes to higher levels of long-term internalizing and externalizing problems into adulthood. There have been studies conducted using older children (over age 18) of parental divorce, but they have tended to focus on social and behavioral outcomes, as opposed to educational outcomes. Such as, these studies investigated the effects of parental divorce on children's romantic relationships, attitudes towards marriage and divorce, parent and adult-child relationship quality (Amato, 2000).

Another limitation is the lack of studies based on longitudinal and nationally representative samples, especially when it comes to educational outcomes. However, there have been some notable researchers that have used longitudinal research (lasting 20 years or more) to understand the long-term implications of divorce and its effect on the children (Ahrons, 2004, 2006; Hetherington, 2003; Hetherington & Kelly, 2002; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Hetherington studied 900 youth spread between nondivorced, divorced, and remarried families over a 25-year period, finding many of the adult children from divorced families experienced difficulties in romantic relationships and parenthood later in life.

Research consistently shows differences between traditional intact families and non-intact families (e.g., single-parent, blended families, stepfamilies) in children's educational outcomes (Anguiano, 2004; Heard, 2007; Jeynes, 2006; Stewart, 2002; Tillman, 2008). Educational success

is strongly influenced by the makeup of the family structure for young children (Amato, 2000; 2005; Amato & Cheadle, 2005), adolescents (Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1996; 1997; Björklund, Ginther, & Sundström, 2005) and young adults (Bulduc, Caron, & Logue, 2007; Heard, 2007; Melby et al., 2008). For example, Heard (2007) used the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) to examine the influence of family structure transitions on indicators of children's grade point average (GPA), youth's college expectations (e.g., likelihood youth would attend college), and adolescent school discipline (e.g., paying attention in school and trouble with teachers and other students). Using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models and logistic regression analysis, results showed adolescents in all non-two biological parent families have lower grades and less likely to expect to attend college (significant at p<.05 level) compared to adolescents in two-original biological parent families. While Heard (2007) findings support the knowledge that small GPA scores have a significant negative effect on college admissions, the limitation of the study is the large sample size (N=11,318) which allows relatively small coefficients to become statistically significant. Tillman (2008), following Heard's (2007) methodology, focused more specifically on stepfamilies, and revealed that children who experience family structure pathways (e.g., stepfamily formation after parental separation) on average, are at risk for poorer academic outcomes, such as lower GPAs and lower than average college expectation among youth. A key finding of this study is across the academic outcomes, the disadvantages of divorce/separation are particularly pronounced for youth who have transitioned into a cohabitating stepfamily or single-father family (Tillman, 2007).

Ginther and Pollack (2004) investigated the correlation between family structure and children's educational outcomes using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79), the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) and the NLSY-Child and Young Adult

Survey. The authors examined the effect of stepfamilies structures on four schooling outcomes (years of schooling, high school graduation, college attendance, and college graduation) and the results showed educational outcomes of stepchildren and their half-siblings (i.e., the joint children of both parents), are similar to each other and yet, are substantially worse off than outcomes for children reared in traditional nuclear families. In general, children from stepfamilies do worse academically than kids from continuously married parent families (Ginther & Pollak, 2004).

In terms of young adults, Bulduc, Caron, and Logue (2007) studied the impact parental divorce has on college-aged (over the age of 18) students, whose parents divorced after they left home and entered college. While this study used a college student cohort, the focus was the effect of divorce on the quality of relationship between the child and their parent as opposed to their educational success. The results showed many of the students responded that the divorce brought about a closer relationship with their mother and a more tense relationship with their father, and the divorce cause them particular problems around the holidays.

Wallerstein and Lewis' (2004) research is one of the few to assess the effect of parental divorce on children's higher education. In their study, only 57% of children with divorced parents obtained their bachelor's degree as compared with 90% in the comparison group (Wallerstein & Lewis, 2004). The limitation of Wallerstein's work is the research subjects were recruited from her family therapy practice, who may already be at risk for poorer outcomes. Because of this limitation, these results should not be used to generalize all post-divorce families.

In a study of Swedish families, Björklund and Sundström (2006) used a sibling-difference analysis (i.e., those whose parents separated and among whom at least one had turned 18 at the time of separation) to examine the association between parental separation during childhood and

educational attainment as adults. The study used population registers at Statistics Sweden of citizens born between 1951 and 1963. The sibling cohorts were divided into two groups: siblings who reached age 18 before parental separation and sibling who reached age 18 after parental separation. Their initial results showed siblings who experienced a parental separation before age 18 had lower levels of educational attainment (e.g., the highest type of degree received, including graduate degrees) as adults compared to siblings who experienced a parental separation after age 18. However, in their family fixed-effects estimation model, which controls for the shared family characteristics of the full siblings, the authors found no statistically significant difference between full siblings who experienced/not experienced parental separation.

A limitation of their study is their analysis was based on children in Sweden, where the educational systems are very different than the United States. Also, Swedish law does not distinguish between married and cohabitating couples. Accordingly, Björklund, Ginther, and Sundström (2007) used the same methodology to conduct a comparative study on a Swedish cohort and a United States cohort to understand the relationships between childhood family structure, schooling and earnings. Comparing the USA and Sweden is appealing because both family structure and public policy environment in the two countries differ significantly (Bjorklund, Ginther, & Sundstrom, 2007).

The authors used the same dataset from the Björklund and Sundström (2006) article, and for the US cohort, the authors used the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth of 1979 (NLSY79) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics of 1985 (PSID). Unlike the initial study, childhood family structures were measured by the proportion of childhood spent in five different family structures (e.g., both biological parents, single biological mother, biological mother married/cohabitating with stepfather, single biological father, biological father

married/cohabitating with stepmother, or other) (Bjorklund, Ginther, & Sundstrom, 2007). The authors found similar results in both countries in that the non-intact family structure variables were negatively and significantly correlated with years of schooling. Yet when unobserved family characteristics were controlled, the family structure coefficients were no longer statistically significant in either the US or Sweden sample (Bjorklund, Ginther, & Sundstrom, 2007). In relation to this thesis, these studies suggest that parental divorce may not have an effect on children's college educational attainment. Yet, these studies were looking at a general measure of attainment that incorporates all levels of education. Moreover, these studies were not looking at parental divorce specifically, but rather differences in family structures. Thus, the question of parental divorce on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment is still not fully understood.

How Do You Measure Post-Baccalaureate Educational Attainment?

Post-baccalaureate educational attainment is measured as both the highest degree completed and college enrollment status. Common measures used to assess educational success among younger children, such as standardized test scores and grade point average, are not appropriate for post-baccalaureate educational success for several reasons. Although standardized test scores (e.g., the Graduate Record Examination [GRE], the Medical College Admission Test [MCAT], and the Law School Admission Test [LSAT]) are important for entrance into graduate and professional school, there is little evidence of a correlation between these measures and actual degree completion (Adelman, 1999; Astin & Osequera, 2002; Burton & Ramist, 2001; Hezelett et al., 2001; Sackett et al., 2009; Zwick, 2007). These studies found a similar pattern of a small correlation between test scores and degree completion only when observing single college samples, and studies based on large national data sets found no correlation.

In addition, grade point averages are not wholly influential for the completion of a post-secondary and post-baccalaureate degrees. Instead, a person completes a number of credits established by the institution in order to obtain a degree. Second, in terms of hiring decisions, GPAs and test scores are not a major factor for employers (McKinney et al. 2003). About 75% of employers will use GPA and test scores, but only as filter criteria when deciding between two equally qualified candidates (National Association of Colleges and Employers, 2009). Finally, overall success in today's competitive job market often determined by is whether or not a candidate has a degree. Because a bachelor's degree has become a basic prerequisite for getting a job candidate's resume read, a post-baccalaureate degree provides an advantage over the basic job applicant (Crosby & Moncarz, 2006; Fischer, 2013). Due to these reasons, the current study uses educational attainment, both enrollment and completion, to measure post-baccalaureate educational success.

Factors Associated with Post-Baccalaureate Educational Attainment

Several studies investigate how unemployment rate fluctuations, economic recessions, and the business cycle impact graduate education enrollment (Bedard & Herman, 2008; Dellas & Koubi, 2003; Sakellaris & Spilimbergo, 2000). For example, Bedard and Herman (2008) found the business cycle differently impacted male and female graduate school enrollment decisions. Using the National Survey of Recent College Graduates 1990 – 2000 (NSRCG), the authors assessed the effect of the average state unemployment rate on male and female graduate school enrollment (e.g., Ph.D., Professional [JD, LLB, Th.D., MD and DDS] and Masters) while controlling for undergraduate major and GPA, age, ethnicity, and maternal educational background. The results showed the only statistically significant unemployment rate responses were for male Ph.D. and Master's enrollment (Bedard & Herman, 2008).

Other characteristics of individuals who choose to attend graduate/professional schools have been examined, such as race, ethnicity, socio-economic status and gender (Black & Sufi, 2002; Mullen et al., 2003; Paulsen & St. John, 2002; Perna, 2000; Perna, 2004; Qian & Blair, 1999). For example, Perna (2004) used the 1997 follow up survey of the Baccalaureate and Beyond 1993 (B&B: 93/97) study to examine the gender and racial/ethnic differences of individuals who enroll in graduate programs. Even though the effect is small in size, the findings suggest women were more likely than men to enroll in master's level programs (23% versus 16%), yet were less likely to enroll in professional (5% versus 10%) or doctoral (2% versus 4%) level programs. In terms of racial/ethnic differences, Asians were more likely (16%) to enroll in a professional level program than all of the other racial/ethnic groups. When controlling for financial and academic resources (e.g., financial debt, amount of total loans borrowed, and family income) along with cultural and social capital, measured by parental educational attainment (e.g., higher level of education attained by either parent) and bilingual background; the results were unchanged for sex differences, yet for racial/ethnic differences, the results showed enrolling in either a master's or professional level program is higher for Blacks than for Whites. The limitation of this research is, because of the timing of the second follow-up to the B&B: 93/97, the analysis was done four to five years after receiving a bachelor's degree. Research suggests that most bachelor's degree recipients enroll in a graduate program within four to five years of receiving their bachelor's degree (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013).

