

The Significance of Social Bonds for Asian Americans: Investigating the Relationship between Sex/Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Immigrant Generation, and Educational Attainment

Joong Won Kim¹, Anthony A. Peguero², and Jennifer M. Bondy³

1 Virginia Tech – Blacksburg, VA, USA jkimsy@vt.edu

2 Virginia Tech – Blacksburg, VA, USA anthony.peguero@vt.edu

3 Arizona State University – Tempe, AZ, USA jmbondy@asu.edu

Received April 27, 2020

Accepted for publication September 21, 2020

Published October 8, 2020

Abstract

Social bond theory suggests that strong bonds to school influence better outcomes on measures of educational progress and success. However, we know little about the relationship between social bonding to school and educational attainment for the children of Asian American immigrants or how this relationship varies by sex/gender and immigrant generation. We examine how five types of social bonding (attachment, commitment, belief, and academic and sports involvement) influence the educational attainment of female and male children of Asian American immigrants. Drawing from national survey data, our results suggest that strong social bonds to school have the potential to explain sex/gender and immigrant generation distinctions associated with educational attainment for the children of Asian American immigrants; however, the possibility to form such bonds, as well as the strength of their positive effects, vary by sex/gender and immigrant generation. The implications of the relationships between social bonds and educational attainment across immigrant generations and by sex/gender for Asian Americans are discussed more generally.

Keywords: Assimilation; Sex and Gender; Race and Ethnicity; Educational Inequality

Publication Type: Original research article

Preferred Citation: Kim, Joong Won, Anthony A. Peguero, and Jennifer M. Bondy. 2020. "The Significance of Social Bonds for Asian Americans: Investigating the Relationship between Sex/Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Immigrant Generation, and Educational Attainment." *Sociation*, 19(2), 13-36.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 2.0 Generic License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/)

Introduction

As the United States (U.S.) becomes increasingly immersed in a globally competitive market, improving educational attainment for all American youth is imperative. American youth have made major strides in progressing further in their relationship towards educational progress, success, and attainment in recent years. High school completion, college enrollment, and bachelor's degree attainment have steadily increased over the last forty years (Ryan and Bauman 2016). However,

educational opportunity and educational stratification remain a historical and persistent, especially in regards to racial/ethnic, sex/gender, and immigrant generation inequalities (Kao, Vaquera, and Goyette 2013; Lewis and Diamond 2015). Promoting and ensuring educational attainment for all youth, including the children of immigrants, is a fundamental national priority as the earnings gap between those who attain a bachelor's degree or higher versus those with a high school diploma or

less have widened (Fry N.d.). Lower levels of educational attainment have also been linked to poorer health and wealth prospects across the life course, including higher rates of drug use and incarceration, greater unemployment and underemployment, and poor health (Kao et al. 2013; Rumberger 2011). It has emerged that the children of Asian American immigrants are now the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. public school student population (U.S. Census 2017), understanding and facilitating the educational attainment of this segment of students is pressing, especially in regards to disparities linked to sex/gender and immigrant generation. Understanding and addressing what facilitates sex/gender and immigrant educational differences for Asian Americans is also an important aim of this study. Considering that social bonds to school have been argued to be a positive factor towards educational success and progress (Bryan et al. 2012; Peguero, Ovink, and Li 2016), there is limited knowledge about how the role social bonds is contributing to the children of Asian American immigrants' educational progress and success.

Social bond theory (Hirschi 1969) provides a conceptual framework to understand socialization and social learning by indicating that an individual's bonds to social institutions such as family, friends, religion, schools, and the like, influence how that individual will behave. According to the social bond theory, an individual's bond to social institutions consists of four elements: attachment to parents, peers, and conventional institutions such as school; commitment to long-term educational, occupational, or other conventional goals; belief in the moral validity of social norms and expectations, and involvement in conventional activities such as extracurricular activities, sports, work, homework, and hobbies. Whereas these elements of social bonds can independently improve behavior and educational success, the combined effect of these four elements on behavior and educational success are greater than the sum of their individual effects. Research demonstrates that increasing or strong bonds to school can have positive effects on educational progress, success, and attainment (Bondy, Peguero, and Johnson 2019; Bryan et al. 2012; Crosnoe, Johnson, and Elder Jr 2004; Peguero et al. 2016); conversely, weak bonds to school have detrimental effects on school experiences and educational outcomes (Bryan et al. 2012; Crosnoe et al. 2004; Peguero et al. 2016). What remains uncertain is the significance that social bonds have for the children of Asian American immigrants' education attainment.

Although Asian Americans are close in class proximity to their White counterparts (J. Lee 2015), they face racial barriers (Chou and Feagin 2015)

ranging from university to workplaces (Kao et al. 2013; J. Kim 2015). Particularly, research has demonstrated the ways that female Asian American university students are subjected to racialization and exoticization of their identity (Chou, Lee, and Ho 2012, 2015). Furthermore, the factors that facilitate successful educational outcomes for Asian American immigrant children are complicated by the question of national identity and immigrant generational status (Zhou and Bankston 2016, 2020). While established findings have demonstrated education as a site that reproduces both privilege and social inequality (Bourdieu 1984; Kao et al. 2013; Lareau 2011), research that highlight the complexities of the Asian American experience in the U.S. education system (Lee and Zhou 2014; J. Lee 2015; Zhou and Bankston 2016, 2020; Zhou and Lee 2017) has yet to examine the role of social bond for education pathways for the children of Asian American immigrants. Considering this missing gap in the existing research as well as the significance of social bond as a predictor of successful educational outcome (Bondy et al. 2019; Bryan et al. 2012; Peguero et al. 2016), this study aims to investigate the role that the children of Asian American immigrants' bond to their schools have on their educational attainment while considering sex/gender and immigrant generation.

To explore this research aim, this study utilizes social bonds and segmented assimilation theoretical frameworks to analyze the Education Longitudinal Study (ELS) of 2002 and Common Core of Data (CCD) to examine the link between bonding, sex/gender, and immigrant generation to school and educational attainment for the children of Asian American immigrants. There are several reasons why social bonds to school have received much educational, social, and policy attention. Students' bond to school influences their overall pro-social behavior, psychological well-being, healthy interpersonal relationships, and educational progress and success (Bryan et al. 2012; Crosnoe et al. 2004; Peguero et al. 2016). Given the previous research findings that demonstrate the sexualization of racism towards Asian American university students (Chou et al. 2012, 2015), addressing an educational system with evident educational disparities related to race/ethnicity, sex/gender, and immigrant generation is imperative. It is with this research initiative, examining the influence of social bonds as a mechanism that is or is not contributing to the children of Asian American immigrants' educational attainment. More specifically, there are two specific research questions that this study will address: 1) Are social bonds contributing to female and male children of immigrants' educational attainment? 2) If so, are

the children of Asian American immigrants' social bonds distinctive by the intersection of sex/gender and immigrant generation?

Theoretical & Empirical Framework

Segmented Educational Pathways for the Children of Asian American Immigrants

The U.S. educational system is a fundamental institution where the children of Asian American immigrants first come into contact and learn about their expectations and possibility in American society (Kao et al. 2013; Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Zhou and Bankston 2016). However, it is important to consider that the ideological role of the US educational system towards educating and socializing students in immigrant families has been historically debated. At the center of this debate between education and immigration are continuing fundamental questions about who is American, how to become one, at what pace, and how schools facilitate the process of assimilation (Bondy 2014; Kao et al. 2013; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). For example, Zhou and Lee (2014) find that Asian American immigrants' high educational achievement is due in large part to the reception of teachers in the host country. The factors that successful educational pathways for the children of Asian American immigrants are: (1) hyper selectivity (i.e., the model minority stereotype applied to Asian American immigrant students); (2) cultural practices from countries of origin; (3) the two former factors becoming a type of symbolic capital in the host country (i.e., as high achieving); and (4) the stereotype becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy (Lee and Zhou 2014: 8-9). However, existing research contemplates whether this self-fulfilling prophecy predicated upon the model minority myth is entirely favorable for the children of Asian American immigrants (Chou and Feagin 2015; Koo, Peguero, and Shekarkhar 2012; S. Lee 2015; Poon et al. 2016. Qin, Way, and Mukherjee 2008; Zhou and Bankston 2020).

The straight-line assimilation framework posits that the generational progression of minority groups with the mainstream culture leads to an assimilation process which implicates social mobility (Gordon 1964). It maintains that assimilation with the mainstream culture leads to upwards social mobility (Gordon 1964; Park 1914). Based on this framework, children of Asian immigrants experience upward social mobility by assimilating to the mainstream culture. Although there is an ongoing debate that complicates the straight-line assimilation framework, Alba and Nee have implied the possibilities for upward social mobility for Asian Americans (Alba and

Nee 2009), which has been reaffirmed to a degree (J. Lee 2015). By and large, studies that examine Asian immigrant populations through the straight-line assimilation framework contend that the more assimilated Asian immigrants are, the more they become similar in class proximity to White Americans (Alba and Nee 2009; Gordon 1964; J. Lee 2015; Park 1914).

