



Young Adults in the United States: A Mid-Decade Profile

Rubén G. Rumbaut and Golnaz Komaie

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William Bouguereau, "Jeunes Bohemiennes" (Young Gypsies), 1879

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Introduction

This report sketches a detailed profile of young adults in the United States in the first years of the twenty-first century. As such, it updates and extends an earlier profile based on an analysis of the 5% PUMS of the 2000 census (Rumbaut 2004), available online as part of the working paper series of the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Transitions to Adulthood.

The present report is based on an analysis of merged data from 2003-2006 of the Current Population Survey. Unlike the decennial census which counts the total population, including that segment which resides or is institutionalized in group quarters (such as prisons and military barracks), the CPS is an annual household survey of a representative sample of the civilian, non-institutionalized population of the United States. As such, data from the CPS will not reflect, for example, the more than one million young adult males 18 to 34 who were incarcerated at the time of the 2000 census (comprising 3.1% of the total number of young males between 18 and 34), or the 1% of the younger 18-to-24 population counted in the military at the time of the last census. Nonetheless, with that caveat, the CPS is the best available national data set for our purposes here: to provide a detailed, up-to-date portrait of young adults today and of their transitions to adult roles, including such conventional markers as leaving the parental home, finishing school, entering into full time work, getting married and having children.

As in the previous 2000 profile, in this mid-decade update we seek answers to these questions: How many young adults are there in the U.S. between the ages of 18 and 34, and what proportion of the national population do they comprise? What are their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics? What percent of them have “completed” any or all of the conventional milestones marking normative transitions into adulthood? How many have left home, finished school, work full time, have been married or had children—and by what age? Of those who have not yet formed households of their own, how many still live with their parents? Does the timing and sequencing of these transitions differ for young men and women? Do they differ by class, “race,” ethnicity, nativity or generation? How are these transitions related to each other? How does the “early-transition” cohort among young adults (ages 18-24)—the most vulnerable during this period of the life course—compare to older cohorts (ages 25-29 or 30-34)? How has large-scale international migration, which consists largely of young adults, been changing the ethnic differentiation and stratification of the young adult population in the U.S.? What are some implications of these findings for the study of this key period of the life course?

The data in the tables below are limited to young adults aged 18 to 34, and broken down first for three age groups—18-24 (“early transition”), 25-29 (“middle transition”), and 30-34 (“late transition”)—and then by gender, ethnicity, and nativity/generation for those same age groups. Main points from each of the data tables and figures are highlighted in what follows.

Table 1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Young Adults, 18 to 34, by Age Groups

Selected Characteristics	Age Groups in Young Adult Transitions			Total	
	(18-24 yrs)	(25-29 yrs)	(30-34 yrs)	(18-34 yrs)	
	Early Trans.	Middle Trans.	Late Trans.		
Total young adults:	N	27,972,112	19,498,868	19,808,008	67,278,988
Sex:					
Female	%	49.8	49.6	50.3	49.9
Male	%	50.2	50.4	49.7	50.1
Nativity/generation:					
Foreign-born (1st generation)	%	13.6	21.3	22.8	18.5
US-born, foreign-born parents (2nd gen.)	%	11.0	8.7	6.7	9.0
US-born, US-born parents (3rd+ gen.)	%	75.4	70.0	70.6	72.4
Pan-ethnicity:					
Hispanic:	%	17.1	19.7	18.2	18.2
Non-Hispanic:					
White	%	62.0	59.6	60.8	61.0
Black	%	13.6	12.7	12.2	12.9
Asian	%	3.9	5.3	6.1	4.9
American Indian, Other	%	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6
Two or more "races"	%	2.7	2.2	2.0	2.3
Not living with parents:	%	50.3	85.5	92.7	73.0
Marital and parental status:					
Never married	%	78.0	40.1	23.2	50.8
Cohabiting	%	7.4	9.9	7.3	8.1
Currently married	%	13.0	44.8	61.2	36.4
Divorced, separated, widowed	%	1.7	5.3	8.3	4.7
Has one or more children	%	11.1	36.9	56.5	31.9
Mean number of children		0.17	0.68	1.16	0.61
Educational attainment:					
Less than high school	%	21.8	13.9	12.7	16.8
High school graduate	%	30.0	29.4	28.1	29.3
Some college	%	35.2	19.6	17.9	25.6
Associate's degree	%	4.6	8.5	9.4	7.1
Bachelor's degree	%	8.0	22.4	22.3	16.4
Advanced degree	%	0.4	6.2	9.6	4.8
Economic status:					
Poverty rate (below poverty line)	%	18.1	13.1	11.9	14.9
Personal annual income	\$	14,665	28,821	35,238	25,323

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

Table 1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Young Adults

- ◆ Of a total (civilian, non-institutionalized) U.S. population of more than 291 million in 2005, there were 67.3 million young adults between the ages of 18 and 34—almost one fourth of the national total—of whom 28 million were between the ages of 18 and 24. They were born between 1971 and 1987, and have “come of age” chiefly in the post-Cold-War 90s or in the recent post-9/11 period. There are slightly more males than females in these age groups.
- ◆ While the foreign-born population of the United States has grown rapidly in recent decades, and now account for 13% of the total population, immigrant flows consist disproportionately of young adults and their children. Nearly one of every five Americans aged 18-34 today is an immigrant—and almost *one of every four* Americans aged 25-34 was born outside the United States.
- ◆ Including the *second* generation (those born in the U.S. of immigrant parents) to these totals, between 25% and 30% of young adults 18-34 are of immigrant stock (1st or 2nd generation).
- ◆ Immigration begets ethnicity, as reflected in the changing and increasingly diverse ethnic makeup of young adulthood: Hispanics (two thirds of whom are of Mexican origin) already account for almost one of every five young adults, compared to only one in nine of the middle aged (35-64 year olds), and fewer than one in twenty among elder adults (65 and over). Similar disproportions of younger immigrants vs. older natives are found among Afro-Caribbean and Asian-origin ethnic groups—an ethnic shift that will become more pronounced in a burgeoning second generation of young adults as a result of continuing international migration (especially from Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia) and the significantly higher fertility of immigrant women in the U.S. relative to native-born women.
- ◆ Among young adults, while almost 90% of non-Hispanic whites and blacks are 3rd generation or higher (U.S.-born of U.S.-born parents), about 80% of “Hispanics” and 95% of “Asian” ethnics are either 1st or 2nd generation, reflecting the recency of the migration of these groups – and underscoring the central importance of nativity and generation among ethnoracial groups in contemporary America: blacks and whites are overwhelmingly native-stock populations, while Hispanics and Asians are overwhelmingly foreign-stock groups.
- ◆ Among all young adults 18 to 34, almost three fourths (73%) were no longer living with their parents. While 50% of the 18-24 year olds were still living with their parents, 85% of 25-29 year olds and 93% of 30-34 year olds were no longer living in their parents’ home.
- ◆ Half (51%) of all young adults 18-34 had never married, and only a third (32%) had one or more children. Just over a third (36%) were married, another 8% were cohabiting, and 5% were divorced or separated.
- ◆ These patterns change significantly with age, with the sharpest differences among the three age groups seen with respect to marital status and parenthood. Among 18-24 year olds, only one fifth (20.4%) was married or cohabiting, compared to 55% of the 25-29 year olds and 69% of the 30-34 year olds. And only 11% of 18-24 year olds had children, compared to 37% of the 25-29 year olds, and 57% of the 30-35 year olds.