A few studies have examined the relationship between parent's education background and post-baccalaureate educational attainment of children (Ethington & Smart, 1986; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001; Mullen, Goyette, & Soares, 2003; Perna, 2004; St. John & Wooden, 2005). In particular, Mullen, Goyette, and Soares (2003) found parent's education does have a positive

impact on children's graduate school attainment; 76% of children with parents who had only high school diploma or below did not pursue a graduate degree compared to 62% of children with parents with a graduate degree. Their results presented a challenge to earlier findings of Mare (1980) and Stolzenberg (1994), who both suggested a person who continues with higher education becomes more removed from their social background. However, the relationship varied across graduate programs. For every one year increase in parent's (mother's and father's) educational background, the odds for enrollment in master's programs increased by 6%, professional programs increased by 16%, and doctoral programs increased by 20% (Mullen, Goyette, & Soares, 2003).

Parental Educational Expectations and Children's Educational Success

An important variable associated with children's educational success, particularly elementary and secondary education, is parents' educational expectations for their children (Davis-Kean, 2005; Dika & Singh, 2002; Englund et al., 2004; Fan & Chen, 2001; Kim & Schnieder, 2005; Perna & Titus, 2005; Reynolds & Burge, 2008; Zhan, 2006). These studies generally measured parental educational expectations through how far the parent thought their child would go in school. In general, the results showed a strong positive relationship between parent's educational expectations and children's academic achievement (Davis-Kean, 2005; Englund et al., 2004; Fan & Chen, 2001; Kim & Schnieder, 2005; Zhan, 2006). Parental expectations are unique from other kinds of parental involvement since parental expectations are personal views, whereas parental involvement focuses on real behaviors, such as PTA attendance and assisting with their child's homework. It could be argued parents' views influence their behaviors; however, it is important to differentiate between these two concepts when studying their effects on children's educational success. Studies have not examined the association between parental educational expectations and post-baccalaureate educational attainment.

Social Capital, Parental Divorce, and Post-Baccalaureate Educational Attainment

Parents' human capital is often measured through maternal and paternal level of education, which provides a resource children can draw upon (Parcel, Dufur, & Zito, 2010). In their review, Parcel et al. (2010) demonstrated that a decade of research has shown a strong and consistent positive relationship between parent's educational background and children's educational outcomes. Another type of capital in families is social capital. According to Coleman (1988), *social capital* refers to the social relationships in children's lives which helps them access the benefits of their parent's human capital (i.e., parent's education), as well as, parental investment of resources in their children. Divorce is one of the most stressful times for both adults and children, and studies continue to show that divorce is associated with lower levels of well-being (Amato, 2010). Social capital is built through the stability and resilience of family relationships; thus divorce places a strain on social capital within families (Furstenberg, 2005).

Social capital is strongly related to educational success, yet children's social capital can be affected by parental divorce. Three common measures of social capital are parental monitoring, parent-child relationship quality, and parent-school involvement. These have been shown to be strongly associated with children's educational success. Parental monitoring (e.g., parents' update of children's whereabouts and who children spend time with) tends to decrease in divorced families, due to the lack of an additional support by another parent (Anguiano, 2004). Parent-child relationship quality (e.g., warmth, closeness and interest) lessens due to divorce, with children being less motivated to participate in school (Dika & Singh, 2002; Turley, Desmond & Bruch, 2010). Parental involvement is positively linked to children educational success, however, parental involvement is lower due to the lack of parent-parent support among divorced families (Fan & Chen, 2001; Hill et al., 2004; Zhan, 2006).

Coleman's (1988) social capital theory has been previously used to examine children's educational attainment. Dika and Singh (2002) conducted an extensive content analysis of the educational literature from three time periods (i.e., 1990-1995, 1996-1998, and 1999-2001) "to explore the usage of social capital as an explanatory variable in educational research" (p.31). Thirteen of the studies examined the relationship between social capital and educational attainment. Overall, "social capital is positively associated with high school and college enrollment, with traditional family structure, parent's expectations and encouragement, and parent-child interactions are positively related to these two outcomes" (p.41).

Parent's educational background does have a positive relationship with the post-baccalaureate educational attainment of children (Ethington & Smart, 1986; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001; Mullen, Goyette, & Soares, 2003; Perna, 2004; St. John & Wooden, 2005). However, parent's educational background provides an incomplete picture of children's educational success. Rather, the human capital possessed by the parents needs to be complemented by information about the social capital embodied in family relations (Coleman, 1988, p. S110). So, "as a family maintains its stability, the more developed the group norms, expectations, and obligations, and thus, the higher level of social capital...as such, families must cultivate their stability and subsequently, their social capital, to flourish and maintain their existence" (Shriner, Mullis, and Schlee, 2009, p. 447). Therefore, using this theory we could find probable differences in the social capital for children with divorced versus non-divorced parents.

In this study, I use parental expectations, in addition to parental divorce, as an indicator of social capital in families. While findings establish family structure as an important factor in children's educational success, no study has yet examined how parental divorce affects children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. Unique to this study, I also examine whether and how

parental educational expectations might mediate the relationship between parental divorce and children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. In other words, do differences in parental educational expectations between divorced and non-divorced parents help explain differences in children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment?

Specifically, I test the following four hypotheses below. Figure 1 outlines the theoretical models (Model A through D) used for the analyses in each hypothesis described below. Furthermore, all hypotheses will be tested controlling for characteristics of children (gender, race, and ethnicity), characteristics of parent (educational background), and characteristics of household (family income).

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Adult children whose parents have divorced will have lower post-baccalaureate educational attainment compared to those with continuously married biological parents (Model A).

Hypothesis 2: Parent's educational expectations will be lower for children with divorced parents compared to children with continuously married biological parents (Model B).

Hypothesis 3: Parental educational expectations will be positively related to children's post-baccalaureate education attainment (Model C).

Hypothesis 4: Parental educational expectations will mediate the relationship between parental divorce and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment, such that the effect of parental divorce on youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment will be explained in part or fully by lower parent's educational expectations among children with divorced parents (Model D).

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Data

This study is based on the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97). Produced by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, this survey provides data on demographic characteristics, labor market activity, event life history and schooling history features. Although similar to the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79), the NLSY97 provides corresponding data on a newer cohort of adolescents The NLSY97 also includes an oversample of African American and Latino persons (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011), important given higher divorce rates among minorities (Teachman, Tedrow, & Hall, 2006) and a recent increase in college enrollment among these groups (Perna, 2000, 2004). When weighted to reflect the demographic characteristics of the U.S. population, the NLSY97 provides a representative sample of youth. The NLSY97 respondents were born between 1980 and 1984. At the time of the first interview, respondent's ages ranged from 12 to 18. Round 1 of the survey took place in 1997. In that round, both the eligible youth and one of that youth's parents received hour-long personal interviews. In addition, an extensive two-part questionnaire was administered to both youth and parent which gathered demographic information on every member of the youth's household and on immediate family members living elsewhere. The youth, but not their parents, continue to be interviewed on an annual basis. This study is based on youth who completed the most recent data fielded in 2011-2012 (Round 15 of the survey).

The number of respondents in Round 1 of the survey were 8,984 individuals, comprised of 4,599 (51%) males and 4,385 (49%) females. The retention rate of the survey has been excellent.

Eighty-three percent of the Round 1 sample were interviewed in the most recent round (National Longitudinal Surveys, 2014).

The NLSY97 is well-suited for the present study in that its main goal was to document the transition from school to work in young adulthood. Therefore, extensive information was collected on the *youth questionnaire* about respondents' educational experiences over time. Educational data include youth's schooling history, performance on standardized tests, course of study, the timing and types of degrees, and a detailed account of progression through post-secondary schooling. The *parent questionnaire*, conducted at Round 1, generated information about the youth's family background, family transitions, and history. The youth's biological mother was the parent who most often provided the information.

Information in the *parent questionnaire* includes parent's' martial and employment histories, relationship with spouse(s) or partner(s), household income, youth's early child-care arrangements, and custody arrangements for youth (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). For the purpose of this study, the *parent questionnaire* was important because it provided the parent's educational expectations for their child.

There are a number of national surveys that could have been utilized to address the role of parental divorce on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. These include Baccalaureate and Beyond (B&B), Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS), High School and Beyond (HS&B), National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS: 88), National Household Education Survey (NHES) (Institute of Education Sciences, 2014), and National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). However, each has limitations for addressing the questions posed in the current study.

HS&B, conducted in 1980, and NELS: 88 provide data that is over two decades old. NAEP does not contain the variables (i.e., parental divorce and post-baccalaureate educational attainment) needed for this study. NHES contains a combination of several separate surveys covering educational learning at all ages, but does not include variables on post-baccalaureate education. ELS: 2002 is a nationally representative, longitudinal study of 10th and 12th graders in 2002 and 2004, following student education trajectories and contains family background information. Although ELS: 2002 contains the variables pertaining to post-baccalaureate educational attainment, post-secondary and post-baccalaureate transcripts are currently in collection, and thus the data has not been released. B&B cohorts are nationally representative samples of graduating college seniors and gathers information on post-baccalaureate educational attainment. Unfortunately, the current cohort data is unavailable for public-use at this time, and the study does not provide detailed family background history variables needed for this study (i.e., parental divorce). Add Health, a nationally representative survey conducted in four waves from 1994-2008, contained extensive family background variables and schooling history of children, however, the participants of Add Health were not of the age range desired for this particular study.

