

Applicability of Emerging Adulthood Theory to  
Ethnically and Educationally Diverse Young Adults

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## Abstract

Emerging adulthood (EA) theory proposes that youth are increasingly postponing adult role transitions such as marriage, parenthood, and committing to long-term careers, and instead experiencing age 18-30 as a time of instability, open possibilities, and identity exploration (Arnett, 2004). However, critics suggest that EA theory applies only to White, college-educated youth (e.g., Hendry & Kloep, 2007; Arnett et al., 2011). The present study addresses this critique by comparing White, college-educated young adults to youth from other racial/ethnic and educational groups. Using data from the Add Health national sample, we compare these groups on outcomes relevant to EA theory: employment, career acquisition, marriage, desire for marriage, and parenthood. Findings suggest that White college graduates youth generally fit Arnett's (2004) description of emerging adulthood, but White youth with only some college experience do not fit the EA pattern well. Furthermore, youth with no college experience frequently diverged from the EA pattern as well. Many groups seemed like emerging adults in some domains but not others. Implications for EA theory and the study of non-students are discussed.

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Arnett's (2000) emerging adulthood (EA) theory has sparked a rapidly growing line of research on young adults in the context of modern societies. This theory proposes that youth are increasingly postponing adult role transitions such as marriage, parenthood, and committing to long-term careers, and instead experiencing age 18-30 as a time of instability, open possibilities, and identity exploration. However, nearly fifteen years after EA theory was born, scholars are still unsure about *who* can be considered an emerging adult. Some critics suggest that emerging adulthood is a luxury, only enjoyed by the most privileged youth: middle- and upper-class, highly educated, White young adults living in industrialized nations (e.g., Hendry & Kloep, 2007; Arnett, Kloep, Hendry, & Tanner, 2011; Silva, 2012; Côté, 2014). However, the majority of research on emerging adulthood includes only college students at large research universities, and largely excludes the experiences of non-students and non-traditional students (see Syed & Mitchell, 2013; Arnett, 2008). As racial/ethnic<sup>1</sup> minority students are underrepresented in higher education (Planty et al., 2009; Syed, Azmitia, & Cooper, 2011), this body of research also disproportionately represents the experiences of White students.

The purpose of the present study is to explore the issue of applying EA theory to racially/ethnically and educationally diverse youth. In particular, we are interested in *intersections* of race/ethnicity and education level (e.g., White college graduates, Latino college graduates, White non-students), and whether individuals who fit within each of these intersections tend to differ in their experiences of young adulthood. Using data

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<sup>1</sup> Rather than choosing either race or ethnicity, we use the hybrid term race/ethnicity in this paper to reflect the overlap between these constructs (Cokley, 2007; Quintana, 2007).

from a large, nationally representative study, we compare the behavioral and psychological outcomes of different groups of young adults in two central domains of emerging adulthood: work and love (Arnett, 2004). These comparisons will help identify similarities and differences across different racial/ethnic and educational groups of youth, with potential implications for researchers as well as policy and practical applications.

### **The Debate: How Far Can EA Theory Reach?**

Emerging adulthood (EA) has been proposed as a new stage of life, between adolescence and young adulthood (i.e., roughly ages 18-25; Arnett, 2000, 2004). Arnett suggests that this period is experienced differently now than in past generations. Whereas in the past, many young adults were married, started having children, and had entered a long-term career by their early twenties, emerging adults in the current era tend to postpone these commitments and instead spend time exploring options. As a result, marriage and other objective role transitions have become less important for determining whether one is an adult (Arnett, 2003; Arnett & Schwab, 2012). Instead, subjective, psychologically based markers, like making independent decisions and taking responsibility for oneself, are the primary signs that one has reached adulthood. The psychological hallmarks of emerging adulthood, as outlined in EA theory, are instability, self-focus, identity exploration, possibilities, and feeling in-between adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2000).

While a substantial sector of the young adult population seems to fit this profile, emerging adulthood is not a universal experience. One of the most frequent criticisms of EA theory is that it only applies to some youth (see Syed, in press). That said, Arnett

never proposed emerging adulthood as a universal phenomenon. He specified that it only occurs under certain sociocultural conditions, namely industrialized societies with widely available postsecondary education, where marriage and parenthood normally occur after the mid-twenties, such as in modern American culture (Arnett, 2011).

Nevertheless, “modern American culture” is quite diverse, and several studies have found examples of groups that do not seem to follow the pattern outlined in EA theory, even within the United States. For example, in a qualitative study of youth growing up in rural midwest America, Carr and Kefalas (2011) found that many young adults felt pressure to “grow up quickly” due to difficult life experiences, such as financial hardship. Furthermore, using a person-centered approach, Osgood, Ruth, Eccles, Jacobs, and Barber (2005) found six different “pathways” to adulthood, some of which are inconsistent with EA theory. For example, 12% of their sample followed a “fast starter” pathway - marrying or cohabiting with a partner, having children, and settling on a long-term job already by age 24. This group had relatively low levels of education, with only 6% having completed a Bachelor's degree. Another 10% of the sample, “parents without careers,” had even lower levels of education, and had similarly transitioned to adult roles in marriage and parenthood, though they lacked a long-term career. In contrast, the most commonly followed path (37% of the sample) was one characterized by high levels of education, delayed marriage and parenthood, and high likelihood of seeing their jobs as steps on the way toward a long-term career - consistent with EA theory. An important consideration is that the sample for this study was composed of mainly White (95%), middle- and working-class youth from the Detroit

suburbs. Like Carr and Kefalas (2011), Osgood and colleagues (2005) have demonstrated the existence of counterexamples of EA theory in a modern, industrialized society, but only for a very specific regional population.

Thus, although groups that do not fit EA theory have been identified, it is still unclear how extensive the mismatch between EA theory and the full population is. In other words, we know that EA theory doesn't quite fit for some young adults, but we don't know how many, or how large the discrepancy is. It is possible that EA theory describes only a small sliver of the population, or it may be that the majority of the components of EA theory do apply to most young adults, with a handful of rare exceptions. It is also possible that there are many individuals who fall somewhere in between – fitting the emerging adult profile in some domains, but not others. Hendry and Kloep (2007) suggest this possibility, but it has largely been ignored in favor of a dichotomous, emerging adults vs. non-emerging-adults conceptualization (see Syed, in press).

In a recent critique of EA theory, Côté (2014) argues that there are too many systematic exceptions to Arnett's conceptualization (particularly for youth from working-class backgrounds) for EA theory to constitute a distinct life stage theory (e.g., Hendry & Kloep, 2010; Silva, 2012; Schoon & Schulenberg, 2013). Similar to the studies by Carr & Kefalas (2011) and Osgood et al. (2005) discussed above, studies by Hendry and Kloep (2010), Silva (2012), and Schoon and Schulenberg (2013) revealed a group of youth that experiences the transition to adulthood in a way that Côté (2014) sees as inconsistent with EA theory, either due to behavioral, role-based divergences from the

theory (e.g., early marriage or parenthood), or psychological divergences (e.g., self-identifying as fully adult; feeling trapped, rather than optimistic about possibilities). Arnett (2011) sees these exceptions more as variations on a theme, rather than counterexamples that definitively disprove his theory. It appears the extant literature does not provide sufficient evidence to decide one way or the other.

In order to address this gap, the present study involves direct comparison of educationally and racially/ethnically diverse groups on the behaviors central to EA theory, to see how closely each group fits the profile Arnett has suggested. Because our data come from a nationally representative study, if divergences from EA theory are found for certain groups, we can draw conclusions about the *extent* of those divergences – whether they are just a few rare exceptions, or a common theme that EA theory does not encompass. Carr and Kefalas (2011) and Osgood et al. (2005) have answered the question of whether all American youth experience the emerging adulthood Arnett (2000) describes, and it appears that not all do. Arnett has not changed his position based on this evidence, and it is not clear how much deviation from EA theory is tolerable before the theory must change to reflect reality. However, we will be able to get a sense of how many young peoples' experiences are consistent with EA theory, how many are not, and how many fall somewhere in between.

The criteria for determining who “counts” as an emerging adult or an adult vary across studies, with some focusing on objective, behavioral markers (e.g., marriage, parenthood, employment; e.g., Osgood et al., 2005), others focusing on subjective, psychological markers (e.g., independence, self-focus, identity exploration; e.g., Arnett,

2011), and some addressing both. Arnett (2004) sees these two sets of criteria as connected: delayed objective role transitions may facilitate the “feeling in-between” component of emerging adulthood. As discussed above, he particularly emphasizes this and other psychological markers, suggesting that some objective markers such as marriage have lost their relevance. Nonetheless, some research suggests that individuals who have not yet achieved these behavioral markers tend to underestimate the importance of role transitions for subjective adult identity (Shanahan et al., 2005). We attempt to bridge these perspectives by including both behavioral and psychological indicators of adulthood in two domains that are central to EA theory, namely work and love. For instance, in the domain of love, we examine not only marriage rates for each group, but also their subjective desire to be married.

The results of this study matter for two principal reasons. The first has to do with clarifying and refining EA theory. The suggested lack of fit between EA theory and large sectors of the young adult population poses a potential threat to the viability of EA theory. Although Arnett emphasizes that emerging adulthood is a culture-bound phenomenon, he *did* specifically intend EA theory to serve as a framework to facilitate research on non-students in the US, highlighting this “forgotten half” in his initial formulation of the theory (Arnett, 2000). In the interviews that provided the basis for his theory, Arnett (2000) included a range of individuals from different racial/ethnic backgrounds and social classes (though, no systematic comparison across these groups). However, if further research on diverse groups reveals that some do *not* adhere to the

tenets of EA theory, then the theory may fail to provide the theoretical framework Arnett had intended, and its utility may be limited.

Second, regardless of the fate of EA theory, the results of this study will contribute to a more nuanced, accurate conceptualization of modern young adults. We know relatively little about the experiences of non-students and racial/ethnic minority emerging adults, as subsequent EA researchers have largely not followed Arnett's example of recruiting a diverse sample (see Syed & Mitchell, 2013). To remedy this limited view, EA researchers must explore the range of variations on the emerging adulthood theme that exist within the population (Arnett, 2011). Here, we explore the variations exhibited by groups with different intersections of educational status and racial/ethnic background.

### **Core Domains of EA Theory: Work and Love**

Arnett (2004) identifies two developmental tasks that are central to emerging adulthood: choosing a career, and finding a partner with whom to start a family (see also Shulman & Nurmi, 2010). We begin by briefly reviewing the developmental patterns outlined in EA theory for these two domains. Next, we consider the value of an intersectional approach to studying experiences of ethnically and educationally diverse youth. We then examine extant literature on the impact of college experience and race/ethnicity on the patterns laid out in EA theory, before outlining the goals of the present study.



## **Work**

Work is the first of two domains Arnett (2004) identifies as important areas of development in emerging adulthood. In this domain, emerging adults experience instability, possibilities, and identity exploration as they try out a series of jobs in search of one that fits well with their personality. It seems they value this fit even over their level of pay. A recent, nationally-representative poll revealed that 79% of emerging adults indicate that “It is more important to enjoy my job than to make a lot of money,” and even more, 86% indicate that they want a career that will help them make a positive impact on the world (Arnett & Schwab, 2012). Despite these high hopes, many emerging adults encounter difficulties achieving those aspirations. Most emerging adults (59%) have not entered a career that they really desire, and 31% of emerging adults are not employed at all (Arnett & Schwab, 2012).

While some degree of exploration and experimentation can help emerging adults find a career they enjoy, it is possible to have too much of a good thing. Sociologists have defined “floundering” as a maladaptive form of experimentation in the domain of work, in which youth randomly drift from job to job, never feeling like they have found a good fit (Super, 1957; Konstam & Lehmann, 2011). Some emerging adults may experience barriers that preclude them from even entering the job market in the first place, as exemplified by the 10% of youth who find themselves not in employment, education, or training (NEET) upon leaving school. For NEET young adults, socioeconomic disadvantages, lack of parental support, and/or poor school performance prevent them from engaging in either work or postsecondary education (Côté & Bynner,

2008). Floundering and NEET young adults may find the idea of exploring careers in search of a perfect fit to be out of touch with their lived reality.

### **Love**

Aside from work, the major developmental tasks of emerging adulthood fall within the domain of love, or romantic and family relationships (Arnett, 2004). Aligned with the identity exploration that characterizes this period, many emerging adults engage in several relatively short romantic relationships during this period (Cohen et al., 2003). They seem to be attempting to answer the question, “Given the kind of person I am, what kind of person do I wish to have as a partner through life?” (Collins & Van Dulmen, 2006, p. 227). Indeed, the average age of marriage has risen to 26.5 for women, and 28.2 for men (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). Instead of marriage, emerging adults are more likely to engage in relationships that are less permanent. For example, roughly 40% of young women have cohabited with a romantic partner by age 24 (Chandra, Martinez, Mosher, Abma, & Jones, 2005). In addition, some emerging adults engage in “stay over relationships,” in which couples spend several nights a week together, but still maintain separate homes (Jamison & Ganong, 2011). Many individuals in these more casual arrangements acknowledge them as a way of testing their relationship before making the more permanent commitment of marriage (Stanley, Rhoades, & Fincham, 2011).

Similarly, recent generations of young adults tend to start having children later than in past generations (Furstenberg, 2010), though not always after marriage. Having children out of wedlock is increasingly common, especially among Black and Latina women, and women from lower social class backgrounds (Upchurch, Lillard, & Panis,

2002). Like committing to a spouse, having a child creates a permanent bond that limits an individual's capacity for self-focus. As such, Arnett (2004) identifies becoming a parent as the definitive end of emerging adulthood – it is difficult to focus on identity exploration when one is responsible for the care of a completely dependent infant.

Postponing commitment to marriage and children allows emerging adults greater freedom, both in terms of their dating practices, as well as other life domains. Schulman and Connolly (2013) propose that emerging adults postpone romantic commitments because they want to be sure they can align their life goals with those of their partner. Indeed, 60% of emerging adults expect to need to sacrifice some career goals in exchange for building a family (Arnett & Schwab, 2012). Waiting to find someone whose life goals are similar to one's own may minimize that sacrifice. In that sense, remaining romantically uncommitted may be an adaptive strategy for dealing with instability in other life domains, such as work (Shulman & Connolly, 2013).

Perhaps as a result of increasing postponement of marriage, many emerging adults no longer see it as a crucial sign of having reached adulthood (Arnett, 2003; Arnett & Schwab, 2012). Nonetheless, marriage is still a goal for most emerging adults (Arnett, 2004), and often a prerequisite for other events that *do* make one an adult. For example, in Italy, most young adults do not leave their parents' home until marriage, so marriage serves as a step toward adulthood in that it requires moving away from parents (Lanz & Tagliabue, 2007). While emerging adults' love lives are characterized by greater heterogeneity and exploration than past generations', for most, their adult destination is

the same: marriage and children. They just take a longer and more circuitous route to get there.

### **Intersections of Race/Ethnicity and Education**

Critics of EA theory have suggested that Arnett's conceptualization of emerging adulthood only applies to highly educated, White youth (Hendry & Kloep, 2007; Arnett et al., 2011). To address these critiques, we compare the experiences of White college graduates to the experiences of White individuals with some college experience, White individuals with no college experience, as well as African American, Asian American, Latino, and Multiracial individuals at each of these three education levels (see table 1). This allows us to compare, for instance, the experiences of White college graduates with White non-students, and White graduates with African American graduates. An alternative approach would be to first examine differences in outcomes by education level, and then to examine differences by race/ethnicity. As we discuss below, there are reasons to believe that either education or race/ethnicity alone could play an important role in shaping the experience of emerging adulthood, so this type of analysis would be informative. However, with an intersectional approach, differences between educational groups cannot be chalked up to differing racial/ethnic distributions for college-goers and non-students; nor can differences by race/ethnicity be attributed to differences in average educational attainment across racial/ethnic groups. Furthermore, taking an intersectional approach permits investigation of the unique experiences of individuals with each combination of education level and race/ethnicity.

Prior research has demonstrated the interactive effects of race/ethnicity and education, often in ways that reproduce systematic similarities and differences between different groups of emerging adults. For instance, racial/ethnic minority students from African American, Native American, Latino, and Southeast Asian backgrounds are increasingly underrepresented, the higher up they go on the educational ladder (Cooper, Chavira, & Mena, 2005; Gandara & Maxwell Jolley, 1999). Though they frequently have high aspirations (Azmitia, Cooper, Garcia, & Dunbar, 1996; Chang, Chen, Greenberger, Dooley, & Heckhausen, 2006; Cooper, Dominguez, & Rosas, 2005), barriers such as institutional racism, bad experiences with other students and teachers, and a lack of course material pertaining to their group often prevent underrepresented minority students from reaching their goals (Syed, Azmitia, & Cooper, 2011). As a result, the representation of racial/ethnic minority group is not balanced across different educational groups by the time that individuals reach emerging adulthood.

Beyond issues of representation, the subjective experiences of racial/ethnic minority individuals may be different from their White counterparts at each level of the educational system in ways that matter for emerging adulthood. For example, within college students, underrepresented minority students are more likely to leave science, technology, engineering, and math career paths than White students are, instead seeking out academic majors that are aligned with learning about and promoting the interests of their racial/ethnic group (Syed, 2010; Diemer & Hsieh, 2008). Thus, the career paths of these racial/ethnic minority students are characterized by more exploration and instability than the paths of the White students who stick with their original major. Though they are

all college students, this is one case where racial/ethnic minority students and White students differ in their adherence to EA theory.

By investigating different intersections of educational status and race/ethnicity, the present study may begin to illuminate the complexities of associations between race/ethnicity, education level, and markers of emerging adulthood. As there is currently little research on the importance of *intersections* of education level and race/ethnicity for EA theory, we instead review the existing literature on each of these identity components alone, below.

### **Why Might College Matter for Emerging Adulthood?**

The socioeconomic shifts that brought about the phenomenon of emerging adulthood included the elimination of many manufacturing jobs. As a result, today's job market increasingly demands higher education (Carnevale & Desrochers, 2003; Fouad & Bynner, 2008; Autor, 2011; Furstenberg, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2005). In response, emerging adults are obtaining more education than youth in past generations, with 34% of 25- to 32-year-olds earning a Bachelor's degree in 2013, compared to only 13% in 1965 (Pew Research Center, 2014). The extension of education past high school is thus one of the hallmarks of emerging adulthood.

Despite increasing numbers of young adults entering college (roughly 60% go to college straight after high school), only about half of them will end up graduating with a Bachelor's degree or higher (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2012). Thus college is not the norm: a majority of individuals enter their thirties without a college degree, and many of them have no college experience at all. Furthermore, just as all emerging adults are not

college students, not all college students are emerging adults. Though emerging adulthood coincides with traditional college age, college students are increasingly “non-traditional” (i.e., take time between high school and college, attend classes part-time, or are employed full-time while enrolled; U.S. Department of Education, 2002).

This demographic difference – level of college experience – may have important psychological implications, particularly in terms of identity development, a crucial task for emerging adulthood. In college, students are exposed to a range of new peers and role models, ideas, and activities, which can facilitate identity exploration (Brock, 2010; McAdams & Guo, 2014). The growing share of emerging adults in college may find themselves in an environment especially conducive to engaging with the identity exploration component of EA theory. For example, Syed and Azmitia (2009) found an increase in ethnic identity exploration and commitment starting in the early years of college, suggesting that college serves to raise students’ consciousness of their ethnic identities and encourage exploration and commitment in this domain. However, most studies of identity exploration in college do not include a non-college sample for comparison. Unless studies directly compare college and non-college samples, it is unclear whether college serves a unique function in outcomes relevant to EA theory, or whether it can be replaced with other experiences to achieve similar ends.

Very few existing studies have directly compared the experiences of non-students with college students on components of EA theory. Arnett and Tanner (2011) discuss the broader question of applicability of EA theory across social classes (rather than educational groups, per se). They acknowledge broad-scale demographic differences

among emerging adults of different social classes. For instance, more highly educated individuals tend to marry and become parents later. However, they point to psychological similarities across social class, suggesting that these similarities are more important for determining whether emerging adulthood is indeed a life stage experienced by working class youth. For instance, regardless of social class, young adults tend to endorse accepting responsibility for oneself, making independent decisions, and achieving financial independence as the most important markers of reaching adulthood (Arnett, 2003). Nonetheless, some differences related to social class did emerge in this study. Youth from lower SES backgrounds tended to see interdependence, norm compliance, and family responsibilities as more important than youth from higher SES backgrounds did. Furthermore, those with lower SES backgrounds more frequently saw themselves as adults, rather than in-between adolescence and adulthood.

Though sociology offers a sizeable body of research on the school-to-work transition for the “forgotten half,” i.e. non-college-bound youth, most of these studies focus solely on the domain of work, and do not include both a college and a non-college group for comparison (e.g., Blustein et al., 2002; Mane, 1998). However, the little research that does exist on the question of applicability of EA theory to educationally diverse youth suggests both important similarities and differences.