- ◆ The CPS data show the prolongation of educational attainment: 22% of 18-24 year olds had not yet completed high school, compared to 13% of 25-34 year olds; while less than 10% of 18-24 year olds had graduated from college, compared to about 30% of 25-34 year olds.
- ◆ Personal annual incomes from all sources increased with age, from \$14,665 for the younger age groups (18-24), to \$28,821 for 25-29 year olds, and over \$35,000 for 30-34 year olds. Based on prior year (2004) annual incomes, 18% of young adults 18-24 were below the poverty line, compared to a poverty rate of 12-13% among those ages 25-34.

Table 2
Labor Force and Occupational Characteristics of Young Adults, by Age Groups

Selected Characteristics		Age Groups in Young Adult Transitions			Total
		(18-24 yrs)	(25-29 yrs)	(30-34 yrs)	(18-34 yrs)
		Early Transition	Middle Transition	Late Transition	
Total young adults in the labor force:	N	19,065,809	15,644,827	16,136,077	50,846,713
Labor force participation:					
LFP rate	%	68.5	81.0	82.0	76.1
Working full-time	%	37.5	65.3	67.7	54.4
Working part-time	%	23.5	10.2	10.3	15.8
Not working	%	38.9	24.5	22.1	29.8
Type of Occupation (for those employed):					
Management	%	2.5	6.4	8.9	5.7
Business and financial operations	%	1.5	4.2	4.5	3.3
Computer and mathematical science	%	1.1	2.8	3.5	2.4
Architecture and engineering	%	1.0	2.0	1.8	1.6
Life, physical, and social science	%	0.5	1.2	1.2	0.9
Legal	%	0.3	0.9	1.2	0.8
Arts, design, entertainment, sports, media	%	1.6	2.2	2.1	1.9
Community and social service	%	0.8	1.6	1.7	1.3
Education, training, library	%	3.7	6.5	6.0	5.3
Healthcare practitioner and technical	%	2.1	4.0	5.2	3.7
Healthcare support	%	2.8	2.7	2.2	2.6
Protective service	%	1.6	2.3	2.3	2.0
Building and grounds cleaning, maintenance	%	3.8	3.4	3.5	3.6
Personal care and service	%	4.4	3.3	3.1	3.7
Food preparation and serving related	%	14.3	5.9	4.1	8.5
Sales and related	%	16.6	10.9	10.2	12.8
Office and administrative support	%	16.7	13.5	13.2	14.6
Farming, fishing, and forestry	%	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8
Construction and extraction	%	7.4	8.5	8.3	8.0
Transportation and material moving	%	7.1	6.4	5.7	6.4
Installation, maintenance, repair	%	3.3	3.6	3.7	3.5
Production, manufacturing	%	6.0	6.9	7.1	6.6
Occupational status index:*					
Higher (SEI > 50)	%	20.7	38.2	42.9	33.1
Middle (SEI > 25)	%	35.8	28.1	27.5	30.8
Low-wage labor (SEI < 25)	%	43.5	33.8	29.6	36.1
Earnings (among those who are working)	\$	15,533	30,330	37,871	27,458

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

* Socioeconomic index (SEI): higher = professional, technical, white-collar occupations with Duncan scores above 50; middle = services and skilled blue-collar jobs with Duncan scores above 25; low = jobs with SEI scores below 25.

Table 2. Labor Force and Occupational Characteristics in Early Adulthood.

- ◆ More than 50 million young adults were in the labor force in 2005. Only 68% of 18-24 year olds were in the labor force, compared to 81-82% of 25-34 year olds; and only 37% of 18-24 year olds were working full-time, compared to two thirds of 25-34 year olds.
- ◆ For those who were employed, Table 2 spells out the type of occupation they worked in, and also provides a measure of their occupational status (using Duncan SEI scores). More than two fifths (43%) of 18-24 year olds were employed at the bottom of the labor market (low-wage jobs with SEI scores below 25), compared to about one third of 25-34 year olds. Conversely, while only about one fifth (21%) of 18-24 year olds were employed in professional, technical and higher status white-collar occupations (with SEI scores above 50), about two-fifths of the 25-34 year olds were employed in such occupations.
- ◆ Finally, for those who were working, Table 2 provides their mean earnings—which ranged on average from over \$15,000 for 18-24 year olds to nearly \$38,000 for 30-34 year olds.
- ◆ In general, one pattern that stands out in Tables 1 and 2 is that for most of the socioeconomic characteristics shown, the two older age groups (25-29 and 30-34) are in sharp contrast to 18-24 year olds. There are, however, significant differences among each of these three age groups with respect to other aspects of their adult transitions, especially marriage and children.

Table 3
Social and Economic Characteristics of Young Adults, by Age and Gender

Selected Characteristics	Age Groups in Young Adult Transitions						Total		
	(18-24 yrs)		(25-29 yrs)		(30-34 yrs)		(18-34 yrs)		
	Early transition		Middle transition		Late transition		Female	Male	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male			
Total young adults:	N	13,923,784	14,048,328	9,674,356	9,824,512	9,957,414	9,850,594	33,555,554	33,723,434
Not living with parents:	%	53.9	46.7	88.8	82.1	94.8	90.5	76.1	69.8
Marital and parental status:									
Never married	%	72.0	83.9	33.3	46.7	19.8	26.5	45.3	56.3
Cohabiting	%	8.8	5.9	10.1	9.7	6.5	8.1	8.5	7.7
Currently married	%	16.8	9.1	49.7	39.9	63.6	58.9	40.2	32.6
Divorced, separated, widowed	%	2.4	1.0	6.9	3.7	10.1	6.5	6.0	3.4
Has one or more children	%	16.6	5.7	46.9	27.1	65.7	47.2	39.9	24.1
Mean number of children		0.25	0.08	0.89	0.48	1.38	0.93	0.77	0.45
Educational attainment:									
Less than high school	%	19.6	24.1	12.7	15.1	11.6	13.8	15.2	18.4
High school graduate	%	27.2	32.8	25.9	32.8	25.7	30.6	26.4	32.1
Some college	%	37.9	32.5	20.3	18.9	18.3	17.6	27.0	24.2
Associate's degree	%	5.2	4.0	9.1	7.9	10.2	8.5	7.8	6.5
Bachelor's degree	%	9.6	6.5	24.7	20.2	23.8	20.8	18.2	14.6
Advanced degree	%	0.5	0.2	7.3	5.1	10.4	8.7	5.4	4.1
Economic status:									
Poverty rate (below poverty line)	%	20.9	15.4	16.3	10.0	14.5	9.4	17.7	12.1
Personal annual income	\$	12,883	16,383	24,448	32,720	27,735	42,189	20,896	29,442

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

Table 4
Labor Force and Occupational Characteristics of Young Adults, by Age and Gender