Analytic Sample

In this study, the analytic sample was comprised of respondents who completed Round 15 of the survey, when respondents were between the ages of 26 to 32 (N=8,984). The sample was limited to youth whose *parent questionnaire* was filled out by a biological parent, either the biological mother or the biological father (N=8,300). Therefore, youth whose *parent questionnaire* was filled-out by an adoptive, step, foster, guardian or non-relative parent were removed from the sample (8%). The sample was further limited to youth who were born within a marriage (N=5,856). Thus, youths born outside of marriage were removed from the sample (27%). The

assumption was made that if a child born within a marriage, that youth was the product of that marriage.

The analytic sample was further limited to include (a) youth whose biological parents' marriage ended in legal divorce, and (b) youth whose biological parents' marriage remained intact. Parents whose marriage ended in either physical separation, legal separation (but not divorced) or widowed were removed from the sample (11%). The analytic sample is comprised of 4,855 youth between the ages 26 to 32 at Round 15 of the survey, conducted in 2011-2012 (Sample 1).

Analyses pertaining to parental educational expectations had to be limited to a subsample of NLSY97 youth because only parents of youth between the ages of 15 and 18 at Round 1 were asked about their expectations for their child's education (i.e., parents of children age 12-14 were not included). The sample size for analyses dealing with educational expectations was, therefore, limited to 1,853 youths (Sample 2).

The frequency distribution of both Sample 1 and Sample 2 can be found in Table 1.

Measures

Dependent Variables

Post-baccalaureate educational attainment

Post-baccalaureate educational attainment were measured through the combination of variables, using information collected at each round on college enrollment status and information on the highest degree earned assessed at Round 15 of the survey.

At each round, the youth was asked "current college enrollment status as of the survey year". The NLSY97 categories included (1) not enrolled, no high school degree, no GED (2) not enrolled, GED (3) not enrolled, high school degree (4) not enrolled, some college (5) not enrolled, 2-year college graduate (6) not enrolled, 4-year college graduate (7) not enrolled, graduate degree (8) enrolled in grades 1-12, not a high school graduate (9) enrolled in a 2-year college (10) enrolled in a 4-year college and (11) enrolled in a graduate program.

Post-baccalaureate educational attainment was assessed at Round 15 of the survey, the most recent survey year. At Round 15, youth was asked "what is the highest degree respondent has received ever?" The response categories included (0) none (1) GED (2) high school diploma (3) associate/junior college (AA) (4) bachelor's degree (BA, BS) (5) master's degree (MA, MS) (6) Ph.D. and (7) professional degree (DDS, JD, MD).

The information about college enrollment and attainment were combined into three different measures of post-baccalaureate educational attainment.

The first is a dichotomous measure of post-baccalaureate educational attainment, coded as '1' if the youth obtained a graduate degree or was ever enrolled in a graduate program (Masters, Ph.D., DDS, MD, JD). Youth were coded as '0' if they obtained a bachelor's degree or less or ever enrolled in less than a four-year degree program (Bachelors, AA, GED). This category served as the reference group in the analysis.

A second dichotomous measure of post-baccalaureate educational attainment was limited to youth who had obtained a graduate degree and, therefore, did not include ever enrolled in a graduate program. Not having obtained a graduate degree served as the reference group in the analysis.

A third dichotomous measure of baccalaureate educational attainment was created in which was a youth obtained a four-year degree or greater. Less than a bachelor's degree served as the reference group in the analysis.

Independent Variables

Parental Divorce. Parental divorce was the focus of this study and was measured using a combination of several variables. For children whose parents divorced prior to Round 1, parental divorce was gleaned from the parent's Round 1 questionnaire. At Round 1, the responding parent (generally the biological mother) were asked "is parent currently married, separated, divorced or widowed". If the condition applied, the responding parent answered "in what month and year did you marry [this spouse/partner]", for up to six spouses. Second, the responding parent were asked "is parent currently separated, divorced, and widowed from spouse?" If condition applied, the parent respondent were asked "how did the marriage to spouse(s) end"? The resulting categories included (1) legal separation only (2) physical separation but no legal separation (3) divorce and (4) death. If the response was divorced, parent respondent was asked what month and year the divorce occurred, for up to six spouses.

Whether or not child's biological parents were divorced was determined by whether or not the youth's birth date fell within a particular marriage start date and end date of a marriage that ended in divorce. If there was no indication that the marriage ended in legal divorce (including the end date) then it was assumed that marriage remained intact, at least until Round 1 of the survey (divorces post-Round 1 were assessed differently, as described below). Sometimes a child was a product of their parents' second or (or third) marriage, as opposed to the first marriage, and this

was determined by cycling through the marriage start and end dates that correspond to the child's birthdate.

To measure whether or not a youth's biological parents divorced after Round 1, the NLSY97 created a variable that provided information on whether the youth's biological parents had divorced within the previous five years (assessed at Rounds 6, 11, and 13). However, the last round this question was asked at Round 13. Thus, some youth who were coded as having continuously married parents at Round 15 may have had parents who divorced in the previous two years. However, this is likely to be a very small group because the majority of parental divorces happen before the child reaches age 25 (Fraley & Heffernan, 2013).

Information from the parent Round 1 questionnaire and youth questionnaires were combined to create a dichotomous variable in which 1=parents are divorced, and 0=parents are continuously married

<u>Parental Educational Expectations.</u> Parental educational expectations of the youth were reported on the *parent questionnaire* at Round 1. Parents were asked "what is the percent chance that [youth] will have a four-year college degree by the time [he/she] turns 30?" This variable is not specific to post-baccalaureate educational attainment, just baccalaureate educational attainment. Responses ranged from 0% chance to 100% chance.

Parental educational expectations were measured in two ways. First, when parental educational expectations was the dependent variable, the measure remained a continuous variable of 0% to 100%. Second, when parental educational expectations was the independent variable, a dichotomous variable was created, with the categories (0) low (0 to 70%) and (1) high (71 to 100%). This dichotomous variable was created due to over 60% of parent respondents having high

expectations, leading to uneven distribution of categories. Recall that this question was only asked of parents with youth age 15 to 18.

Control Variables

<u>Characteristics of Youth.</u> Characteristics of the youth were taken from Round 1 of the youth questionnaire. The sex category of youth was coded dichotomously as male and female, with male as the reference category. The youth's race and ethnicity were measured at Round 1 and were coded as Black, Hispanic, Other (non-Hispanic), and White (Non-Black/Non-Hispanic). White served as the reference category.

Characteristics of Parents. Parental educational background is a cumulative variable constructed by the NLSY comprised of the parent/screener at Round 1 of highest grade completed by respondent's biological mother and biological father. Responses range from first grade (1) to eighth year of college or more (20). Based on this, parental educational background was recoded as (1) high school or less (K-12th grade/Diploma or GED) (2) some college (1st -2nd year of college/associate's degree) (3) four-year college degree (3rd-4th year of college/bachelor's degree) and (4) graduate/professional degree (5th year of college or more). A set of dummy variables was created for each category of education for both mothers and fathers, with graduate degree serving as the reference category.

Characteristics of the Household. Household income for the most recent year was reported by the child's parents at Round 1. The NLSY97 defined income as gross wage/salary for respondent, along with data on other income sources (rental property, small business investments, inheritance, child support, annuities, etc.) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). To reduce the proportion of missing data, respondents who do not provide exact dollar answers were asked to

select the applicable category from a predefined list of ranges. Based on these predefined ranges, I created variables based on income quartiles (1) low (less than or equal to \$23,100) (2) medium (less than or equal to \$51,400) and (3) high (less than or equal to \$246,500), with high income serving as the reference category.

Analytic Strategy

Results presented in the following chapter are based on the analysis plan described below. First, descriptive weighted statistics pertaining to the two analytic samples used in the analysis are presented. This information details the sample, percentages, and standard deviations of the dependent variables, independent variables and control variables outlined in the preceding *Measures* section.

Second, bivariate relationships were assessed using chi-square tests (weighted), which assessed whether a statistically significant relationship is present between parental divorce, parental educational expectations, control variables, and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment of both analytic samples.

Third, multivariate relationships were assessed using logistic regression, which is appropriate for categorical dependent variables. The use of logistic regressions converts categorical dependent variables' non-linear relationship into a linear one (DeMaris, 1995).

In this series of analyses, post-baccalaureate educational attainment was regressed on parental divorce and parental educational expectations while controlling for youth gender and ethnicity, parents' educational background and household income. Various strategies were used to measure post-baccalaureate educational attainment.

The regression models for this thesis proceed as follows. First, I tested whether adult children with divorced parents would have lower post-baccalaureate educational attainment compared children with two continuously married biological parents (Hypothesis 1).

This hypothesis was tested in three separate models. First, based on the complete sample of youth ages 12 to 18 at Round 1 (Sample 1; N=4,855), I regressed youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment on parental divorce using the three variations of dependent variable measurements, with and without control variables. In a supplemental analysis that limited the sample of youth with divorced parents (N=1,763), I regressed youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (all three measures) on parental divorces that occurred prior to Round 1 (youth age 12 to 18) versus parental divorces that occurred after Round 1 (youth age 18 and older), with and without control variables. This second analysis was conducted to determine whether the age of the child at the time of the parents' divorce was an important factor in determining children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. Third, I examined the effect of parental divorce on the post-baccalaureate educational attainment, limiting the sample to youth ages 15 to 18 at Round 1 (Sample 2; N=1,853). I regressed youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (all three measures) on parental divorce with and without control variables, to determine whether parental divorce is associated with children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment among the older sample of youth.

Next, using the sample of youth age 15 to 18 at Round 1 (Sample 2), I examined whether parental educational expectations would be lower for children with divorced parents compared to children with continuously married parents (Hypothesis 2) by regressing parental educational expectations on parental divorce with and without control variables.