One study compared the developmental trajectories of different educational groups to explore the antecedents and consequents of markers of emerging adulthood (Mitchell & Syed, in preparation). Several of the findings from this study suggest that educational level matters for the core behaviors of EA theory. For example, though no



differences were found in terms of marriage rates, non-students already had more children than graduates or individuals with some college experience by age 22, and this gap was maintained through age 30. Furthermore, though there were not major differences in employment rates by education level, individuals who would eventually graduate from college worked fewer hours during their high school years than their counterparts who would not attend college or who did not graduate.

The closest relative to the present study is a recent, unpublished dissertation comparing the outcomes of students, nonstudents, and college graduates (Zorotovich, 2014). Results largely mirrored those discussed by Arnett and Tanner (2011) in relation to social class, with some extensions: those without college experience were less likely to be married or employed, more likely to have children, less likely to feel in-between adolescence and adulthood, less likely to see this time of their lives as a time of possibilities and self-focus, and more likely to see this time of life as a time of other-focus. An important caveat is this study included only 101 participants recruited from the near vicinity of the researcher's university, and 89% of participants were White. Thus, it is unclear whether these results would generalize to the broader American population, or to individuals of other racial/ethnic backgrounds.

Thus, existing evidence points to potentially important differences between educational groups, in terms of both behavioral and psychological markers of emerging adulthood. However, the existing evidence is scant; we are not aware of any published studies comparing students and non-students on a national level, particularly across both domains of work and love. The present study adds a further layer of complexity by

examining the interactive effects of education level and race/ethnicity on important outcomes for emerging adulthood.

### **Why Might Race/Ethnicity Matter for Emerging Adulthood?**

As emerging adulthood is a culturally embedded phenomenon, variations on culture may correspond to differences in patterns of experience for individuals in their twenties (Arnett, 2011; Coté & Bynner, 2008). Within the US, race/ethnicity is an important component of culture, and research suggests that race/ethnicity may be related to convergence with or divergence from EA theory. For example, Black and Latino youth are more likely to indicate that they feel like adults than White and Asian American youth, who are more likely to say they feel between adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2003).

In terms of behavioral markers of adulthood, White and Latino Americans are more likely to be married by age 25 than Asian or African Americans (Copen et al., 2012). Women ages 25-29 are more likely to be mothers if they are African American or Latina than if they are White or Asian American, with Asian American women least likely to have children (Monte & Ellis, 2014). Nonetheless, Black, Latino, Asian American, and White emerging adults are in consensus about the importance of independence (e.g., accepting responsibility for one's actions, achieving financial independence, deciding on one's own beliefs and values) for reaching adulthood (Arnett, 2003). Thus, existing evidence highlights both adherence to and divergence from EA theory for racial/ethnic minority youth, with variations depending on an individual's specific race/ethnicity.

Race/ethnicity alone does not serve as an explanatory variable (Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005), and thus researchers must investigate the underlying reasons for these observed relationships between racial/ethnic background and EA markers. We emphasize that the goal of the proposed study is not to offer race/ethnicity (or educational status, for that matter) as an explanation for differences that may emerge between groups. Rather, we seek to merely *describe* similarities and differences between educational and racial/ethnic groups in relation to EA theory, as this preliminary step has largely not yet been taken. Furthermore, this descriptive work is relevant to addressing the specific criticism at hand: that EA theory does not apply to certain educational and racial/ethnic groups of youth. Descriptive research can answer this descriptive critique. Future study must then delve deeper to uncover the underlying psychological and sociological reasons that explain similarities and differences between groups.

### **The Present Study**

#### **Markers of Emerging Adulthood**

In comparing the developmental trajectories of diverse groups of emerging adults, we focus on two domains crucial to EA theory: work and love. Arnett identifies work and love as two core domains of growth for emerging adults, as their major developmental tasks during this time of life are finding a career and a long-term romantic partner (Arnett, 2004).

Within each domain, we examine both behavioral and psychological markers, because EA theory includes both objective, behavioral components (e.g., postponing parenthood, extending education) as well as subjective, psychological components (e.g.,

identity exploration; Arnett, 2004). It is possible that behavioral and psychological markers yield different conclusions about whether an individual can be considered an emerging adult. For instance, Arnett and Tanner (2011) suggest that some youth may not fit the demographic profile of emerging adults, but may still subjectively feel like emerging adults in some ways.

For the domain of work, we include employment, as an objective marker that forms the foundation of the domain of work, as well as career acquisition, a subjective measure of the role an individual's current job plays in their larger career plans. In the domain of love, we explore marriage, a traditional behavioral marker of adulthood, and its subjective counterpart, desire to be married. Furthermore, we investigate whether participants have any children, as becoming a parent appears to have special significance as the irrevocable end of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004). Finally, we create two composite variables from combinations of markers across both work and love domains. One configuration reflects Arnett's profile of emerging adulthood, and the other configuration reflects a more traditional profile of adulthood. We then determine which groups of participants are most likely to fit these two configural profiles.

### **Hypotheses**

As there is relatively little research on emerging adulthood among non-students, particularly exploring intersections of race/ethnicity with education level, this study is largely exploratory. However, critics of EA theory's generalizability (e.g., Hendry & Kloep, 2010), suggest the hypothesis that being White and/or having more educational experience will lead to greater alignment with EA theory, and being an ethnic/racial

minority and/or having less educational experience will lead to greater divergence from EA theory (see table 1). For example, White college graduates are expected to closely follow the patterns outlined by EA theory for work and love, as discussed above. We expect that other groups will diverge from EA theory in one or more domains.

In particular, prior research suggests that youth without college experience tend to become parents earlier, have more children, and obtain full-time employment earlier than youth who do go to college (Mitchell & Syed, in preparation; Zorotovich, 2014). Results are mixed when it comes to marriage, with one study finding that non-students are less likely to be married (Zorotovich, 2014), and the other finding no differences in marriage rates by educational group (Mitchell & Syed, in preparation). Furthermore, though Osgood and colleagues (2005) did not directly compare college and non-college populations per se, their groups with the lowest education levels – “fast starters” and “parents without careers” – both were more likely to be married and have children. While fast starters had committed to long-term careers, parents without careers had not. Thus, there is consistent evidence suggesting an inverse relationship between education level and parenthood, but mixed evidence for a relationship between education level and marriage or career commitment. The present study may help resolve these inconsistencies, as Mitchell and Syed (in preparation), Zorotovich (2014), and Osgood et al. (2005) all studied regional populations, rather than a national sample.

In regards to differences by race/ethnicity, national data suggests that marriage and parenthood rates vary by race/ethnicity. Whites and Latinos tend to marry earlier than Asian Americans or African Americans (Copen et al., 2012), and African American

and Latina women are more likely to be mothers in their twenties than White or Asian American women (Monte & Ellis, 2014). These behavioral markers would suggest that White, African American, and Latino individuals may be less likely to feel like emerging adults, given these transitions to adult roles. In the psychological domain, White and Asian American youth are more likely to endorse the criteria of feeling in-between adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2003), suggesting that they are likely to feel *more* like emerging adults. Note, there is a discrepancy here between the behavioral and psychological markers for White youth, as they are among those more likely to be married, but also more likely to feel not fully adult, which casts some doubt already on the critique that emerging adulthood is for White youth (Arnett et al., 2011). The present study will test critics' assumption that White, highly educated youth are the prototype for emerging adulthood.

As we are examining two social categories – race/ethnicity and education level – it is useful to consider the relevance of an intersectional approach, which has largely been missing from EA research (see Syed & Mitchell, 2013). In contrast to single-axis approaches, which examine one social category at a time (only race/ethnicity, or only education level), intersectional approaches examine the unique effects of intersections of multiple social categories within an individual (e.g., race/ethnicity *and* level of education; Cole, 2009). Individuals who fall within different intersections are hypothesized to have qualitatively different experiences. For instance, the experience of an African American college graduate cannot be boiled down to the experience of African Americans, plus the experience of college graduates. Rather, race/ethnicity and college education are

entangled, such that being a college graduate has different meaning and consequences for African American youth than for college graduates of other racial/ethnic backgrounds; similarly, being African American has different meaning and consequences for those who are highly educated, compared to African Americans with lower education levels.

Though our hypotheses – generated from critics of EA theory – are based on additive assumptions, in which race/ethnicity and educational status are not predicted to interact, our method of analysis allows for intersectional findings. In other words, by comparing each of the cells in table 1<sup>2</sup>, we may discover that education does not affect EA behaviors in the same way for all racial/ethnic groups, and vice versa. It could be that, for instance, college-going Whites behave much more like emerging adults than their non-student counterparts, whereas African Americans do not behave like emerging adults regardless of their college status. Existing research does not provide us with enough information to make well-supported intersectional hypotheses, so we will refrain from speculating about specifics and simply note that these differences may emerge from our exploratory analysis.

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

Participants include 6504 individuals who took part in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), and whose data is available through the public use dataset (Harris et al., 2009). Through a stratified sampling process, in which the probability of being sampled was related to enrollment size, 134 middle and high schools

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<sup>2</sup> From here on, we will refer to each of these intersections of race/ethnicity by education level as an “intersectional group.”

in 80 communities across the US were chosen to participate. All students in each school were given an in-school survey to complete, and then from each school, roughly 200 students were sampled for in-home interviews. Certain populations were oversampled for in-home interviews, including Black adolescents from well-educated families (i.e., with at least one parent with a college degree), Chinese, Cuban, and Puerto Rican adolescents, adolescents with disabilities, and twins. The present analysis includes demographic data from Wave 1, collected in 1994-1995, and outcomes measured in Wave 3, collected in 2001-2002, as well as Wave 4, collected in 2008-2009. Waves 3 and 4 were chosen for their relevance to emerging adulthood: ages in Wave 3 range from 19 to 25<sup>3</sup>, and in Wave 4, from 25 to 32<sup>3</sup>.

In Wave 1, 6504 participants completed the interview; 4882 in Wave 3, and 5114 in Wave 4. In Wave 1, participants' self-identified racial/ethnic backgrounds broke down as follows: 743 of Hispanic origin, 4294 White, 1619 African American, 236 Native American, 270 Asian/Pacific Islander, and 425 Other (see table 2 for number of participants in each intersectional group). Forty-eight percent identified as male, and 52% identified as female. At Wave 1, participants' household income ranged from \$0 to \$999,000, with a median of \$40,000 (equivalent to \$62,700 in 2015 dollars). Fifteen percent of participants' parents did not complete high school; 31% had graduated from high school or completed a GED, 30% had some college experience, and 25% had graduated from college.

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<sup>3</sup> A small number of participants' ages fall outside these ranges (see table 3).



We created three educational groups based on participants' educational status in the final wave of the study, near the end of emerging adulthood. The alternative approach would be to include educational status as a time-varying predictor, with different values at Wave 3 and Wave 4. However, we are interested in differences by educational groups that may exist *before* the end of emerging adulthood (i.e., employment, marriage, and desire for marriage in Wave 3). By defining education level in terms of participants' final educational status, we can examine differences between these groups that may exist before the end of emerging adulthood.

Participants were considered college graduates if, at any point, they indicated they had earned a bachelor's degree or higher. Participants were considered non-students if, in Wave 4, they indicated they had not attained higher than a high school diploma. Individuals who indicated in Wave 4 that they attended college, but never completed a degree, were considered non-graduates. All others were coded as missing. Thus, three educational groups were created: non-students with no college experience, non-graduates with some college experience, and graduates with enough college experience to obtain at least a Bachelor's degree. By Wave 4, 19% of the retained participants had completed no college, 34% had some college experience, and 26% had completed a bachelor's degree or higher; 21% did not provide enough information to deduce their final educational status.

We explored the characteristics of this missing group, comparing them to those participants who did provide a final educational status. Individuals who did not provide their educational status were more likely to be male ( $\chi^2(1) = 63.91, p < .001, v = .10$ ), and

were more likely to have parents who did not complete college ( $\chi^2(1) = 27.59, p < .001, v = .07$ ), and their parents' household income ( $M = 41.83, SD = 56.37$ ) was significantly lower than that of respondents who provided an educational status ( $M = 49.05, SD = 56.27$ ),  $t(4927) = 3.51, p < .001, d = .13$ .

Because a large proportion of participants are missing data (proportions of missing data on all variables ranged from 14% to 38%), and those who are missing on educational status differ systematically from those who do provide their final educational status, we used multiple imputation to estimate missing values. This method provides less biased results than other methods of handling missing data, such as listwise deletion or single imputation (Tomarken & Waller, 2005). Five “complete” datasets were generated using intersectional group, parents' education level, parents' income, age, and the dependent variable of interest to predict missing values. These datasets were then pooled to obtain estimates reported in the Results section. As there are several valid ways to analyze these data, we also conducted sensitivity analyses to ensure results are consistent across different analytic methods. These are discussed further in the Results section below.

## Measures

**Work.** The variables used to assess work include employment, a behavioral marker, and career acquisition, a psychological marker. In Waves 3 and 4, *employment* was assessed with the question, “Are you currently working for pay for at least 10 hours a week?” with possible response options “Yes” or “No.”

*Career acquisition*<sup>4</sup> was assessed only in Wave 4, by asking participants, “Which one of the following best describes your (current/most recent) primary job?” to which they could respond, “It was part of my long-term career or work goals at that time; it was preparation for my long-term career or work goals at that time; it was not related to my long-term career or work goals at that time; or I did not have a long-term career or work goals at that time.”

**Love.** The outcomes used to assess love include the behavioral markers marriage and parenthood, as well as the psychological marker, desire for marriage. *Marriage* was assessed in Wave 3. Participants responded to the question, “How many times have you been married?” Responses of one or greater were recoded to “1” to indicate that the participant had been married at least once. Responses of zero were coded as “0” to indicate the participant had never been married.

*Desire for marriage* was assessed in Wave 3 among participants who indicated they were *not* currently married (N = 4046). These participants were asked, “How much do you agree or disagree with the statement ‘I would like to be married now?’” Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree.

*Parenthood* was determined through a series of questions in Wave 4: “Thinking about all the relationships and sexual encounters you have ever had, how many times have you ever been pregnant/made a partner pregnant? How many live births resulted

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<sup>4</sup> See Mortimer et al. (2008) for more details on this measure. Their study finds that career acquisition is related to individuals’ level of work investment in high school, amount of training received in jobs, wages, and hours worked per week.

from this/these pregnancies? How many of these children are still living?” If participants indicated they had at least one living child, they were coded as parents; otherwise, they were considered non-parents. Thirteen participants had given birth but the child had passed away – these participants were coded as parents, as they had spent at least some time caring for a child.

### **Procedure**

In-home interviews were administered over a period of 1-2 hours. Rather than using paper surveys, participants’ responses were recorded using a laptop computer. For most topics, an interviewer read the questions aloud and typed in the participant’s answer. For more sensitive topics, the participant listened to the questions through headphones and then typed in their own responses directly. Data were retrieved through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, and analyzed with the statistical software SPSS.

## **Results**

### **Analysis Plan**

Our analysis plan is centered around comparing different intersectional groups on outcomes central to EA theory. Each of these groups was represented using dummy codes, and entered as a predictor into regression models. Employment, marriage, and parenthood are all naturally binary outcomes, so we used binary logistic regression to investigate the effects of intersections of race/ethnicity and education. Prior research with the career acquisition variable (e.g., Mortimer et al., 2008) has analyzed the categorical data by aggregating three of the categories and comparing against the one of most interest

(e.g., “It was part of my long-term career or work goals” coded as 1, all other responses coded as 0). We adopted this approach of creating dichotomies, but since we are interested in all four of the response options, we investigated career acquisition through a series of binary logistic regressions, singling out each of the four response categories in succession and comparing it against the remaining three. As desire for marriage was measured on a 5-point Likert scale, we used ordinal logistic regression to explore differences in desire for marriage among those individuals who were not currently married. Most outcomes are only analyzed for one wave because they were only measured at that wave (i.e., marriage, and desire for marriage in Wave 3; parenthood and career acquisition in Wave 4. Employment was the only outcome variable measured in both waves).

After comparing groups on employment, career acquisition, marriage, desire for marriage, and parenthood, we compared them on two composite variables: a profile for Emerging Adulthood, and a profile for Adulthood. The combination of variables most consistent with EA theory is a) not being in a long-term career at Wave 4 (but also not *lacking* career goals), b) not having been married at Wave 3, c) not wanting to be married at Wave 3, and d) having no children at Wave 4 (unfortunately, these variables were each measured in *only* Wave 3 or Wave 4, not both). We used this combination of characteristics to create a binary variable, differentiating those who fit EA theory best from all other participants. Participants who met all four of these criteria were coded as “1” for fitting the EA profile, and “0” otherwise. In contrast, those who at Wave 4 are a) employed, b) in a long-term career, and c) parents are inconsistent with EA theory, as

they have entered adult roles in work and love (marriage is excluded from this profile because it was only measured relatively early, at Wave 3). This combination of characteristics was used to create an Adulthood binary variable, distinguishing those who are *most* like adults from the rest. Participants who met all three of these criteria were coded as “1” for fitting the Adulthood profile, and “0” otherwise. It should be noted that these profiles are rather strict, relative to Arnett’s (2004) definition of emerging adult and sociological perspectives on roles that define adulthood (e.g., Osgood et al., 2005). Thus, they should be interpreted as a conservative estimate of the number of emerging adults and full adults in each subsample.

Our primary goal is to learn whether White college students are more like emerging adults than other groups. However, both the White Graduates and White Some College groups have college experience. Thus, we ran all analyses twice, first using White Graduates as the reference group, and then White Some College. All analyses included parents’ education level, parents’ income level, and age of participant at the time of measurement (see table 3 for distribution of ages in Waves 3 and 4) as covariates to control for these effects, as well as multiple imputation to adjust for missing data, as described above.

A series of sensitivity analyses were performed as well, to examine the effects of different analytic approaches on the results. Ideally, when there are several possible valid ways to analyze a set of data, results are robust regardless of the researcher’s choice of analytic methods. Sensitivity analyses involve re-running the same analyses with variations, to ensure that results are not dependent on those variations. The first set of

sensitivity analyses excluded the control variables (parents' education level, parents' income, and age of participant) to ensure that results are consistent with and without these covariates. The second set of sensitivity analyses was performed to resolve a specific limitation of the SPSS software, namely, that it does not allow analysis using both multiple imputation and complex survey analyses simultaneously. Complex survey analyses involve using design weights and clustering variables to account for the sampling design of a large dataset like Add Health (Harris et al., 2009). Participants' scores are weighted to balance out oversampling, such that the results reflect the population of interest (in this case, the national population of young adults).

Discrepancies between these three analytic approaches (multiple imputation, excluding covariates, and complex survey design) were minimal, but are reported in Appendix A.

The continuous variables used in these analyses (parents' income, parents' education level, age at Wave 3 and Wave 4) were roughly normally distributed, with the exception of parents' income, which was positively skewed. A natural log transformation of parents' income yielded a normal distribution, so we used this transformed version of parents' income for all analyses. Parents' income was correlated with parents' education, though not extremely highly ( $r = .28, p < .001$ ), suggesting that both measures are appropriate to include in the models. None of the other continuous variables were correlated with each other greater than  $r = .05$ , except for age at Wave 3 and age at Wave 4, but these were never used in the same model. Full results, including unstandardized regression coefficients, standard errors of estimates, significance tests, and effect sizes, are reported for the multiple imputation analyses in tables 4-25. Figures 1-12 also reflect

the results that were consistent across all approaches. Below, we summarize the findings that were consistent across all three analytic approaches. Findings were considered consistent across analyses if the results of significance tests were not changed by different analytic methods.

### **Behavioral Marker for Work: Employment**

For full results, see tables 4-7 and 26-29, as well as figures 1-2. White graduates are less likely to be employed than White some college ( $OR = 1.84$ ), or Latino some college ( $OR = 2.04$ ), but more likely to be employed than Asian American graduates ( $OR = 0.45$ ) at Wave 3 (ages 19-25). White some college are one of the most likely groups to be employed at Wave 3. All of the following groups are less likely to be employed: White no college ( $OR = 0.56$ ), White graduates ( $OR = 0.54$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 0.31$ ), African American some college ( $OR = 0.47$ ), African American graduates ( $OR = 0.48$ ), Asian American graduates ( $OR = 0.24$ ), Latino graduates ( $OR = 0.58$ ), and Multiracial graduates ( $OR = 0.36$ ). In early emerging adulthood, it seems that patterns of employment are quite heterogeneous across racial/ethnic and educational groups. Each intersectional group has its own pattern.

In contrast, level of college experience makes a clear difference for employment in Wave 4 (ages 25-32). Comparing against White graduates, White no college ( $OR = 0.53$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 0.36$ ), and Multiracial no college ( $OR = 0.46$ ) are less likely to be employed in Wave 4. Some of these same groups are less likely to be employed than White some college, as well: African American no college ( $OR = 0.43$ ), and Multiracial no college ( $OR = 0.55$ ). It appears that by later emerging adulthood,



those without college experience are least likely to be employed, across several racial/ethnic groups.