In contrast to the straight-line assimilation, the segmented assimilation framework considers the complexities of race/ethnicity, sex/gender, and generational status. These factors inevitably influence Asian Americans' socioeconomic status which shape their assimilation processes (Peguero, Bondy, and Hong 2017; Zhou and Bankston 2016; Zhou and Xiong 2005). The segmented assimilation framework maintains that there are different outcomes for the children of Asian immigrants (Kao and Tienda 1995; Kao et al. 2013; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Zhou and Bankston 2016). Specifically, the segmented assimilation framework "...attempts to delineate the multiple patterns and divergent outcomes of assimilation and address the ways in which particular contexts of exit and reception affect outcomes" (Zhou and Xiong 2005: 1122). Hence, the segmented assimilation framework considers the various outcomes of assimilation, capturing both upward and downward mobility as possible outcomes of second generation Asian immigrants. Research utilizing the segmented assimilation framework has largely debunked the model minority myth in relation to the children of Asian immigrants (Poon et al. 2016; Portes et al. 2005; Zhou and Bankston 2016, 2020). That is, contrary to the popular belief that Asian Americans uniformly outperform other racial and ethnic minority groups in educational and occupational attainment, which is often attributed to the cultural characteristics of the population, research demonstrates that the Asian American population is highly diverse and that the stereotype fails to explain a substantial segment of Asians whose assimilation patterns and socioeconomic outcomes resemble those of other racial and ethnic minorities.

The final assimilation conceptual framework to be presented in this study is the "immigrant optimism" hypothesis. Kao and Tienda emphasize the progress of immigrant origin groups over successive generations (Kao and Tienda 1995). But, unlike straight-line assimilation or segmented assimilation approaches, this framework stresses the relative overachievements of the second generation compared with the first and third-plus generations, particularly the third-plus majority population. This approach differs by denoting that the educational achievement of the second generation is associated with achievement or optimism of immigrant parents who communicate and

emphasize high educational aspirations and expectations to their children, which seems to be a common pattern particularly for Asian Americans (Feliciano 2008; Kao and Thompson 2003; Kao and Tienda 1995; Kao et al. 2013; Kim, Cho, and Song 2019). In other words, Asian American immigrants often bring with them a culture of optimism because the motivation for migrating to the U.S. is one of hope and opportunity. Asian American immigrant parents relay an optimistic belief to their children by highlighting that life in the U.S. is significantly better than the life in their native country of origin (Feliciano 2008; Kao and Thompson 2003; Kao and Tienda 1995; Kao et al. 2013; Kim et al. 2019).

Race/Ethnicity, Sex/Gender, and Divergent Immigration Patterns of Asian Americans

The historic and persistent racial/ethnic and sex/gender inequalities evident in the U.S. educational system place the children of immigrants on divergent pathways. Therefore, the association between assimilation, educational progress and success, and social mobility has been scrutinized and investigated. The race/ethnicity of the majority of contemporary immigrants sets them apart from the previous waves of immigrants who were primarily from Europe. For the current wave of immigrants, many of them have never experienced prejudice associated with particular skin color or racial type in their country of origin (Chou and Feagin 2015; Lee 2015; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Immigrants and their children are confronted with the reality of racial/ethnic classification and stratification in the U.S. educational system (Kao and Thompson 2003; Kao et al. 2013; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2015). Questions of educational success for students in immigrant families are inextricably coupled with the complexities of race/ethnicity in the U.S. as well as educational segregation and discrimination (S. Lee 2015; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Studies reveal that race/ethnicity segments educational experiences, experiences with relationships with teachers, educational expectations, academic achievement, perceptions of just and fair treatment, involvement with extracurricular activities, and attainment for students in immigrant families, including for the children of Asian American immigrants (Bondy, Peguero, and Johnson 2017; Kao et al. 2013; Kiang et al. 2012; Koo et al. 2012; S. Lee 2015; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2015; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Additionally, the “model minority” stereotype typically portrays Asian Americans as exemplary models for other immigrants and racial/ethnic minorities, especially in regards to educational progress and success. However, this racial/ethnic stereotype is a seemingly positive portrayal of the

capabilities of Asian Americans but this stereotype masks and dismisses the inequalities and disproportionate treatment that Asian American students endure (Chou and Feagin 2015; Hsin 2018; Koo et al. 2012; S. Lee 2015). In this regard, the role of race/ethnicity may be significant in the factors associated with the children of Asian American immigrants’ educational progress, success, and attainment.

Sex and gender matter deeply in the segmented educational pathways for the children of immigrants. Because within the U.S., social, cultural, and educational processes are gendered and sexed, the expectations and norms imposed on female children of immigrants in comparison to their male counterparts can contribute to their divergent assimilation and educational paths (Feliciano 2008; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Koo et al. 2012; S. Lee 2015; Qin et al. 2008). Findings indicate that education expectations, engagement in extracurricular activities, academic pursuits and attainments, area of educational interests such as math or science, “good” or “bad” school behavior, and student-teacher relationships are all found to have distinctive gender and sex patterns for the children of immigrants, including for Asian American children of immigrants (Chou and Feagin 2015; Hsin 2018; S. Lee 2015; Qin et al. 2008). In this regard, the intersecting role of race/ethnicity and sex/gender warrants further investigations based on previous findings (Chou et al. 2012, 2015), ranging from divergent acculturation and intergenerational conflict (Chung 2001) to interracial marriage patterns (J. Lee 2015). The intersection of sex/gender and race/ethnicity may be significant factors in regards to understanding the children of Asian American immigrants’ educational progress, success, and attainment. What remains uncertain, however, is if social bonds is associated with the children of Asian American immigrants’ educational attainment.

The Intersection of Social Bonds, Sex/Gender, and Immigrant Generation

Hirschi’s (1969) social bonding is based on bridging the link between individuals and conventional social institutions in order to explain deviance. Social bonding postulates that individuals are inherently inclined to be deviant (Hirschi 1969). Thus, it is the mechanisms that inhibit individuals from yielding to their deviant inclinations that warrant scrutiny. Hirschi argued that a strong social bond to social institutions, such as schools, promote conformity to conventional social norms. Social bonds is also associated with schooling and educational outcomes (Bryan et al. 2012; Crosnoe et al. 2004; Maddox and Prinz 2003;

Peguero et al. 2016; Wehlage et al. 1989). Student participation and engagement in school activities and interpersonal relationships with other students and teachers are used to represent social attachments, involvement, and socio-emotional learning (Bryan et al. 2012; Crosnoe et al. 2004; Maddox and Prinz 2003; Peguero et al. 2016; Wehlage et al. 1989). It is also evident that weak bonds to school can have detrimental effects on educational progress, success, and attainment (Bryan et al. 2012; Crosnoe et al. 2004; Maddox and Prinz 2003; Peguero et al. 2016; Wehlage et al. 1989). Prior research, however, demonstrates the disparities associated with social bonds to school and educational outcomes for female and male children of Asian American immigrants.

Bondy and colleagues' (2019) study demonstrates the roles of sex/gender and immigrant generation status that segments Asian Americans' social bonds to school. For example, their findings show that first generation Asian American girls have decreased attachment to school while have increased belief in the school rules compared with third-plus generation White American girls. Moreover, second generation and third-plus Asian American girls have increased commitment to school in comparison to third-plus generation White American girls. Furthermore, their findings show that first and second generation Asian American boys have increased attachment and increased commitment to school in comparison with third-plus generation White American boys; first and second generation Asian American boys have increased belief in the school rules compared with third-plus generation White American boys. In sum, this study highlights the differing patterns of social bonds by sex/gender and immigrant generation for Asian Americans.

In another study by Peguero and colleagues (2016) that also explored the relationships between social bonds and dropping out across distinct racial/ethnic groups show that social bonds to school indeed mattered for Asian American students' likelihood of dropping out of school. Increased attachment and commitment to school contributed to decreased odds of dropping out of school. However, in comparison to their White American student counterparts, the protective factor against dropping out of school with increased engagement in academic and sports extracurricular activities was not as strong. Their findings also suggest that the intersecting role of sex/gender and immigrant generation may have played a role in the contradicting results between social bonds and dropping out for Asian American students but was not considered in their study. What remains unknown, however, is the role that the children of Asian American immigrants' bond to their schools are

having on their educational attainment while considering sex/gender and immigrant generation.

The Current Study

This study examines if and how social bonds (i.e., attachment, commitment, belief, and academic and sports involvement) and assimilation (straight-line, segmented, and immigrant optimism) theoretical frameworks explain the educational attainment of female and male children of Asian American immigrants. This study utilizes the Education Longitudinal Study (ELS) of 2002 and Common Core of Data (CCD) to examine the link between bonding to school and educational attainment for the female and male children of Asian American immigrants. More specifically, and as a reminder, we will analyze ELS and CCD to address two research questions in this study: 1) Are social bonds contributing to female and male children of immigrants' educational attainment? 2) If so, are the children of Asian American immigrants' social bonds distinctive by the intersection of sex/gender and immigrant generation?

Data and Methods

Data

The data for this study were drawn from the Education Longitudinal Study (ELS), a multi-site, longitudinal sample of high school students, parents, and school personnel conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). These data are especially appropriate for investigating the relationships between immigrant generation, sex/gender, social bonds, and educational attainment because ELS is a nationally representative study exploring the influence of parental, school, student, and community factors for young people's academic trajectories across high school and into postsecondary education and employment. Data collection began in 2002 with students enrolled in tenth grade (Wave 1) with follow-up surveys were conducted with participants at the 12th grade year (2004; Wave 2) as well as in 2006 (Wave 3) and 2012 (Wave 4). ELS data also provides "mappings" to additional external datasets such as the Common Core of Data (CCD). The CCD is the Department of Education's primary database on public elementary and secondary education in the US. The CCD provides much of school-level data (e.g., proportion of racial/ethnic minorities, proportion of children of immigrants, and etc.).

As for the sample, ELS used a two-stage sampling design, applying a stratified probability proportional to size criterion, resulting in a sample of 15,360 then

grade students in 750 public and private schools. First, the current study focused on 12,040 public school students in the base year sample and utilized a subsample of the ELS, which consists of 9,870 first, second, and third-plus-generation public school students in 580 public schools. Second, this study focused on a subsample of 1,130 Asian American and 5,620 White American students in 580 public schools is utilized for this analysis of immigrant generation, sex/gender, social bonds, and educational attainment. Descriptive statistics for the entire sample are reported in Table 1.