Then, again using the older sample of youth (Sample 2), I examined whether parental educational expectations would be positively related to children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (Hypothesis 3). I regressed post-baccalaureate educational attainment on the dichotomous parental educational expectations variable with and without control variables.

Finally, I examined whether parental educational expectations mediate the relationship between parental divorce and post-baccalaureate educational attainment (Hypothesis 4). Using the sample of older youth (Sample 2), I regressed post-baccalaureate educational attainment on parental divorce and parental educational expectations with and without controls. To determine whether parental educational expectations had a mediating effect, I compared the coefficient for parental divorce from this analysis to the coefficient for parental divorces from the previous model (based on Sample 2), that did not include parental educational expectations (discussed above). A significant reduction in the size of the coefficient between models would be indicative that parental educational expectations partially or fully explains the relationship between parental divorce and children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter presents the relationship between parental divorce, parental educational expectations, and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment, providing tests of hypotheses 1 through 4. First, I provide a description of Sample 1 (youth age 12 to 18 at Round 1) and Sample 2 (youth age 15 to 18 at Round 1). Next, bivariate relationships between parental divorce, parental educational expectations, and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment are examined. Finally, I conclude with the multivariate analysis in which youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment is regressed on parental divorce and parental educational expectations while controlling for youth's gender and race/ethnicity, parent's educational background and household income.

Description of the Sample

Table 1 present the distribution of the variables used in the analysis. In Sample 1 (youth age 12 to 18), 17% of the youth had either attained a graduate degree or were enrolled at some point in a graduate program compared to approximately 19% of youth in Sample 2 (youth age 15 to 18). With respect to obtaining a graduate degree, 10% of youth in Sample 1 did obtain a graduate degree compared to approximately 12% of youth in Sample 2. With respect to attainment of a bachelor's degree or higher, 41% of youth in Sample 1 attained a bachelor's degree or higher compared to approximately 43% of youth in Sample 2.

With respect to family structure, in Sample 1, 41% of youth had divorced parents compared to 59% of youth who had both biological parents remain married. In Sample 2, 43% of youth had divorced parents compared to 57% of youth who had both biological parents remain married.

The educational expectations of a parent were limited to youth who were 15 to 18 years old at the time of Round 1. Approximately 66% of parents had high expectations (71 - 100% chance) that their child would obtain a college degree by the time they turned 30, compared to 33% of parents who had low expectations (0 - 70% chance) of their children obtaining a college degree.

In both samples, more than three-fourths of the sample were youth of Caucasian ethnicity. Approximately 12% of youth were Hispanic, 8% of youth were Black, and less than 1% were Non-Caucasian/Non-Hispanic. The gender of youth was closely divided in half with 51% male and 49% female, in both samples.

In both samples, the youth's parents' educational background indicated the majority of parents (mothers and fathers), had a high school education or less. Approximately 25% of the youths' mothers had some college education compared to 19% of the youth's fathers. Both mothers and fathers had low percentages in terms of college or graduate education. In both samples, approximately 14% of mothers and 8% of fathers who had divorced had a bachelor's degree compared to 19% of mothers and 20% of fathers who had remained continuously married. Approximately 9% of mothers and 8% of fathers who had divorced had a graduate degree compared to 12% of mothers and 16% of fathers who remained continuously married. In terms of household income, only about 14% of households were in the lowest third (less than or equal to \$23,100). Approximately 44% of the households were in the middle third (less than or equal to \$51,400) and 42% of the households were in the highest third (less than or equal to \$246,500).

Bivariate Analysis

Table 2 shows the relationship between youth's family structure and their post-baccalaureate educational attainment in Sample 1 (youth age 12 to 18 at Round 1). Many

significant differences emerge between youth with divorced biological parents and youth with continuously married biological parents. A much higher proportion of youth with parents who remained married attained a graduate degree or were enrolled in a graduate program (20%) compared to youth with divorced parents (12%). When looking at those youths who obtained only a graduate degree, nearly twice as many youths with parents who remained married obtained a graduate degree (12%) compared to youth with divorced parents (7%). A significantly lower percentage of youth with divorced parents had a bachelor's degree (27%) than youth with parents who remained continuously married (50%).

In terms of youth's race and ethnicity, the percentage of White, Hispanic, and Other youths were relatively similar for youth with divorce parents versus youth with continuously married parents. One notable contrast was the percentage of youth with divorced parents were black (10%) compared to youth with continuously married parents who were black (6%). This compares to 10% of youth of divorced parents who were Hispanic compared to 13% of youth with continuously married parents who were Hispanic.

In terms of parental educational background, the percentage of parents' with high school education or less and some college was relatively similar for parents' who had ever divorced versus parents' who remained continuously married. One prominent contrast was the percentage of divorced mothers with a bachelor's (14%) or a graduate (8%) degree compared to the percentages of continuously married mothers with a bachelor's (19%) or a graduate (13%) degree. This compares to 8% of divorced fathers with a bachelor's or graduate degree compared to 18% of continuously married fathers with a bachelor's degree and 17% with a graduate degree.

Table 3 shows the relationship between parental divorce and post-baccalaureate educational attainment for Sample 2 (youth age 15 to 18 at Round 1). Approximately 14% of youth with divorced parents had a graduate degree or were ever enrolled in a graduate program, compared to 21% of youth with continuously married parents. With respect to obtaining a graduate degree, approximately 9% of youth of divorced parents obtained a graduate degree compared to 14% of youth with continuously married parents. One noteworthy contrast was the percentage of youth with divorced parents who obtained a bachelor's degree or higher (28%) compared to the percentage of youth with continuously married parents who obtained a bachelor's degree or higher (53%).

In terms of parental educational expectations, the percentages were notably different between divorced parents and continuously married parents. The percentage of divorced parents with low (0-70%) expectations for their child was 40% compared to 30% of continuously married parents with low expectations. This compares to 60% of divorced parents with high (71-100%) expectations for their child compared to 70% of continuously married parents with high expectations.

With respect to youth's race and ethnicity, the percentage of White, Black, and Other youth's was relatively similar for youth with divorced parents versus youth with continuously married parents. A notable contrast was the percentage of youth with divorced parents who were Hispanic youth (8%) compared to youth with continuously married parents who were Hispanic (13%).

In terms of parental educational background, the percentage of parents' with high school education or less, some college, and bachelor's degree was relatively similar for parents' who had

ever divorced versus parents' who remained continuously married. One prominent contrast was the percentage of divorced mothers with a graduate degree (9%) compared to the percentages of continuously married mothers with a graduate degree (12%). This compares to 8% of divorced fathers with a graduate degree compared to 16% of continuously married fathers with a graduate degree.

With respect to household income, the percentages of youth with divorce parents versus youth with continuously married parents were relatively similar in both analytic samples. Approximately 24% of youths' with divorced parents were in the lower third of household income (less than or equal to \$23,100) compared to 8% of youths' with continuously married parents in the lower third of household income. This compares to 47% of youths' with divorced parents in the middle third of household income (less than or equal to \$51,400) compared to 43% of youth's with continuously married parents in the middle third of household income. As well as, 30% of youths' with divorced parents in the highest third of household income (less than or equal to \$246,500) compared to 49% of youths' with continuously married parents in the highest third of household income.

Multivariate Analysis

Relationship between youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment and parental divorce

In order to understand the effect of parental divorce on children attaining a graduate degree,

I tested whether adult children with divorced parents would have lower post-baccalaureate
educational attainment compared children with two continuously married two biological parents

(Hypothesis 1). I found support that parental divorce is significantly related to youth's post-

baccalaureate educational enrollment and attainment through the use of three separate analyses (see Tables 4 through 7).

In the first analysis, using Sample 1 (youth age 12 to 18 at Round 1), results showed that there was a significant negative relationship between parental divorce ever and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (all three measures) both with and without the control variables in the model (Table 4 and Table 5). The odds of adult children with divorced parents who attained a graduate degree and/or had ever been enrolled in a graduate program were 30% less than those of adult children with continuously married parents. The odds of adult children with divorced parents who obtained a bachelor's degree and higher were 44% less than those of adult children with continuously married parents.

A supplemental analysis was conducted to determine whether the age of the child at the time of the parents' divorce had an influence on his or her post-baccalaureate educational attainment (Table 7). This analysis was limited to children with divorced parents (N=1,763). In this analysis, I regressed youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment on a variable indicating those whose parents' divorce occurred prior to Round 1 (when the youth was between the ages 12 to 18) versus youths whose parents' divorce occurred after Round 1 (when the youth was age 18 and older). Results showed a significant negative relationship between parental divorce post-Round 1 and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment, for all three measures without control variables (Table 6). However, once control variables were included in the analysis (Table 7) the effect was only significant for youth obtaining a bachelor's degree and higher. The odds of children obtaining a bachelor's degree and higher are 35% lower for children whose parents divorced pre-Round 1. These results mean that the age of the youth at the time of parental divorce is related to youth obtaining a bachelor's degree but not a graduate degree.

Based on the results from the two analyses above, Hypothesis 1, which stated adult children with divorced parents would have a lower post-baccalaureate educational attainment, was supported.

The next set of models tests the effect of parental divorce on post-baccalaureate educational attainment of children ages 15 to 18 (Sample 2; N=1,853). I regressed youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (all three measures) on parental divorce. There was a significant negative relationship between parental divorce ever and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (all three measures) when control variables were not included (Table 8). However, when control variables were added to this analysis, the significant relationship between parental divorce ever and youth obtaining a graduate degree or enrolling in a graduate program disappeared (Table 9). This indicates that, for this groups of older children at Round 1, the youth's gender, ethnicity, and parents' education explains the negative effect of parental divorce on post-baccalaureate educational attainment. There was a significant positive relationship between parental divorce ever and whether or not the youth obtained a bachelor's degree and higher. The odds of adult children with divorced parents obtaining a bachelor's degree or higher is 47% less compared adult children with continuously married parents obtaining a bachelor's degree or higher.