### **Psychological Marker for Work: Career Acquisition**

Full regression results for career acquisition are reported in tables 8-15; sensitivity analyses are reported in tables 30-37. See figures 3-6 for plots of percentages of participants endorsing each of the four possible response categories. Consistent with the findings on employment in Wave 4, graduating from college appears to make a difference in whether one sees one's job as part of a long-term career. White no college ( $OR = 0.38$ ), White some college ( $OR = 0.46$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 0.17$ ), African American some college ( $OR = 0.27$ ), African American graduates ( $OR = 0.48$ ), Latino no college ( $OR = 0.50$ ), Latino some college ( $OR = 0.34$ ), Multiracial no college ( $OR = 0.18$ ), and Multiracial some college ( $OR = 0.26$ ) are all less likely to see their work as part of a long-term career than White graduates.

White some college are less likely to see themselves as being in long-term careers at Wave 4 than White graduates ( $OR = 2.17$ ), or Asian American graduates ( $OR = 1.94$ ). However, White some college are more likely than African American no college ( $OR = 0.37$ ) or African American some college ( $OR = 0.59$ ) to see their jobs as part of a long-term career. Thus, it seems that college graduates, particularly White, Asian American, and Latino graduates, are the most likely to have committed to a career at this point.

Two other response options to the career acquisition item suggest that participants are still exploring career possibilities, having not yet achieved a long-term career. These are the options indicating that participants are working jobs that are preparing them for a

long-term career, or that participants are working jobs that are unrelated to their long-term goals.

African American some college ( $OR = 1.43$ ), African American graduates ( $OR = 2.19$ ), and Latino some college ( $OR = 1.81$ ) are more likely than White graduates to say their jobs are preparing them for a career. Notably, these groups include the sole group of graduates - African American - who differed from White graduates in saying they had entered a long-term career, above. White no college ( $OR = 0.72$ ) are less likely than White some college to see their jobs as preparation for a long-term career.

On the arguably less productive side of exploration, White no college ( $OR = 2.85$ ), White some college ( $OR = 2.49$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 3.39$ ), African American some college ( $OR = 3.40$ ), Latino no college ( $OR = 2.68$ ), Latino some college ( $OR = 2.48$ ), Multiracial no college ( $OR = 3.25$ ), and Multiracial some college ( $OR = 2.76$ ) are all more likely to see their work as unrelated to their long-term career goals than White graduates. Furthermore, White graduates ( $OR = 0.40$ ) and African American graduates ( $OR = 0.55$ ) are less likely to see their current jobs as unrelated to their career goals than White some college are. In general, these results suggest that White graduates are unlikely to see their work as unrelated to long-term goals, relative to most other intersectional groups. However, the pattern for White some college is different, as they are relatively *more* likely to see their work as unrelated to their career aspirations. This is one area where, within one racial/ethnic group, obtaining a degree makes a difference over and above obtaining some college education. Across racial/ethnic groups, college graduates seem to generally be the least likely to see their

work as unrelated to long-term career goals.

Finally, the response most consistent with the concept of vocational floundering is the last: indicating one has no career goals. This response was endorsed more frequently by White no college ( $OR = 3.98$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 4.63$ ), Latino no college ( $OR = 2.96$ ), and Multiracial no college ( $OR = 5.61$ ), than White graduates.

White no college ( $OR = 2.01$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 2.33$ ), and Multiracial no college ( $OR = 2.83$ ) were all more likely to say they have no career goals than White some college. Consistently, the groups most likely to indicate they had no career goals were those with no college experience - again, nearly regardless of race.

#### **Behavioral Marker for Love: Marriage**

Turning to the domain of love, White no college ( $OR = 2.44$ ), White some college ( $OR = 2.16$ ), Latino no college ( $OR = 2.08$ ), and Multiracial no college ( $OR = 2.57$ ) are all more likely to be married at Wave 3 than White graduates (see tables 16 and 38, figure 7). African American graduates ( $OR = 0.48$ ) are less likely to be married than White graduates.

White some college are more likely to be married than White graduates ( $OR = 0.46$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 0.26$ ), African American some college ( $OR = 0.38$ ), African American graduates ( $OR = 0.22$ ), and Asian American graduates ( $OR = 0.18$ ; see tables 17 and 39, figure 7). In general, those with no college are the most likely to be married across racial/ethnic groups, and graduates are among the least likely to be married. An exception is African Americans without college experience, who are less likely to be married than White some college.

### **Psychological Marker for Love: Desire for Marriage**

Most individuals responding to this question (i.e., those who are not married at Wave 3) do *not* want to be married. Of the total sample, 11% of the total sample strongly agreed they would like to be married; 16% agreed somewhat; 15% neither agreed nor disagreed; 21% disagreed somewhat, and 37% strongly disagreed.

Among those who are *not* married in Wave 3, White no college ( $d = .39$ ), White some college ( $d = .30$ ), and Multiracial some college ( $d = .43$ ) desire marriage more than White graduates (see tables 18 and 40, figures 8 and 9). White graduates ( $d = -.30$ ), African American graduates ( $d = -.22$ ), Asian American graduates ( $d = -.38$ ), and Multiracial graduates ( $d = -.47$ ) all desire marriage less than White some college (see tables 19 and 41, figures 8 and 9).

### **Behavioral Marker for Love: Parenthood**

White graduates are one of the least likely groups to be parents at Wave 4 (see tables 20 and 42 for full regression results, as well as figure 10). They are significantly less likely to be parents than White no college ( $OR = 2.98$ ), White some college ( $OR = 2.76$ ), African American no college ( $OR = 3.08$ ), African American some college ( $OR = 4.44$ ), Latino no college ( $OR = 2.43$ ), Latino some college ( $OR = 2.11$ ), Multiracial no college ( $OR = 4.34$ ), and Multiracial some college ( $OR = 2.92$ ). In contrast, White individuals with some college were more likely to be parents than White graduates ( $OR = 0.36$ ), African American graduates ( $OR = 0.56$ ), Asian American some college ( $OR = 0.43$ ), Asian American graduates ( $OR = 0.22$ ), Latino graduates ( $OR = 0.32$ ), or Multiracial graduates ( $OR = 0.31$ ). The only group significantly more likely to be parents

were African American some college ( $OR = 1.61$ ; see tables 21 and 43, and figure 10).

Overall, those who do not attend college are among the most likely to have children by Wave 4, whereas graduates are generally the least likely, regardless of race/ethnicity.

### **Emerging Adulthood Profile**

We defined an EA profile as having the combination of four characteristics: being uncommitted to a career, having no spouse or children, and not wanting to be married. This definition is rather strict; indeed, most participants did *not* completely align with the EA profile in one or more of these domains (see figure 11 and tables 22 and 44). Thus, these results should be interpreted as an indication of which groups are most likely to fit a conservative definition of emerging adulthood, not a count of the number of participants that fit Arnett's (2004) looser conceptualization of emerging adulthood.

White some college ( $OR = 0.66$ ) are less likely to fit our EA profile than White graduates. In comparison, African American graduates ( $OR = 1.47$ ) and Multiracial graduates ( $OR = 1.85$ ) are more likely to fit the EA profile than White graduates. White some college are less likely to fit the EA profile than White graduates ( $OR = 1.51$ ), Asian American graduates ( $OR = 2.01$ ), and Multiracial graduates ( $OR = 2.79$ ; see figure 11 and tables 23 and 45). The overall pattern of results suggests that college graduates are indeed the most likely to fit our (admittedly strict) definition of emerging adulthood.

### **Adulthood Profile**

Similar to the EA profile, relatively few participants are likely to fit our Adulthood profile (i.e., being employed in a long-term career and being a parent by Wave 4; see tables 224-25 and 46-47, and figure 12). White some college ( $OR = 1.37$ ) are more

likely to fit the Adulthood profile than White graduates. White graduates (OR = 0.73) and African American no college (OR = 0.34) are less likely to fit the Adulthood profile than White some college.

### **Discussion**

The purpose of the present study is to evaluate the applicability of EA theory to educationally and racially/ethnically diverse groups, in response to criticism that emerging adulthood is only for highly educated White youth (Hendry & Kloep, 2007; Arnett et al., 2011). Results revealed several insights that are helpful, both for addressing this criticism, as well as expanding our knowledge on relatively understudied sub-populations of emerging adults.

First, critics' suggestion that White college students best exemplify EA theory was not completely supported. Though White graduates were relatively unlikely to be married, want marriage, or have children – all characteristics of emerging adults – other groups were equally or *more* likely to exhibit these characteristics. Specifically, African American graduates were less likely to be married (with a substantial effect size across all analytic approaches, odds ratios ranging from 0.03-0.19), most other groups of graduates were just as unlikely to want marriage, and all groups of graduates were just as unlikely to have children. Nor were White graduates the the most likely group to fit our EA profile – African American and Multiracial graduates were both more likely to fit the mold of being uncommitted to a career, not being married nor wanting marriage, and not having any children, though, the effect sizes for these results are somewhat smaller, with odds ratios on the order of 1.50-2.00. The second college-educated White group – White

some college – were one of the most adult-like groups in the study, as they were among the most likely to fit our Adult profile (*ORs* for White graduates and African American no college are 0.73 and 0.34, respectively), least likely to fit the EA profile (*ORs* range from 1.51-2.79), most likely to have children (*ORs* ranging from 0.22-0.56) and be married (*ORs* ranging from 0.18-0.48), and most likely to be employed earlier, in Wave 3 (with *ORs* ranging from 0.31-0.56). As such, the suggestion that White, college-educated individuals fit the EA pattern best may not be entirely accurate, especially for those who begin college but do not finish.

That said, several groups demonstrated clear divergence from Arnett's (2004) definition. In fact, no more than 28% of any group fit our operationalization of the EA profile (though, our definition was rather strict, and many who did not pass our high threshold may still be like emerging adults in several domains). Perhaps the best evidence of divergence from EA theory comes from several groups with high marriage rates at Wave 3 (when the average age was 22), and several groups that frequently indicated they had no long-term career goals, suggesting they are not engaging in identity exploration in the work domain but rather processes akin to floundering (Konstam & Lehmann, 2011). These findings are consistent with evidence suggesting that lower SES youth are more likely to “grow up quickly” and feel like adults at an earlier age (Arnett, 2003; Hendry & Kloep, 2010), or struggle to establish adult roles due to barriers and a lack of resources (Côté, 2014), particularly since these divergences from EA theory seem to be most common for the non-students in our sample. The effect sizes are substantial:

odds ratios comparing no college groups against White graduates are on the order of 2.00-2.50 for marriage, and 3.00-6.00 for lacking career goals.

As far as implications for EA theory go, the present study supports Côté's (2014) suggestion that counterexamples exist – and not just a few sparse ones, but some large sub-groups that diverge systematically from Arnett's (2004) conceptualization, especially groups with lower education levels. Given these results, the theory may be more accurate and useful with greater delimitation. Arnett (2011) endorses the idea of variability within his framework, suggesting that different cultural factors will lead to a range of variations on the emerging adulthood theme. However, it may be time to recognize that there are other patterns of development in the early twenties that represent different themes entirely (e.g., the patterns followed by non-students, reviewed in more depth below).

A second implication has to do with the universality debate itself. These results strongly support recent suggestions that the binary “emerging adult or not” question that has captivated the field does not reflect the complex reality of development across multiple life domains during this time (Syed, in press). For example, some individuals may act and feel like emerging adults in certain life domains, but not others, as is the case for most groups in the present study. For example, Latino some college are unlike emerging adults in that they tend to have children more frequently than other groups. However, their career acquisition fits a more EA-like pattern, with most saying their current work is either unrelated to their long-term work goals, or preparation for a career, and suggesting they are not yet fully committed to a long-term career. These results reinforce the need for a dimensional view of emerging adulthood, rather than the binary



conceptualization that has characterized this debate so far. The field would be better served by asking questions about the quality and experience of emerging adulthood in multiple domains, rather than continuing to try to learn whether EA theory applies to one group or another.

To that end, the results of this study reveal several important findings about the “forgotten half,” or non-students, who often go ignored in EA research. With the exception of a few intersectional groups, the non-students in the present study tended to have children, be married, work in jobs unrelated to their long-term career goals or have no long-term career goals, and not fit the composite EA profile more frequently than other groups. These results are generally consistent with the findings from studies by Mitchell and Syed (in preparation) and Zorotovich (2014) directly comparing students and non-students, as well as research reviewed by Arnett and Tanner (2011) comparing emerging adults from higher and lower social class backgrounds. One of Arnett’s (2000) original intentions was that EA theory serve as a framework for studying the “forgotten half,” or nonstudents. However, these patterns suggest that nonstudents systematically diverge from the behaviors and psychological characteristics that Arnett (2000) outlines, in which case, EA theory may not be a useful framework for understanding this sector of youth.

In addition, within the no college category, some important differences between racial/ethnic groups were revealed. For example, over 30% of White no college and Latino no college feel they have entered a long-term career by Wave 4, compared to less than 20% of African American and Multiracial no college. Furthermore, African

American no college are quite unlikely to be married in Wave 3, in contrast to all other non-student groups, who were the most likely to be married. Roughly 13% of Latino no college and White no college fit our Adulthood profile (i.e., had entered a long-term career and had children in Wave 4), whereas only about 6% of African American and Multiracial no college did. These are just a few examples of intersections of education and race/ethnicity, where the outcome is qualitatively different for two groups in non-additive ways (Cole, 2009). An important implication is that emerging adulthood researchers must take caution when extrapolating their results to populations that differ from their sample in terms of education or racial/ethnic distribution, as these factors matter for central components of EA theory, and not always in consistent, easily predictable ways.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

The proposed study has a major advantage in terms of sample size, which allows us to break down and compare educational and racial/ethnic subgroups that are still of adequate size. However, as with any secondary analysis of large survey data, these advantages come at the cost of depth and specificity. As we were not able to choose questions to be included in the survey, some of the variables we have examined are proxies for the true characteristics observed in emerging adulthood. Were we able to design the survey, we might have included items that specifically address more fully the *psychological* components of EA theory (e.g., the Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood, Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2007). We might have also asked

more in-depth questions about behavioral markers (e.g., how many romantic partners have you dated in the past 12 months?).

In aiming for breadth, the proposed study necessarily sacrifices depth. An important counterpart would be a qualitative study of smaller groups of individuals. The results of the present study could direct selection of participants for in-depth qualitative study. For instance, individuals could be chosen from those groups that adhere most closely to, and diverge most distinctly from, EA theory. It would also be interesting to compare individuals from groups that are similar in some domains, but different in others. In particular, comparing individuals who would fit in our White graduates and White some college categories may illuminate reasons for their very different patterns of adherence to EA theory. Interviews would allow researchers to explore potential reasons for these similarities and differences, as well as participants' thoughts and feelings about work and love.

### **Conclusion**

EA theory has been around for nearly fifteen years now, and is being used more and more frequently by researchers who study youth ages 18-30. However, a great deal of debate has centered around the question of universality of emerging adulthood, with few conclusive answers. The present study reveals systematic divergences from EA theory, particularly for non-students, that suggest emerging adulthood may be experienced quite differently by certain subgroups of the population. Furthermore, the group most frequently cited as the prototype for emerging adulthood – White, college educated youth – have turned out to be not as homogenous as is often assumed in this

universality debate. Even some of these youth do not fit Arnett's (2004) EA mold. That said, the discussion can hopefully move beyond the question of who is and who isn't an emerging adult, and instead get back to one of Arnett's original goals: describing and explaining development from age 18-30 for youth who are commonly overlooked in mainstream research.

*Table 1.* Hypotheses: Which groups behave most like EA theory predicts?

|                     | White | African<br>American | Asian<br>American | Latino | Multiracial |
|---------------------|-------|---------------------|-------------------|--------|-------------|
| College<br>graduate | 4     | 3                   | 3                 | 3      | 3           |
| Some<br>college     | 3     | 2                   | 2                 | 2      | 2           |
| No college          | 2     | 1                   | 1                 | 1      | 1           |

4 = most like EA theory

1 = least like EA theory

*Table 2.* Number of participants in each intersectional group.

|                                | Wave 3 | Wave 4 |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|
| White, no college              | 528    | 675    |
| White, some college            | 1059   | 1291   |
| White, graduates               | 998    | 1084   |
| African American, no college   | 225    | 297    |
| African American, some college | 400    | 510    |
| African American, graduates    | 302    | 320    |
| Asian American, some college   | 37     | 44     |
| Asian American, graduates      | 75     | 72     |
| Latino, no college             | 113    | 158    |
| Latino, some college           | 178    | 226    |
| Latino, graduates              | 92     | 101    |
| Multiracial, no college        | 58     | 68     |
| Multiracial, some college      | 96     | 113    |
| Multiracial, graduates         | 65     | 73     |

*Table 3.* Age distributions for Waves 3 and 4.

| Age                                     | Frequency |
|---|-----------|
| <hr/> Wave 3, collected 2001-2002 <hr/> |           |
| 18                                      | 36        |
| 19                                      | 540       |
| 20                                      | 766       |
| 21                                      | 801       |
| 22                                      | 877       |
| 23                                      | 833       |
| 24                                      | 747       |
| 25                                      | 229       |
| 26                                      | 40        |
| 27                                      | 12        |
| 28                                      | 1         |
| Missing                                 | 1622      |
| <hr/> Wave 4, collected 2007-2008 <hr/> |           |
| 24                                      | 5         |
| 25                                      | 227       |
| 26                                      | 666       |
| 27                                      | 809       |
| 28                                      | 896       |
| 29                                      | 896       |
| 30                                      | 892       |
| 31                                      | 588       |
| 32                                      | 116       |
| 33                                      | 19        |
| Missing                                 | 1390      |

*Table 4.* Regression results for Employment, Wave 3. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 2.92  | 1.17 | .01   |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.006 | .06  | .93   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .04   | .03  | .13   |                   |
| Age                            | -.17  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | .03   | .13  | .82   | 1.03 [0.79, 1.35] |
| White, some college            | .61   | .11  | <.001 | 1.84 [1.49, 2.28] |
| African American, no college   | -.57  | .16  | .001  | 0.57 [0.41, 0.78] |
| African American, some college | -.15  | .16  | .35   | 0.86 [0.61, 1.20] |
| African American, graduates    | -.12  | .16  | .49   | 0.89 [0.63, 1.25] |
| Asian American, some college   | .29   | .54  | .61   | 1.33 [0.41, 4.32] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.81  | .25  | .001  | 0.45 [0.27, 0.73] |
| Latino, no college             | .10   | .23  | .66   | 1.11 [0.70, 1.75] |
| Latino, some college           | .71   | .26  | .02   | 2.04 [1.16, 3.56] |
| Latino, graduates              | .06   | .25  | .81   | 1.06 [0.64, 1.76] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.12  | .31  | .70   | 0.89 [0.48, 1.65] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .12   | .26  | .65   | 1.13 [0.66, 1.93] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.40  | .26  | .13   | 0.67 [0.40, 1.13] |



Table 5. Regression results for Employment, Wave 3. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 10.86 | 1.24 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.006 | .06  | .93   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .04   | .03  | .13   |                   |
| Age                            | -.17  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | -.58  | .11  | <.001 | 0.56 [0.45, 0.70] |
| White, graduates               | -.61  | .11  | <.001 | 0.54 [0.44, 0.67] |
| African American, no college   | -1.18 | .15  | <.001 | 0.31 [0.23, 0.42] |
| African American, some college | -.76  | .15  | <.001 | 0.47 [0.34, 0.64] |
| African American, graduates    | -.73  | .18  | .001  | 0.48 [0.33, 0.71] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.33  | .55  | .57   | 0.72 [0.21, 2.46] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -1.42 | .24  | <.001 | 0.24 [0.15, 0.39] |
| Latino, no college             | -.51  | .22  | .03   | 0.60 [0.38, 0.95] |
| Latino, some college           | .10   | .23  | .67   | 1.11 [0.68, 1.78] |
| Latino, graduates              | -.55  | .23  | .02   | 0.58 [0.36, 0.92] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.73  | .30  | .02   | 0.48 [0.27, 0.87] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -.49  | .27  | .08   | 0.61 [0.35, 1.07] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -1.01 | .25  | <.001 | 0.36 [0.22, 0.60] |