Data from students who only participated in the abbreviated survey (which did not include measures from the parents' survey on adolescents' immigration generational status) are coded as missing and excluded from the analyses. ELS also includes imputed values (via sequential hot-deck imputation) for certain key variables, including educational achievement and family SES (Ingels et al. 2014). Thus, we used these imputed values in analyses. Because racial/ethnic minority groups are oversampled in ELS to obtain a sufficient representation for statistical analyses, sample weights are used for this study to compensate for the sampling design and for nonresponse bias (Ingels et al. 2014).

Measures

Dependent Variable

Educational attainment. Student participants self-reported on their highest level of completed education at the Wave 4 follow up in 2012 (approximately 8 years after their expected high school graduation). Student education level was originally measured on a 9-point scale (1=did not finish high school to 9=completed PhD, MD, other advanced degree); however, for the purposes of this study, educational attainment was recoded into a 4-point scale (1= did not finish high school or no post-secondary attendance; 2=some post-secondary attendance, undergraduate certificate, or associate degree; 3= bachelor degree; 4=post-baccalaureate certificate, master's degree/post-master's certificate, or doctoral degree). Asian American females M=2.61; Asian American males M=2.38; White American females M=2.36; and, White American males M=2.15.

Independent Variables

Social Bonds to School. Consistent with the social bonds to school research presented in the literature review which guided the construction and recoding of acceptable measures of social bonds to school (Bondy et al. 2019; Bryan et al. 2012; Crosnoe et al. 2004; Homer et al. 2020; Maddox and Prinz 2003; Peguero et al. 2016), this study measures the four elements of

social bonds to school (attachment, involvement, commitment, and belief).

Attachment is a count index based on eight items (originally coded as strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree which was recoded as 0=disagree; 1=agree; $\alpha=.77$): (1) students get along well with teachers; (2) there is real school spirit; (3) students make friends with students of other racial/ethnic groups; (4) the teaching is good; (5) teachers are interested in students; (6) when I work hard on my schoolwork, my teachers praise my effort; (7) in class, I often feel put down by my teachers (recoded as 0=agree; 1=disagree); and (h) in class, I often feel put down by other students (recoded as 0=agree; 1=disagree). The range for attachment is from 0 to 8, with higher values representing greater levels of attachment. Asian American females M=6.41; Asian American males M=6.37; White American females M=6.39; and, White American males M=6.18.

Commitment. This variable is a count index based on six items (originally coded as strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree which was recoded as 0=disagree; 1=agree; $\alpha=.70$): (1) I go to school because I think the subjects I'm taking are interesting and challenging; (2) I go to school because I get a feeling of satisfaction from doing what I'm supposed to do in class; (3) I go to school because education is important for getting a job later on; (4) I go to school because I'm learning skills that I will need for a job; (5) I go to school because my teachers expect me to succeed; and, (6) I go to school because my parents expect me to succeed. Greater levels of commitment to education are indicated by higher values on the index, ranging from 0 to 6. Asian American females M=4.92; Asian American males M=4.83; White American females M=4.57; and, White American males M=4.20.

Belief. This variable is a count index based on five items (originally coded as strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree which was recoded as 0=disagree; 1=agree; $\alpha=.77$): (1) everyone knows what the school rules are; (2) if a school rule is broken, students know what kind of punishment will follow; (3) the school rules are fair; (4) school rules are strictly enforced; and, (5) the punishment for breaking school rules is the same no matter who you are. Higher levels of belief are indicated by higher values on the index, ranging from 0 to 5. Asian American females M=3.53; Asian American males M=3.39; White American females M=3.40; and, White American males M=3.25. Academic involvement is a count index based on five items (coded as 0=no participation; 1= participation; $\alpha=.91$): (1) band, orchestra, chorus, or choir; (2) school play or musical; (3) student government; (4) academic (or achievement) related honor society; and, (5) school

yearbook, newspaper, or literary magazine. Increased levels of academic involvement are indicated by higher values on the index, ranging from 0 to 5. Asian American females $M=.65$; Asian American males $M=.44$; White American females $M=.76$; and, White American males $M=.44$.

Sports involvement. This independent variable is a count index based on eight interscholastic sport activities (coded as 0=no participation; 1=participation; $\alpha=.93$): (1) baseball; (2) softball; (3) basketball; (4) football; (5) soccer; (6) cheerleading/drill team; (7) other team sport; and, (8) individual sport. Increased levels of sports involvement are indicated by higher values on the index, ranging from 0 to 8. Asian American females $M=.63$; Asian American males $M=.68$; White American females $M=.99$; and, White American males $M=1.07$.

Sex/Gender. Students being categorized as female ($M=.51$, $N=3,430$) or male ($M=.49$, $N=3,320$) based on the student's self-report of their biological sex. *Race/ethnicity, and immigrant generation.* As noted, in ELS survey design, respondents self-report their race/ethnicity. Immigrant generation is measured as a set of dummy variables indicating whether the student is a first, second, or third-plus generation. Immigration and birthplace information for the students are included in the parents' survey. First generation students are children born outside the U.S.; second-generation students are children born in the US and have at least one parent born outside the U.S.; and third-plus-generation students are children born in the US, and have both parents born in the US. Thus, first generation Asian American Americans ($M=.08$, $N=540$), second generation Asian Americans ($M=.08$, $N=530$), third-plus generation Asian Americans ($M=.01$, $N=60$), first generation White Americans ($M=.02$, $N=140$), second generation White Americans ($M=.04$, $N=270$), and third-plus generation White Americans ($M=.78$, $N=5,210$) are being investigated in this study.

Student, family, and school characteristics. Previous studies have established that a number of students, family, and school characteristics are associated with social bonds to school and educational attainment (Alba and Nee 2009; Bondy et al. 2017; Bryan et al. 2012; Feliciano 2008, 2008; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Hsin 2018; Lewis and Diamond 2015; Peguero et al. 2016; Perreira et al. 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2015; Yavorsky and Buchmann 2019; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Because student characteristics (i.e., native English speaker, educational achievement, expectations, positive peers, misbehavior, and victimization), family characteristics (i.e., socioeconomic status, structure, and involvement), and school characteristics (i.e.,

proportion of racial and ethnic minorities within a school, proportion of children of immigrants within a school, poverty, size, social disorder, and locale) are known to be associated with bonds to school and educational attainment, and/or Asian American educational progress and success, these control measures are included in this research analysis.

Student characteristics. Student educational achievement is measured by using the standardized measure developed by RTI and NCES. ELS included a reading and math composite score based on standardized tests developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS). The composite score is the average of the math and reading standardized scores, re-standardized to a national mean of 50.0 and standard deviation of 10. Student educational expectations is based on one item, "as things stand now, how far in school do you think you will get?", asked on the questionnaire administered to students at twelfth grade. This was a recoded four category variable that ranged from 1=less than high school graduation to 4=obtain PhD, MD, or other advanced degree. Positive peers measure student's assessment of "among your close friends, how important is it to them that they" (0=not important, 1=somewhat important, and 2=very important) on the following items: (1) attend classes regularly, (2) study, (3) get good grades, (4) finish high school, and (5) continue education past high school. Student misbehavior is a total sum index consisting of five items that measure the frequency of a student's misbehavior or reactions to misbehavior (0=never, 1=1-2 times, 2=more than twice): (1) cutting or skipping classes, (2) getting into a physical fight at school, (3) getting into trouble for not following school rules, (4) school suspension, and (5) suspension or probation. The range for student misconduct is from 0 to 10, with higher values representing greater levels of misbehavior. Student victimization is a total sum index consisting of four items that measure the frequency of a student being victimized while at school (0=never, 1=1-2 times, 2=more than twice): (1) someone threatened to hurt me at school, (2) someone bullied me or picked on me, (3) someone hit me, and (4) someone used strong-arm or forceful methods to get money or things from me. *Family characteristics.* The NCES pre-constructed measure of family socioeconomic status is a standardized (z-score) variable based on five equally weighted, standardized components: father's/male guardian's education, mother's/female guardian's education, family income, father's/male guardian's occupational prestige, and mother's/female guardian's occupational prestige. Family structure is a dichotomous variable that measures whether two parents/guardians are present in the adolescent's household. A single parent/guardian household serves

as the reference group. Family involvement is an eight-item-count index that measures how active the adolescent's parents/guardians are in his or her education. The items are (1) checking homework, (2) helping with homework, (3) discussing school courses, (4) discussing school activities, (5) discussing topics studied in class, (6) discussing grades, (7) discussing transferring, and (8) discussing college attendance. The count index ranges from 0 to 8, which higher scores indicating higher levels of family involvement.

School characteristics. School proportion of racial and ethnic minorities, as noted, the CCD provides the information for the proportion of racial/ethnic minority (i.e., Black/African Americans, Latina/o Americans, and Asian Americans) within a school separately. School proportion of children of immigrants, as noted, the CCD provides information about the percentage of students who are non-English proficient or have limited English proficiency in the school. However, there are limitations with this measurement to assess the proportion of immigrants within a school. Researchers have discovered that many U.S. born children of immigrants (i.e., second generation students) are categorized as non-English proficient or have limited English proficiency. Although this is a limitation, researchers have also pointed out that the non-English proficient or limited English proficiency students are predominately first or second generation students (Zhou and Bankston 2016). School poverty is measured by the proportion of students who receive free or reduced priced lunches. School size is measured by total student enrollment. School disorder is based on nineteen items (e.g., physical conflicts, robbery or theft, possession of weapons, etc.) that were reported as a problem in their schools by administrators. School locale measures whether the school was located in an urban, rural, or suburban (reference category) locale.