Relationship between parental educational expectations and parental divorce

Using the sample of children age 15 to 18 at Round 1 (Sample 2), I examined the association between parental divorce and parental educational expectations (Hypothesis 2) by regressing parental expectations, the continuous variable measure (0 to 100%), on parental divorce. I did not find support for Hypothesis 2, which stated that the parents of adult children who had divorced would have lower educational expectations for their child compared to continuously

married parents. There was not a statistically significant association between parental divorce and parental educational expectations (Table 10 and 11)^a.

Relationship between parental educational expectations and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment

Hypothesis 3, however, was supported. Hypothesis 3 stated that parental educational expectations would be positively related to children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. Using the sample of children age 15 to 18 (Sample 2), I regressed all three measures of youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment on the dichotomous variable of parental educational expectations (high versus low). There was a significant positive relationship between parental educational expectations and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (all three measures), with and without controls (Table 12 and 13). The odds of youth with high parental educational expectations attained a graduate degree or ever enrolled in a graduate program 81% higher than youth with low educational expectations. Moreover, youth with high parental educational expectations obtained a graduate degree 56% higher than youth with low parental educational expectation obtained a bachelor's degree and beyond 87% higher than youth with low parental educational expectations.

Relationship between youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment, parental divorce and parental educational expectations

Finally, based on the sample of older youth (Sample 2), I tested Hypothesis 4 by first regressing all three dependent variable measures of post-baccalaureate educational attainment on

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^a When parental educational expectations was measured as a dichotomous variable (0, 1) the effects were statistically significant without control variables but not with control variables.

parental divorce and parental educational expectations, with and without control variables (Tables 14 and 15). Without controls, parental divorce and parental educational expectations had a statistically significant effect on the odds of attaining a graduate degree or ever enrolling in a graduate program. However, when the controls were added into the models, the effect of parental divorce did not remain statistically significant for youth attaining a graduate degree, but only remained of youth attaining a bachelor's degree and higher. The odds of youth with divorced parents obtaining a bachelor's degree and higher is 51% less than youth with continuously married parents obtaining a bachelor's degree and higher. With respect to parental educational expectations, when controls were added into the models, the effect of parental educational expectations remained statistically significant for all three measures. The odds of youth with high parental educational expectations attained a graduate degree or ever enrolled in a graduate program 38% higher than youth with low educational expectations. Moreover, youth with high parental educational expectations obtained a graduate degree 35% higher than youth with low parental educational expectations. Furthermore, youth with high parental educational expectation obtained a bachelor's degree and beyond 34% higher than youth with low parental educational expectations.

To determine if parental educational expectations mediates the relationship between parental divorce and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (Hypothesis 4), the coefficient for parental divorce in each of the models with controls (Table 15) was compared to the coefficients in Table 9, in which post-baccalaureate educational attainment is regressed on parental divorce (without parental educational expectations in the model). Comparisons of theses coefficients across models showed no change in size or significance indicating that lower parental educational expectation among children with divorced parents does not explain the negative effects of parental divorce. However, regardless of parental educational expectations and socio-

demographic controls, parental divorce was negatively associated with the odds of obtaining a bachelor's degree in young adulthood.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Possessing a graduate degree is becoming increasingly important to one's economic success. Previous research has consistently shown that family relationships have an influence on children's educational outcomes (Ethington & Smart, 1986; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001; Mullen, Goyette, & Soares, 2003; Perna, 2004; St. John & Wooden, 2005). Thus, the central hypotheses in this study addressed the potential negative influence of parental divorce and children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. While findings establish family structure as an important factor in children's educational success, no study has yet examined how parental divorce affects children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. A principle contribution of this study was the inclusion of multiple measures of post-baccalaureate educational attainment, as well as the examinations of the role of parental educational expectation with respect to these processes. I used parental educational expectations, in addition to parental divorce, as an indicator of social capital in families.

Social capital is strongly related to educational success, yet children's social capital can be affected by parental divorce. The most common measures of social capital (i.e., parental monitoring, parent-child relationship quality, and parent-school involvement) tie into the educational expectations a parent has for their child. The time a parent would be able to spend with the child either academically (e.g., parent-teacher association participation), socially (e.g., knowing who the child's friends are), or personally (e.g., family dinners or parent-child activities) tends to decrease when the parent is going through a divorce. The difficulties associated with solo parenting, decline in emotional support, economic hardship, and other stressful life events are

often associated with divorce (Amato, 2000). Therefore, time and resources of the parent is stretched thin which could contribute to lower educational expectations for their children.

On one hand, results showed that parental divorce, in addition to parental educational expectations, did not have an influence on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. With respect to parental educational expectations, there was no significant difference between the expectations of parents' who divorced and the expectations of continuously married parents. Moreover, high parental educational expectations were significantly positively associated with children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment. On the other hand, results showed adult children from divorced parental families had lower post-baccalaureate educational attainment compared to those from continuously married biological parent families.

In the United States, estimates indicate that about half of marriages will end in divorce, and half of American children will experience their parents' divorce before the age of 18 (Amato, 2000; Copen et al., 2012). The divorce literature has been dedicated to understanding the effect of parental divorce on children's educational success. Research has found that children who experienced parental divorce are at risk for a variety of negative outcomes (Amato, 2010; Cherlin et al., 1991; Lansford, 2009). An important variable associated with children's educational success, particularly elementary and secondary education, is parental educational expectations (Davis-Kean, 2005; Dika & Singh, 2002; Englund et al., 2004; Fan & Chen, 2001; Kim & Schnieder, 2005; Perna & Titus, 2005; Reynolds & Burge, 2008; Zhan, 2006). The results showed an overwhelming strong positive relationship between parent's educational expectations and children's academic achievement (Davis-Kean, 2005; Englund et al., 2004; Fan & Chen, 2001; Kim & Schnieder, 2005; Zhan, 2006).

Divorce is one of the most stressful times for both adults and children, and studies continue to show that divorce is associated with lower levels of well-being (Amato, 2010). Social capital is built through the stability and resilience of family relationships; thus divorce places a strain on social capital within families (Furstenberg, 2005). However, the effect of parental divorce and parent's educational expectations on adult children's educational success has been limited, particularly adult children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment.

Social capital develops within relationships between parents and children. When those relationships are put to strain, such as parents getting divorced, general indicators of social capital (i.e., parental educational expectations) the size of their effects on a child should diminish. The finding that parental educational expectations did not mediate the effect of parental divorce on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment when obtaining a graduate degree or enrolling in a graduate degree program, did not support this hypothesis. A possible conclusion can be drawn from this finding. Because social capital theory suggests that parents that have been divorced may invest less time with their children, and may possess lower expectations of their success, they may have fewer resources to ensure their child succeeds in education. Social capital theory (Coleman, 1988) emphasizes that parent's greater financial and human capital is passed on within the parentchild relationship to influence the children's future educational success. However, as this study shows, regardless of the human capital side (i.e., parent educational background and income) divorce is still associated with lower higher educational success of children, but a parent's educational expectations for their child does not differ whether or not the parents have been divorced.

This study has several important limitations. One is the sole focus on parental divorce, which excludes other prevalent nontraditional family structures. This is problematic because

studies have showed that alternative, non-traditional family structures, such as co-habiting, homosexual coupling, and stepfamilies, are continuing to grow (Dorius, 2015). However, since research on the effect of family structures on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment is relatively new, and the specific effect of parental divorce is not fully understood, the present study is important in establishing a base-line that can be drawn upon for future research.

Another limitation of this study was that parental educational expectations were only assessed for older youth (those who were age 15 to 18 at Round 1). Therefore, it is unknown whether results would apply to broader age range of children. Moreover, this variable only applied to the parent's expectations of their child earning a four-year degree by they turned 30. As such, the variable was not able to measure expectations for graduate-level educational attainment. The measure was still useful to understand the mediating effect between parental divorce and children's higher educational success because if a parent has either high or low expectations of their child obtaining a bachelor's degree, it could be assumed those expectations translate into educational expectations for degree attainment post-bachelors.

The necessity for a college degree, especially a graduate degree is increasing. The costs associated with earning a college or graduate degree have also increased significantly in the last decade. Many students are able to apply for federal aid assistance through the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) program, established by the Higher Education Act of 1965 under Title IV (United States Department of Education, 2014). Applying for FAFSA differs depending on the student's family structure history. If a student's parents are divorced, the custodial parent is responsible for filling out the FAFSA. The federal government does not consider the income of the non-custodial parent in determining a student's financial aid needs (FinAid, 2014). Even with federal financial assistance, the costs of higher education can become a hindrance for children of

parental divorce. States are divided on whether courts can order child support after the child reaches age 18 to cover college costs. Some states (e.g., Alabama, California, Mississippi and South Carolina) do not require a non-custodial parent to pay for child support after age 18 while others (e.g., Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Utah and Washington) have all passed laws to allow child support to cover at least some higher education costs (United States Department of Justice, 2014).

For those who live in a State where the court does not legally require the non-custodial parent to pay for college costs, future policy should implement a divorce contract regulation stipulating for parents who are in the process of getting a divorce to prepare a written college support agreement in addition to the general child support agreement. An agreement which should outline what type and amount each parent is responsible for their child's college expenses, including, but not limited to tuition, housing, books, and basic living expenses.

Future research should examine the different types of family structures on children's graduate school enrollment and degree attainment. Due to the rapid increase of graduate school enrollment, it is important to continue to investigate the long-term effects of family instability on the educational success of this and the subsequent generation of young adults. This thesis provides an important initial glance at the consequences of parental divorce on adult children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment, a subject that had not been studied by previous research.