Table 6. Regression results for Employment, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 3.19  | 1.37 | .02   |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.06  | .07  | .39   |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.04  | .03  | .13   |                   |
| Age                            | -.05  | .02  | .05   |                   |
| White, no college              | -.63  | .14  | <.001 | 0.53 [0.41, 0.70] |
| White, some college            | .18   | .11  | .11   | 1.20 [0.96, 1.50] |
| African American, no college   | -1.03 | .16  | <.001 | 0.36 [0.26, 0.49] |
| African American, some college | -.30  | .16  | .07   | 0.74 [0.54, 1.02] |
| African American, graduates    | -.05  | .16  | .77   | 0.96 [0.70, 1.30] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.58  | .43  | .19   | 0.56 [0.23, 1.35] |
| Asian American, graduates      | .52   | .46  | .27   | 1.67 [0.66, 4.27] |
| Latino, no college             | -.45  | .23  | .06   | 0.64 [0.40, 1.01] |
| Latino, some college           | .05   | .25  | .84   | 1.05 [0.62, 1.78] |
| Latino, graduates              | .45   | .41  | .28   | 1.57 [0.67, 3.71] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.79  | .26  | .002  | 0.46 [0.28, 0.75] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -.17  | .30  | .57   | 0.84 [0.45, 1.58] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.17  | .32  | .61   | 0.85 [0.44, 1.62] |

*Table 7.* Regression results for Employment, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b    | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | .98  | 1.44 | .50   |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.06 | .07  | .39   |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.04 | .03  | .13   |                   |
| Age                            | -.05 | .02  | .05   |                   |
| White, no college              | -.45 | .14  | .006  | 0.64 [0.48, 0.86] |
| White, graduates               | .18  | .11  | .11   | 1.20 [0.96, 1.50] |
| African American, no college   | -.84 | .14  | <.001 | 0.43 [0.33, 0.56] |
| African American, some college | -.12 | .15  | .44   | 0.89 [0.66, 1.21] |
| African American, graduates    | .14  | .16  | .40   | 1.15 [0.83, 1.59] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.40 | .43  | .37   | 0.67 [0.27, 1.65] |
| Asian American, graduates      | .70  | .47  | .15   | 2.01 [0.76, 5.33] |
| Latino, no college             | -.26 | .22  | .25   | 0.77 [0.49, 1.21] |
| Latino, some college           | .24  | .24  | .34   | 1.27 [0.76, 2.10] |
| Latino, graduates              | .64  | .38  | .11   | 1.89 [0.86, 4.14] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.60 | .25  | .01   | 0.55 [0.34, 0.89] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .01  | .31  | .97   | 1.01 [0.53, 1.93] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | .02  | .30  | .95   | 1.02 [0.56, 1.86] |

Table 8. Regression results for Long-Term Career, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 15.77 | 1.25 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.25  | .06  | .001  |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.004 | .03  | .87   |                   |
| Age                            | -.10  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | -.95  | .11  | <.001 | 0.38 [0.31, 0.48] |
| White, some college            | -.77  | .08  | <.001 | 0.46 [0.39, 0.54] |
| African American, no college   | -1.77 | .18  | <.001 | 0.17 [0.12, 0.24] |
| African American, some college | -1.30 | .13  | <.001 | 0.27 [0.21, 0.35] |
| African American, graduates    | -.74  | .12  | <.001 | 0.48 [0.38, 0.61] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.79  | .36  | .03   | 0.45 [0.22, 0.94] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.11  | .24  | .64   | 0.90 [0.56, 1.43] |
| Latino, no college             | -.69  | .22  | .005  | 0.50 [0.31, 0.80] |
| Latino, some college           | -1.09 | .19  | <.001 | 0.34 [0.23, 0.49] |
| Latino, graduates              | -.20  | .20  | .31   | 0.82 [0.56, 1.43] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -1.70 | .34  | <.001 | 0.18 [0.09, 0.36] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -1.36 | .21  | <.001 | 0.26 [0.17, 0.39] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.70  | .29  | .02   | 0.50 [0.27, 0.91] |

*Table 9.* Regression results for Long-Term Career, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 5.72  | 1.20 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.25  | .06  | .001  |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.004 | .03  | .87   |                   |
| Age                            | -.10  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | -.17  | .10  | .07   | 0.84 [0.70, 1.02] |
| White, graduates               | .77   | .08  | <.001 | 2.17 [1.84, 2.55] |
| African American, no college   | -.99  | .17  | <.001 | 0.37 [0.26, 0.52] |
| African American, some college | -.52  | .12  | <.001 | 0.59 [0.47, 0.75] |
| African American, graduates    | .04   | .12  | .77   | 1.04 [0.82, 1.31] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.02  | .36  | .96   | 0.98 [0.47, 2.05] |
| Asian American, graduates      | .66   | .24  | .006  | 1.94 [1.21, 3.10] |
| Latino, no college             | .08   | .21  | .71   | 1.08 [0.70, 1.68] |
| Latino, some college           | -.31  | .17  | .08   | 0.73 [0.52, 1.04] |
| Latino, graduates              | .58   | .20  | .004  | 1.78 [1.21, 2.63] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.92  | .35  | .01   | 0.40 [0.20, 0.80] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -.59  | .21  | .006  | 0.56 [0.37, 0.84] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | .07   | .30  | .81   | 1.08 [0.58, 1.99] |

*Table 10.* Regression results for Preparation for Career, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | -3.41 | 1.39 | .02   |                   |
| Parents' income                | .07   | .06  | .22   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .002  | .03  | .95   |                   |
| Age                            | .06   | .02  | .01   |                   |
| White, no college              | -.27  | .14  | .06   | 0.76 [0.58, 1.01] |
| White, some college            | .06   | .12  | .59   | 1.07 [0.84, 1.36] |
| African American, no college   | .13   | .19  | .49   | 1.14 [0.77, 1.69] |
| African American, some college | .36   | .12  | .003  | 1.43 [1.13, 1.81] |
| African American, graduates    | .78   | .14  | <.001 | 2.19 [1.66, 2.88] |
| Asian American, some college   | .23   | .37  | .54   | 1.26 [0.60, 2.64] |
| Asian American, graduates      | .05   | .30  | .87   | 1.05 [0.57, 1.94] |
| Latino, no college             | -.37  | .23  | .11   | 0.69 [0.44, 1.09] |
| Latino, some college           | .59   | .17  | .001  | 1.81 [1.29, 2.53] |
| Latino, graduates              | .10   | .26  | .69   | 1.11 [0.66, 1.88] |
| Multiracial, no college        | .03   | .31  | .93   | 1.03 [0.55, 1.93] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .40   | .21  | .06   | 1.49 [0.99, 2.24] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | .65   | .26  | .01   | 1.91 [1.14, 3.20] |

*Table 11.* Regression results for Preparation for Career, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | -2.58 | 1.35 | .07   |                   |
| Parents' income                | .07   | .06  | .22   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .002  | .03  | .95   |                   |
| Age                            | .06   | .02  | .01   |                   |
| White, no college              | -.33  | .11  | .003  | 0.72 [0.57, 0.90] |
| White, graduates               | -.06  | .12  | .59   | 0.94 [0.74, 1.20] |
| African American, no college   | .07   | .21  | .75   | 1.07 [0.68, 1.69] |
| African American, some college | .29   | .11  | .01   | 1.34 [1.07, 1.68] |
| African American, graduates    | .72   | .14  | <.001 | 2.05 [1.56, 2.70] |
| Asian American, some college   | .16   | .41  | .69   | 1.18 [0.51, 2.70] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.01  | .27  | .96   | 0.99 [0.58, 1.68] |
| Latino, no college             | -.43  | .25  | .10   | 0.65 [0.39, 1.10] |
| Latino, some college           | .53   | .15  | .001  | 1.69 [1.26, 2.28] |
| Latino, graduates              | .04   | .24  | .87   | 1.04 [0.65, 1.67] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.04  | .30  | .90   | 0.96 [0.53, 1.75] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .33   | .20  | .10   | 1.39 [0.94, 2.06] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | .59   | .28  | .05   | 1.80 [1.01, 3.19] |

Table 12. Regression results for Unrelated Work, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b      | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|--------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | -10.99 | 1.59 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | .16    | .05  | .001  |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.02   | .03  | .56   |                   |
| Age                            | .06    | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | 1.05   | .13  | <.001 | 2.85 [2.22, 3.64] |
| White, some college            | .91    | .11  | <.001 | 2.49 [1.99, 3.12] |
| African American, no college   | 1.22   | .15  | <.001 | 3.39 [2.55, 4.51] |
| African American, some college | 1.23   | .12  | <.001 | 3.40 [2.67, 4.34] |
| African American, graduates    | .32    | .17  | .06   | 1.38 [0.98, 1.93] |
| Asian American, some college   | .72    | .42  | .10   | 2.06 [0.86, 4.93] |
| Asian American, graduates      | .21    | .42  | .62   | 1.24 [0.50, 3.04] |
| Latino, no college             | .99    | .23  | <.001 | 2.68 [1.67, 4.30] |
| Latino, some college           | .91    | .20  | <.001 | 2.48 [1.63, 3.76] |
| Latino, graduates              | .29    | .30  | .34   | 1.33 [0.73, 2.45] |
| Multiracial, no college        | 1.18   | .30  | <.001 | 3.25 [1.75, 6.03] |
| Multiracial, some college      | 1.02   | .21  | <.001 | 2.76 [1.84, 4.15] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | .42    | .32  | .20   | 1.52 [0.79, 2.91] |



*Table 13.* Regression results for Unrelated Work, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | .87   | 1.12 | .44   |                   |
| Parents' income                | .16   | .05  | .001  |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.02  | .03  | .56   |                   |
| Age                            | .06   | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | .13   | .11  | .21   | 1.14 [0.93, 1.41] |
| White, graduates               | -.91  | .11  | <.001 | 0.40 [0.32, 0.50] |
| African American, no college   | .31   | .14  | .03   | 1.36 [1.03, 1.81] |
| African American, some college | .31   | .12  | .009  | 1.36 [1.08, 1.72] |
| African American, graduates    | -.59  | .15  | <.001 | 0.55 [0.41, 0.75] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.19  | .43  | .66   | 0.83 [0.34, 2.00] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.70  | .38  | .08   | 0.50 [0.23, 1.09] |
| Latino, no college             | .07   | .21  | .73   | 1.08 [0.70, 1.65] |
| Latino, some college           | -.006 | .18  | .97   | 1.00 [0.69, 1.44] |
| Latino, graduates              | -.62  | .27  | .02   | 0.54 [0.31, 0.92] |
| Multiracial, no college        | .27   | .28  | .34   | 1.31 [0.75, 2.29] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .11   | .19  | .59   | 1.11 [0.76, 1.62] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.50  | .31  | .12   | 0.61 [0.33, 1.13] |

Table 14. Regression results for No Career Goals, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]            |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|--------------------|
| Intercept                      | -3.21 | 3.11 | .31   |                    |
| Parents' income                | .12   | .08  | .14   |                    |
| Parents' education             | .06   | .05  | .21   |                    |
| Age                            | .001  | .04  | .98   |                    |
| White, no college              | 1.38  | .24  | <.001 | 3.98 [2.46, 6.45]  |
| White, some college            | .69   | .20  | .001  | 1.99 [1.34, 2.95]  |
| African American, no college   | 1.53  | .29  | <.001 | 4.63 [2.54, 8.43]  |
| African American, some college | .32   | .27  | .23   | 1.38 [0.82, 2.32]  |
| African American, graduates    | -1.14 | .55  | .04   | 0.32 [0.11, 0.95]  |
| Asian American, some college   | .75   | .66  | .26   | 2.12 [0.57, 7.90]  |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.59  | 1.12 | .61   | 0.56 [0.05, 5.75]  |
| Latino, no college             | 1.08  | .32  | .001  | 2.96 [1.58, 5.54]  |
| Latino, some college           | -.17  | .45  | .71   | 0.85 [0.34, 2.11]  |
| Latino, graduates              | <.001 | .56  | 1.00  | 1.00 [0.33, 3.06]  |
| Multiracial, no college        | 1.73  | .36  | <.001 | 5.61 [2.74, 11.50] |
| Multiracial, some college      | 1.11  | .35  | .002  | 3.04 [1.53, 6.02]  |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.95  | 1.11 | .40   | 0.39 [0.04, 3.57]  |

*Table 15.* Regression results for No Career Goals, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 5.70  | 2.48 | .03   |                   |
| Parents' income                | .12   | .08  | .14   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .06   | .05  | .21   |                   |
| Age                            | .001  | .04  | .98   |                   |
| White, no college              | .67   | .16  | <.001 | 2.01 [1.48, 2.72] |
| White, graduates               | -.69  | .20  | .001  | 0.50 [0.34, 0.75] |
| African American, no college   | .85   | .22  | .001  | 2.33 [1.49, 3.65] |
| African American, some college | -.37  | .23  | .11   | 0.69 [0.44, 1.09] |
| African American, graduates    | -1.83 | .52  | .001  | 0.16 [0.06, 0.45] |
| Asian American, some college   | .06   | .64  | .92   | 1.07 [0.29, 3.86] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -1.27 | 1.12 | .27   | 0.28 [0.03, 2.96] |
| Latino, no college             | .40   | .29  | .17   | 1.49 [0.84, 2.64] |
| Latino, some college           | -.85  | .40  | .04   | 0.43 [0.19, 0.95] |
| Latino, graduates              | -.69  | .53  | .20   | 0.50 [0.18, 1.44] |
| Multiracial, no college        | 1.04  | .31  | .001  | 2.83 [1.53, 5.22] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .43   | .31  | .17   | 1.53 [0.84, 2.80] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -1.63 | 1.08 | .13   | 0.20 [0.02, 1.66] |

Table 16. Regression results for Marriage, Wave 3. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b    | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 7.64 | 1.72 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | .19  | .11  | .12   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .10  | .04  | .03   |                   |
| Age                            | -.37 | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | .89  | .16  | <.001 | 2.44 [1.78, 3.34] |
| White, some college            | .77  | .12  | <.001 | 2.16 [1.71, 2.74] |
| African American, no college   | -.59 | .22  | .008  | 0.56 [0.36, 0.85] |
| African American, some college | -.21 | .24  | .40   | 0.81 [0.48, 1.38] |
| African American, graduates    | -.74 | .21  | .001  | 0.18 [0.06, 0.50] |
| Asian American, some college   | .28  | .41  | .50   | 1.32 [0.59, 2.92] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.95 | .53  | .08   | 0.39 [0.13, 1.14] |
| Latino, no college             | .73  | .21  | .001  | 2.08 [1.37, 3.16] |
| Latino, some college           | .58  | .22  | .02   | 1.78 [1.13, 2.81] |
| Latino, graduates              | .04  | .29  | .89   | 1.04 [0.59, 1.85] |
| Multiracial, no college        | .94  | .30  | .002  | 2.57 [1.41, 4.65] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .29  | .30  | .34   | 1.33 [0.74, 2.41] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.77 | .56  | .18   | 0.46 [0.15, 1.44] |

Table 17. Regression results for Marriage, Wave 3. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 17.65 | 1.57 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | .19   | .11  | .12   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .10   | .04  | .03   |                   |
| Age                            | -.37  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | .12   | .15  | .42   | 1.13 [0.83, 1.54] |
| White, graduates               | -.77  | .12  | <.001 | 0.46 [0.37, 0.59] |
| African American, no college   | -1.36 | .19  | <.001 | 0.26 [0.18, 0.38] |
| African American, some college | -.98  | .25  | .003  | 0.38 [0.22, 0.66] |
| African American, graduates    | -1.51 | .29  | <.001 | 0.22 [0.12, 0.40] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.50  | .41  | .22   | 0.61 [0.28, 1.35] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -1.72 | .52  | .001  | 0.18 [0.06, 0.50] |
| Latino, no college             | -.04  | .19  | .85   | 0.96 [0.66, 1.40] |
| Latino, some college           | -.19  | .22  | .39   | 0.82 [0.51, 1.32] |
| Latino, graduates              | -.73  | .28  | .01   | 0.48 [0.28, 0.84] |
| Multiracial, no college        | .17   | .29  | .56   | 1.19 [0.66, 2.14] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -.49  | .28  | .08   | 0.62 [0.36, 1.07] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -1.54 | .56  | .008  | 0.22 [0.07, 0.66] |

*Table 18.* Regression results for Desire for Marriage, Wave 3. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b    | SE  | p     | D    |
|--------------------------------|------|-----|-------|------|
| Intercept                      | 0    |     |       |      |
| Parents' income                | .16  | .05 | .001  |      |
| Parents' education             | .04  | .02 | .11   |      |
| Age                            | -.17 | .02 | <.001 |      |
| White, no college              | .53  | .12 | <.001 | .39  |
| White, some college            | .42  | .09 | <.001 | .30  |
| African American, no college   | .20  | .15 | .19   | .14  |
| African American, some college | .23  | .12 | .06   | .17  |
| African American, graduates    | .11  | .13 | .40   | .08  |
| Asian American, some college   | .03  | .32 | .93   | .02  |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.12 | .23 | .62   | -.09 |
| Latino, no college             | .17  | .22 | .44   | .13  |
| Latino, some college           | .23  | .17 | .20   | .17  |
| Latino, graduates              | -.16 | .21 | .44   | -.13 |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.13 | .31 | .69   | -.10 |
| Multiracial, some college      | .59  | .23 | .01   | .43  |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.22 | .25 | .38   | -.17 |

*Table 19.* Regression results for Desire for Marriage, Wave 3. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b    | SE  | p     | D    |
|--------------------------------|------|-----|-------|------|
| Intercept                      | 0    |     |       |      |
| Parents' income                | .16  | .05 | .001  |      |
| Parents' education             | .04  | .02 | .11   |      |
| Age                            | -.17 | .02 | <.001 |      |
| White, no college              | .10  | .11 | .35   | .07  |
| White, graduates               | -.42 | .09 | <.001 | -.30 |
| African American, no college   | -.22 | .15 | .13   | -.15 |
| African American, some college | -.19 | .12 | .10   | -.13 |
| African American, graduates    | -.31 | .13 | .02   | -.22 |
| Asian American, some college   | -.39 | .32 | .22   | -.28 |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.54 | .24 | .02   | -.38 |
| Latino, no college             | -.25 | .21 | .24   | -.18 |
| Latino, some college           | -.20 | .17 | .24   | -.14 |
| Latino, graduates              | -.59 | .21 | .005  | -.45 |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.55 | .31 | .08   | -.42 |
| Multiracial, some college      | .16  | .22 | .46   | .11  |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.65 | .25 | .01   | -.47 |

Table 20. Regression results for Parenthood, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | -4.08 | 1.21 | .001  |                   |
| Parents' income                | .16   | .05  | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' education             | .17   | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| Age                            | -.18  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | 1.09  | .11  | <.001 | 2.98 [2.42, 3.67] |
| White, some college            | 1.01  | .09  | <.001 | 2.76 [2.31, 3.28] |
| African American, no college   | 1.12  | .15  | <.001 | 3.08 [2.29, 4.13] |
| African American, some college | 1.49  | .12  | <.001 | 4.44 [3.49, 5.67] |
| African American, graduates    | .43   | .14  | .003  | 1.53 [1.17, 2.01] |
| Asian American, some college   | .17   | .33  | .60   | 1.19 [0.62, 2.26] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.51  | .37  | .19   | 0.60 [0.27, 1.31] |
| Latino, no college             | .89   | .19  | <.001 | 2.43 [1.65, 3.56] |
| Latino, some college           | .75   | .16  | <.001 | 2.11 [1.54, 2.90] |
| Latino, graduates              | -.12  | .24  | .63   | 0.89 [0.55, 1.43] |
| Multiracial, no college        | 1.47  | .27  | <.001 | 4.34 [2.56, 7.39] |
| Multiracial, some college      | 1.07  | .21  | <.001 | 2.92 [1.94, 4.41] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.16  | .29  | .59   | 0.86 [0.48, 1.52] |



Table 21. Regression results for Parenthood, Wave 4. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 9.10  | 1.10 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | .16   | .05  | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' education             | .17   | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| Age                            | -.18  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | .08   | .09  | .41   | 1.08 [0.90, 1.30] |
| White, graduates               | -1.01 | .09  | <.001 | 0.36 [0.31, 0.43] |
| African American, no college   | .11   | .15  | .45   | 1.12 [0.84, 1.49] |
| African American, some college | .48   | .11  | <.001 | 1.61 [1.28, 2.03] |
| African American, graduates    | -.59  | .15  | <.001 | 0.56 [0.41, 0.75] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.84  | .33  | .01   | 0.43 [0.23, 0.83] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -1.53 | .37  | .001  | 0.22 [0.10, 0.47] |
| Latino, no college             | -.13  | .19  | .50   | 0.88 [0.61, 1.27] |
| Latino, some college           | -.27  | .15  | .08   | 0.77 [0.57, 1.03] |
| Latino, graduates              | -1.13 | .22  | <.001 | 0.32 [0.21, 0.50] |
| Multiracial, no college        | .46   | .26  | .08   | 1.58 [0.94, 2.63] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .06   | .20  | .77   | 1.06 [0.72, 1.57] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -1.17 | .28  | <.001 | 0.31 [0.18, 0.54] |

Table 22. Regression results for fitting Emerging Adulthood profile. Reference group is White graduates.

|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | -2.31 | 1.64 | .17   |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.11  | .09  | .23   |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.09  | .04  | .02   |                   |
| Age, wave 3                    | .29   | .03  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | -.64  | .20  | .003  | 0.53 [0.35, 0.79] |
| White, some college            | -.41  | .12  | .001  | 0.66 [0.53, 0.84] |
| African American, no college   | -.41  | .23  | .08   | 0.66 [0.42, 1.05] |
| African American, some college | -.48  | .18  | .01   | 0.62 [0.43, 0.89] |
| African American, graduates    | .39   | .17  | .03   | 1.47 [1.04, 2.07] |
| Asian American, some college   | .36   | .53  | .51   | 1.43 [0.45, 4.60] |
| Asian American, graduates      | .30   | .32  | .36   | 1.35 [0.70, 2.58] |
| Latino, no college             | -.80  | .39  | .05   | 0.45 [0.20, 1.01] |
| Latino, some college           | -.03  | .30  | .92   | 0.97 [0.51, 1.85] |
| Latino, graduates              | .23   | .33  | .49   | 1.26 [0.64, 2.49] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.48  | .38  | .21   | 0.62 [0.29, 1.31] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -.10  | .33  | .77   | 0.91 [0.46, 1.79] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | .62   | .29  | .04   | 1.85 [1.04, 3.30] |

Table 23. Regression results for fitting Emerging Adulthood profile. Reference group is White, some college.