Analysis Plan

Since ELS is designed as a cluster sample in which schools are sampled with unequal probability and then students are sampled or "nested" within these selected schools, the subsample of ELS violates the assumption of independent observations. The nested structure of ELS (i.e., students within schools) makes Hierarchical multilevel modeling an appropriate analytic tool (Raudenbush et al. 2016). Because the dependent variable educational attainment is continuous, Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) is utilized to analyze the multilevel relationships between social bonds and educational attainment, and the associated racial, ethnic, immigrant generation, and sex/gender inequalities while controlling for student, family, and

school characteristics. HLM 7.03 is utilized to analyze the multilevel relationships between social bonds and educational attainment. With HLM, it is possible to examine the ability of group-level (or school-level) variables to explain variation at the individual level. All Level 1 (individual) and Level 2 (school) predictors have been centered on their group means because this allows us to examine the variation of educational attainment within each school. For the Asian American within group analysis, only individual student variables are analyzed. Survey weights included in ELS were used to obtain population-based estimates and to minimize bias arising from nonresponse and sampling error. Estimates were produced using the 'survey' command in Stata 15, which is specifically for design-based survey analysis.

RESULTS

Descriptives

Descriptive statistics for all variables are presented in Table 1. For the student key variables presented in Table 1, the average level of students' educational attainment is 2.30 on a 4-point scale. The average level of students' attachment is 6.31 on an 8-point scale. The average level of students' commitment is 4.47 on a 6-point scale. The average level of students' belief is 3.35 on a 5-point scale. The average level of students' academic involvement is .59 on a 5-point scale. The average level of students' sports involvement is .96 on an 8-point scale.

Social Bonds for Female Educational Attainment
Table 2 displays the HLM results of the relationships and interactions between educational attainment, social bonds, race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and other student, family, and school control variables for female students' educational attainment. In the baseline model of Table 2, educational attainment is regressed on female students' immigrant generation and race/ethnicity as well as student, family, and school control variables. In model 2 of Table 2, educational attainment is regressed on immigrant generation, race/ethnicity, and social bonds (i.e., attachment, commitment, belief, and academic and sports involvement). In model 3, social bonds are interacted with race/ethnicity and generation status. In the baseline model of Table 2, females' educational attainment is regressed on students' race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and other control variables considered in this study. At this stage of this analysis, females' race/ethnicity and immigrant generation is significantly associated with educational attainment. Third-plus generation Asian American females have

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Dependent and Independent Variables

	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Student-Level Variables			
Dependent			
Educational Attainment	1 – 4	2.30	.78
Independent			
Social Bonds			
Attachment	0 – 8	6.31	1.60
Commitment	0 – 6	4.47	1.41
Belief	0 – 5	3.35	1.34
Academic Involvement	0 – 5	.59	.86
Sports Involvement	0 – 8	.96	1.26
Race, Ethnicity, and Immigrant Generation			
First Generation Asian American	0 – 1	.08	.26
Second Generation Asian American	0 – 1	.08	.27
Third-plus Generation Asian American	0 – 1	.01	.10
First Generation White American	0 – 1	.02	.13
Second Generation White American	0 – 1	.04	.19
Third-plus Generation White American	0 – 1	.78	.41
Female	0 – 1	.51	.50
Student Characteristics			
Educational Achievement	22.40 – 79.94	52.46	9.43
Educational Expectations	1 – 4	3.09	.89
Positive Peers	0 – 10	5.43	3.74
Misbehavior	0 – 10	2.84	1.75
Victimization	0 – 8	.84	1.36
Family Characteristics			
Socioeconomic Status	-2.11 – 1.98	.07	.71
Structure	0 – 1	.81	.39
Involvement	0 – 8	5.35	2.56
School Characteristics			
% Racial Ethnic Minority	0 – 100	36.86	31.59
% Children of Immigrants	0 – 63	4.83	8347
Poverty	0 – 100	24.93	18.63
Size	52 – 4,631	1,411	839.90
Social Disorder	0 – 19	12.84	1.68
Rural Locale	0 – 1	.22	.42
Urban Locale	0 – 1	.28	.45
Suburban Locale	0 – 1	.50	.50

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002), National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD) surveys. (This table was prepared July 2020)

Table 2. Hierarchical Linear Model Effects and Standard Errors for Female Educational Attainment

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β		SE	β		SE	β		SE
Within School									
Race, Ethnicity, and Immigrant Generation									
First Generation Asian American	.011		.091	.029		.088	.298		.405
Second Generation Asian American	.046		.096	.059		.096	.126		.352
Third-plus Generation Asian American	.305	*	.184	.265	†	.179	.861		.757
First Generation White American	.015		.101	.025		.095	-.756	*	.418
Second Generation White American	.053		.151	.050		.145	.052		.374
Social Bonds									
Attachment	---		---	.010		.012	.012		.013
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.025		.056
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.001		.037
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.245	**	.090
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.037		.048
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.106	*	.059
Commitment	---		---	.017		.013	.007		.013
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.051		.058
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.037		.066
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.053		.202
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.020		.049
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.234	**	.074
Belief	---		---	-.010		.015	-.007		.016
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.042		.054
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.035		.050
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.261		.201
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.140	*	.064
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.094		.074
Academic Involvement	---		---	.041	*	.023	.043	*	.025
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.247	**	.097
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.036		.062
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.113		.164
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.098		.083
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.213	**	.069
Sports Involvement	---		---	.045	**	.014	.050	***	.014
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.036		.038
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.121	*	.059
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.444	***	.113
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.016		.059
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.276	***	.063
Student Characteristics									
Educational Achievement	.029	***	.002	.028	***	.002	.028	***	.002

Table 2 continued

Educational Expectations	.128	***	.020	.107	***	.023	.109	***	.023
Positive Peers	.009	*	.005	.007	†	.005	.008	†	.005
Misbehavior	-.017	*	.009	-.013	†	.009	-.013	†	.009
Victimization	-.033	**	.012	-.032	**	.012	-.035	**	.012
Family Characteristics									
Socioeconomic Status	.223	***	.037	.205	***	.038	.203	***	.036
Structure	.021		.041	.021		.043	.021		.043
Involvement	-.002		.009	-.004		.009	-.004		.009
School Characteristics									
% Racial Ethnic Minority	-.001		.001	-.001		.001	-.001		.001
% Children of Immigrants	.001		.004	.001		.004	.001		.004
Poverty	-.008	***	.002	-.008	***	.002	-.008	***	.002
Size	.001	***	.001	.001	***	.001	.001	***	.001
Social Disorder	.001		.003	.001		.003	.001		.003
Rural Locale	.002		.048	-.050		.048	-.050		.048
Urban Locale	.058		.060	.057		.060	.057		.060
Intercept	2.387	***	.019	2.388	***	.019	2.387		.019
Random Effects									
	Variance		X ²	Variance		X ²	Variance		X ²
Between Schools	.037	***	1094.471	.037	***	1112.029	.037	***	1098.605
Within Schools	.434			.429			.424		

†*p* ≤ .1; **p* ≤ .05; ***p* ≤ .01; ****p* ≤ .001

Note. The omitted categories are third-plus generation White American females and students within single parent/guardian family structures; and, suburban schools.

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002), National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD) surveys. (This table was prepared July 2020)

increased educational attainment than White American females. There are student, family, and school control variables that are significantly associated with female educational attainment. For student characteristics, increased student educational achievement, educational expectations, and positive peers contribute to increased educational attainment for female students; however, misbehavior and victimization while at school are detrimental for female students' educational attainment. As for family characteristics, increased socioeconomic status contributes to increased educational attainment for female students. For school characteristics, females who attend larger schools have increased levels of educational attainment. However, females who attend poorer schools have lower levels of educational attainment. In general, the relationships between female educational attainment with student, family, and school characteristics remain similar as in models 2 and 3 of this analysis.

In model 2 of Table 2, social bond measures are added to the analyses. At this stage of this analysis, females' race/ethnicity and immigrant generation is significantly associated with educational attainment.

Third-plus generation Asian American females have increased educational attainment than third-plus generation White American females. It also appears that female social bonds are also significantly associated with educational attainment. Increased academic involvement and sports involvement contribute to increased educational attainment for female students. It is also important to note that the relationship between attachment, commitment, belief, and educational attainment for female students is not statistically significant at this stage of the analysis.

In model 3 of Table 2, social bonds are interacted with race/ethnicity and immigrant generation. At this stage of this analysis, first generation White American females now have increased educational attainment than third-plus White American females. The interaction of females' race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and social bonds are significantly associated with educational attainment. Increased attachment for third-plus generation Asian American and second generation White American females are associated with decreased educational attainment. Increased commitment for second generation White American females is associated with increased

educational attainment. Increased belief for first generation White American females is associated with increased educational attainment. The main effect of academic involvement indicates that increased levels of academic involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for third-plus generation White American females; however, the interaction effects also denote that increased academic involvement is significantly associated with decreased educational attainment for first generation Asian American females. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive relationship between second and third-plus generation Asian American females, as well as first generation White American females, and academic involvement suggests that increased academic involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second and third-plus generation Asian American and first generation White American females. It is also important to highlight that the effect of increased academic involvement in regards to the relationship with increased educational attainment is stronger for second generation White American females. The main effect of sports involvement indicates that increased levels of sports involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for third-plus generation White American females; however, the interaction effects also denote that increased sports involvement is significantly associated with decreased educational attainment for second generation Asian American and second generation White American females. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the relationship between first generation Asian American and White American females, this suggests that increased sports involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for first generation Asian American and White American females. It is also apparent that the effect of increased sports involvement is even greater on educational attainment for third-plus generation Asian American females.