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Table 1. Description of the samples^a

Twell 11	Sample (N=2,9	e 1	Sampl (N=1,	
Variables	Percent	SD	Percent	SD
Post-Baccalaureate	Тегсен	5D	1 erceni	50
Educational Attainment				
(including enrolled)				
Has graduate degree or enrolled	16.9	0.92	18.5	0.84
Bachelor's degree or less	83.1	0.76	81.5	0.72
Post-Baccalaureate	00.1	0.70	01.0	···-
Education Attainment				
(not including enrolled)				
Has graduate degree	10.1	1.15	11.9	1.00
No graduate degree	89.9	0.83	88.1	0.78
Baccalaureate Educational Attainment	07.7	0.05	00.1	0.70
Bachelor's degree and higher	41.4	0.68	42.8	0.64
Less than a bachelor's degree	58.6	0.69	57.2	0.65
Parental Expectations ^{cd}	2010	0.07	07.2	0.02
Low (0 – 70%)	_	_	33.4	3.69
High (71 – 100%)	_	_	66.6	0.64
Parents Ever Divorced			00.0	0.0.
Yes	36.0	0.71	39.0	0.66
No	64.0	0.69	61.0	0.64
Gender of Youth	00	0.07	01.0	0.0.
Male	51.3	0.66	50.2	0.62
Female	48.7	0.70	49.8	0.66
Race/Ethnicity of Youth	,			-
White	79.5	0.64	80.6	0.62
Black	7.9	1.82	7.19	1.76
Hispanic	11.8	1.42	11.2	1.33
Other	0.83	3.74	0.93	3.38
Mother's Education	****			
High School or Less	46.3	0.70	46.8	0.66
Some College	25.5	0.80	25.2	0.75
Bachelor's degree	17.0	0.93	17.4	0.86
Graduate degree	11.2	1.11	10.6	1.06
Father's Education				
High School or Less	52.6	0.69	52.7	0.66
Some College	19.1	0.89	19.8	0.83
Bachelor's degree	14.7	0.99	14.8	0.92
Graduate degree	13.6	1.01	12.7	0.97
Household Income				
Low (≤ \$23,100)	13.9	1.11	13.7	1.04
Medium (≤ \$51,400)	44.3	0.69	44.6	0.66
High (\leq \$246,500)	41.8	0.68	41.7	0.63

^a Weighted results.

^b Limited to youth ages 15 to 18 at Round 1.

^c Only asked of parents whose child was age 15 to 18 at Round 1.

^d Chances that child will earn a college degree by age 30 (in percent).

Table 2. Bivariate relationship between parental divorce, and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment $(N=2,943)^a$

	Parents	Parents		
	ever divorced	continuously marr	ried	
	(N=1,046)	(N=1,897)		
Variables	Percent	Percent	Chi-	p-value
			square	•
Post-Baccalaureate			25.9	<.001
Educational Attainment				
(including enrolled)				
Has graduate degree or	12.2	19.6		
enrolled				
Bachelor's degree or less	87.8	80.4		
Post-Baccalaureate Education			21.9	<.001
Attainment (not including				
enrolled)				
Has graduate degree	6.6	12.0		
No graduate degree	93.4	88.0		
Baccalaureate Educational			144.1	<.001
Attainment				
Bachelor's degree and	26.9	49.6		
higher				
Less than a bachelor's	73.1	50.4		
degree				
Gender of Youth			10.4	<.001
Male	52.6	53.6		
Female	47.4	46.4		
Race/Ethnicity of Youth			18.0	<.001
White	79.2	79.6		
Black	10.3	6.5		
Hispanic	9.8	13.0		
Other	0.7	0.9		
Mother's Education				
High School or Less	47.6	45.6	29.2	<.001
Some College	29.6	23.2		
Bachelor's degree	14.1	18.6		
Graduate degree	8.7	12.6		
Father's Education			141.6	<.001
High School or Less	65.8	45.1		
Some College	17.9	19.8		
Bachelor's degree	8.3	18.3		
Graduate degree	8.0	16.8		
Household Income			196.2	<.001
Low (\leq \$23,100)	24.0	8.2		
Medium (\leq \$51,400)	47.0	42.9		
High ($\leq $246,500$)	29.0	48.9		

^a Weighted results of sample 1

Table 3. Bivariate relationship between parental divorce, parental educational expectations and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (N=1,035)^{ab}

post oue	Parents	attainment (N=1,035) ^{ab} Parents		
	ever divorced	continuously married		
	(N=397)	(N=638)		
Variables	Percent	Percent	Chi-	p-value
			square	1
Post-Baccalaureate Educational			8.69	<.05
Attainment (including enrolled)				
Has Graduate degree or	14.1	21.4		
enrolled				
Bachelor's degree or less	85.9	78.6		
Post-Baccalaureate Education			6.76	<.05
Attainment (not including				
enrolled)				
Has graduate degree	8.6	14.0		
No graduate degree	91.4	86.0		
Educational Attainment			62.6	<.001
(Bachelor's degree or higher)				
Bachelor's degree and higher	27.6	52.6		
or graduate degree				
Less than a bachelor's degree	72.4	47.4		
Parental Expectations ^{cd}			9.34	<.05
Low $(0 - 70\%)$	38.9	29.8		
High $(71 - 100\%)$	61.1	70.2		
Gender of Youth			3.38	0.0842
Male	46.7	52.5		
Female	53.3	47.5		
Race/Ethnicity of Youth			8.78	<.05
White	82.2	79.6		
Black	8.9	6.1		
Hispanic	8.3	13.1		
Other	0.6	1.2		
Mother's Education			5.01	0.2290
High school or less	48.7	45.6		
Some college	27.2	24.0		
Bachelor's degree	14.7	19.0		
Graduate degree	9.4	11.4		
Father's Education			56.6	<.001
High school or less	65.4	44.6		
Some college	19.2	20.1		
Bachelor's degree	7.5	19.6		
Graduate degree	7.9	15.7		
Household Income			65.1	<.001
Low (≤ \$23,100)	22.7	7.9		
Medium (\leq \$51,400)	47.2	42.9		
High (\leq \$246,500)	30.1	49.2		

^a Weighted results of sample 2.

b Limited to youth ages 15 to 18 at Round 1.
c Only asked of parents whose child was age 15 to 18 at Round 1.
d Chances that child will earn a college degree by age 30 (in percent).

Table 4. Bivariate relationship between parents ever divorced and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment $(N=4,855)^a$

	Н							uate degree Has bachel				
		or enrolled	<u>i</u>						and	higher		
Variables		Std.				Std.				Std.		
	$oldsymbol{eta}^b$	Error	OR	95%CI	В	Error	OR	95% CI	β	Error	OR	95% CI
Intercept	-1.812***	0.052	-	-	-2.409***	0.065	-	-	-0.529***	0.037	-	-
Parents	-0.485***	0.098	0.616	0.51-0.75	-0.599***	0.130	0.550	0.43-0.71	-0.769***	0.069	0.463	0.41-0.53
ever												
divorced												

^a Unweighted results of sample 1.
^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

Table 5. Multivariate relationship between parents ever divorced and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment controlling for socio-demographic characteristics

 $(N=4.855)^a$ Has graduate degree Has graduate degree Has bachelor's or enrolled or higher Variables SEOR95% CI β SE OR95% CI OR95% CI SE-0.579*** Intercept 0.140 -1.336*** 0.171 1.054*** 0.137 -0.579*** -0.216** -0.340** Parents Ever 0.107 0.805 0.65-0.99 0.140 0.712 0.54-0.94 0.079 0.561 0.48 -Divorced 0.65 Gender of Youth^c 0.585*** 0.094 0.559*** 0.680^{***} 0.071 Female 1.795 1.49-2.16 0.118 1.749 1.39-2.21 1.974 1.72-2.27 Race/Ethnicity of Youth^d Black 0.188 0.138 1.207 0.92-1.58 0.032 0.179 1.033 0.73-1.47 -0.106 0.108 0.900 0.73 -1.11 -0.419*** Hispanic -0.306^* 0.156 0.737 0.54-1.00 -0.485^* 0.216 0.616 0.40-0.94 0.104 0.658 0.54-0.81 Other -0.635 0.647 0.530 0.15 - 1.88-1.195 1.058 0.303 0.04-2.41 -0.116 0.420 0.891 0.39 -2.03 Mother's Education^e -1.375*** High school 0.161 0.253 0.19-0.35 -1.382*** 0.209 0.251 0.17-0.38 -1.280*** 0.134 0.278 0.21or less 0.36 -0.887*** -0.724*** -0.781*** Some 0.148 0.412 0.31-0.55 0.181 0.485 0.34-0.69 0.133 0.458 0.35-0.59 college -0.466*** Bachelor's 0.145 0.627 0.47-0.83 -0.299 0.170 0.742 0.53-1.04 -0.168 0.141 0.845 0.64degree 1.11 Father's Education -0.938*** High school 0.152 0.392 0.29-0.53 -0.777*** 0.188 0.460 0.32-0.66 -1.185*** 0.123 0.306 0.24or less 0.39 -0.576*** -0.684*** Some 0.153 0.562 0.42-0.76 -0.449^* 0.187 0.638 0.44-0.92 0.128 0.504 0.39 -0.65 college 0.65-1.15 0.847 0.59-Bachelor's -0.1440.145 0.866 -0.1660.172 0.61-1.19 -0.269^* 0.134 0.764 degree 0.99

^a Unweighted results of sample 1.

^b **Notes:** **p*-value <0.05; ***p*-value <0.01; ****p*-value <0.001.

^c The reference category for youth's gender is male.

^d The reference category for youth's ethnicity is white.

^e The reference category for both mother's and father's education is graduate degree.