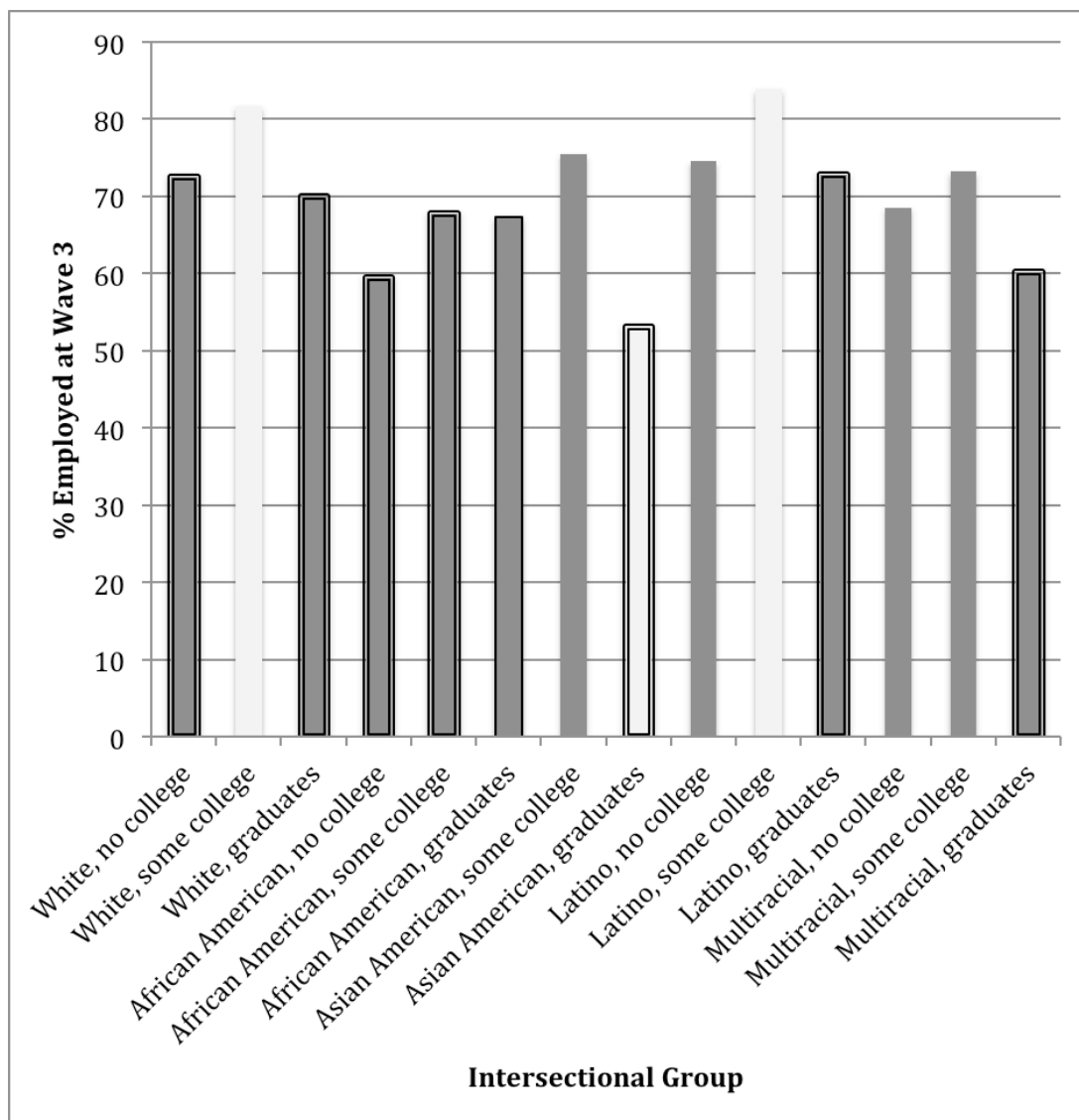
|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | -7.64 | 1.97 | .002  |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.11  | .09  | .23   |                   |
| Parents' education             | -.10  | .04  | .02   |                   |
| Age, wave 3                    | .29   | .03  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | -.23  | .20  | .25   | 0.79 [0.53, 1.19] |
| White, graduates               | .41   | .12  | .001  | 1.51 [1.20, 1.90] |
| African American, no college   | -.002 | .23  | .99   | 1.00 [0.63, 2.58] |
| African American, some college | -.08  | .19  | .69   | 0.93 [0.63, 1.37] |
| African American, graduates    | .80   | .19  | <.001 | 2.22 [1.49, 3.31] |
| Asian American, some college   | .77   | .55  | .19   | 2.16 [0.63, 7.39] |
| Asian American, graduates      | .71   | .33  | .04   | 2.01 [1.03, 4.01] |
| Latino, no college             | -.39  | .40  | .34   | 0.68 [0.30, 1.55] |
| Latino, some college           | .38   | .31  | .24   | 1.46 [0.75, 2.86] |
| Latino, graduates              | .64   | .34  | .08   | 1.90 [0.93, 3.87] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.07  | .37  | .85   | 0.93 [0.45, 1.94] |
| Multiracial, some college      | .31   | .34  | .37   | 1.37 [0.68, 2.76] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | 1.03  | .30  | .001  | 2.79 [1.53, 5.08] |

Table 24. Regression results for fitting Adulthood profile. Reference group is White graduates.

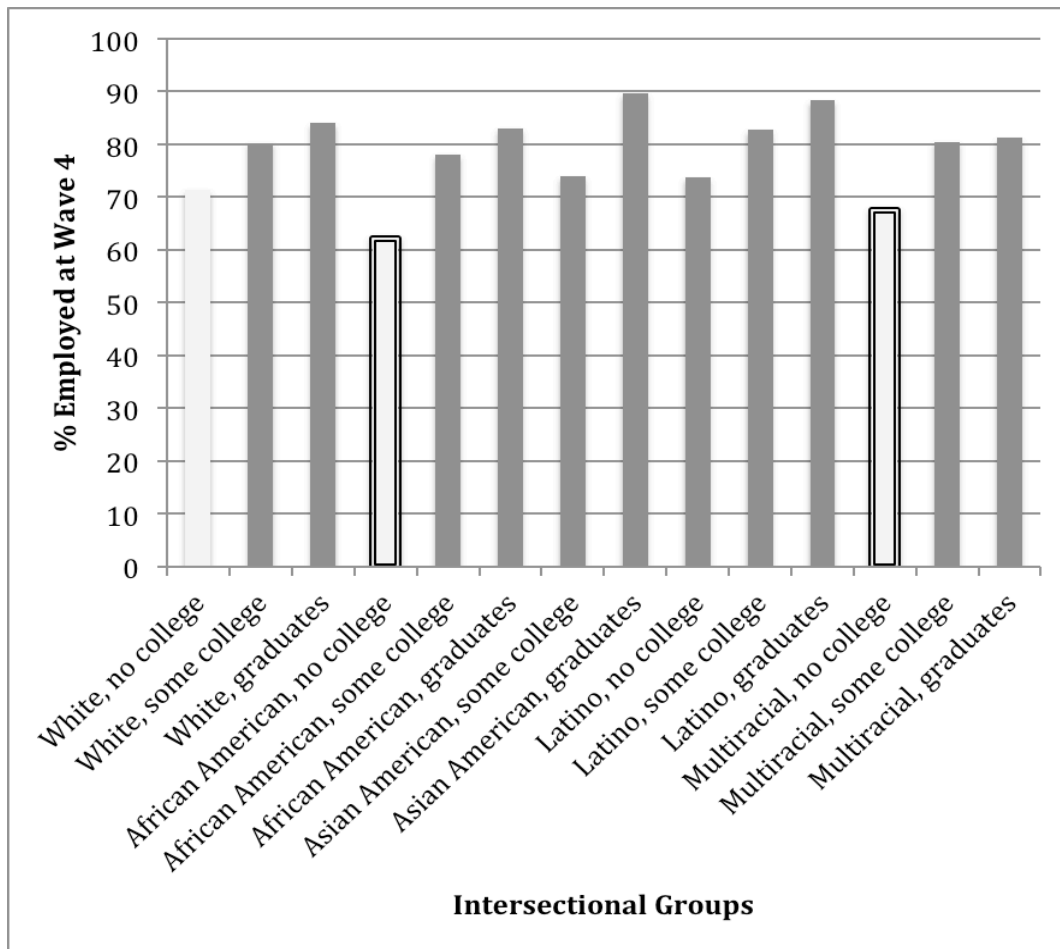
|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 9.74  | 1.60 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.07  | .08  | .39   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .06   | .04  | .19   |                   |
| Age                            | -.20  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | .12   | .15  | .41   | 1.13 [0.85, 1.51] |
| White, some college            | .32   | .14  | .03   | 1.37 [1.03, 1.82] |
| African American, no college   | -.76  | .24  | .002  | 0.47 [0.29, 0.75] |
| African American, some college | -.004 | .19  | .98   | 1.00 [0.70, 1.46] |
| African American, graduates    | -.19  | .21  | .36   | 0.83 [0.55, 1.25] |
| Asian American, some college   | .04   | .43  | .92   | 1.05 [0.45, 2.44] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.45  | .44  | .31   | 0.64 [0.26, 1.55] |
| Latino, no college             | .39   | .29  | .20   | 1.47 [0.80, 2.70] |
| Latino, some college           | -.16  | .21  | .46   | 0.86 [0.57, 1.29] |
| Latino, graduates              | .01   | .33  | .98   | 1.01 [0.51, 1.99] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.66  | .49  | .18   | 0.52 [0.20, 1.38] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -.08  | .29  | .78   | 0.92 [0.51, 1.65] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -.76  | .51  | .14   | 0.47 [0.17, 1.30] |

*Table 25.* Regression results for fitting Adulthood profile. Reference group is White, some college.

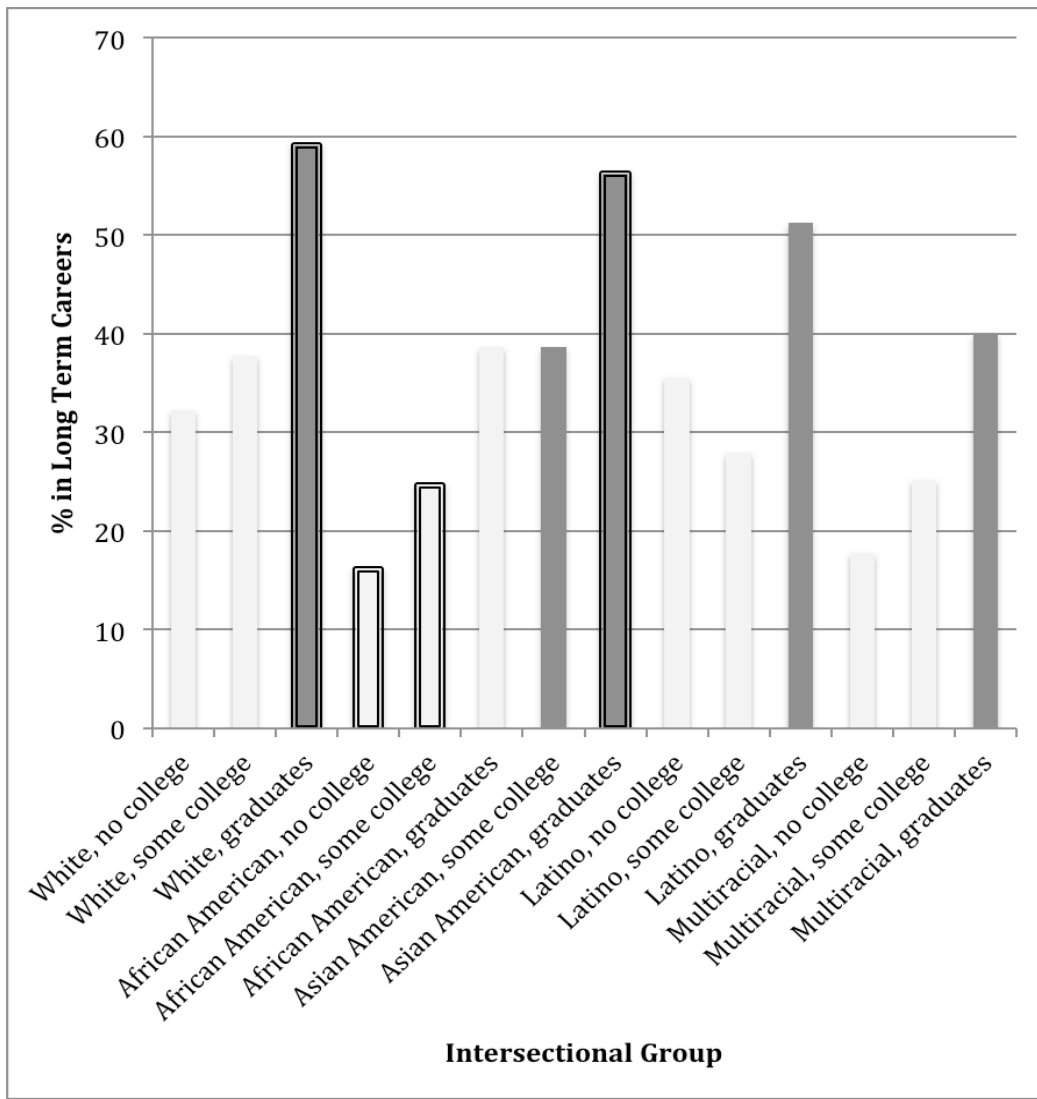
|                                | b     | SE   | p     | OR [CI]           |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------|
| Intercept                      | 13.85 | 1.62 | <.001 |                   |
| Parents' income                | -.07  | .08  | .39   |                   |
| Parents' education             | .06   | .04  | .19   |                   |
| Age                            | -.20  | .02  | <.001 |                   |
| White, no college              | -.20  | .13  | .15   | 0.82 [0.63, 1.07] |
| White, graduates               | -.32  | .14  | .03   | 0.73 [0.55, 0.97] |
| African American, no college   | -1.07 | .21  | <.001 | 0.34 [0.23, 0.52] |
| African American, some college | -.32  | .17  | .07   | 0.73 [0.51, 1.03] |
| African American, graduates    | -.51  | .18  | .005  | 0.60 [0.42, 0.86] |
| Asian American, some college   | -.27  | .46  | .56   | 0.76 [0.30, 1.95] |
| Asian American, graduates      | -.77  | .40  | .06   | 0.46 [0.21, 1.04] |
| Latino, no college             | .07   | .27  | .81   | 1.07 [0.60, 1.92] |
| Latino, some college           | -.47  | .20  | .02   | 0.62 [0.43, 0.92] |
| Latino, graduates              | -.31  | .34  | .38   | 0.74 [0.37, 1.48] |
| Multiracial, no college        | -.97  | .51  | .07   | 0.38 [0.13, 1.08] |
| Multiracial, some college      | -.40  | .27  | .14   | 0.67 [0.40, 1.14] |
| Multiracial, graduates         | -1.07 | .47  | .03   | 0.34 [0.13, 0.87] |



*Figure 1.* Percentage of participants who are employed, Wave 3. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.

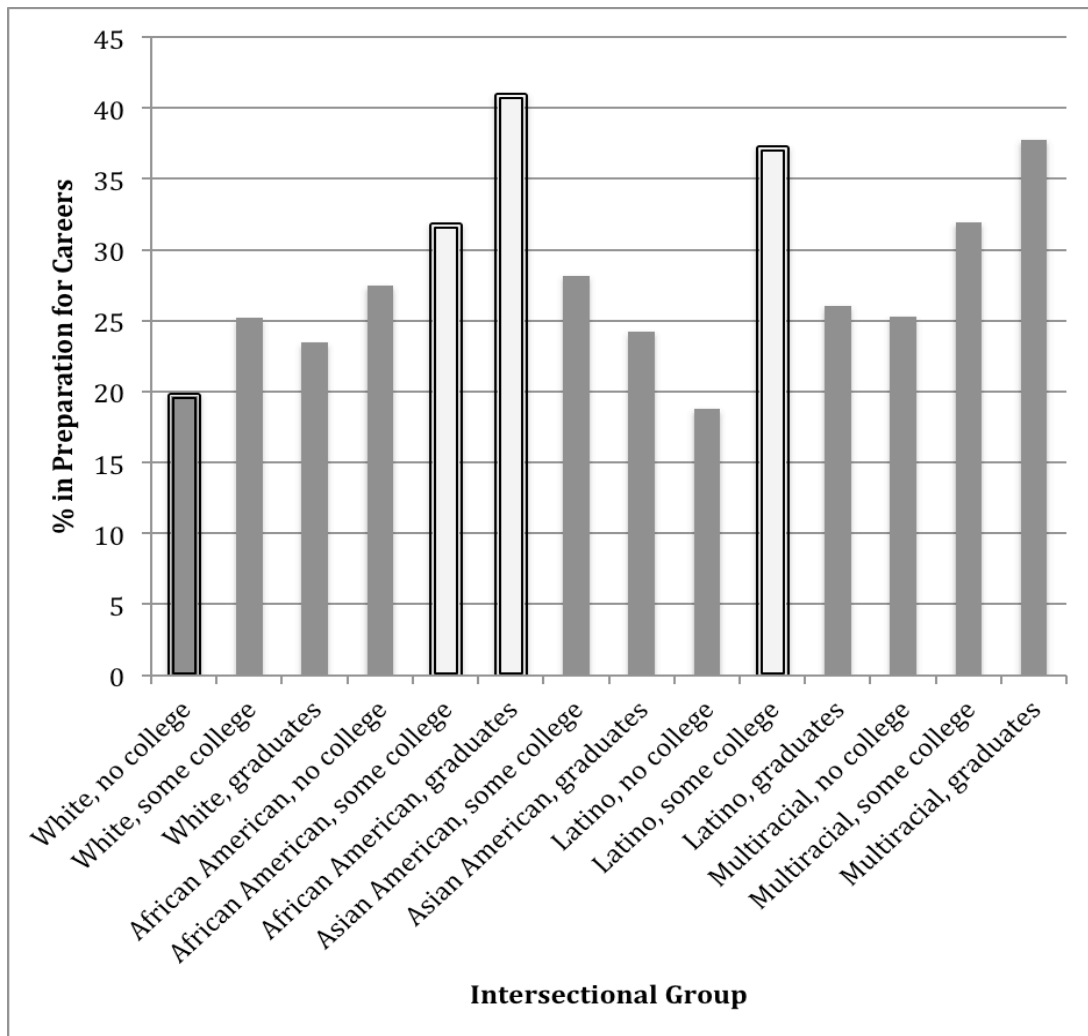


*Figure 2.* Percentage of participants who are employed, Wave 4. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.