Selected Characteristics	Age Groups in Young Adult Transitions							Total	
	(18-24 yrs)		(25-29 yrs)		(30-34 yrs)		(18-34 yrs)		
	Early transition		Middle transition		Late transition		Female	Male	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male			
Total young adults in the labor force:	N	9,037,123	10,028,687	7,056,738	8,588,088	7,256,256	8,879,821	23,350,117	27,496,596
Labor force participation:									
LFP rate	%	65.0	72.1	73.1	88.8	73.0	91.2	69.7	82.5
Working full-time	%	32.0	43.0	55.3	75.4	54.5	81.1	45.4	63.5
Working part-time	%	26.8	20.2	13.1	7.3	15.0	5.4	19.4	12.2
Not working	%	41.1	36.7	31.6	17.3	30.5	13.5	35.2	24.3
Type of Occupation (for those employed):									
<u>Gender-balanced occupations:</u>									
Management	%	2.6	2.5	6.7	6.1	7.8	9.7	5.4	5.9
Life, physical, and social science	%	0.3	0.6	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	0.9	1.0
Legal	%	0.5	0.1	1.3	0.7	1.5	1.0	1.0	0.6
Arts, design, entertainment, sports, media	%	1.7	1.5	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9
Sales and related	%	20.9	12.8	11.3	10.6	10.1	10.2	14.7	11.3
<i>Sum by gender:</i>		26.0	17.4	22.8	20.7	22.9	24.3	24.1	20.7
<u>Female-predominant occupations:</u>									
Business and financial operations	%	1.7	1.3	5.6	3.0	5.9	3.3	4.2	2.5
Community and social service	%	1.1	0.5	2.3	1.0	2.4	1.1	1.9	0.8
Education, training, library	%	5.4	2.1	10.4	3.2	9.6	3.1	8.2	2.7
Healthcare practitioner and technical	%	3.3	0.9	7.1	1.5	8.6	2.4	6.1	1.6
Healthcare support	%	5.1	0.7	5.3	0.6	4.2	0.5	4.9	0.6
Personal care and service	%	7.0	2.1	5.8	1.3	5.0	1.4	6.0	1.6
Food preparation and serving related	%	16.5	12.3	6.2	5.6	5.1	3.2	9.9	7.3
Office and administrative support	%	23.6	10.5	21.1	7.1	22.4	5.6	22.5	7.9
<i>Sum by gender:</i>		63.7	30.3	63.8	23.2	63.1	20.7	63.6	25.0

Table 4 continued**Male-predominant occupations:**

Computer and mathematical science	%	0.6	1.6	1.3	3.9	1.7	5.0	1.2	3.4
Architecture and engineering	%	0.4	1.6	0.8	3.0	0.5	2.9	0.6	2.4
Protective service	%	1.0	2.2	1.1	3.2	0.8	3.5	1.0	2.9
Building/grounds cleaning, maintenance	%	2.2	5.1	3.0	3.8	3.5	3.5	2.8	4.2
Farming, fishing, and forestry	%	0.4	1.4	0.3	1.4	0.3	1.0	0.3	1.3
Construction and extraction	%	0.6	13.6	0.3	15.3	0.3	14.8	0.4	14.5
Transportation and material moving	%	1.4	12.3	1.9	10.1	2.0	8.7	1.7	10.5
Installation, maintenance, repair	%	0.3	6.1	0.4	6.2	0.3	6.5	0.3	6.3
Production, manufacturing	%	3.4	8.4	4.2	9.1	4.5	9.1	4.0	8.9
<i>Sum by gender:</i>		10.2	52.3	13.5	56.0	14.0	55.0	12.4	54.4
Occupational status index:									
Higher (SEI > 50)	%	24.7	17.1	45.3	32.3	48.3	38.4	38.2	28.7
Middle (SEI > 25)	%	44.3	28.1	32.8	24.2	30.4	25.2	36.5	25.9
Low-wage labor (SEI < 25)	%	31.1	54.8	21.9	43.6	21.2	36.4	25.2	45.4
Earnings (for those who are working)	\$	13,435	17,439	26,639	33,292	31,120	43,273	23,098	31,115

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

Tables 3 and 4. Focus on Gender Differences, by Age Groups.

- ◆ Tables 3 and 4 provide the same breakdown as Tables 1 and 2, except that now the data are also broken down by gender.
- ◆ In every age group, as Table 3 shows, women are more likely than men to have left their parents' home, to have married or be cohabiting, and to have children. Over half (56%) of young adult males have never been married, while over half of young adult women are either married (40%), divorced or separated (6%), or cohabiting (8.5%). More significantly, 40% of young adult women have had one or more children, compared to only 24% of young adult men (as far as they know).
- ◆ Women 18-34 show higher levels of educational attainment than men: half of young adult men (51%) have completed only a high school education or less, compared to 41% of young adult women; while a quarter (24%) of the women had Bachelor's degrees or higher, compared to less than a fifth (19%) of the men.
- ◆ On the other hand, men 18-34 have higher personal annual incomes than women (\$29,442 to \$20,896), with the income gap widening as they grow older from 18-24 to 30-34. In addition, young adult men have a lower poverty rate than women (12% to 18%).
- ◆ As Table 4 shows, at every age group young adult men have higher rates of labor force participation than women (83% to 70% overall). Among men 18-34, 64% are working full-time, compared to only 45% among women, with the gender gap widening with increasing age. At every age group, women are more likely than men to be working part-time, or not to be in the paid labor force at all.
- ◆ Table 4 also details the types of occupations in which men and women are concentrated in early adulthood, clearly reflecting a pronounced gendered division of labor. For example, 64% of women (in contrast to only 25% of men) are concentrated in such occupations as office and administrative support, personal care, healthcare, education, and social services. By contrast, 54% of men (compared to only 12% of women) are concentrated in such occupations as construction and extraction, transportation, installation, maintenance, repair, manufacturing, architecture, engineering, and mathematical science. Less than a quarter of both young adult men and women are found in gender-balanced occupations, including management, legal professions, life and physical sciences, social sciences, arts, entertainment, media and sales.
- ◆ Among those employed, women work in fields with higher occupational statuses than men (as measured by Duncan SEI scores). However, at every age group, among those employed men have higher earnings than women, with the earnings gap widening with increasing age.