Table 5 continued

Variables (continued from Table 5)	β	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI
Household Income ^a Low	-0.868***	0.212	0.420	0.28-0.64	-0.888***	0.295	0.412	0.23-0.73	-0.908***	0.131	0.403	0.31-
Medium	-0.127	0.104	0.881	0.72-1.08	-0.118	0.130	0.889	0.69-1.15	-0.321***	0.077	0.725	0.52 0.62- 0.84

Table 6. Bivariate relationship between parental divorce (pre versus post Round 1) and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment

	Н	las graduate or enrolled	•		Has graduate degree				Has bachelor's degree or higher			
Variables	eta^c	SE	OR	95%CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI
Intercept Parents divorced (reference category is pre- Round 1 divorces)	-2.375*** 0.391*	0.094 0.199	1.479	1.00-2.18	-3.114*** 0.506	0.129 0.261	1.658	0.99- 2.76	-1.401*** 0.526***	0.066 0.142	- 1.691	1.28- 2.23

^a The reference category for household income is high (≤ \$249,500).

b Unweighted results of sample 1.
c **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

Table 7. Multivariate relationship between parental divorce (pre versus post Round 1) and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment controlling for socio-demographic characteristics
(N=1.763)^a

					(N	$=1,763)^{a}$						
		Has gradu	ate degree			Has gradı	iate degree			Has bacheld or high		
Variables	$oldsymbol{eta}^b$	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI
Intercept Parents Divorced (reference category is pre- Round 1 divorces)	-0.495 0.276	0.307 0.218	1.318	0.89-2.02	-1.836*** 0.433	0.419 0.276	1.543	0.89-2.65	0.054 0.434***	0.269 0.159	0.648	0.47- 0.89
Gender of Youth ^c Female	0.680***	0.183	1.975	1.38-2.83	0.782***	0.244	2.186	1.36-3.53	-0.796***	0.131	2.217	1.72- 2.87
Race/Ethnicity of Youth ^d Black	0.218	0.238	1.244	0.78-1.99	0.266	0.310	1.304	0.71-2.39	0.192	0.174	1.212	0.86- 1.71
Hispanic	-0.389	0.293	0.677	0.38-1.20	-0.358	0.396	0.699	0.32-1.52	-0.244	0.193	0.784	0.54- 1.14
Other	-13.45***	0.569	<0.001	<0.001	-13.00***	0.513	<0.001	<0.001	-0.087	0.813	0.917	0.19- 4.51
Mother's Education ^e High school or less Some college	-1.899*** -1.339***	0.285 0.254	0.150 0.262	0.09-0.26 0.16-0.43	-1.559*** -0.959***	0.383 0.338	0.210 0.383	0.10-0.45 0.19-0.74	-1.595*** -1.078***	0.226 0.222	0.203 0.340	0.13- 0.32 0.22-
Bachelor's degree Father's	-0.647*	0.281	0.524	0.30-0.91	-0.324	0.368	0.724	0.35-1.49	-0.208	0.241	0.812	0.53 0.51- 1.30
Education High school or less	-0.941***	0.284	0.390	0.22-0.68	-0.803*	0.357	0.448	0.22-0.90	-0.789***	0.226	0.454	0.29- 0.71

^a Unweighted results of sample 1.

^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

^c The reference category of youth's gender is male.

^d The reference category of youth's ethnicity is white.

^e The reference category of mother's and father's education is graduate degree.

Table 7 continued

Variables (continued from Table 7)	β	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI
Some college	-0.511	0.301	0.600	0.33-1.08	-0.281	0.345	0.755	0.36-1.57	-0.257	0.243	0.773	0.48- 1.25
Bachelor's degree Household Income ^a	-0.360	0.330	0.698	0.67-1.33	-0.709	0.451	0.492	0.20-1.19	-0.157	0.275	0.855	0.49- 1.47
Low	-0.719*	0.291	0.487	0.28-0.86	-0.723	0.421	0.485	0.21-1.11	-0.767***	0.199	0.464	0.31- 0.69
Medium	-0.272	0.202	0.762	0.51-1.13	-0.076	0.271	0.926	0.55-1.58	-0.202	0.147	0.817	0.61- 1.09

Table 8. Bivariate relationship between parents ever divorced and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment (N=1,853)^b

						(11-1,0	333)					
	H	las graduat	e degree		Has graduate degree				H	las bachelo	r's degree	
	(or higher				
Variables				95%				95%				95%
	β^c	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI
Intercept	-1.749***	0.082	-	-	-2.284***	0.101	-	-	-0.478***	0.060	-	-
Parents	-0.423*	0.151	0.655	0.49-	-0.497***	0.192	0.609	0.42-	-0.794***	0.110	0.452	0.36-
ever				0.88				0.89				0.56
divorced												

^a The reference category for household income is high (\leq \$246,500). ^b Unweighted results of sample 2. ^c **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

0.48

0.39-

0.85

Table 9. Multivariate relationship between parents ever divorced and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment controlling for socio-demographic characteristics

 $(N=1.853)^a$ Has graduate degree Has bachelor's degree Has graduate degree or enrolled or higher Variables 95% 95% 95% SEORCISE ORSEORCIβ CI1.163*** -0.918*** Intercept -0.3740.235 0.270 0.239 -0.629*** Parents Ever -0.2340.163 0.792 0.58--0.3240.209 0.723 0.48 -0.126 0.533 0.42 -Divorced 1.09 1.09 0.68 Gender of Youth^c 0.455*** 0.479*** 0.439^{**} 1.09-Female 0.148 1.576 1.18-0.182 1.553 0.113 1.616 1.29-2.11 2.22 2.02 Race/Ethnicity of Youthd Black 0.222 0.204 0.84--0.141 0.266 0.868 0.52-0.159 1.173 0.85-1.248 0.163 1.86 1.46 1.61 -0.623*** Hispanic -0.585* 0.259 0.557 0.34--0.704*0.337 0.495 0.26-0.172 0.536 0.38-0.93 0.96 0.75 -12.82*** Other -0.763 1.075 0.466 0.06-0.433 < 0.001 < 0.001 -0.6480.701 0.523 0.13-3.83 2.07 Mother's Education^e -1.593*** -1.738*** -1.288*** High school 0.256 0.203 0.12-0.307 0.176 0.09 -0.220 0.276 0.18or less 0.34 0.32 0.43 -1.048*** -1.076*** -0.858*** Some college 0.240 0.351 0.22 -0.279 0.341 0.19-0.222 0.424 0.28-0.56 0.59 0.66 Bachelor's -0.466* 0.235 0.628 0.39- -0.630^* 0.267 0.532 0.32--0.348 0.233 0.706 0.45degree 0.99 0.89 1.12 Father's Education High school -0.773*** 0.239 0.462 0.29--0.472 0.288 0.624 0.36--1.124*** 0.196 0.325 0.22-

1.09

0.43-

1.32

-0.557***

0.203

0.573

0.74

0.67-

0.95

-0.286

0.286

0.751

or less

Some college

-0.526**

0.241

0.591

^a Unweighted results of sample 2.

^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.01; **p-value <0.05; ***p-value <0.001.

^c The reference category for youth's gender is male.

^d The reference category for youth's ethnicity is white.

^e The reference category for mother's and father's education is graduate degree.

Table 9 continued

Variables				95%				95%				95%
(continued from	B	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	eta	SE	OR	CI
Table 9)												
Bachelor's	-0.225	0.235	0.798	0.50-	-0.268	0.278	0.765	0.44-	-0.018	0.213	0.982	0.65-
degree				1.27				1.32				1.49
Household												
Income												
Low	-0.479	0.302	0.619	0.34-	-0.777	0.435	0.460	0.19-	-0.692***	0.207	0.501	0.33-
				1.12				1.08				0.75
Medium	-0.098	0.165	0.906	0.66-	-0.105	0.201	0.900	0.61-	-0.368***	0.123	0.692	0.54-
				1.25				1.33				0.88

Table 10. Regression relationship between parents ever divorced and parental educational expectations $(N=1,853)^a$

Variables	eta^b	SE	OR	95%CI
Intercept	75.999***	0.867	-	-
Parents Ever Divorced	-6.423***	1.498	-	-

^a Unweighted results of sample 2. ^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

Table 11. Regression relationship between parents ever divorced and parental educational expectations controlling for socio-demographic characteristic $(N=1,853)^a$

Variables	eta^b	SE	OR	95%CI
Intercept	87.780***	2.267	-	-
Parents Ever Divorced	-2.219	1.505	-	_
Gender of Youth ^c				
Female	6.217***	1.325	-	-
Race/Ethnicity of Youth ^d				
Black	8.928***	1.896	-	_
Hispanic	5.821***	1.907	-	-
Other	-6.378	2.409	-	_
Mother's Educatione				
High school or less	-8.312***	2.409	-	-
Some college	-2.271	2.361	-	-
Bachelor's degree	1.446	2.410	-	-
Father's Education				
High school or less	-14.659***	2.199	-	-
Some college	-4.911*	2.229	-	-
Bachelor's degree	-0.836	2.160	-	-
Household Income ^f				
Low	-15.049***	2.455	-	-
Medium	-4.777***	1.452	-	-

^a Unweighted results of sample 2.

^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

^c The reference category for youth's gender is male.

^d The reference category for youth's ethnicity is white.

^e The reference category for mother's and father's education is graduate degree.

^f The reference category for household income is high (≤ \$246,500).

Table 12. Bivariate relationship between parental educational expectations and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment $(N=1.853)^a$

		graduate d	legree		Has graduate degree					Has bachelor's degree or higher			
Variables	$oldsymbol{eta}^b$	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI	β	SE	OR	95% CI	
Intercept Parents Expectations ^c	-3.774***	0.261	-	-	-4.001***	0.291	-	-	-2.472***	0.145	-	-	
High ^d	2.339***	0.272	10.37	6.09- 17.66	1.958***	0.305	7.086	3.89- 13.0	2.311***	0.156	10.09	7.43- 13.69	

^a Unweighted results of sample 2.