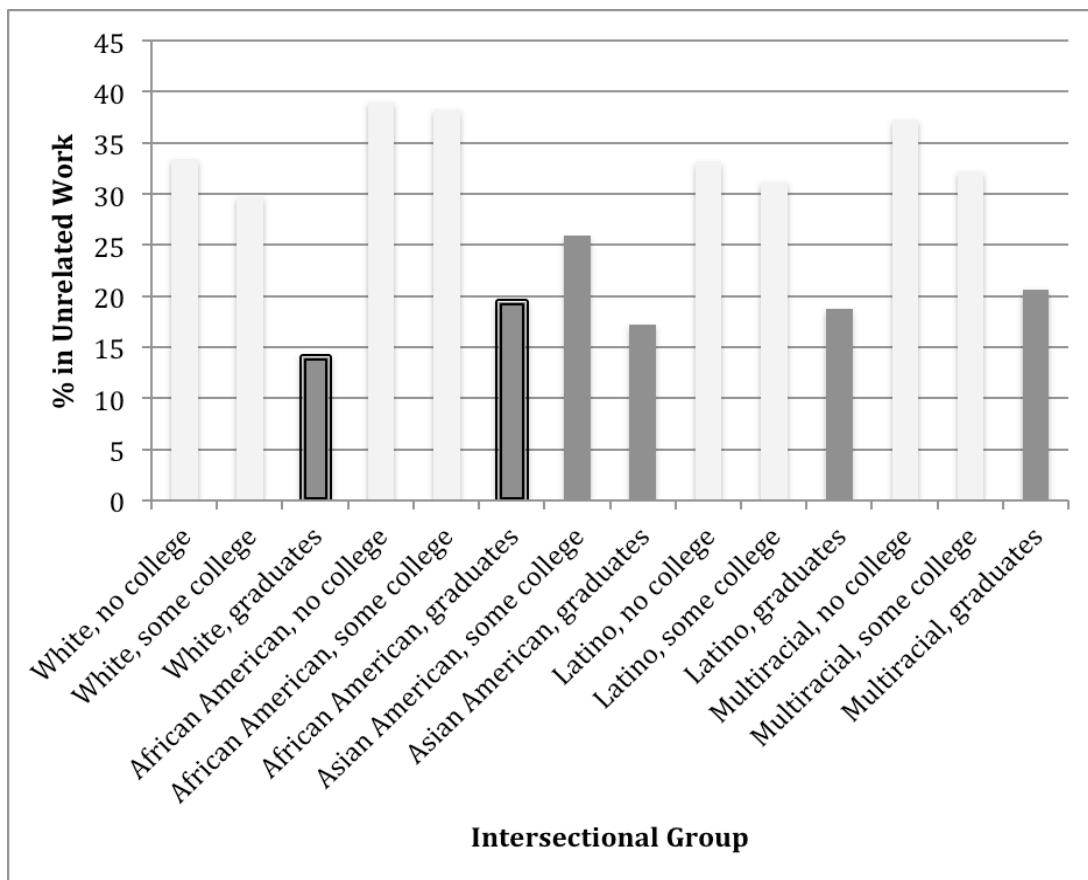


*Figure 3.* Percentage of participants who feel their job is part of their long-term career or work goals at Wave 4. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.





*Figure 4.* Percentage of participants who feel their job is preparation for their long-term career or work goals at Wave 4. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.



*Figure 5.* Percentage of participants who feel their job is unrelated to their long-term career or work goals at Wave 4. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.

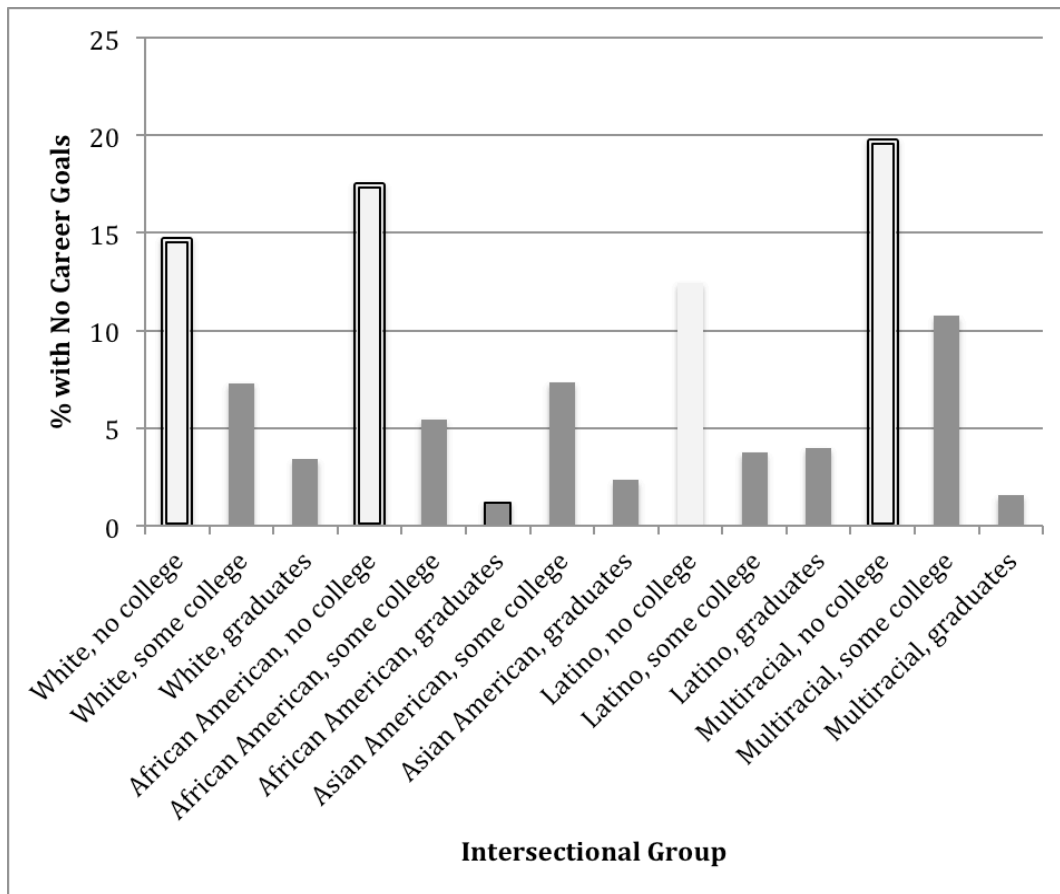
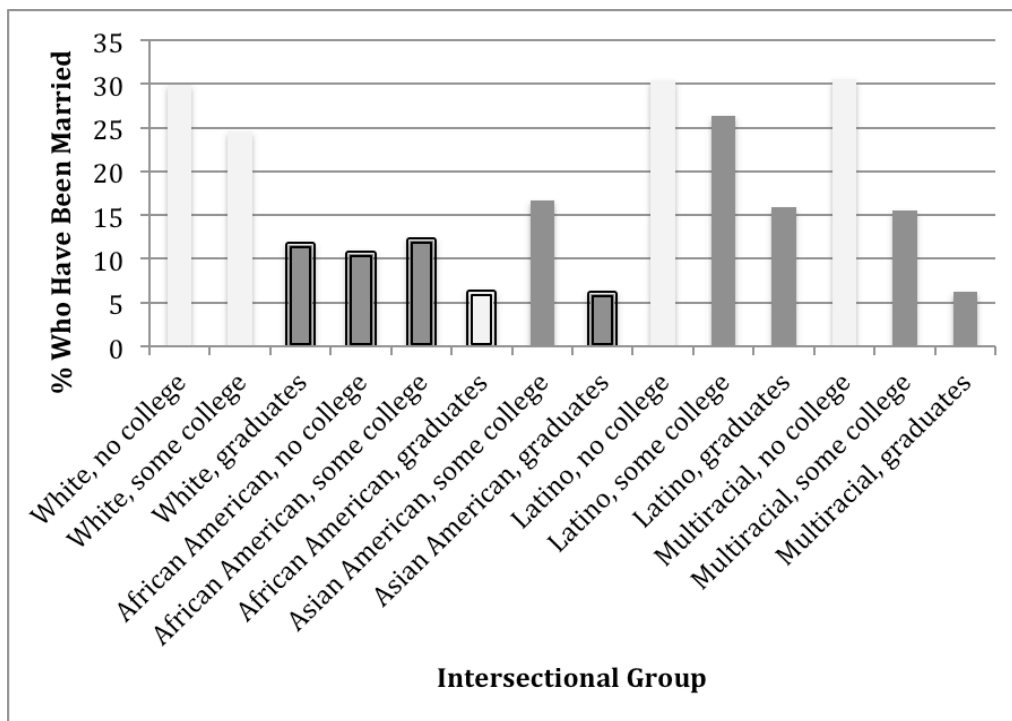


Figure 6. Percentage of participants who have no long-term career goals at Wave 4.

Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.



*Figure 7.* Percentage of participants who have been married by Wave 3. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.

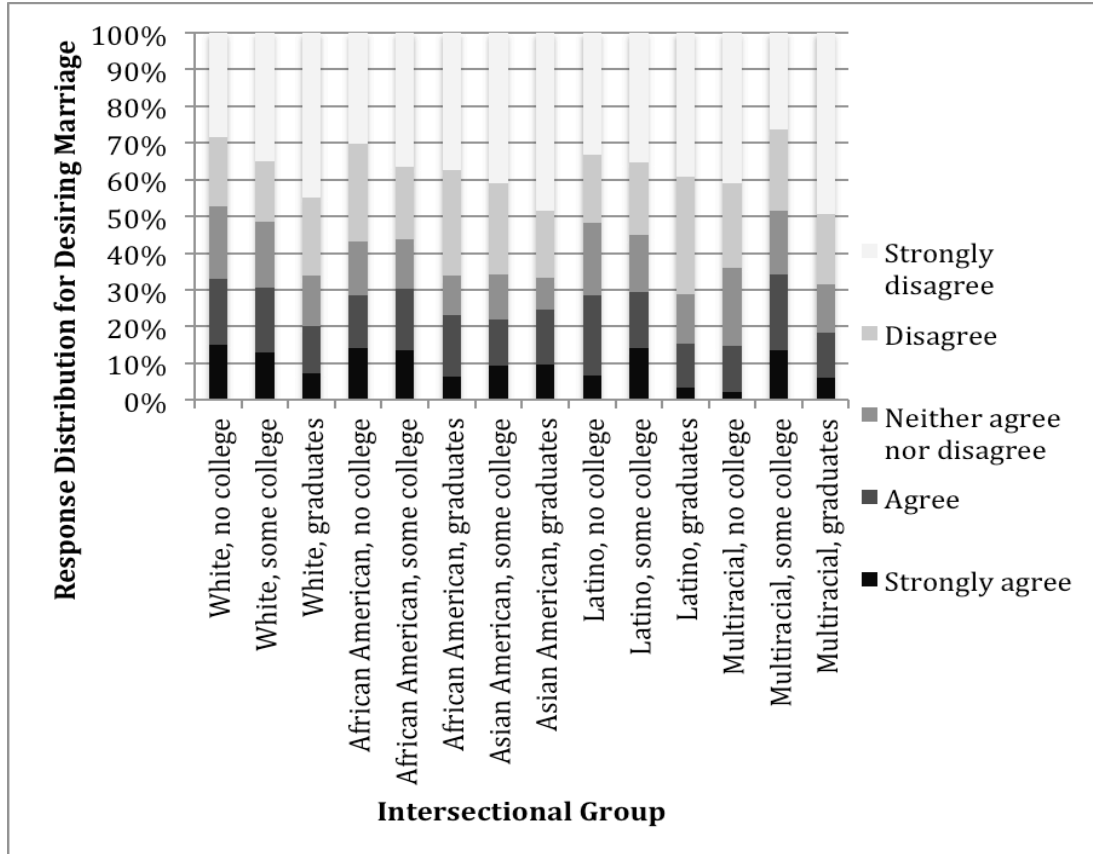
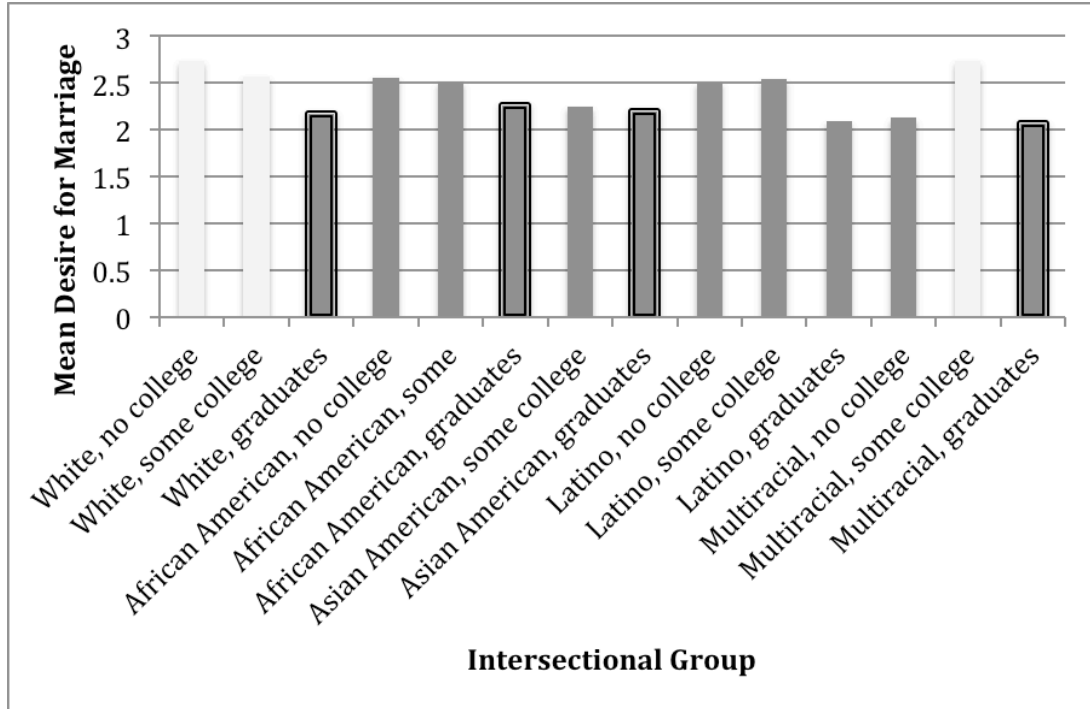
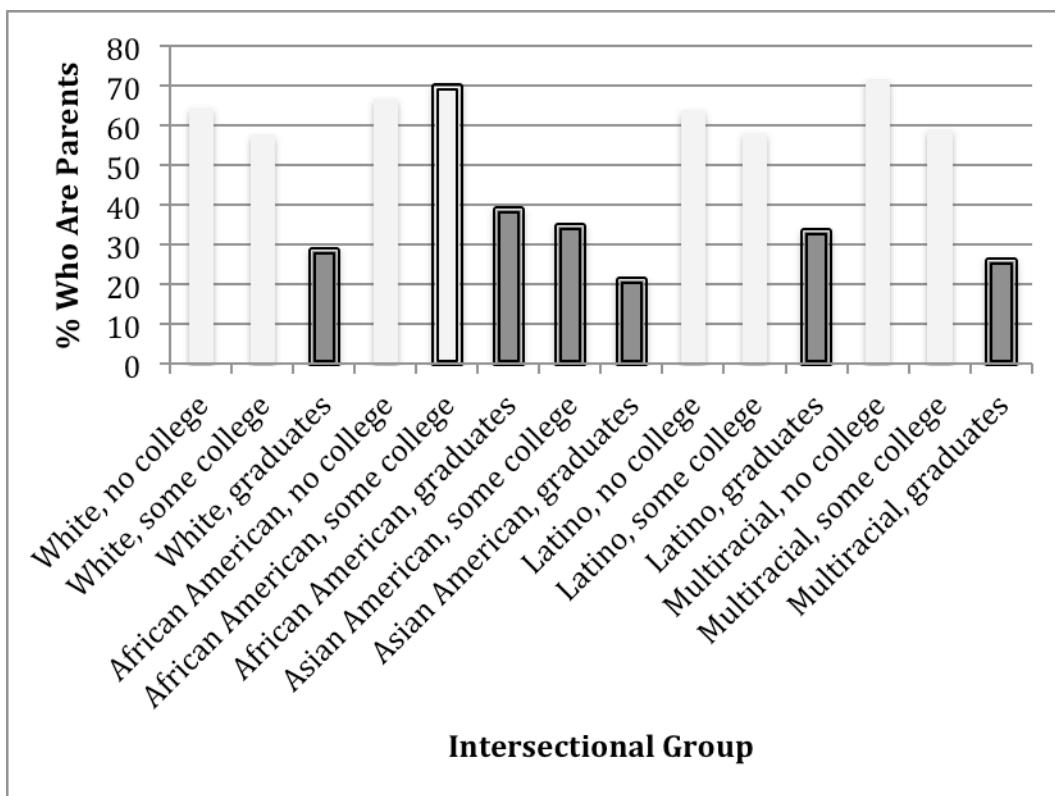


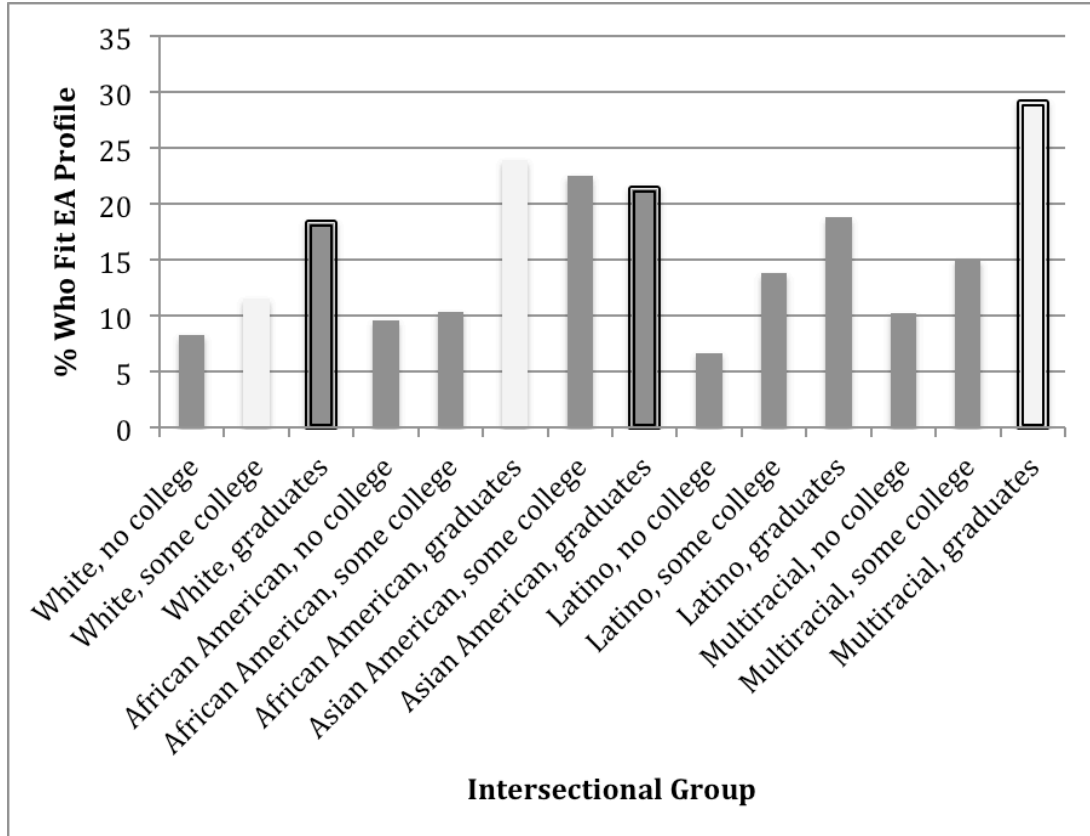
Figure 8. Unmarried participants' degree of agreement with the statement, "I would like to be married now" at Wave 3.



*Figure 9.* Mean scores for Desire for Marriage for each group, Wave 3. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.

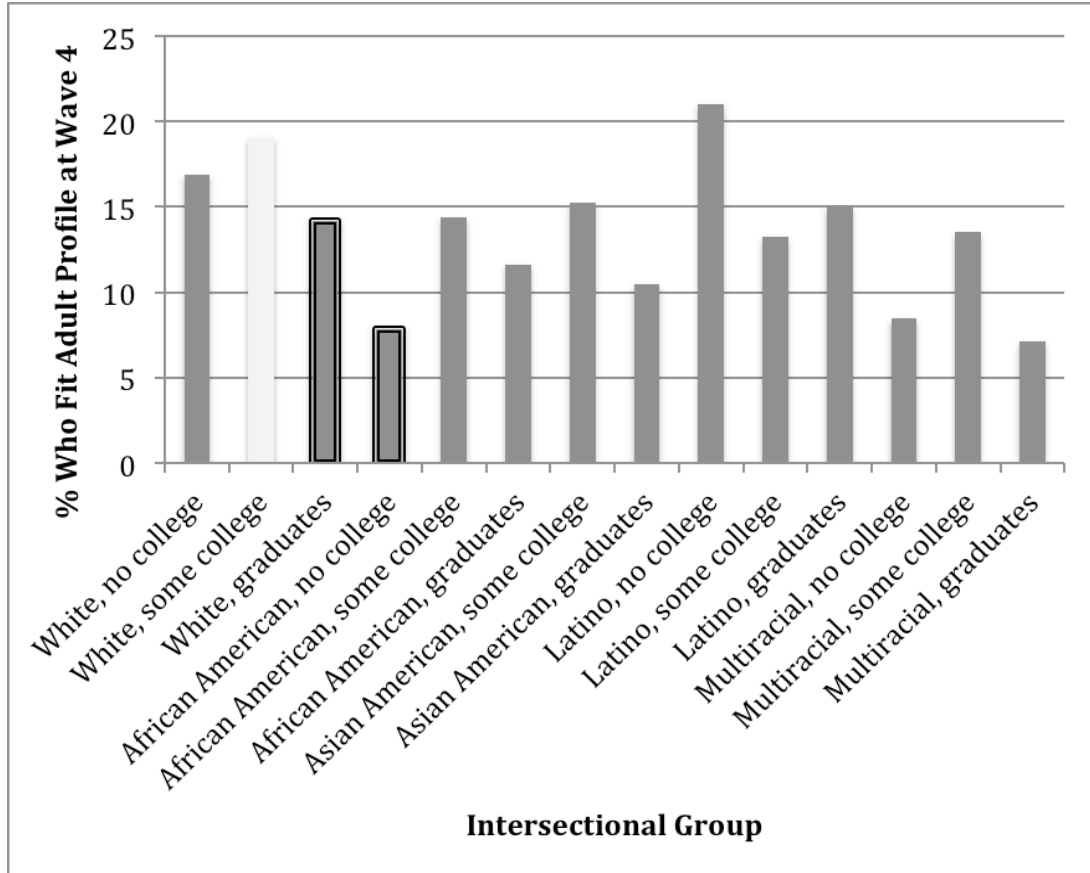


*Figure 10.* Percentage of participants who are parents at Wave 4. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.