Table 5
Social and Economic Characteristics of "Early Transition" Young Adults (18 to 24), by Age

Selected Characteristics	Age								Total (18-24 yrs)
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Not living with parents:	%	20.7	32.2	43.8	52.1	60.1	67.8	72.3	50.3
School attendance:									
Attending school full-time	%	73.1	53.8	45.3	38.9	28.4	20.3	14.0	38.8
Attending school part-time	%	4.8	5.8	6.9	5.6	5.3	5.9	5.8	5.7
Not attending school	%	22.1	40.4	47.8	55.5	66.3	73.8	80.2	55.5
Educational Attainment:									
Less than high school	%	61.9	21.4	16.2	13.4	13.8	13.5	13.6	21.8
High school graduate	%	21.8	35.7	30.9	30.6	31.7	29.7	30.1	30.0
Some college	%	15.9	41.8	49.7	48.1	37.0	29.5	25.0	35.2
Associate's degree	%	0.2	1.0	2.8	6.1	6.6	6.6	8.4	4.6
Bachelor's degree	%	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.7	10.8	20.0	21.5	8.0
Advanced degree	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.8	1.4	0.4
Labor force participation:									
Working full-time	%	11.1	22.5	30.0	37.9	44.5	54.2	60.2	37.5
Working part-time	%	31.3	29.3	28.0	24.9	20.7	18.2	13.2	23.5
Not in labor force	%	57.6	48.2	41.9	37.2	34.8	27.6	26.6	38.9
Economic status:									
Poverty rate (below poverty line)	%	16.8	17.8	19.7	20.2	18.7	17.3	16.3	18.1
Personal annual income	\$	6,735	9,855	12,181	14,383	16,464	19,060	20,390	14,665
Marital and parental status:									
Never married	%	96.1	91.3	85.2	78.2	72.6	64.5	60.1	78.0
Cohabiting	%	2.1	4.2	7.3	7.6	9.8	10.3	9.7	7.4
Currently married	%	1.4	3.5	6.8	13.5	15.7	22.2	26.3	13.0
Divorced, separated, widowed	%	0.5	1.0	0.8	0.8	1.9	3.0	3.9	1.7
Has one or more children	%	1.6	3.0	6.8	9.8	13.4	19.0	22.9	11.1
Mean number of children		0.02	0.04	0.09	0.14	0.20	0.31	0.37	0.17

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

Table 6
Living Arrangements and School Attendance of "Early Transition" Young Adults (18 to 24), by Age and Gender

Selected Characteristics		Age							Total
		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	(18-24 yrs)
Total young adults	N	3,977,621	3,592,381	4,113,733	3,995,044	4,141,581	4,002,680	4,149,072	27,972,113
Not living with parents:	%	20.7	32.2	43.8	52.1	60.1	67.8	72.3	50.3
Male	%	19.8	29.9	39.2	48.8	55.7	62.6	68.6	46.7
Female	%	21.5	34.5	48.8	55.4	64.5	73.2	75.8	53.9
School attendance:									
<u>Full-time:</u>	%	73.1	53.8	45.3	38.9	28.4	20.3	14.0	38.8
Male	%	70.7	52.4	42.9	34.9	28.7	19.9	11.9	37.1
Female	%	75.5	55.1	48.0	42.9	28.1	20.6	16.0	40.5
<u>Part-time:</u>	%	4.8	5.8	6.9	5.6	5.3	5.9	5.8	5.7
Male	%	5.1	5.9	7.0	5.4	4.7	5.6	4.2	5.4
Female	%	4.5	5.7	6.7	5.9	5.8	6.2	7.2	6.0
<u>Not attending school:</u>	%	22.1	40.4	47.8	55.5	66.3	73.8	80.2	55.5
Male	%	24.2	41.7	50.1	59.7	66.6	74.5	83.9	57.5
Female	%	19.9	39.2	45.3	51.2	66.1	73.2	76.8	53.5

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

Tables 5 and 6. Focus on “Early Transition” Young Adults, 18 to 24.

- ◆ Because the flux of change and of role exits and entrances is greatest during the ages from 18 to 24, Table 5 focuses on the extent of social, educational, occupational and economic change measured year by year from 18 to 24; and Table 6 provides an additional breakdown by gender for living arrangements and school attendance during these same years for the 28 million young adults between 18 and 24.
- ◆ While only 21% of 18 year olds are living away from their parents, that figure increases significantly with every year during the “early transition” until it reaches 72% by age 24.
- ◆ Many in the 18-24 age group had not completed the school-to-work transition (nearly 40% were still attending school full-time and only 37% were working full-time). However, while 73% of 18 year olds were still attending school full-time, that figure plummets with every year of age until it reaches 14% by age 24.
- ◆ While only 96% of 18 year olds are single and only 2% are cohabiting or have had a child, those figures change significantly over time: by age 24 over a fourth have married and nearly a fourth have had a child, and at ages 22-24 about 10% are cohabiting.
- ◆ From 18 to 24 virtually without exception, women are more likely than men to be living away from their parents’ home and attending school full-time, while young men are more likely than women not to be attending school at all.

Table 7
Number and Types of Adult Transitions, by Age

Selected Characteristics	Age Groups in Young Adult Transitions			Total	
	(18-24 yrs)	(25-29 yrs)	(30-34 yrs)	(18-34 yrs)	
	Early transition	Middle transition	Late transition		
Total young adults:	N	27,972,112	19,498,868	19,808,008	67,278,988
Number of adult transitions:					
None or one	%	49.2	5.4	2.3	22.7
Two	%	20.5	16.5	8.5	15.8
Three	%	18.7	30.4	20.5	22.6
Four	%	8.4	29.3	35.4	22.4
Five	%	3.1	18.4	33.2	16.4
Mean number of adult transitions		1.69	3.24	3.80	2.76
Types of adult transitions:					
Not living with parents	%	50.3	85.5	92.7	73.0
Not attending school*	%	55.5	85.5	91.2	75.0
Working full-time	%	37.5	65.3	67.7	54.4
Married or ever married	%	15.1	51.8	72.3	42.6
Has one or more children	%	11.1	36.9	56.5	31.9

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

* Percentages for 25-34 year olds are imputed from the 2000 Census 5% PUMS, because the CPS only measures school attendance for 18-24 year olds.

Table 8
Number and Types of Adult Transitions, by Age and Gender

Selected Characteristics	Age Groups in Young Adult Transitions						Total		
	(18-24 yrs)		(25-29 yrs)		(30-34 yrs)		(18-34 yrs)		
	Early transition		Middle transition		Late transition		Female	Male	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Total young adults:	N	13,923,784	14,048,328	9,674,356	9,824,512	9,957,414	9,850,594	33,555,554	33,723,434
Number of adult transitions:									
None or one	%	48.6	49.9	4.0	6.7	1.5	3.2	21.7	23.7
Two	%	18.1	23.0	13.3	19.6	6.4	10.7	13.2	18.4
Three	%	18.5	18.9	28.1	32.7	18.6	22.5	21.3	24.0
Four	%	11.9	4.9	38.4	20.4	46.5	24.3	29.8	15.1
Five	%	2.9	3.3	16.2	20.5	27.1	39.4	13.9	18.9
Mean number of transitions		1.76	1.63	3.35	3.14	3.83	3.77	2.83	2.69
Types of adult transitions:									
Not living with parents	%	53.9	46.7	88.8	82.1	94.8	90.5	76.1	69.8
Not attending school*	%	53.5	57.5	84.8	86.3	90.6	91.9	73.7	76.2
Working full-time	%	32.0	43.0	55.3	75.4	54.5	81.1	45.4	63.5
Married or ever married	%	19.8	10.5	58.7	44.9	76.4	68.1	47.8	37.3
Has one or more children	%	16.6	5.7	46.9	27.1	65.7	47.2	39.9	24.1

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

* Percentages for 25-34 year olds are imputed from the 2000 Census 5% PUMS.

Tables 7 and 8. Number and Types of Adult Transitions, by Age Group and Gender.