^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

^c Only asked of parents whose child was age 15 to 18 at Round 1.

^d Chances that child will earn a college degree by age 30 (in percent).

Table 13. Multivariate relationship between parental educational expectations and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment controlling for socio-demographic characteristics

 $(N=1,853)^a$

		Has graduate or enrolled	e degree		На	as graduate	degree			achelor's de	egree		
Variables				95%				95%		_		95%	
	$oldsymbol{eta}^b$	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	
Intercept	-2.162***	0.368	-	-	-2.353***	0.428	-	-	-0.662***	0.275	-	-	
Parents													
expectations ^c													
High ^d	1.918***	0.284	6.808	3.90-	1.517***	0.328	4.560	2.40-	1.927***	0.163	6.868	4.99-	
				11.89				8.67				9.46	
Gender of Youthe													
Female	0.361^{*}	0.151	1.434	1.07-	0.348	0.184	1.417	0.99-	0.338	0.118	1.402	1.11-	
				1.93				2.03				1.77	
Race/Ethnicity of Youth ^f													
Black	0.112	0.207	1.119	0.75-	-0.230	0.271	0.794	0.47-	0.010	0.167	1.010	0.73-	
				1.68				1.35				1.39	
Hispanic	-0.598*	0.261	0.550	0.33-	-0.705*	0.336	0.494	0.25-	-0.654***	0.179	0.520	0.36-	62
•				0.92				0.95				0.73	Ų
Other	-0.506	0.975	0.603	0.09-	-12.523***	0.415	< 0.001	< 0.001	-0.386	0.798	0.680	0.14-	
				4.07								2.99	
Mother's													
Education ^g													
High school	-1.442***	0.254	0.236	0.14-	-1.563***	0.297	0.209	0.12-	-1.071***	0.222	0.343	0.22-	
or less				0.39				0.37				0.53	
Some college	-1.026***	0.246	0.358	0.22-	-1.037***	0.282	0.355	0.20-	-0.809***	0.227	0.445	0.28-	
				0.57				0.61				0.68	
Bachelor's	-0.472*	0.240	0.624	0.39-	-0.610*	0.269	0.543	0.32-	-0.305	0.238	0.737	0.46-	
degree				0.99				0.92				1.17	

^a Unweighted results of sample 2. ^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

^c Only asked of parents whose child was age 15 to 18 at Round 1. ^d Chances that child will earn a college degree by age 30 (in percent).

^e The reference category for youth's gender is male.

f The reference category for youth's ethnicity is white.
g The reference category for mother's and father's education is graduate degree.

Table 13 continued

Variables				95%				95%				95%
(continued from Table 13)	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI
Father's												
education	-0.548*	0.220	0.578	0.26	-0.318	0.292	0.727	0.41-	-0.935***	0.206	0.393	0.25
High school or less	-0.348	0.239	0.578	0.36- 0.91	-0.518	0.282	0.727	1.24	-0.933	0.200	0.393	0.25- 0.58
Some college	-0.458	0.245	0.633	0.39-	-0.251	0.286	0.778	0.44-	-0.485*	0.213	0.615	0.39-
				1.01				1.34				0.91
Bachelor's	-0.211	0.239	0.810	0.50-	-0.259	0.281	0.772	0.44-	0.024	0.225	1.024	0.65-
degree				1.29				1.33				1.56
Household												
Income ^a												
Low	-0.342	0.300	0.710	0.40-	-0.709	0.492	0.492	0.22-	-0.647	0.213	0.524	0.36-
				1.31				1.16				0.82
Medium	-0.061	0.163	0.941	0.68-	-0.092	0.912	0.912	0.62-	-0.361	0.127	0.699	0.54-
				1.29				1.33				0.89

Table 14. Multivariate relationship between parents ever divorced, parental educational expectations and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment $(N=1.853)^b$

						(11-1,0.)3)						
	Has Gradua	-			Has G	raduate deg	ree	F	Ias Bachelor'				
or enrolled									or	higher			
Variables				95%				95%				95%	
	$oldsymbol{eta}^c$	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	
Intercept	-3.648***	0.267	-	-	-3.849***	0.301	-	-	-2.207***	0.149	-	-	
Parents ever	-0.331*	0.155	0.718	0.53-	-0.409*	0.195	0.664	0.45-	-0.777***	0.119	0.460	0.37-	
divorced				0.97				0.97				0.58	
Parent expectations													
High ^e	2.319***	0.272	10.17	5.97- 17.3	1.932***	0.306	6.906	3.79- 12.6	2.304***	0.157	10.02	7.37- 13.6	

^a The reference category for household income is high (\leq \$246,500).

b Unweighted results of sample 2.
c **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.
d Only asked of parents whose child was age 15 to 18 at Round 1.
c Chance that child will earn a college degree by age 30 (in percent).

Table 15. Multivariate relationship between parents ever divorced, parental educational expectations and youth's post-baccalaureate educational attainment controlling for socio-demographic characteristics

 $(N=1.853)^a$

		Has graduate or enrolled	e degree		Has	s graduate d	legree			achelor's d	egree		
Variables				95%				95%	95%				
	eta^b	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	
Intercept	-2.125***	0.369	-	-	-2.307***	0.429	-	-	-0.516	0.286	-	-	
Parents ever	-0.214	0.167	0.807	0.58-	-0.313	0.212	0.732	0.48-	-0.675***	0.133	0.509	0.39-	
divorced				1.12				1.11				0.66	
Parent													
expectations ^c	districts				dela				4.44				
High ^d	1.915***	0.285	6.786	3.88-	1.515***	0.328	4.549	2.39-	1.944***	0.165	6.986	5.06-	
				11.86				8.66				9.65	
Gender of Youthe	0.2=0*	0.4.7.		4.00	0.044*	0.40=		4.00	0.000***	0.440			
Female	0.370^{*}	0.152	1.448	1.08-	0.361^{*}	0.185	1.435	1.00-	0.388***	0.119	1.467	1.16-	
D /Ed : :				1.95				2.06				1.85	
Race/Ethnicity of Youth ^f													
Black	0.110	0.208	1.116	0.74-	-0.236	0.270	0.790	0.47-	0.005	0.171	1.005	0.72-	
DIACK	0.110	0.208	1.110	1.67	-0.230	0.270	0.790	1.34	0.003	0.171	1.003	1.40	
Hispanic	-0.621*	0.261	0.538	0.32-	-0.733*	0.338	0.481	0.25-	-0.746***	0.183	0.474	0.33-	
Hispanic	-0.021	0.201	0.556	0.32-	-0.733	0.556	0.461	0.23-	-0.740	0.165	0.474	0.55-	64
Other	-0.505	0.954	0.604	0.09-	-12.548***	0.423	< 0.001	<0.001	-0.379	0.816	0.685	0.07	•
Other	-0.505	0.754	0.004	3.74	-12.540	0.423	0.001	0.001	-0.577	0.010	0.003	3.11	
Mother's				3.74								5.11	
Education ^g													
High school	-1.471***	0.257	0.230	0.14-	-1.606***	0.305	0.201	0.11-	-1.194***	0.228	0.303	0.19-	
or less	11.71	0.207	0.200	0.38	1.000	0.000	0.201	0.36	1.17	0.220	0.000	0.47	
Some college	-1.030***	0.247	0.357	0.22-	-1.045***	0.284	0.352	0.19-	-0.851***	0.230	0.427	0.27-	
				0.57				0.61				0.66	
Bachelor's	-0.491*	0.243	0.612	0.38-	-0.637*	0.272	0.529	0.31-	-0.376	0.246	0.687	0.42-	
degree				0.98				0.89				1.10	

^a Unweighted results of sample 2.

^b **Notes:** *p-value <0.05; **p-value <0.01; ***p-value <0.001.

^c Only asked of parents whose child was age 15 to 18 at Round 1.

^d Chances that child will earn a college degree by age 30 (in percent).

^e The reference category for youth's gender is male.

f The reference category for youth's ethnicity is white.
g The reference category for mother's and father's education is graduate degree.

Table 15 continued

Variables				95%			95%					
(continued from Table 15)	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI	β	SE	OR	CI
Father's Education												
High school or less	-0.494*	0.244	0.610	0.38- 0.98	-0.236	0.289	0.790	0.44- 1.36	-0.799***	0.210	0.449	0.29- 0.67
Some college	-0.422	0.247	0.656	0.40- 1.07	-0.194	0.289	0.824	0.46- 1.43	-0.399	0.216	0.671	0.43- 0.99
Bachelor's degree Household	-0.206	0.241	0.814	0.51- 1.31	-0.251	0.282	0.778	0.45- 1.34	0.027	0.228	1.027	0.65- 1.57
Income ^a												
Low	-0.265	0.301	0.767	0.43- 1.39	-0.594	0.433	0.552	0.24- 1.32	-0.437*	0.217	0.646	0.44- 0.99
Medium	-0.031	0.166	0.969	0.70- 1.34	-0.048	0.200	0.953	0.64- 1.41	-0.279*	0.129	0.757	0.59- 0.98

 $^{^{\}rm a}$ The reference category for household income is high (\leq \$246,500).

THEORETICAL MODELS

Figure 1.

Model A. The effect of parental divorce on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment

Parental Divorce

Post-Baccalaureate
Educational Attainment

Model B. The effect of parental divorce on parental educational expectations

Parental Divorce

Parental Educational Expectations

Model C. The effect of parental educational expectations on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment

Parental Educational
Expectations

(+)

Post-Baccalaureate
Educational Attainment

Model D. The relationship between parental divorce and parental educational expectations on children's post-baccalaureate educational attainment