Social Bonds for Asian American Female Educational Attainment

In order to better understand the social bonds of Asian American females, within group analysis only considered individual student variables. Additionally, to better assess the connection between assimilation and social bonds, first generation Asian American females serve as the reference group. Table 3 displays the linear regression results of the relationships and interactions between educational attainment, social bonds, immigrant generation, and other student and family control variables for within group Asian

American female students' educational attainment. In the baseline model of Table 3, educational attainment is regressed on Asian American female students' immigrant generation as well as student and family control variables. In model 5 of Table 3, educational attainment is regressed on immigrant generation and social bonds. In model 6, social bonds are interacted with race/ethnicity and generation status.

The results of within Asian American female students and their educational attainment are presented in Table 3. In the baseline model 4 of Table 3, Asian American females' educational attainment is regressed on immigrant generation and other control variables considered in this study. At this stage of this analysis, Asian American females' immigrant generation is significantly associated with educational attainment. Third-plus generation Asian American females have lower educational attainment than first generation Asian American females. There are student and family control variables that are significantly associated with Asian American female educational attainment. For student characteristics, increased student educational achievement, educational expectations, and positive peers contribute to increased educational attainment for Asian American female students; however, misbehavior and victimization while at school are detrimental for Asian American female students' educational attainment. As for family characteristics, increased socioeconomic status contributes to increased educational attainment for Asian American female students. In general, the relationships between female educational attainment with student and family characteristics remain similar as in models 5 and 6 of this analysis.

In model 5 of Table 3, social bond measures are added to the analyses. At this stage of this analysis, being third-plus generation Asian American female remains significantly associated with decreased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American females. It appears that Asian American female social bonds are also significantly associated with educational attainment. Increased commitment, academic involvement, and sports involvement contribute to increased educational attainment for Asian American female students. It is also important to note that the relationship between attachment, belief, and educational attainment for Asian American female students are not statistically significant at this stage of the analysis.

In model 6 of Table 3, social bonds are interacted with Asian American immigrant generation. At this stage of this analysis, being third-plus generation Asian American female remains significantly associated with decreased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American females. The interaction of Asian American females'

Table 3. Linear Regression Results for Asian American Female Educational Attainment

	Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	β		SE	β		SE	β		SE
Immigrant Generation									
Second Generation Asian American	-.013		.071	-.013		.071	-.107		.087
Third-Plus Generation Asian American	-.140	**	.056	-.156	**	.057	-.159	**	.057
Social Bonds									
Attachment	---		---	.004		.009	.003		.009
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.032		.027
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.014		.105
Commitment	---		---	.015	†	.011	.014		.011
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.052	†	.035
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.131		.166
Belief	---		---	-.003		.010	-.001		-.001
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.053	†	.040
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.096		.249
Academic Involvement	---		---	.041	**	.014	.041	**	.014
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.035		.050
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.046		.252
Sports Involvement	---		---	.053	***	.011	.054	***	.011
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.044		.056
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.407	**	.172
Student Characteristics									
Educational Achievement	.026	***	.001	.026	***	.001	.026	***	.001
Educational Expectations	.131	***	.016	.109	***	.017	.106	***	.017
Positive Peers	.010	*	.003	.008	*	.003	.008	*	.003
Misbehavior	-.024	**	.007	-.021	**	.007	-.021	**	.007
Victimization	-.040	***	.010	-.040	***	.010	-.039	***	.010
Family Characteristics									
Socioeconomic Status	.248	***	.021	.244	***	.020	.243	***	.020
Structure	.005		.031	-.004		.030	-.005		.030
Involvement	.004		.005	.002		.005	.003		.005
Constant	.668	***	.109	.626	***	.126	.628	***	.126
R^2	.311			.323			.328		

† $p \leq .1$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Note. The omitted categories are First Generation Asian Americans and students within single parent/guardian family structures.

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002), National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD) surveys. (This table was prepared July 2020)

immigrant generation and social bonds are significantly associated with educational attainment. Increased commitment for second generation Asian American females is associated with increased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American females. Increased belief for second generation Asian American females is associated with decreased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American females. The main effect of academic involvement indicates that increased levels of academic involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for first generation Asian American females. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive relationship between second and third-plus generation Asian American females suggests that increased academic involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second and third-plus generation Asian American females. The main effect of sports involvement indicates that increased levels of sports involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for first generation Asian American. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the relationship between second generation and first generation Asian American females, this suggests that increased sports involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second generation Asian American females. It is also apparent that the effect of increased sports involvement is even greater on educational attainment for third-plus generation Asian American females.

Social Bonds for Male Educational Attainment

Table 4 displays the HLM results of the relationships and interactions between educational attainment, social bonds, race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and other student, family, and school control variables for male students' educational attainment. In the baseline model of Table 4, educational attainment is regressed on male students' immigrant generation and race/ethnicity as well as student, family, and school control variables. In model 8 of Table 4, educational attainment is regressed on immigrant generation, race/ethnicity, and social bonds (i.e., attachment, commitment, belief, and academic and sports involvement). In model 9, social bonds are interacted with race/ethnicity and generation status.

In the baseline model 7 of Table 4, males' educational attainment is regressed on students' race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and other control variables considered in this study. At this stage of this analysis, males' race/ethnicity and immigrant generation are significantly associated with

educational attainment. First generation Asian American and first generation White American generation males have increased, while second generation White American have decreased, educational attainment than third-plus generation White American males. There are student, family, and school control variables that are significantly associated with male educational attainment. For student characteristics, increased student educational achievement and educational expectations contribute to increased educational attainment for male students; however, misbehavior while at school is detrimental for male students' educational attainment. For family characteristics, increased socioeconomic status, being in a two-parent/guardian family, and involvement contribute to increased educational attainment for male students. For school characteristics, males who attend poorer and more disorderly schools have lower levels of educational attainment; however, male students who attend larger and urban schools have increased levels of educational attainment. In general, the relationships between male educational attainment with student, family, and school characteristics remain similar as in models 8 and 9 of this analysis.

In model 8 of Table 4, social bond measures are added to the analyses. At this stage of this analysis, males' race/ethnicity and immigrant generation continue to be significantly associated with educational attainment. First generation Asian American and first generation White American males have increased, while second generation White American have decreased, educational attainment than third-plus generation White American males. It also appears that male social bonds are also significantly associated with educational attainment. Increased commitment, academic involvement, and sports involvement contribute to increased educational attainment for male students; however, increased belief is associated with decreased educational attainment for male students. It is also important to note that the relationship between attachment and educational attainment for male students is not statistically significant at this stage of the analysis.

In model 9 of Table 4, interactions between race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and social bonds are now included in the analysis. At this stage of this analysis, immigrant generation have been explained away by the interactions of immigrant generation and social bonds. At this stage of this analysis, the interaction of males' race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and social bonds are significantly associated with educational attainment. The main effect of attachment indicates that increased attachment is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for third-plus generation White American males; however, the interaction effects also

Table 4. Hierarchical Linear Model Effects and Standard Errors for Male Educational Attainment

	Model 7			Model 8			Model 9		
	β		SE	β		SE	β		SE
Within School									
Race, Ethnicity, and Immigrant Generation									
First Generation Asian American	.203	**	.067	.174	**	.064	.270		.297
Second Generation Asian American	.026		.073	.021		.073	.397		.280
Third-plus Generation Asian American	.112		.184	.095		.172	.516		.423
First Generation White American	.264	**	.089	.233	**	.087	.431		.356
Second Generation White American	-.157	*	.085	-.185	*	.089	.126		.282
Social Bonds									
Attachment	---		---	.011		.009	.014	†	.010
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.001		.035
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.138	***	.037
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.132	*	.063
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.033		.075
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.032		.058
Commitment	---		---	.021	*	.012	.021	†	.012
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.028		.045
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.043		.048
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.034		.111
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.037		.072
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.012		.067
Belief	---		---	-.030	*	.013	-.032	*	.014
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.025		.033
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.142	*	.058
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.033		.099
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.076		.059
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.004		.066
Academic Involvement	---		---	.068	**	.024	.075	**	.026
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.076	†	.056
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.255	***	.065
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.277	†	.199
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.175	†	.108
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.054		.102
Sports Involvement	---		---	.046	**	.014	.047	**	.015
First Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.082	**	.030
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.016		.053
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.047		.095
First Generation White American	---		---	---		---	-.177	**	.065
Second Generation White American	---		---	---		---	.009		.048
Student Characteristics									
Educational Achievement	.021	***	.002	.021	***	.002	.021	***	.002

Table 4 continued

Educational Expectations	.171	***	.018	.149	***	.020	.150	***	.020
Positive Peers	.003		.006	.001		.006	.001		.006
Misbehavior	-.030	**	.009	-.031	***	.009	-.031	**	.009
Victimization	.012		.011	.012		.011	.011		.011
Family Characteristics									
Socioeconomic Status	.220	***	.029	.194	***	.030	.196	***	.031
Structure	.092	*	.047	.081	*	.047	.081	*	.048
Involvement	.009	†	.006	.008	†	.006	.009	†	.006
School Characteristics									
% Racial Ethnic Minority	.001		.001	.001		.001	.001		.001
% Children of Immigrants	-.001		.003	-.001		.003	-.001		.003
Poverty	-.005	*	.002	-.005	*	.002	-.005	*	.002
Size	.001	*	.001	.001	*	.001	.001	*	.001
Social Disorder	-.007	†	.004	-.007	†	.004	-.007	†	.004
Rural Locale	-.029		.055	-.029		.055	-.026		.055
Urban Locale	.117	*	.051	.117	*	.051	.118	*	.051
Intercept	2.174	***	.018	2.173	***	.018	2.175	***	.018
Random Effects	Variance		X ²	Variance		X ²	Variance		X ²
Between Schools	.044	***	1020.552	.045	***	1052.204	.044	***	1029.320
Within Schools	.364			.354			.355		