- ◆ Table 7 summarizes basic data on five conventional markers of transitions into adult statuses: leaving home, finishing school, entering the workforce, getting married, and having children.
- ◆ Looking first at the number of adult transitions accomplished, among 18-24 year olds only 11% had reached as many as four or all five of these “milestones,” while 39% had accomplished two or three, and 49% had reached only one or none of the five. By contrast, almost 70% of the 30-34 year olds had accomplished four or all five of these transitions into adult statuses, and another 29% had achieved two or three, while a mere 2.3% had reached only one or none of the five. The 25-29 year olds were in between, although much closer to the patterns for the older age group: almost half (48%) had accomplished four or all five of the “milestones,” and another 47% had achieved two or three; only 5.4% had reached only one or none of the five.
- ◆ As in the previous report (Rumbaut 2004), a summed index of these milestones (dubbed “adultra”) was computed, with mean scores ranging from 0 to 5; they are provided in Table 7. The CPS results for 2005 are pretty much in sync with those found with the 5% PUMS of the 2000 census. As a whole, young adults 18 to 34 nationally had “completed” three transitions on average (a mean index score of 2.76). The youngest age group (18-24 year olds) averaged only two of these transitions (a mean index score of 1.69), the older age group (30-34) averaged four (an index score of 3.80), and the 25-29 year olds were in between with a mean score of 3.24.
- ◆ [As reported previously, by way of comparison nationally, the mean score on this index for middle-age adults (ages 35-64) is 4.01—it increases with age until the early forties, peaking at ages 40-44 (with an index score of 4.2) and then decreases as grown children begin to leave the home and as older adults begin to withdraw from full-time employment (after age 55 the index drops below 3.9, and after age 65 it drops below 3.3).]
- ◆ Table 8 reproduces the same results as Table 7, but now broken down by gender to examine differences between men and women in adulta index scores and specific types of adult transitions. [Note: The school attendance percentages for 25-34 year olds are imputed from the 2000 census, because the CPS only measures school attendance for 18-24 year olds.]
- ◆ Women are more likely than men to accomplish more of the five adult transitions overall as well as within every age category. Overall, 44% of women 18 to 34 years old had reached four or all five of the traditional markers, compared to 34% for the men—with substantial differentials within every age group. Young women are much more likely than men to be married or cohabiting and especially to have children; and they are somewhat more likely to have left home.
- ◆ On the other hand, men are much more likely than women to be working full-time. Overall, 64% of the men 18 to 34 were working full time, compared to only 45% of the women—with the differentials widening with increasing age. By ages 30-34, for instance, 81% of the men

were working full-time vs. 54% of the women, while only 47% of the men had children compared to 66% of the women.

- ◆ As noted above, the gender differences extend beyond their respective transitions and trajectories into adult statuses and into socioeconomic achievement: at every age group, young women are more likely than men to have college degrees and much more likely to be employed in higher-status occupations, whereas young men are much more likely to be found in low-wage labor.

Table 9
Interrelationships of Adult Transitions among 18 to 34 Year Olds

Correlation Matrix	<u>Not Living w/ Parents</u>	<u>Not in school full- time*</u>	<u>Working Full-Time</u>	<u>Ever Married</u>	<u>Has Children</u>
Not living with parents	-				
Not attending school full-time*	0.301	-			
Working full-time	0.259	0.473	-		
Ever married	0.447	0.236	0.168	-	
Has children	0.417	0.225	0.067	0.601	-

Transitions**	<u>% Not living with parents</u>	<u>% Not attending school full- time*</u>	<u>% Working full-time</u>	<u>% Ever married</u>	<u>% Has children</u>
Living with parents					
Yes	-	46.5	33.3	6.3	NA
No	-	75.9	62.3	56.0	43.8
Attending school full-time*					
Yes	31.2	-	8.8	4.3	2.2
No	62.1	-	55.7	21.5	16.7
Working full-time					
Yes	83.4	90.9	-	49.9	34.7
No	60.2	43.4	-	33.2	28.4
Ever married					
Yes	96.0	88.8	64.2	-	64.5
No	55.9	56.4	47.3	-	7.8
Has children					
Yes	NA	92.4	59.3	85.9	-
No	60.3	57.4	52.2	22.2	-

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005.

* For 18-24 year olds only. ** Figures are row percentages

Table 10. Interrelationships of Adult Transitions among 18 to 34 Year Olds, by Age Groups

Transitions (by age groups)		% Not living w/ parents	% Working full-time	% Ever married	% Has children
Early Transition (18-24 yrs)					
Living with parents					
Yes	%	-	26.1	2.5	<1
No	%	-	48.9	27.6	22.1
Working full-time					
Yes	%	65.4	-	20.7	13.0
No	%	41.0	-	11.3	9.9
Ever married					
Yes	%	91.9	52.5	-	48.6
No	%	42.9	34.9	-	4.5
Has children					
Yes	%	>99	44.2	72.8	-
No	%	44.1	36.7	8.7	-
Middle Transition (25-29 yrs)					
Living with parents					
Yes	%	-	56.1	14.4	<1
No	%	-	66.9	58.1	43.2
Working full-time					
Yes	%	87.4	-	50.7	33.2
No	%	81.4	-	52.8	43.3
Ever married					
Yes	%	96.0	64.4	-	60.5
No	%	74.2	66.3	-	11.6
Has children					
Yes	%	>99	59.0	84.8	-
No	%	77.0	69.0	32.4	-
Late Transition (30-34 yrs)					
Living with parents					
Yes	%	-	57.9	26.7	<1
No	%	-	68.4	75.9	61.0
Working full-time					
Yes	%	93.7	-	72.0	53.1
No	%	90.4	-	72.4	63.3
Ever married					
Yes	%	97.3	67.5	-	72.0
No	%	80.6	68.0	-	16.0
Has children					
Yes	%	>99	63.7	92.2	-
No	%	83.1	72.8	46.4	-

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005. Note: Figures are row percentages.

Tables 9, 10, and 11. Interrelationships of Adult Transitions.

- ◆ Table 9 examines the interrelationships among these five conventional markers of transitions into adult statuses: leaving home, finishing school, entering the workforce, getting married, and having children. The upper panel of the table provides a simple correlational matrix, while the lower panel provides a crosstabulation of each of the five against the others. These data show, for example, the proportion of those who are not living with their parents by whether they are attending school or not, working full-time or not, married or not, and with children or not.
- ◆ Table 10 provides the same information, but now broken down by the three age groups (early, middle, and late transition groups) since the interrelationships among the five types of adult transitions vary greatly from the early transition phase to older stages.
- ◆ While not shown in these tables, using the 2000 PUMS a factor analysis of these data was carried out which revealed two distinct factors (each with eigenvalues above 1): a 2-item factor (working full-time and no longer attending school) and a 3-item factor (marriage, children, and no longer living in the parental home), with factor loadings well above 0.5 for all items. The strong clustering of these variables suggests that these transitions, while prolonged from earlier to later ages, are not as “disordered” as has been sometimes claimed, but rather they are patterned and entail two distinct spheres, very generally of production and reproduction: the school to work transition, and that of marriage and children—and ultimately of moving from the family of origin to the family of procreation and to establishing a household of one’s own.