*Figure 11.* Percentage of participants who fit the Emerging Adulthood profile. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.





*Figure 12.* Percentage of participants who fit the Adulthood profile. Groups that are significantly different from White Graduates across all analysis approaches are highlighted in light gray; groups that are significantly different from White Some College across all analysis approaches are outlined in black.

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## Appendix A

Several sensitivity analyses were conducted to ensure results were robust across analytic decisions. First, analyses were run using multiple imputation to adjust for missing values, and including participant's age, parents' education level, and parents' income as covariates to control for these variables. These analyses are reported in the main document of this paper (effect sizes are copied here). Next, the same analyses were run but excluding participants' age, parents' education level, and parents' income as control variables. Finally, analyses without multiple imputation, but with design weights and clustering variables, were run to ensure that results are robust when the data are weighted to represent a national sample.

In this appendix, effect sizes for these sensitivity analyses are reported. Effect sizes marked with an asterisk (\*) are significantly different from the effect size for analyses using multiple imputation. In most cases, these discrepancies are either a) limited to groups with smaller sample sizes (e.g., Asian American some college, Asian American graduates, Latino no college, Latino graduates, and all Multiracial groups), or b) cases with confidence intervals that border on significance in one analysis, but just miss it in another.

Table 26. Odds ratios for Employment, Wave 3, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | Multiple Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college              | 1.03 [0.79, 1.35]   | 1.16 [0.83, 1.62]           | 1.13 [0.91, 1.41]     |
| White, some college            | 1.84 [1.49, 2.28]   | 1.78 [1.35, 2.35]           | 1.91 [1.60, 2.28]     |
| African American, no college   | 0.57 [0.41, 0.78]   | 0.52 [0.32, 0.85]           | 0.63 [0.48, 0.83]     |
| African American, some college | 0.86 [0.61, 1.20]   | 0.75 [0.51, 1.09]           | 0.90 [0.68, 1.19]     |
| African American, graduates    | 0.89 [0.63, 1.25]   | 1.05 [0.70, 1.60]           | 0.88 [0.62, 1.26]     |
| Asian American, some college   | 1.33 [0.41, 4.32]   | 2.64 [0.79, 8.82]           | 1.35 [0.43, 4.24]     |
| Asian American, graduates      | 0.45 [0.27, 0.73]   | 0.51 [0.27, 0.96]           | 0.48 [0.29, 0.80]     |
| Latino, no college             | 1.11 [0.70, 1.75]   | 1.27 [0.68, 2.39]           | 1.25 [0.81, 1.93]     |
| Latino, some college           | 2.04 [1.16, 3.56]   | 2.42 [1.39, 4.23]           | 2.25 [1.41, 3.59]     |
| Latino, graduates              | 1.06 [0.64, 1.76]   | 0.73 [0.38, 1.41]           | 1.15 [0.73, 1.82]     |
| Multiracial, no college        | 0.89 [0.48, 1.65]   | 1.01 [0.44, 2.34]           | 0.94 [0.51, 1.70]     |
| Multiracial, some college      | 1.13 [0.66, 1.93]   | 1.79 [0.94, 3.42]           | 1.17 [0.70, 1.97]     |
| Multiracial, graduates         | .67 [0.40, 1.13]    | 0.84 [0.44, 1.63]           | 0.65 [0.39, 1.07]     |

Table 27. Odds ratios for Employment, Wave 3, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | 0.56 [0.45, 0.70]      | 0.65 [0.47, 0.91]           | 0.59 [0.48, 0.74]     |
| White, graduates                  | 0.54 [0.44, 0.67]      | 0.56 [0.43, 0.74]           | 0.52 [0.44, 0.63]     |
| African American, no<br>college   | 0.31 [0.23, 0.42]      | 0.29 [0.18, 0.47]           | 0.33 [0.25, 0.44]     |
| African American,<br>some college | 0.47 [0.34, 0.64]      | 0.42 [0.29, 0.61]           | 0.47 [0.35, 0.63]     |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.48 [0.33, 0.71]      | 0.59 [0.38, 0.91]           | 0.46 [0.32, 0.67]     |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 0.72 [0.21, 2.46]      | 1.48 [0.44, 4.96]           | 0.71 [0.22, 2.30]     |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.24 [0.15, 0.39]      | 0.29 [0.15, 0.55]           | 0.25 [0.16, 0.41]     |
| Latino, no college                | 0.60 [0.38, 0.95]      | 0.71 [0.38, 1.33]*          | 0.66 [0.42, 1.04]*    |
| Latino, some college              | 1.11 [0.68, 1.78]      | 1.36 [0.78, 2.36]           | 1.18 [0.76, 1.84]     |
| Latino, graduates                 | 0.58 [0.36, 0.92]      | 0.41 [0.21, 0.79]           | 0.60 [0.39, 0.94]     |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 0.48 [0.27, 0.87]      | 0.57 [0.25, 1.31]*          | 0.49 [0.27, 0.89]     |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 0.61 [0.35, 1.07]      | 1.01 [0.53, 1.92]           | 0.62 [0.36, 1.05]     |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.36 [0.22, 0.60]      | 0.47 [0.24, 0.92]           | 0.34 [0.21, 0.55]     |

Table 28. Odds ratios for Employment, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | Multiple Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college              | 0.53 [0.41, 0.70]   | 0.53 [0.38, 0.75]           | 0.48 [0.37, 0.61]  |
| White, some college            | 1.20 [0.96, 1.50]   | 0.83 [0.61, 1.13]           | 0.78 [0.63, 0.96]* |
| African American, no college   | 0.36 [0.26, 0.49]   | 0.36 [0.23, 0.59]           | 0.31 [0.23, 0.43]  |
| African American, some college | 0.74 [0.54, 1.02]   | 0.69 [0.45, 1.04]           | 0.68 [0.50, 0.91]  |
| African American, graduates    | 0.96 [0.70, 1.30]   | 1.23 [0.71, 2.13]           | 0.93 [0.69, 1.26]  |
| Asian American, some college   | 0.56 [0.23, 1.35]   | 0.61 [0.18, 2.00]           | 0.55 [0.23, 1.28]  |
| Asian American, graduates      | 1.67 [0.66, 4.27]   | 1.20 [0.35, 4.19]           | 1.70 [0.67, 4.30]  |
| Latino, no college             | 0.64 [0.40, 1.01]   | 0.63 [0.34, 1.14]           | 0.54 [0.35, 0.83]  |
| Latino, some college           | 1.05 [0.62, 1.78]   | 1.14 [0.63, 2.05]           | 0.91 [0.58, 1.43]  |
| Latino, graduates              | 1.57 [0.67, 3.71]   | 2.37 [0.83, 6.78]           | 1.45 [0.65, 3.25]  |
| Multiracial, no college        | 0.46 [0.28, 0.75]   | 0.41 [0.20, 0.84]           | 0.40 [0.24, 0.66]  |
| Multiracial, some college      | 0.84 [0.45, 1.58]   | 1.21 [0.62, 2.39]           | 0.79 [0.40, 1.55]  |
| Multiracial, graduates         | 0.85 [0.44, 1.62]   | 0.82 [0.36, 1.86]           | 0.83 [0.44, 1.57]  |

Table 29. Odds ratios for Employment, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                | Multiple Imputation | Complex Samples Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college              | 0.64 [0.48, 0.86]   | 0.63 [0.47, 0.85]        | 0.61 [0.45, 0.83]  |
| White, graduates               | 1.20 [0.96, 1.50]   | 1.20 [0.88, 1.63]        | 1.29 [1.04, 1.59]  |
| African American, no college   | 0.43 [0.33, 0.56]   | 0.44 [0.28, 0.68]        | 0.40 [0.31, 0.53]  |
| African American, some college | 0.89 [0.66, 1.21]   | 0.82 [0.56, 1.21]        | 0.87 [0.65, 1.17]  |
| African American, graduates    | 1.15 [0.83, 1.59]   | 1.48 [0.87, 2.51]        | 1.19 [0.87, 1.65]  |
| Asian American, some college   | 0.67 [0.27, 1.65]   | 0.73 [0.22, 2.39]        | 0.70 [0.29, 1.70]  |
| Asian American, graduates      | 2.01 [0.76, 5.33]   | 1.44 [0.42, 4.98]        | 2.20 [0.86, 5.60]  |
| Latino, no college             | 0.77 [0.49, 1.21]   | 0.75 [0.43, 1.30]        | 0.69 [0.44, 1.09]  |
| Latino, some college           | 1.27 [0.76, 2.10]   | 1.37 [0.79, 2.37]        | 1.18 [0.73, 1.90]  |
| Latino, graduates              | 1.89 [0.86, 4.14]   | 2.84 [1.00, 8.08]        | 1.87 [0.87, 4.05]  |
| Multiracial, no college        | 0.55 [0.34, 0.89]   | 0.49 [0.25, 0.98]        | 0.51 [0.31, 0.84]  |
| Multiracial, some college      | 1.01 [0.53, 1.93]   | 1.46 [0.76, 2.80]        | 1.02 [0.53, 1.95]  |
| Multiracial, graduates         | 1.02 [0.56, 1.86]   | 0.98 [0.44, 2.20]        | 1.07 [0.59, 1.94]  |

Table 30. Odds ratios for Long-Term Career, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | Multiple Imputation | Complex Samples Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college              | 0.38 [0.31, 0.48]   | 0.40 [0.30, 0.53]        | 0.33 [0.27, 0.39]  |
| White, some college            | 0.46 [0.39, 0.54]   | 0.47 [0.38, 0.59]        | 0.42 [0.36, 0.49]  |
| African American, no college   | 0.17 [0.12, 0.24]   | 0.18 [0.11, 0.31]        | 0.13 [0.10, 0.18]  |
| African American, some college | 0.27 [0.21, 0.35]   | 0.29 [0.21, 0.41]        | 0.23 [0.18, 0.29]  |
| African American, graduates    | 0.48 [0.38, 0.61]   | 0.50 [0.34, 0.73]        | 0.44 [0.35, 0.55]  |
| Asian American, some college   | 0.45 [0.22, 0.94]   | 0.59 [0.25, 1.40]*       | 0.43 [0.22, 0.86]  |
| Asian American, graduates      | 0.90 [0.56, 1.43]   | 1.09 [0.56, 2.13]        | 0.89 [0.56, 1.41]  |
| Latino, no college             | 0.50 [0.31, 0.80]   | 0.60 [0.36, 0.99]        | 0.38 [0.26, 0.57]  |
| Latino, some college           | 0.34 [0.23, 0.49]   | 0.39 [0.25, 0.62]        | 0.27 [0.19, 0.37]  |
| Latino, graduates              | 0.82 [0.56, 1.43]   | 0.71 [0.41, 1.25]        | 0.73 [0.50, 1.06]  |
| Multiracial, no college        | 0.18 [0.09, 0.36]   | 0.10 [0.04, 0.24]        | 0.15 [0.08, 0.29]  |
| Multiracial, some college      | 0.26 [0.17, 0.39]   | 0.35 [0.21, 0.59]        | 0.23 [0.15, 0.35]  |
| Multiracial, graduates         | 0.50 [0.27, 0.91]   | 0.65 [0.35, 1.24]*       | 0.46 [0.25, 0.83]  |



*Table 31.* Odds ratios for Long-Term Career, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 0.84 [0.70, 1.02]      | 0.85 [0.65, 1.10]           | 0.79 [0.65, 0.94]* |
| White, graduates                  | 2.17 [1.84, 2.55]      | 2.12 [1.70, 2.64]           | 2.39 [2.05, 2.78]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 0.37 [0.26, 0.52]      | 0.39 [0.23, 0.65]           | 0.32 [0.23, 0.44]  |
| African American,<br>some college | 0.59 [0.47, 0.75]      | 0.62 [0.44, 0.86]           | 0.54 [0.43, 0.67]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 1.04 [0.82, 1.31]      | 1.05 [0.72, 1.54]           | 1.04 [0.83, 1.30]  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 0.98 [0.47, 2.05]      | 1.26 [0.53, 2.97]           | 1.04 [0.52, 2.05]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 1.94 [1.21, 3.10]      | 2.31 [1.18, 4.52]           | 2.12 [1.34, 3.35]  |
| Latino, no college                | 1.08 [0.70, 1.68]      | 1.26 [0.78, 2.06]           | 0.91 [0.61, 1.34]  |
| Latino, some college              | 0.73 [0.52, 1.04]      | 0.83 [0.54, 1.28]           | 0.64 [0.46, 0.89]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.78 [1.21, 2.63]      | 1.51 [0.87, 2.62]*          | 1.73 [1.18, 2.53]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 0.40 [0.20, 0.80]      | 0.20 [0.08, 0.50]           | 0.36 [0.18, 0.71]  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 0.56 [0.37, 0.84]      | 0.73 [0.44, 1.23]*          | 0.55 [0.37, 0.84]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 1.08 [0.58, 1.99]      | 1.38 [0.73, 2.62]           | 1.10 [0.61, 2.01]  |

Table 32. Odds ratios for Preparation for Career, Wave 4, by analysis method.  
Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 0.76 [0.58, 1.01]      | 0.81 [0.58, 1.12]           | 0.80 [0.63, 1.02]  |
| White, some college               | 1.07 [0.84, 1.36]      | 1.10 [0.86, 1.41]           | 1.10 [0.89, 1.36]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 1.14 [0.77, 1.69]      | 1.10 [0.67, 1.76]           | 1.23 [0.88, 1.73]  |
| African American,<br>some college | 1.43 [1.13, 1.81]      | 1.56 [1.10, 2.21]           | 1.51 [1.21, 1.90]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 2.19 [1.66, 2.88]      | 2.56 [1.71, 3.84]           | 2.25 [1.74, 2.91]  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 1.26 [0.60, 2.64]      | 1.37 [0.55, 3.43]           | 1.27 [0.60, 2.67]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 1.05 [0.57, 1.94]      | 1.16 [0.57, 2.37]           | 1.05 [0.56, 1.94]  |
| Latino, no college                | 0.69 [0.44, 1.09]      | 0.60 [0.33, 1.11]           | 0.75 [0.48, 1.18]  |
| Latino, some college              | 1.81 [1.29, 2.53]      | 1.61 [1.04, 2.49]           | 1.93 [1.41, 2.63]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.11 [0.66, 1.88]      | 1.23 [0.62, 2.43]           | 1.15 [0.69, 1.92]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 1.03 [0.55, 1.93]      | 1.58 [0.77, 3.24]           | 1.10 [0.61, 1.98]  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 1.49 [0.99, 2.24]      | 1.28 [0.75, 2.21]           | 1.53 [1.03, 2.28]* |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 1.91 [1.14, 3.20]      | 1.27 [0.65, 2.46]*          | 1.97 [1.17, 3.31]  |

Table 33. Odds ratios for Preparation for Career, Wave 4, by analysis method.  
Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 0.72 [0.57, 0.90]      | 0.74 [0.55, 1.00]           | 0.73 [0.59, 0.91]  |
| White, graduates                  | 0.94 [0.74, 1.20]      | 0.91 [0.71, 1.17]           | 0.91 [0.74, 1.13]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 1.07 [0.68, 1.69]      | 0.99 [0.63, 1.57]           | 1.12 [0.73, 1.74]  |
| African American,<br>some college | 1.34 [1.07, 1.68]      | 1.42 [1.03, 1.97]           | 1.38 [1.10, 1.74]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 2.05 [1.56, 2.70]      | 2.33 [1.57, 3.47]           | 2.05 [1.59, 2.65]  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 1.18 [0.51, 2.70]      | 1.25 [0.50, 3.10]           | 1.16 [0.51, 2.62]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.99 [0.58, 1.68]      | 1.06 [0.52, 2.15]           | 0.95 [0.55, 1.64]  |
| Latino, no college                | 0.65 [0.39, 1.10]      | 0.55 [0.30, 0.98]*          | 0.69 [0.40, 1.17]  |
| Latino, some college              | 1.69 [1.26, 2.28]      | 1.46 [0.97, 2.21]*          | 1.76 [1.30, 2.37]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.04 [0.65, 1.67]      | 1.12 [0.58, 2.18]           | 1.05 [0.65, 1.68]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 0.96 [0.53, 1.75]      | 1.43 [0.71, 2.91]           | 1.00 [0.56, 1.80]  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 1.39 [0.94, 2.06]      | 1.17 [0.68, 1.99]           | 1.40 [0.95, 2.05]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 1.80 [1.01, 3.19]      | 1.15 [0.60, 2.24]           | 1.79 [1.02, 3.14]* |

Table 34. Odds ratios for Unrelated Work, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 2.85 [2.22, 3.64]      | 2.62 [1.89, 3.63]           | 3.08 [2.41, 3.93]  |
| White, some college               | 2.49 [1.99, 3.12]      | 2.50 [1.89, 3.29]           | 2.61 [2.09, 3.25]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 3.39 [2.55, 4.51]      | 3.35 [2.13, 5.26]           | 3.92 [2.97, 5.18]  |
| African American,<br>some college | 3.40 [2.67, 4.34]      | 3.08 [2.13, 4.44]           | 3.81 [3.00, 4.84]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 1.38 [0.98, 1.93]      | 1.15 [0.72, 1.85]           | 1.48 [1.04, 2.09]* |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 2.06 [0.86, 4.93]      | 1.19 [0.40, 3.60]           | 2.13 [0.91, 4.97]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 1.24 [0.50, 3.04]      | 0.77 [0.30, 1.93]           | 1.25 [0.51, 3.07]  |
| Latino, no college                | 2.68 [1.67, 4.30]      | 2.09 [1.55, 4.01]           | 3.05 [1.89, 4.93]  |
| Latino, some college              | 2.48 [1.63, 3.76]      | 1.43 [0.75, 2.74]           | 2.78 [1.87, 4.13]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.33 [0.73, 2.45]      | 3.10 [1.57, 6.15]           | 1.41 [0.78, 2.54]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 3.25 [1.75, 6.03]      | 2.70 [1.56, 4.66]           | 3.63 [2.03, 6.51]  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 2.76 [1.84, 4.15]      | 1.94 [0.93, 4.05]           | 2.92 [1.96, 4.34]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 1.52 [0.79, 2.91]      | 0.99 [0.93, 1.06]           | 1.60 [0.84, 3.06]  |

Table 35. Odds ratios for Unrelated Work, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | 1.14 [0.93, 1.41]      | 1.05 [0.81, 1.36]           | 1.18 [0.96, 1.46]     |
| White, graduates                  | 0.40 [0.32, 0.50]      | 0.40 [0.30, 0.53]           | 0.38 [0.31, 0.48]     |
| African American, no<br>college   | 1.36 [1.03, 1.81]      | 1.34 [0.89, 2.01]*          | 1.50 [1.13, 2.00]     |
| African American,<br>some college | 1.36 [1.08, 1.72]      | 1.23 [0.90, 1.69]*          | 1.46 [1.17, 1.82]     |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.55 [0.41, 0.75]      | 0.46 [0.29, 0.72]           | 0.57 [0.42, 0.76]     |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 0.83 [0.34, 2.00]      | 0.48 [0.16, 1.42]           | 0.82 [0.35, 1.90]     |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.50 [0.23, 1.09]      | 0.31 [0.12, 0.77]*          | 0.48 [0.22, 1.06]     |
| Latino, no college                | 1.08 [0.70, 1.65]      | 0.84 [0.51, 1.36]           | 1.17 [0.75, 1.82]     |
| Latino, some college              | 1.00 [0.69, 1.44]      | 1.00 [0.65, 1.53]           | 1.06 [0.74, 1.53]     |
| Latino, graduates                 | 0.54 [0.31, 0.92]      | 0.57 [0.31, 1.08]*          | 0.54 [0.32, 0.92]     |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 1.31 [0.75, 2.29]      | 1.24 [0.65, 2.38]           | 1.39 [0.81, 2.40]     |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 1.11 [0.76, 1.62]      | 1.08 [0.64, 1.82]           | 1.12 [0.77, 1.63]     |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.61 [0.33, 1.13]      | 0.78 [0.38, 1.60]           | 0.61 [0.33, 1.13]     |