† $p \leq .1$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Note. The omitted categories are White Americans and students within single parent/guardian family structures; and, suburban schools.
 Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002), National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD) surveys. (This table was prepared July 2020)

denote that increased attachment is significantly associated with decreased educational attainment for second and third-plus generation Asian American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive relationship between first generation Asian American as well as first and second generation White American males with attachment, this suggests that increased attachment is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for first generation Asian American, first generation White American, and second generation Asian American males. The main effect of increased commitment is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for third-plus generation White American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactions between race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and commitment, this finding indicates that increased commitment also increases educational attainment across immigrant generations for Asian American and White American males. The main effect of belief indicates that increased belief is significantly associated with decreased educational attainment for third-plus generation White American males; however, the interaction effects also denote that increased belief is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second

generation Asian American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive relationship between first and third-plus generation Asian American, as well as first and second generation White American males, and belief, this suggests that increased belief is also significantly associated with decreased educational attainment for first Asian American, third-plus generation Asian American, first White American, and second generation White American male students. The main effect of academic involvement indicates that increased levels of academic involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for third-plus generation White American males; however, the interaction effects also denote that increased academic involvement is significantly associated with decreased educational attainment for first and second generation Asian American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive relationship between second generation White American males and academic involvement, this suggests that increased academic involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second generation White American males. It is also apparent that the effect of increased academic involvement is even greater on educational attainment for third-plus generation Asian American

and first generation White American males. The main effect of sports involvement indicates that increased levels of sports involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for third-plus generation White American males; however, the interaction effects also denote that increased sports involvement is significantly associated with decreased educational attainment for first generation Asian American and first generation White American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive relationship between second and third-plus generation Asian American, as well as second generation White American, males and sports involvement, this suggests that increased sports involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second Asian American, third-plus generation Asian American, and second generation White American males.

Social Bonds for Asian American Male Educational Attainment

In order to better understand the social bonds of Asian American males, within group analysis only considered individual student variables. Additionally, the better assess the connection between assimilation and social bonds, first generation Asian American males serve as the reference group. Table 5 displays the linear regression results of the relationships and interactions between educational attainment, social bonds, immigrant generation, and other student and family control variables for within group Asian American male students' educational attainment. In the baseline model of Table 5, educational attainment is regressed on Asian American male students' immigrant generation as well as student and family control variables. In model 11 of Table 5, educational attainment is regressed on immigrant generation and social bonds. In model 12, social bonds are interacted with race/ethnicity and generation status.

The results of within Asian American male students and their educational attainment are presented in Table 5. In the baseline model 10 of Table 5, Asian American males' educational attainment is regressed on immigrant generation and other control variables considered in this study. At this stage of this analysis, Asian American males' immigrant generation is significantly associated with educational attainment. Second and third-plus generation Asian American males have lower educational attainment than first generation Asian American males. There are student and family control variables that are significantly associated with Asian American male educational attainment. For student characteristics, increased educational achievement and educational expectations contribute to increased educational attainment for

Asian American male students; however, misbehavior while at school is detrimental for Asian American male students' educational attainment. As for family characteristics, increased socioeconomic status and family involvement contribute to increased educational attainment for Asian American male students. In general, the relationships between male educational attainment with student and family characteristics remain similar as in models 11 and 12 of this analysis.

In model 11 of Table 5, social bond measures are added to the analyses. At this stage of this analysis, being second and third-plus generation Asian American male remains significantly associated with decreased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American males. It appears that Asian American male social bonds are also significantly associated with educational attainment. Increased commitment, academic involvement, and sports involvement contribute to increased educational attainment for Asian American male students. It is also important to note that the relationship between attachment, belief, and educational attainment for Asian American male students are not statistically significant at this stage of the analysis.

In model 12 of Table 5, social bonds are interacted with Asian American immigrant generation. At this stage of this analysis, being second and third-plus generation Asian American male remains significantly associated with decreased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American males. The interaction of Asian American males' immigrant generation and social bonds are significantly associated with educational attainment. Increased attachment third-plus generation Asian American males is associated with decreased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American males. The main effect of commitment indicates that increased levels of commitment is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for first generation Asian American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive relationship between second and third-plus generation Asian American males suggests that increased commitment is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second and third-plus generation Asian American males. Increased belief for second generation Asian American males is associated with increased educational attainment in comparison to first generation Asian American males. The main effect of academic involvement indicates that increased levels of academic involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for first generation Asian American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the interactive

relationship between second and third-plus generation Asian American males suggests that increased academic involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second and third-plus generation Asian American males. The main effect of sports involvement indicates that increased levels of sports involvement is significantly associated with increased educational attainment for

first generation Asian American males. Because there is no statistically significant difference in the relationship between second generation and first generation Asian American males, this suggests that increased sports involvement is also significantly associated with increased educational attainment for second generation Asian American males.

Table 5. Linear Regression Results for Asian American Male Educational Attainment

	Model 10			Model 11			Model 12		
	β		SE	β		SE	β		SE
Immigrant Generation									
Second Generation Asian American	-.266	***	.063	-.269	***	.062	-.344	***	.072
Third-Plus Generation Asian American	-.333	***	.050	-.341	***	.058	-.343	***	.050
Social Bonds									
Attachment	---		---	-.003		.008	-.001		.008
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.044		.039
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.099	**	.042
Commitment	---		---	.026	**	.009	.024	**	.009
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.054		.057
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.084		.095
Belief	---		---	-.010		.009	-.013		.010
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.061	†	.042
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.027		.111
Academic Involvement	---		---	.074	***	.016	.075	***	.016
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	-.076		.066
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.307		.299
Sports Involvement	---		---	.046	***	.009	.045	***	.009
Second Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.02		.045
Third-plus Generation Asian American	---		---	---		---	.142		.137
Student Characteristics									
Educational Achievement	.020	***	.001	.020	***	.001	.020	***	.001
Educational Expectations	.161	***	.015	.133	***	.015	.133	***	.015
Positive Peers	.004		.003	.001		.003	.001		.003
Misbehavior	-.035	***	.006	-.034	***	.006	-.034	***	.006
Victimization	.006		.008	.004		.008	.005		.008
Family Characteristics									
Socioeconomic Status	.243	***	.021	.235	***	.021	.237	***	.021
Structure	.027		.030	.022		.029	.022		.029
Involvement	.007	†	.005	.007	†	.005	.007	†	.005
Constant	.933	***	.098	.881	***	.105	.895	***	.107
R^2	.343			.358			.361		

† $p \leq .1$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Note. The omitted categories are First Generation Asian Americans and students within single parent/guardian family structures.

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002), National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD) surveys. (This table was prepared July 2020)

Discussion and Conclusions

The primary aim of this study was to utilize social bonds and assimilation theoretical frameworks to examine the link between social bonds to school and educational attainment for female and male children of Asian American immigrants. Social bonds, straight-line assimilation, segmented assimilation, and immigrant optimism hypotheses were utilized to guide this research analyses. Given the existing research that demonstrates the racialized and gendered experiences of children of Asian American immigrants in the U.S. education system (Chou et al. 2012, 2015), our findings reaffirm these divergent educational outcomes. Racialized femininity and masculinity indeed shape divergent outcomes - and therefore social bonds to schools. Thus, the findings warrant further examining how these aforementioned social bonds and theoretical assimilation frameworks further our understanding of the educational attainment for female and male children of Asian American immigrants.

The first research question presented in this study was, are social bonds contributing to female and male children of immigrants' educational attainment? Findings indicate that Asian American students' social bond to school is associated with their educational attainment. While there is a variation within sex/gender and immigrant generation, strong social bonds to the school facilitate Asian American students' higher educational attainments.

The second research question presented in this study was, are the children of Asian American immigrants' social bonds distinctive by the intersection of sex/gender and immigrant generation? Results indicate that Asian American students' social bond to school indeed differs by sex/gender and immigrant generation. Although previous research has articulated the involvement in academic activities of Asian American students as possible academic pressure (Peguero et al. 2016), sport related extracurricular activities remain to be an important aspect of educational attainment (Rivera 2016). Findings suggest that inclusion of involvement in sports related extracurricular activities may significantly benefit first and third-plus generation Asian American female students and their male counterparts' educational attainment across immigrant generations.

From a segmented assimilation perspective, our findings demonstrate the significance of generational status and sport related extracurricular activities for Asian American students. This is indicative of the complexities that exist based on the immigrant generation. For example, when compared to White Americans, the benefits of extracurricular activities were not as evident. It was not until within Asian American analyses highlighted that increased

involvement contributed to educational attainment. With that noted, it is also important to highlight that social bonds also seemed to matter more White American students across immigrant generations while the much of the associations between social bonds and educational attainment for Asian American students were null, despite sex/gender and immigrant generation. These null findings clearly question the social and cultural relevance of social bonds across race/ethnicity. In other words, is social bonds conceptually based on White American students' values, beliefs, and interactions with schools? In addition, within Asian American male students' analysis, findings also make it clear second and third-plus generation Asian American male students have diminished educational attainment than their first-generation Asian American male counterparts. These findings are reflective of the existing research in segmented assimilation processes which accounts for the intersectionality of race/ethnicity and sex/gender (Bondy et al. 2019; Chou et al. 2012, 2015; Peguero et al. 2017; Portes et al. 2005; Zhou and Bankston 2016, 2020; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Segmented assimilation partly explains the diverse assimilation processes based on race/ethnicity, sex/gender, and other social and cultural factors. For example, female Asian American students face a stereotype that constructs a depiction of racialized femininity that reinforces the notion of Asian girls as weak and submissive (Chou et al. 2012, 2015), their social bond to the U.S. education system have divergent pathways in comparison to their male counterpart. Thus, the segmented assimilation framework provided insight into the complexities of Asian American students' educational attainment as well as relevance, or lack thereof, for social bonds to school.