Table 11
Interrelationships of Reproductive and Economic Status with Educational Attainment and Age

Selected Characteristics		Less than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	Associate's Degree	Bachelor's Degree	Advanced Degree
Total young adults (18 to 34):	N	11,324,999	19,693,472	17,212,582	4,807,218	11,032,060	3,208,657
Children:							
<u>Has one or more children</u>							
18-24 years	%	27.6	39.9	23.9	5.5	2.9	0.2
25-29 years	%	17.8	32.7	22.2	9.7	14.2	3.4
30-34 years	%	13.2	27.8	18.7	10.9	20.5	8.9
<u>Mean number of children</u>							
18-24 years	N	0.24	0.21	0.11	0.18	0.05	0.10
25-29 years	N	1.02	0.81	0.77	0.70	0.35	0.27
30-34 years	N	1.43	1.22	1.21	1.31	0.94	0.87
Economic status:							
<u>Poverty rate (below poverty line)</u>							
18-24 years	%	32.7	31.4	27.7	3.0	5.0	0.2
25-29 years	%	32.8	34.0	16.3	4.4	9.4	3.1
30-34 years	%	34.1	35.6	17.2	4.7	6.2	2.2
<u>Personal annual income</u>							
18-24 years	\$	9,880	15,381	13,454	19,566	23,134	28,646
25-29 years	\$	16,965	24,314	26,764	28,737	38,511	42,807
30-34 years	\$	19,077	27,028	30,857	34,992	46,146	58,909

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005. (Note: Figures are row percentages.)

- ◆ Table 11 focuses attention on the significance of *education*: specifically, on the strong association between educational attainment and the reproductive sphere (having had children, and the number of children), and between educational attainment and the productive sphere (as indexed here by poverty rates and annual personal incomes), for each of the three transition phases (early, middle, and late).
- ◆ For each age group (18-24, 25-29, and 30-34), the greater the level of educational attainment, the fewer children (and the lower the likelihood of having had children at all), and the better one's economic status (higher personal incomes, lower poverty rates).
- ◆ Early childbearing is related to much lower educational achievement: e.g., among 18-24 year olds who have had a child, two-thirds (over 67%) had attained a high school diploma or less; by contrast, among all 18-24 year olds in the country (regardless of whether they had children or not), 51% had attained a high school diploma or less.
- ◆ At all ages (18 to 34), a third of young adults with a high school education or less were living below the federal poverty line, compared to far lower poverty rates (in the small single digits) for young adults who had completed an Associate's degree or more: e.g., among 25-34 year olds, the poverty rate for those with a high school degree or less was above 33%, compared to about 17% for those who had had some college, less than 5% for those who had completed an Associate's degree, and less than 3% for those with more than a Bachelor's degree.

Table 12. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics, by Types of Adult Transitions.

- ◆ Table 12 draws a sketch of selected characteristics (age, gender, generation, and pan-ethnicity, i.e., main ethnoracial groups) associated with each of those five transitions into adult statuses—leaving home, finishing school, entering the workforce, getting married, and having children. The results by generation and pan-ethnicity in particular are revealing, and suggest some fruitful avenues for further research—such as that undertaken by our network via a comparative qualitative study of adult transitions in five sites across the United States [see <http://www.transad.pop.upenn.edu/about/views.htm> for information about our multi-site qualitative research; for a quantitative profile of young adults in those five sites see also [http://www.transad.pop.upenn.edu/downloads/Young%20Adult%20Profile%205%20Site%20Comparison%20--%20May%202007%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.transad.pop.upenn.edu/downloads/Young%20Adult%20Profile%205%20Site%20Comparison%20--%20May%202007%20(2).pdf)].
- ◆ For example, consider the relationship of the five adult transitions by nativity and immigrant generation (1st, 2nd, and 3rd+). It is the 2nd generation (U.S.-born children of foreign-born parents) that stands out in every instance, rather than the 1st (the foreign-born) or the 3rd+ (U.S.-born children of U.S.-born parents). Despite observations often made to the contrary, the first generation of immigrant young adults 18-34 is by far the *least* likely to reside with their parents (only 15% do so); indeed for those who immigrated as young adults, their parents still reside in their countries of origin. As will be elaborated below, within the first generation there are significant differences between immigrants who arrived as children (the 1.5 generation) vs. those who arrived as teens or young adults.

Table 12
Demographic Characteristics of Young Adults, by Types of Adult Transitions

Selected Characteristics	Living with parents		Attending school*		Working full-time		Ever married		Has children		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Total young adults (18 to 34):	N	18,191,704	49,087,284	12,377,318	15,441,487	36,372,554	30,436,231	28,629,732	38,649,255	21,493,624	45,785,363
Sex:											
Female	%	23.9	76.1	46.5	53.5	45.4	54.6	47.8	52.2	39.9	60.1
Male	%	30.2	69.8	42.5	57.5	63.5	36.5	37.3	62.7	24.1	75.9
Age:											
18-24	%	49.7	50.3	44.5	55.5	37.5	62.5	15.1	84.9	11.1	88.9
25-29	%	14.5	85.5	-	-	65.3	34.7	51.8	48.2	36.9	63.1
30-34	%	7.3	92.7	-	-	67.7	32.3	72.3	27.7	56.5	43.5
Nativity/generation:											
Foreign-born (1st gen.)	%	15.5	84.5	34.2	65.8	56.3	43.7	52.9	47.1	37.4	62.6
US-born (2nd gen.)	%	40.8	59.2	50.0	50.0	50.8	49.2	31.6	68.4	23.6	76.4
US-born parents (3rd+)	%	28.3	71.7	45.5	54.5	54.4	45.6	41.3	58.7	31.6	68.4
Pan-ethnicity:											
Hispanic:	%	22.3	77.7	31.4	47.4	56.4	43.6	47.1	52.9	37.4	62.6
Non-Hispanic:											
Black	%	31.5	68.5	43.6	64.5	48.2	51.8	26.5	73.5	30.3	69.7
White	%	27.5	72.5	47.4	43.6	55.7	44.3	44.7	55.3	31.3	68.7
Asian	%	26.7	73.3	64.5	32.0	50.4	49.6	44.8	55.2	25.2	74.8

Source: Current Population Survey, 2005. (Note: Figures are row percentages.)

* For 18-24 year olds only.

- ◆ It is the acculturated 2nd generation which is by far (41%) the *most* likely to remain living with their (immigrant) parents, while the 3rd+ generations fall in between those two (28%).
- ◆ Similarly, it is the 2nd generation of young adults 18 to 34 (not the 1st or the 3rd+) that is the *most* likely to be attending school (50%), the *least* likely to be working full-time (51%), and by far the *least* likely to be married (32%) and to have children (24%). By contrast, the 1st generation (of foreign-born young adults) is the *least* likely to be attending school (34%), the *most* likely to be working full-time (56%), and the *most* likely to be married (53%) and to have children (37%).
- ◆ These nativity/generational differences, in turn, along with their socioeconomic correlates and histories of migration and incorporation, combine to distinguish pan-ethnic groups from each other in terms of their propensities to “complete” these five types of adult transitions. Thus “Hispanics” (especially of Mexican origin, who comprise two-thirds of all Hispanics) are the most likely to have moved out of the home of their parents, to be married, have children, and be working full-time. Asian-origin young adults as a whole are the most likely to be attending school and the least likely to have children. Non-Hispanic blacks (who are preponderantly 4th+ generation groups) are most likely to be living with their parents (or grandparents) in early adulthood, least likely to be working full-time, and by far the least likely to be married. Non-Hispanic whites, in contrast, who are also overwhelmingly 3rd+ generation natives, fall in between the others in all five markers.
- ◆ Such one-size-fits-all racialized categories, of course, conceal more than they reveal. It should be stressed that within each of these aggregates (Hispanic, black, white, Asian) there are significant differences not only by generation but also by national and class origins, phenotypes, ethnicity, religion, migration histories, and even different legal statuses among first-generation immigrants and refugees. Although we cannot focus here with available data on that ethnic and cultural diversity, the tables that follow seek to unpack those four main categories and examine more fully the extent of those ethnoracial and “ethclass” differences.