Table 36. Odds ratios for No Career Goals, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 3.98 [2.46, 6.45]      | 3.24 [1.89, 5.56]           | 4.89 [3.11, 7.70]  |
| White, some college               | 1.99 [1.34, 2.95]      | 1.47 [0.88, 2.46]*          | 2.24 [1.52, 3.30]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 4.63 [2.54, 8.43]      | 3.38 [1.71, 6.71]           | 6.01 [3.34, 10.82] |
| African American,<br>some college | 1.38 [0.82, 2.32]      | 1.09 [0.50, 2.37]           | 1.64 [0.99, 2.69]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.32 [0.11, 0.95]      | 0.21 [0.04, 1.11]*          | 0.34 [0.11, 0.99]  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 2.12 [0.57, 7.90]      | 2.18 [0.51, 9.30]           | 2.22 [0.61, 8.10]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.56 [0.05, 5.75]      | 0.75 [0.10, 5.83]           | 0.57 [0.06, 5.87]  |
| Latino, no college                | 2.96 [1.58, 5.54]      | 3.11 [1.40, 6.91]           | 4.04 [2.37, 6.87]  |
| Latino, some college              | 0.85 [0.34, 2.11]      | 0.81 [0.32, 2.09]           | 1.10 [0.48, 2.50]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.00 [0.33, 3.06]      | 1.11 [0.35, 3.53]           | 1.16 [0.37, 3.60]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 5.61 [2.74, 11.50]     | 4.15 [1.71, 10.08]          | 6.98 [3.60, 13.52] |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 3.04 [1.53, 6.02]      | 1.90 [0.80, 4.50]*          | 3.42 [1.78, 6.60]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.39 [0.04, 3.57]      | 0.15 [0.02, 1.14]           | 0.40 [0.04, 3.63]  |

Table 37. Odds ratios for No Career Goals, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 2.01 [1.48, 2.72]      | 2.21 [1.52, 3.21]           | 2.18 [1.63, 2.93]  |
| White, graduates                  | 0.50 [0.34, 0.75]      | 0.68 [0.41, 1.14]*          | 0.45 [0.30, 0.66]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 2.33 [1.49, 3.65]      | 2.31 [1.37, 3.89]           | 2.68 [1.73, 4.15]  |
| African American,<br>some college | 0.69 [0.44, 1.09]      | 0.74 [0.38, 1.46]           | 0.73 [0.47, 1.13]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.16 [0.06, 0.45]      | 0.14 [0.03, 0.73]           | 0.15 [0.05, 0.42]  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 1.07 [0.29, 3.86]      | 1.49 [0.36, 6.14]           | 0.99 [0.28, 3.46]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.28 [0.03, 2.96]      | 0.51 [0.07, 3.83]           | 0.25 [0.03, 2.50]  |
| Latino, no college                | 1.49 [0.84, 2.64]      | 2.12 [1.09, 4.11]*          | 1.80 [1.07, 3.02]* |
| Latino, some college              | 0.43 [0.19, 0.95]      | 0.55 [0.24, 1.29]*          | 0.49 [0.23, 1.04]* |
| Latino, graduates                 | 0.50 [0.18, 1.44]      | 0.76 [0.26, 2.24]           | 0.52 [0.18, 1.48]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 2.83 [1.53, 5.22]      | 2.83, [1.28, 6.22]          | 3.11 [1.72, 5.61]  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 1.53 [0.84, 2.80]      | 1.30 [0.60, 2.80]           | 1.53 [0.83, 2.80]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.20 [0.02, 1.66]      | 0.10 [0.01, 0.76]*          | 0.18 [0.02, 1.52]  |

Table 38. Odds ratios for Marriage, Wave 3, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college              | 2.44 [1.78, 3.34]      | 2.20 [1.45, 3.34]           | 3.33 [2.56, 4.32]  |
| White, some college            | 2.16 [1.71, 2.74]      | 2.01 [1.48, 2.71]           | 2.53 [2.03, 3.16]  |
| African American, no college   | 0.56 [0.36, 0.85]      | 0.40 [0.18, 0.89]           | 0.95 [0.63, 1.44]* |
| African American, some college | 0.81 [0.48, 1.38]      | 0.82 [0.48, 1.41]           | 1.08 [0.72, 1.63]  |
| African American, graduates    | 0.48 [0.25, 0.90]      | 0.35 [0.17, 0.74]           | 0.52 [0.29, 0.93]  |
| Asian American, some college   | 1.32 [0.59, 2.92]      | 0.56 [0.11, 2.88]           | 1.52 [0.68, 3.37]  |
| Asian American, graduates      | 0.39 [0.13, 1.14]      | 0.06 [0.01, 0.39]*          | 0.49 [0.18, 1.33]  |
| Latino, no college             | 2.08 [1.37, 3.16]      | 2.30 [1.01, 5.22]           | 3.39 [2.38, 4.84]  |
| Latino, some college           | 1.78 [1.13, 2.81]      | 1.31 [0.76, 2.26]*          | 2.63 [1.70, 4.04]  |
| Latino, graduates              | 1.04 [0.59, 1.85]      | 1.43 [0.72, 2.82]           | 1.38 [0.75, 2.52]  |
| Multiracial, no college        | 2.57 [1.41, 4.65]      | 2.80 [1.17, 6.71]           | 3.40 [1.95, 5.91]  |
| Multiracial, some college      | 1.33 [0.74, 2.41]      | 1.66 [0.78, 3.51]           | 1.57 [0.85, 2.91]  |
| Multiracial, graduates         | 0.46 [0.15, 1.44]      | 0.50 [0.14, 1.83]           | 0.48 [0.15, 1.51]  |



Table 39. Odds ratios for Marriage, Wave 3, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | 1.13 [0.83, 1.54]   | 1.10 [0.76, 1.59]           | 1.32 [0.98, 1.78]     |
| White, graduates                  | 0.46 [0.37, 0.59]   | 0.50 [0.37, 0.67]           | 0.40 [0.32, 0.49]     |
| African American, no<br>college   | 0.26 [0.18, 0.38]   | 0.20 [0.10, 0.42]           | 0.38 [0.26, 0.54]     |
| African American,<br>some college | 0.38 [0.22, 0.66]   | 0.41 [0.26, 0.63]           | 0.43 [0.26, 0.70]     |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.22 [0.12, 0.40]   | 0.18 [0.09, 0.35]           | 0.20 [0.12, 0.36]     |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 0.61 [0.28, 1.35]   | 0.28 [0.06, 1.40]           | 0.60 [0.28, 1.30]     |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.18 [0.06, 0.50]   | 0.03 [0.005, 0.20]          | 0.19 [0.07, 0.52]     |
| Latino, no college                | 0.96 [0.66, 1.40]   | 1.15 [0.54, 2.46]           | 1.34 [0.94, 1.91]     |
| Latino, some college              | 0.82 [0.51, 1.32]   | 0.65 [0.40, 1.06]           | 1.04 [0.63, 1.70]     |
| Latino, graduates                 | 0.48 [0.28, 0.84]   | 0.71 [0.36, 1.42]*          | 0.55 [0.31, 0.97]     |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 1.19 [0.66, 2.14]   | 1.40 [0.62, 3.18]           | 1.34 [0.76, 2.39]     |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 0.62 [0.36, 1.07]   | 0.83 [0.40, 1.70]           | 0.62 [0.36, 1.08]     |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.22 [0.07, 0.66]   | 0.25 [0.07, 0.94]           | 0.19 [0.06, 0.60]     |

*Table 40.* Cohen's D for Desire for Marriage, Wave 3, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                   | Multiple Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | .39                 | .40                         | .53                   |
| White, some college               | .30                 | .38                         | .38                   |
| African American, no<br>college   | .14                 | .11                         | .39*                  |
| African American,<br>some college | .17                 | .27*                        | .31                   |
| African American,<br>graduates    | .08                 | -.05                        | .13                   |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | .02                 | -.13                        | .08                   |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | -.09                | -.16                        | -.02                  |
| Latino, no college                | .13                 | .11                         | .35*                  |
| Latino, some college              | .17                 | .03                         | .34*                  |
| Latino, graduates                 | -.13                | .10                         | -.004                 |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | -.10                | .05                         | .02                   |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | .43                 | .43                         | .54                   |
| Multiracial, graduates            | -.17                | -.13                        | -.12                  |

*Table 41.* Cohen's D for Desire for Marriage, Wave 3, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | .07                 | .02                         | .15                   |
| White, graduates                  | -.30                | -.38                        | -.38                  |
| African American, no<br>college   | -.15                | -.26*                       | .007                  |
| African American,<br>some college | -.13                | -.10                        | -.06                  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | -.22                | -.43                        | -.25                  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | -.28                | -.50                        | -.29                  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | -.38                | -.52                        | -.38                  |
| Latino, no college                | -.18                | -.27                        | -.04                  |
| Latino, some college              | -.14                | -.33                        | -.03                  |
| Latino, graduates                 | -.45                | -.30*                       | -.40                  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | -.42                | -.35                        | -.38                  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | .11                 | .04                         | .15                   |
| Multiracial, graduates            | -.47                | -.50                        | -.49                  |

Table 42. Odds ratios for Parenthood, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 2.98 [2.42, 3.67]      | 4.56 [3.76, 5.53]           | 3.30 [2.37, 4.59]  |
| White, some college               | 2.76 [2.31, 3.28]      | 3.47 [2.92, 4.12]           | 3.00 [2.36, 3.81]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 3.08 [2.29, 4.13]      | 5.07 [3.87, 6.65]           | 3.84 [2.19, 6.71]  |
| African American,<br>some college | 4.44 [3.49, 5.67]      | 5.78 [4.58, 7.31]           | 5.17 [3.47, 7.69]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 1.53 [1.17, 2.01]      | 1.60 [1.24, 2.07]           | 1.45 [0.98, 2.15]* |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 1.19 [0.62, 2.26]      | 1.34 [0.74, 2.43]           | 0.98 [0.34, 2.84]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.60 [0.27, 1.31]      | 0.66 [0.33, 1.31]           | 0.41 [0.16, 1.05]  |
| Latino, no college                | 2.43 [1.65, 3.56]      | 4.48 [3.15, 6.38]           | 2.42 [1.31, 4.45]  |
| Latino, some college              | 2.11 [1.54, 2.90]      | 3.47 [2.60, 4.64]           | 2.44 [1.51, 3.95]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 0.89 [0.55, 1.43]      | 1.25 [0.79, 1.99]           | 0.78 [0.44, 1.39]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 4.34 [2.56, 7.39]      | 6.36 [3.73, 10.83]          | 6.21 [2.96, 13.05] |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 2.92 [1.94, 4.41]      | 3.61 [2.40, 5.44]           | 3.53 [2.07, 6.03]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.86 [0.48, 1.52]      | 0.88 [0.50, 1.54]           | 0.79 [0.36, 1.74]  |

Table 43. Odds ratios for Parenthood, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | 1.08 [0.90, 1.30]      | 1.31 [1.10, 1.57]*          | 1.10 [0.83, 1.46]     |
| White, graduates                  | 0.36 [0.31, 0.43]      | 0.29 [0.24, 0.34]           | 0.33 [0.26, 0.42]     |
| African American, no<br>college   | 1.12 [0.84, 1.49]      | 1.46 [1.10, 1.94]*          | 1.28 [0.76, 2.16]     |
| African American,<br>some college | 1.61 [1.28, 2.03]      | 1.67 [1.33, 2.09]           | 1.72 [1.14, 2.60]     |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.56 [0.41, 0.75]      | 0.46 [0.35, 0.61]           | 0.48 [0.33, 0.72]     |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 0.43 [0.23, 0.83]      | 0.39 [0.21, 0.71]           | 0.33 [0.11, 0.96]     |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.22 [0.10, 0.47]      | 0.19 [0.10, 0.37]           | 0.14 [0.05, 0.35]     |
| Latino, no college                | 0.88 [0.61, 1.27]      | 1.29 [0.91, 1.84]           | 0.81 [0.43, 1.51]     |
| Latino, some college              | 0.77 [0.57, 1.03]      | 1.00 [0.76, 1.32]           | 0.81 [0.51, 1.30]     |
| Latino, graduates                 | 0.32 [0.21, 0.50]      | 0.36 [0.24, 0.55]           | 0.26 [0.15, 0.46]     |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 1.58 [0.94, 2.63]      | 1.83 [1.10, 3.05]*          | 2.07 [0.99, 4.31]     |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 1.06 [0.72, 1.57]      | 1.04 [0.71, 1.53]           | 1.18 [0.68, 2.05]     |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.31 [0.18, 0.54]      | 0.25 [0.15, 0.44]           | 0.26 [0.12, 0.58]     |

Table 44. Odds ratios for Emerging Adult Profile, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | 0.53 [0.35, 0.79]      | 0.68 [0.44, 1.05]*          | 0.40 [0.29, 0.56]     |
| White, some college               | 0.66 [0.53, 0.84]      | 0.69 [0.48, 0.98]           | 0.58 [0.47, 0.72]     |
| African American, no<br>college   | 0.66 [0.42, 1.05]      | 0.76 [0.36, 1.62]           | 0.47 [0.31, 0.72]*    |
| African American,<br>some college | 0.62 [0.43, 0.89]      | 0.55 [0.29, 1.01]*          | 0.51 [0.36, 0.74]     |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 1.47 [1.04, 2.07]      | 1.93 [1.21, 3.06]           | 1.41 [0.96, 2.06]*    |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 1.43 [0.45, 4.60]      | 1.11 [0.44, 2.84]           | 1.28 [0.43, 3.77]     |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 1.35 [0.70, 2.58]      | 1.08 [0.51, 2.27]           | 1.20 [0.64, 2.27]     |
| Latino, no college                | 0.45 [0.20, 1.01]      | 0.37 [0.12, 1.12]           | 0.32 [0.15, 0.67]*    |
| Latino, some college              | 0.97 [0.51, 1.85]      | 1.01 [0.57, 1.81]*          | 0.70 [0.35, 1.40]     |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.26 [0.64, 2.49]      | 1.04 [0.47, 2.31]           | 1.02 [0.55, 1.89]     |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 0.62 [0.29, 1.31]      | 0.48 [0.15, 1.51]           | 0.51 [0.25, 1.05]     |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 0.91 [0.46, 1.79]      | 1.21 [0.57, 2.54]*          | 0.78 [0.42, 1.45]     |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 1.85 [1.04, 3.30]      | 2.04 [1.11, 3.78]           | 1.82 [1.02, 3.23]     |

Table 45. Odds ratios for Emerging Adult Profile, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 0.79 [0.53, 1.19]      | 1.00 [0.68, 1.46]*          | 0.69 [0.48, 1.01]  |
| White, graduates                  | 1.51 [1.20, 1.90]      | 1.46 [1.02, 2.08]           | 1.73 [1.39, 2.15]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 1.00 [0.63, 2.58]      | 1.11 [0.56, 2.21]           | 0.81 [0.52, 1.27]* |
| African American,<br>some college | 0.93 [0.63, 1.37]      | 0.80 [0.45, 1.40]           | 0.89 [0.60, 1.31]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 2.22 [1.49, 3.31]      | 2.81 [1.80, 4.39]           | 2.43 [1.59, 3.96]  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 2.16 [0.63, 7.39]      | 1.62 [0.64, 4.10]           | 2.21 [0.72, 6.76]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 2.01 [1.03, 4.01]      | 1.58 [0.77, 3.22]*          | 2.08 [1.09, 3.96]  |
| Latino, no college                | 0.68 [0.30, 1.55]      | 0.53 [0.18, 1.60]           | 0.55 [0.25, 1.19]  |
| Latino, some college              | 1.46 [0.75, 2.86]      | 1.48 [0.87, 2.53]           | 1.21 [0.60, 2.43]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.90 [0.93, 3.87]      | 1.52 [0.71, 3.27]           | 1.76 [0.92, 3.39]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 0.93 [0.45, 1.94]      | 0.70 [0.25, 2.00]           | 0.88 [0.43, 1.81]  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 1.37 [0.68, 2.76]      | 1.76 [0.80, 3.90]           | 1.35 [0.70, 2.60]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 2.79 [1.53, 5.08]      | 2.99 [1.59, 5.59]           | 3.14 [1.72, 5.72]  |

Table 46. Odds ratios for Adult Profile, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Graduates.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| White, no college                 | 1.13 [0.85, 1.51]      | 1.30 [0.88, 1.92]           | 1.23 [0.97, 1.56]  |
| White, some college               | 1.37 [1.03, 1.82]      | 1.79 [1.30, 2.45]           | 1.43 [1.09, 1.86]  |
| African American, no<br>college   | 0.47 [0.29, 0.75]      | 0.69 [0.30, 1.56]*          | 0.51 [0.34, 0.79]  |
| African American,<br>some college | 1.00 [0.70, 1.46]      | 1.01 [0.61, 1.66]           | 1.01 [0.72, 1.42]  |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.83 [0.55, 1.25]      | 0.81 [0.35, 1.87]           | 0.80 [0.54, 1.17]  |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 1.05 [0.45, 2.44]      | 0.77 [0.19, 3.17]*          | 1.07 [0.44, 2.62]  |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.64 [0.26, 1.55]      | 0.55 [0.15, 2.04]           | 0.69 [0.29, 1.67]  |
| Latino, no college                | 1.47 [0.80, 2.70]      | 2.01 [1.06, 3.79]*          | 1.61 [1.04, 2.48]* |
| Latino, some college              | 0.86 [0.57, 1.29]      | 0.61 [0.24, 1.53]           | 0.92 [0.61, 1.38]  |
| Latino, graduates                 | 1.01 [0.51, 1.99]      | 1.45 [0.66, 3.16]           | 1.07 [0.57, 2.02]  |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 0.52 [0.20, 1.38]      | 0.09 [0.01, 0.63]*          | 0.54 [0.20, 1.45]  |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 0.92 [0.51, 1.65]      | 1.02 [0.39, 2.69]           | 0.94 [0.55, 1.62]  |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.47 [0.17, 1.30]      | 1.17 [0.32, 4.25]*          | 0.46 [0.17, 1.25]  |



Table 47. Odds ratios for Adult Profile, Wave 4, by analysis method. Reference group is White, Some College.

|                                   | Multiple<br>Imputation | Complex Samples<br>Analysis | Excluding<br>Controls |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| White, no college                 | 0.82 [0.63, 1.07]      | 0.73 [0.53, 1.01]           | 0.86 [0.66, 1.12]     |
| White, graduates                  | 0.73 [0.55, 0.97]      | 0.56 [0.41, 0.77]           | 0.70 [0.54, 0.92]     |
| African American, no<br>college   | 0.34 [0.23, 0.52]      | 0.39 [0.16, 0.91]           | 0.36 [0.24, 0.54]     |
| African American,<br>some college | 0.73 [0.51, 1.03]      | 0.56 [0.36, 0.89]*          | 0.71 [0.50, 1.01]     |
| African American,<br>graduates    | 0.60 [0.42, 0.86]      | 0.45 [0.20, 1.03]*          | 0.56 [0.39, 0.80]     |
| Asian American,<br>some college   | 0.76 [0.30, 1.95]      | 0.43 [0.11, 1.77]           | 0.75 [0.28, 2.05]     |
| Asian American,<br>graduates      | 0.46 [0.21, 1.04]      | 0.31 [0.08, 1.13]           | 0.48 [0.22, 1.06]     |
| Latino, no college                | 1.07 [0.60, 1.92]      | 0.12 [0.61, 2.09]           | 1.13 [0.69, 1.84]     |
| Latino, some college              | 0.62 [0.43, 0.92]      | 0.34 [0.13, 0.87]           | 0.65 [0.44, 0.96]     |
| Latino, graduates                 | 0.74 [0.37, 1.48]      | 0.81 [0.38, 1.75]           | 0.75 [0.38, 1.49]     |
| Multiracial, no<br>college        | 0.38 [0.13, 1.08]      | 0.05 [0.007,<br>0.35]*      | 0.38 [0.13, 1.07]     |
| Multiracial, some<br>college      | 0.67 [0.40, 1.14]      | 0.57 [0.23, 1.46]           | 0.66 [0.39, 1.13]     |
| Multiracial, graduates            | 0.34 [0.13, 0.87]      | 0.66 [0.20, 2.18]*          | 0.32 [0.13, 0.81]     |