For the immigrant optimism hypothesis, which emphasizes that first and second generation immigrant youth, and particularly second generation youth, have improved educational experiences that disappear by third-plus generation (Feliciano 2008; Kao and Thompson 2003; Kao and Tienda 1995; Kao et al. 2013; Kim et al. 2019). The within group analysis in part supports this hypothesis, especially for Asian American female students. Findings indicated that third-plus generation Asian American females have comparatively lower educational attainment than first and second generation Asian American females, even with controlling for social bonds and other pertinent factors in this study. Typically, research and school initiatives focus on the barriers to educational success that first generation experiences while neglecting barriers encountered by second and third-plus generation students (Olsen 2015; Rong and Preissle 2008; Suárez-Orozco 2001). Our findings warrant more investigation on what social processes impacts

the third-plus generation Asian American females as they differ from their first-generation counterparts (Zhou and Bankston 2016, 2020), especially as they experience racialized and sexualized stereotypes that permeate in the U.S. education system (Chou and Feagin 2015; Chou et al. 2012, 2015). In light of this study's finding, and given that Asian American students' social bonds to school are associated with educational promotion, success, and attainment (Bondy et al. 2019; Kao and Tienda 1995; Peguero and Bondy 2015; Peguero et al. 2017), addressing third-plus generation Asian American females students' social bonds to school is imperative for democratic schooling in U.S. society.

As noted, "model immigrant" and "model minority" stereotypes are often assigned to them within schools; however, that label can be incredibly detrimental. The stereotype is based on Asian American immigrants as being self-sufficient, in that they take care of their own problems within the family or the community (Chou and Feagin 2015; Koo et al. 2012; S. Lee 2015; Poon et al. 2016. Qin et al. 2008). Unfortunately, the model minority myth only masks the challenges and barriers that Asian Americans face every day in a society that has a long history of racism and discrimination. Because of the "model minority syndrome," teachers often assume that Asian American students do not need help or assistance because of their "natural" or "biological" ability (Chou and Feagin 2015; Koo et al. 2012; S. Lee 2015; Poon et al. 2016. Qin et al. 2008; Zhou and Bankston 2020). Prior research (Bondy et al. 2019; Peguero et al. 2016; Peguero et al. 2017) demonstrates that Asian American students have limited and restricted access to many aspects of the measures and opportunities associated with social bonds. The model minority stereotype continues to blame those who lag behind for their individual failure to work hard, to portray other racial/ethnic minority groups as inferior, to thwart Asian Americans' demands for social justice, and to position racial/ethnic minority groups in the US against one another (Chou and Feagin 2015; S. Lee 2015). The model minority myth also homogenizes the Asian American student population by dismissing distinct characteristics, such as sex/gender and immigrant generation. Recent research (Zhou and Bankston 2020) finds that not only is the self-fulfilling prophecy of Asian American educational achievement masks racial barriers, but also creates a new set of racial stereotypes with negative consequences. Furthermore, the myth also reinforces racialized sexualization for female Asian Americans that impact their experience in the U.S. education system (Chou et al. 2012, 2015). As a set of stereotypes, the model minority myth normalizes relative valorization and civic ostracism of Asian Americans (Kim 1999),

reinforcing racial barriers towards fostering a diverse educational environment in the U.S. (Chou and Feagin 2015; Chou et al. 2012, 2015; Zhou and Bankston 2020). Consistent with the existing research findings (Chou and Feagin 2015; S. Lee 2015; Kim 1999), our study further demonstrates the harm that the myth perpetuates. In this regard, social bonds remain as an important theoretical framework to approach the complexities of Asian American students' educational attainment across immigrant generation.

Limitations and Future Research

Future research can address the limitations associated with this study as well as build upon its findings. First, this study purposely focused on Asian Americans' school bonds, sex/gender, socialization and assimilation, and attainment as part of a broader process of assimilation and education in the US. In part, we did this because the model minority stereotype even dismisses the need to investigate and understand the factors linked to Asian American schooling. As noted throughout this study, it is important to focus on the factors associated with Asian American students' educational progress and success. However, it is important to examine the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity in the relationships between social bonds to school and attainment for Black/African American, Latina/o/x American, and Arab/Middle Eastern American children on immigrants. Prior research suggests that social bonds to school, educational experiences, and attainment indeed vary by sex and gender, race/ethnicity, and immigrant generation (Feliciano 2008; Peguero et al. 2016; Peguero et al. 2017).

Second, we used the indicator of self-reported biological sex, which was a dichotomous response of male or female. We recognize the limitation of our data as well as our framing - sex and gender are not interchangeable and cannot be universally categorized as binary (Butler 2006; Fausto-Sterling 2008). Future studies must consider the complex interplay of biological sex and gender that is bound to shape the educational pathways and outcomes of the children Asian American immigrants.

Third, this study did not test for how social and cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity that may influence female immigrant students' bonds to school and educational attainment. For example, previous research indicates that girls' involvement with distinct types of extracurricular activities result in distinct school experiences and academic outcomes because of the sexist social and cultural expectations associated with individual and team sports, hobbies, employment internships, and structured or unstructured school-related academic-related

activities (Dumais 2008; Garcia 2009; Lehman and Dumais 2017; Reynolds and Bamford 2016). Thus, further research about how girls' involvement in school-related extracurricular activities influences educational attainment is warranted.

Fourth, research about sex and gender, race/ethnicity, immigration, and education has revealed that a school's climate around immigration can matter with the academic processes and student experiences (Alba and Nee 2009; Bondy 2014, 2016; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). To better understand the role of immigration related factors in student bonds to school and educational attainment, the social, political, and economic environment of immigration should be considered.

Fifth, this study utilized the pan-ethnic term Asian American, even though it conglomerates groups of people with incredibly diverse backgrounds. In other words, further research examining the educational attainment of distinct Asian American ethnicities (e.g., Korean, Chinese, Japanese) is certainly warranted. It is important to investigate the differences of social bonds to school among different countries of origin for Asian Americans. Many studies demonstrate that the educational experiences and outcomes can vary significantly for Korean, Hmong, Filipino, and Chinese youth (Chou and Feagin 2015; Kao et al. 2013; S. Lee 2015).

Sixth and finally, investigating the relationship between the children of Asian American immigrants and their school educational experiences are complex and deserve further attention, especially in the current social and political climate of immigration in the US. The "threat of immigration" has also entered the school environment, which potentially influenced Asian American students' relationships with increased reports of bullying, ridicule, discrimination, and harassment from other students, teachers, and school administrators (Ee and Gándara 2020; Peguero and Bondy 2020). Investigating and addressing how the detrimental and biased treatment Asian American students endure, as well as the consequences, warrant further research in the current socio-political climate. Despite the limitations associated with this study, this study does provide evidence to set forth a future research agenda for the continued exploration of the connections between social bonds to school, sex, race/ethnicity, immigrant generation, and educational outcomes.

Conclusions

The findings generated from this analysis illuminate how social bonds to school matter across three generations of Asian American females and males. For the reason that school is an institution of socialization

and assimilation and for the reason that Asian Americans are frequently differentially perceived and treated in schools (Chou and Feagin 2015; Kao et al. 2013; S. Lee 2015), understanding Asian American students' bonds to their schools is vital to the success or failure of public schools as a democratic and meritocratic institution. While results in this study suggest mixed results for the distinct assimilation theories, it is important to discuss results through each of these theoretical lenses in order to better understand the complex relationship between education, sex/gender, immigrant generation, and social bonds to school. This study demonstrates that research on educational progress for the children of Asian American immigrants should be attentive to multiple school experiences that culminate in success beyond test scores. It is important to acknowledge that assimilation into American culture and society, or Americanization, is a social process that occurs through a variety of U.S. institutions, including school. Assimilation processes across immigrant generational status, especially considering the divergent pathways and outcomes for female and male Asian American immigrant children, have perhaps not unfolded in an even and gradual acceptance of U.S. values, beliefs, and behaviors. Educators and educational researchers who are seeking to better understand the schooling experiences of the children of Asian American immigrants might benefit from questioning assimilation and Americanization as processes that inevitably promote academic progress and success. Given that the children of immigrants are and have historically been marginalized within US schools (Bondy 2014, 2016; Kao et al. 2013; Portes and Rumbaut 2014), it appears that socialization, Americanization, sex/gender, and immigrant generation status are germane to creating democratic education for all students.

References

- Alba, Richard D., and Victor Nee. 2009. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bondy, Jennifer M. 2014. "Why Do I Have to Pledge the US Flag? It's Not My Country!": Latina Youths Rearticulating Citizenship and National Belonging." *Multicultural Perspectives* 16(4):193–202.
- _____. 2016. "Latina Youth, Education, and Citizenship: A Feminist Transnational Analysis." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 44(2):212–243.