Tables 13 and 14. Focus on Ethnoracial Groups, by Gender and Age.

- ◆ Table 13 sketches a profile of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Hispanic and non-Hispanic black, white, and Asian young adults, broken down by gender. Those four main ethnoracial groups account for 65.5 million young adults in the United States, or nearly 98% of the total (the remainder consist of Native American and mixed race populations). Of all young adults, non-Hispanic whites numbered 41.1 million (61% of the total), Hispanics 12.5 million (19%), non-Hispanic blacks 8.6 million (13%), and Asians 3.3 million (5%).
- ◆ Among Hispanics, there is a much greater proportion of males than females (54% to 46%)—a reflection of disproportionate numbers of young male migrant workers in this population. By contrast, only 46% of black young adults are males—a reflection in part of the fact that these estimates are drawn from a household survey of the non-institutionalized population and miss a disproportionate number of young black males who are incarcerated and in the military.

Table 13. Social and Economic Characteristics of Young Adults, by Ethnoracial Groups and Gender

Selected Characteristics (Figures are column percentages unless noted)		Non-Hispanic							
		Hispanic		Black		White		Asian	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total young adults (18 to 34):	N	6,737,822	5,752,740	3,973,738	4,642,216	20,579,352	20,518,648	1,622,549	1,687,121
Nativity/generation:*									
Foreign-born, 13 or older at arrival (1.0 gen.)	%	44.5	37.4	6.4	6.1	2.9	3.0	44.3	50.4
Foreign-born, under 13 at arrival (1.5 gen.)	%	14.3	14.5	3.9	3.2	1.9	1.8	25.3	25.1
US-born, foreign-born parent (2nd gen.)	%	21.5	25.0	4.5	4.1	4.5	4.4	25.3	20.7
US-born, US-born parents (3rd+ gen.)	%	19.6	23.1	85.2	86.5	90.8	90.7	5.1	3.8
Educational attainment:**									
Less than high school	%	40.8	35.3	18.5	16.6	12.2	9.4	8.1	7.4
High school graduate	%	31.5	29.7	39.7	33.4	31.2	25.7	16.6	15.5
Some college	%	20.8	26.0	30.7	35.4	34.3	37.3	29.7	29.3
Bachelor's degree (25 and older)	%	7.8	10.2	14.0	15.7	25.0	28.3	36.7	41.7
Advanced degree (25 and older)	%	2.0	2.6	3.1	5.2	7.9	10.2	25.1	20.5
Labor force participation:									
LFP rate	%	87.4	61.1	72.8	71.0	84.3	73.4	76.3	60.6
Working full-time	%	69.8	41.0	50.5	47.0	64.9	47.4	59.0	42.3
Working part-time	%	10.9	14.7	10.7	14.2	13.3	22.0	12.6	14.7
Not working	%	19.3	44.3	38.9	38.8	21.8	30.6	28.4	43.0
Occupational status index:***									
Higher (SEI > 50)	%	14.9	27.9	21.4	30.6	33.6	42.6	53.5	49.0
Middle (SEI > 25)	%	21.7	38.2	27.6	39.8	27.5	35.5	20.3	31.8
Low-wage labor (SEI < 25)	%	63.4	33.9	51.1	29.6	38.9	21.9	26.1	19.2
Economic status:									
Poverty rate (below poverty line)	%	16.4	25.6	18.6	29.2	8.4	12.7	12.9	13.3
Family annual income	\$	44,481	42,456	46,703	38,105	65,788	62,605	69,247	70,810
Earnings (among those who are working)	\$	24,330	19,484	25,448	21,245	33,635	24,012	40,957	31,305
Living with parents (row percentages):									
18-24 years old	%	43.6	39.7	57.0	43.1	57.5	48.6	53.3	49.0
25-29 years old	%	15.2	11.2	30.1	14.5	16.5	10.3	24.0	12.3

Table 13 continued...

30-34 years old	%	8.2	5.2	16.7	7.3	8.7	4.5	10.1	4.0
Marital and parental status:									
Never married	%	53.9	38.8	69.0	65.6	54.8	42.5	64.4	44.3
Cohabiting	%	6.4	7.4	7.6	6.3	8.0	9.3	2.4	4.3
Currently married	%	36.2	47.4	19.6	20.7	33.7	42.5	31.8	48.8
Divorced, separated, widowed	%	3.5	6.4	3.7	7.4	3.5	5.7	1.3	2.6
Has one or more children	%	27.3	48.0	17.2	42.8	23.9	37.1	16.7	31.6

Source: Current Population Survey, 2003-06.

* The foreign born ("first generation") is divided into two cohorts: the 1.0 (13 or older at arrival) and 1.5 (12 or younger at arrival) generations.

** Educational attainment for Bachelor's degree or higher are reported only for 25-34 year olds.

*** Socioeconomic index (SEI): higher = professional, technical, white-collar occupations with SEI (Duncan) scores above 50; middle = services and skilled blue-collar jobs with SEI scores above 25;

low = jobs with SEI scores below 25.

- ◆ Significantly, non-Hispanic whites and blacks are overwhelmingly long-term natives (nearly 90%), whereas 95% of Asian and 80% of Hispanic nationalities are of foreign birth or parentage. However, those latter two groups, made up largely of relative newcomers from Latin America and Asia, are in turn situated at the polar ends of the opportunity structure, highlighting the importance of class differences between them (*cf.* Rumbaut 2006).
- ◆ Educational and occupational inequalities between non-Hispanic whites and blacks seem narrow compared to the gulf that separates Asians and Hispanics. Asian men and women are at the top of the educational hierarchy, with 62% having college or advanced degrees (of those 25 and older) and only about 8% failing to complete high school (and those tend to be preponderantly from low-SES Cambodian and Laotian refugee groups). Latino men are at the bottom, with 41% of young adult males having less than a high school diploma and less than a tenth having college or advanced degrees (of those 25 and older).
- ◆ Young Latino men are also mired in the lowest rungs of the U.S. labor market, with nearly two out of three employed in low-wage labor, while 54% of Asian young men were employed in the highest status jobs. Non-Hispanic whites and blacks fall between those two poles. Among employed white young adults, 43% of females and 34% of males held high status jobs, while 39% of males and 22% of females had low-wage jobs. Among employed blacks, 31% of women and 21% of men held high status jobs, while 51% of men and 30% of women had low-wage jobs.
- ◆ On the other hand, Hispanic men 18-34 have the highest labor force participation rate (87.4%) and are the most likely to be working full-time (70%); in fact, they are half as likely as young black men to be jobless (19% to 39%).
- ◆ Table 14 also examines differences in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics among Hispanic, black, white, and Asian young adults, except that now the data are broken down by age categories instead of gender. Previous tables show that the two older age groups (25-29 and 30-34) stand in sharp contrast to 18-24 year olds. Here we spell out differences among 18-24 year olds versus 25-34 year olds for Hispanic, white, black, and Asian young adults.