- Bondy, Jennifer M., Anthony A. Peguero, and Brent E. Johnson. E. 2017. "The Children of Immigrants' Academic Self-Efficacy: The Significance of Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Segmented Assimilation." *Education and Urban Society* 49(5):486-517.
- _____. 2019. "The Children of Immigrants' Bonding to School: Examining the Roles of Assimilation, Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Social Bonds." *Urban Education* 54(4):592-622.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bryan, Julia, Cheryl Moore-Thomas, Stacey Gaenzle, Jungnam Kim, Chia-Huei Lin, and Goeun Na. 2012. "The Effects of School Bonding on High School Seniors' Academic Achievement." *Journal of Counseling & Development* 90(4):467-480.
- Butler, Judith. 2006. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Chou, Rosalind S., and Joe R. Feagin. 2015. *Myth of the Model Minority: Asian Americans Facing Racism*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Chou, Rosalind S, Kristen Lee, and Simon Ho. 2012. "The White Habitus and Hegemonic Masculinity at the Elite Southern University Asian Americans and the Need for Intersectional Analysis." *Sociation Today* 10 (2):8-12.
- _____. 2015. "Love Is (Color)Blind: Asian Americans and White Institutional Space at the Elite University." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(2):302-16.
- Chung, Ruth H. Gim. 2001. "Gender, Ethnicity, and Acculturation in Intergenerational Conflict of Asian American College Students." *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 7(4):376-86.
- Crosnoe, Robert, Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson, and Glen H. Elder Jr. 2004. "Intergenerational Bonding in School: The Behavioral and Contextual Correlates of Student-Teacher Relationships." *Sociology of Education* 77(1):60-81.
- Dumais, Susan A. 2008. "Cohort and Gender Differences in Extracurricular Participation: The Relationship between Activities, Math Achievement, and College Expectations." *Sociological Spectrum* 29(1):72-100.
- Ee, Jongyeon and Patricia Gándara. 2020. "The Impact of Immigration Enforcement on the Nation's Schools." *American Educational Research Journal* 57(2):840-871.
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2008. *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books.
- Feliciano, Cynthia. 2008. "Gendered Selectivity: US Mexican Immigrants and Mexican Nonmigrants, 1960-2000." *Latin American Research Review* 139-160.
- Feliciano, Cynthia, and Yader R. Lanuza. 2017. "An Immigrant Paradox? Contextual Attainment and Intergenerational Educational Mobility." *American Sociological Review* 82(1):211-241.
- Fry, Richard. N.d. "The Growing Economic Clout of the College Educated." *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved March 1, 2020 (<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/24/the-growing-economic-clout-of-the-college-educated/>).
- Garcia, Lorena. 2009. "'Now Why Do You Want to Know About That?' Heteronormativity, Sexism, and Racism in the Sexual (Mis) Education of Latina Youth." *Gender & Society* 23(4):520-541.
- Gordon, Milton Myron. 1964. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hirschi, Travis. 1969. *Causes of Delinquency*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Homer, Emily M., Benjamin W. Fisher, and Thomas J. Mowen. 2020. "Examining the Moderating Role of Social Bonds in the Relationship between School Victimization and Educational Attainment." *Victims & Offenders* 1-21.
- Hsin, Amy. 2018. Hegemonic Gender Norms and the Gender Gap in Achievement: The Case of Asian Americans. *Sociological Science* 5:752-774.
- Ingels, Steven J., Daniel J. Pratt, Christopher P. Alexander, Donna M. Jewell, Erich Lauff, Tiffany L. Mattox, and David Wilson. 2014. "Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS: 2002) Third Follow-up Data File Documentation. NCES 2014-364." *National Center for Education Statistics*.
- Kao, Grace, and Jennifer S. Thompson. 2003. "Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Educational Achievement and Attainment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29(1):417-442.
- Kao, Grace, and Marta Tienda. 1995. "Optimism and Achievement: The Educational Performance of Immigrant Youth." *Social Science Quarterly* 1-19.

- Kao, Grace, Elizabeth Vaquera, and Kimberly Goyette. 2013. *Education and Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Polity.
- Kiang, Lisa, Andrew J. Supple, Gabriela L. Stein, and Laura M. Gonzalez. 2012. "Gendered Academic Adjustment among Asian American Adolescents in an Emerging Immigrant Community." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 41(3):283-294.
- Kim, Claire Jean. 1999. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics & Society* 27 (1):105-138.
- Kim, Sung Won, Hyunsun Cho, and Minji Song. 2019. Revisiting the Explanations for Asian American Scholastic Success: A Meta-Analytic and Critical Review. *Educational Review* 71(6):691-711.
- Koo, Dixie J., Anthony A. Peguero, and Zahra Shekarkhar Z. 2012. "The 'Model Minority' Victim: Immigration, Gender, and Asian American Vulnerabilities to Violence at School." *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 10(2):129-47.
- Lee, Jennifer. 2015. "From Undesirable to Marriageable: Hyper-Selectivity and the Racial Mobility of Asian Americans." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 662 (1):79-93.
- Lee, Jennifer and Min Zhou. 2014. "From Unassimilable to Exceptional: The Rise of Asian Americans and 'Stereotype Promise'." *New Diversities* 16(1).
- Lee, Stacy J. 2015. *Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype: Listening to Asian American Youth*. Teachers College Press.
- Lehman, Brett, and Susan A. Dumais. 2017. "Feminization of Arts Participation and Extracurricular Activities? Gender Differences in Cultural Capital and Bullying Victimization." *Poetics* 61:26-38.
- Lewis, Amanda E., and John B. Diamond. 2015. *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Maddox, Samuel J., and Ronald J. Prinz. 2003. "School Bonding in Children and Adolescents: Conceptualization, Assessment, and Associated Variables." *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review* 6: 31-49.
- Olsen, Brad. 2015. *Teaching What They Learn, Learning What They Live: How Teachers' Personal Histories Shape Their Professional Development*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Park, Robert E. 1914. "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups with Particular Reference to the Negro." *American Journal of Sociology* 19(5):606-623.
- Peguero, Anthony A., and Jennifer M. Bondy. 2015. "Schools, Justice, and Immigrant Students: Segmented Assimilation, Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Perceptions of Fairness and Order." *Teachers College Record* 117(7):1-42.
- _____. 2020. "The Importance of Immigration with Future Research about School Safety." *Race and Justice* 10(3): 247-268.
- Peguero, Anthony A., Jennifer M. Bondy, and Jun Sung Hong. 2017. "Social Bonds across Immigrant Generations: Bonding to School and Examining the Relevance of Assimilation." *Youth & Society* 49(6):733-754.
- Peguero, Anthony A., Sarah M. Ovink, and Yun Ling Li. 2016. "Social Bonding to School and Educational Inequality: Race/Ethnicity, Dropping out, and the Significance of Place." *Sociological Perspectives* 59(2):317-344.
- Perreira, Krista M., Kathleen Mullan Harris, and Dohoon Lee. 2006. "Making It in America: High School Completion by Immigrant and Native Youth." *Demography* 43(3):511-536.
- Poon, OiYan, Dian Squire, Corinne Kodama, Ajani Byrd, Jason Chan, Lester Manzano, Sara Furr, and Devita Bishundat. 2016. "A Critical Review of the Model Minority Myth in Selected Literature on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Higher Education." *Review of Educational Research* 86(2):469-502.
- Portes, Alejandro, Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, and William Haller. 2005. "Segmented Assimilation on the Ground: The New Second Generation in Early Adulthood." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(6):1000-1040.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2014. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. University of California Press.
- Qin, Desirée Boalian, Niobe Way, and Preetika Mukherjee. 2008. "The other side of the model minority story: The familial and peer challenges faced by Chinese American adolescents." *Youth & Society* 39(4): 480-506.
- Raudenbush, Stephen W., Anthony S. Bryk, Yuk Fai Cheong, Richard T. Congdon, and Toit Mathilda du. 2016. *Hierarchical Linear and Nonlinear Modeling User Manual: User Guide for Scientific Software International's*

- (S.S.I.) Program. Scientific Software International.
- Reynolds, John R., and Melissa J. Bamford. 2016. "School Gender Culture and Student Subjective Well-Being." *Sex Roles* 74(1–2):62–77.
- Rivera, Lauren A. 2016. *Pedigree: How Elite Students Get Elite Jobs*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rong, Xue Lan, and Judith Preissle. 2008. *Educating Immigrant Students in the 21st Century: What Educators Need to Know*. Corwin Press.
- Rumberger, Russell W. 2011. *Dropping out: Why Students Drop Out of High School and What Can Be Done About It*. Harvard University Press.
- Ryan, Camille L., and Kurt Bauman. 2016. "Educational Attainment in the United States: 2015."
- Suárez-Orozco, Carola, Mona M. Abo-Zena, and Amy K. Marks. 2015. *Transitions: The Development of Children of Immigrants*. New York: New York University Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo. 2001. "Globalization, Immigration, and Education: The Research Agenda." *Harvard Educational Review* 71(3):345–366.
- United States Census Bureau. 2017. *Current Population Survey*. Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, Population Division
- Wehlage, Gary G., Robert A. Rutter, Gregory A. Smith, Nancy Lasko, and Ricardo R. Fernandez. 1989. *Reducing the Risk: Schools as Communities of Support*. London: Falmer Press.
- Yavorsky, Jill E., and Claudia Buchmann. 2019. "Gender Typicality and Academic Achievement among American High School Students." *Sociological Science* 6: 661–683.
- Zhou, Min, and Carl L. Bankston. 2016. *The Rise of the New Second Generation*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Zhou, Min, and Carl L Bankston. 2020. "The Model Minority Stereotype and the National Identity Question: The Challenges Facing Asian Immigrants and Their Children." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43 (1): 233–253.
- Zhou, Min, and Jennifer Lee. 2017. "Hyper-Selectivity and the Remaking of Culture: Understanding the Asian American Achievement Paradox." *Asian American Journal of Psychology* 8 (1): 7.
- Zhou, Min, and Yang Sao Xiong. 2005. "The Multifaceted American Experiences of the Children of Asian Immigrants: Lessons for Segmented Assimilation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(6):1119–1152.