Table 14. Social and Economic Characteristics of Young Adults, by Ethnoracial Groups and Age

Selected Characteristics (Figures are column percentages unless noted)		Non-Hispanic							
		Hispanic		Black		White		Asian	
		18-24	25-34	18-24	25-34	18-24	25-34	18-24	25-34
Total young adults (18 to 34):	N	4,903,709	7,586,853	3,765,915	4,850,038	17,284,215	23,813,785	1,114,844	2,194,826
Nativity/generation:*									
Foreign-born, 13 or older at arrival (1.0 gen.)	%	27.9	49.9	3.5	8.4	1.7	3.9	26.5	58.0
Foreign-born, under 13 at arrival (1.5 gen.)	%	17.3	12.5	3.9	3.2	2.0	1.7	30.2	22.7
US-born, foreign-born parent (2nd gen.)	%	30.5	18.4	5.8	3.1	4.6	4.3	37.8	15.4
US-born, US-born parents (3rd+ gen.)	%	24.4	19.2	86.8	85.3	91.7	90.1	5.5	3.9
Educational attainment:**									
Less than high school	%	38.4	38.2	25.6	11.2	17.1	6.2	13.8	4.7
High school graduate	%	31.9	29.9	35.5	36.9	29.1	27.9	18.5	14.7
Some college	%	26.9	20.7	34.1	32.6	43.6	30.1	51.0	18.6
Bachelor's degree (25 and older)	%	--	8.9	--	15.0	--	26.7	--	39.3
Advanced degree (25 and older)	%	--	2.3	--	4.3	--	9.0	--	22.7
Labor force participation:									
LFP rate	%	69.0	79.2	61.8	79.7	71.3	84.3	53.4	75.8
Working full-time	%	43.6	64.8	31.4	62.0	38.2	69.1	26.3	62.7
Working part-time	%	18.0	9.3	17.2	9.0	26.7	11.1	22.8	9.0
Not working	%	38.4	25.9	51.4	29.0	35.0	19.8	50.9	28.2
Occupational status index:***									
Higher (SEI > 50)	%	15.0	22.5	16.0	32.4	23.4	46.8	31.4	58.7
Middle (SEI > 25)	%	33.1	25.0	40.8	30.2	35.8	28.4	37.1	21.4
Low-wage labor (SEI < 25)	%	51.9	52.5	43.2	37.4	40.8	24.8	31.5	19.9
Economic status:									
Poverty rate (below poverty line)	%	21.9	19.8	27.8	21.6	13.6	8.3	18.3	10.5
Family annual income	\$	43,765	43,366	40,643	42,660	66,434	62,655	64,216	72,954
Earnings (among those who are working)	\$	15,475	26,266	14,043	28,088	15,705	37,055	16,843	43,148

Table 14 continued...

Living with parents (row percentages):	%	41.8	10.2	49.7	16.6	53.1	9.9	51.1	12.1
Marital and parental status:									
Never married	%	72.2	30.6	86.5	52.2	77.8	27.5	86.7	37.7
Cohabiting	%	6.0	7.4	5.6	7.9	7.9	9.2	2.8	3.7
Currently married	%	19.9	55.3	6.4	31.0	12.7	56.5	9.6	56.2
Divorced, separated, widowed	%	1.8	6.8	1.5	8.9	1.6	6.8	1.0	2.5
Has one or more children	%	16.0	50.3	13.6	44.4	9.3	45.8	5.0	34.1

Source: Current Population Survey, 2003-06.

* The foreign born ("first generation") is divided into two cohorts: the 1.0 (13 or older at arrival) and 1.5 (12 or younger at arrival) generations.

** Educational attainment for Bachelor's degree or higher are reported only for 25-34 year olds.

*** Socioeconomic index (SEI): higher = professional, technical, white-collar occupations with SEI (Duncan) scores above 50; middle = services and skilled blue-collar jobs

with SEI scores above 25; low = jobs with SEI scores below 25.

Tables 15 and 16. Focus on Ethnoracial Groups, by Nativity and Generation.

- ◆ Table 15 examines differences by nativity and generational cohorts among all young adults 18 to 34. The *foreign-born first generation* comprises both the “1.0” generational cohort (immigrants who arrived at age 13 or older) and the “1.5” generational cohort (those who came as children under 13). The *native-born* generations comprise both the *second generation* (U.S.-born of foreign-born parents) and the *third-and-higher generations* (U.S.-born with U.S.-born parents). This generational perspective adds depth and complexity to the picture of young adults that emerges here.
- ◆ Among first-generation immigrants, the 1.0 cohort (those who came as teens or adults) are the most likely to be married and have children. Over half (54%) of all 1.0 immigrants between 18 and 34 years old are married and 40% have at least one or more children. Moreover, the fact that these young adult immigrants originate in polar opposite types of migrations (from laborers to “brain drain” professionals) is shown by the fact that among the 1.0 generation are found both the *least* educated young adults in American society (38% have less than a high school education, compared to 13-16% in the 2nd and 3rd+ generations) as well as the *most highly* educated young adults in American society (10% have advanced degrees, a higher proportion than native-born generations).
- ◆ In contrast, well over half of the 1.5 cohort (those who immigrated as children under 13) are single and only about a quarter have had children. Classic in-betweeners, the 1.5ers occupy an in-between position between the 1.0 and 2.0 generational cohorts in most of the variables shown in Table 15, although they are closer to the second generation in most respects.
- ◆ Examining differences by generational status reveals that the second generation is least likely to have achieved the conventional markers of adult statuses. For example, the second generation are least likely to be married (only 27.0%) and least likely to have children (23.6%). They are also the least likely to have left the parental home. An astounding 60.7% of second generation 18-24 year olds continue to live at home with their immigrant parents. On the other hand, the overall educational attainment of the second generation is higher than that of the other generational groups. For example, over one-third (34.6%) of all second generation young adults have attained a Bachelor’s degree or higher.
- ◆ Table 16 expands on Table 15 by examining generational differences within ethnoracial groups. Immigration and generation are crucial dimensions especially of the Hispanic and Asian populations today and of their incorporation processes and outcomes.

Table 15. Social and Economic Characteristics of Young Adults, by Generation

Selected Characteristics	Generational cohort:*	Nativity/Generation			
		Foreign-born (1st gen)		Native-born (2d & 3rd+ gens.)	
		1.0	1.5	2.0	3rd+
Total young adults (18 to 34):	N	8,544,111	3,812,753	6,056,513	48,691,521
Pan-ethnicity:					
Hispanic:	%	60.3	47.2	47.7	5.4
Non-Hispanic:					
White	%	14.2	20.1	30.1	76.6
Black	%	6.3	8.0	6.1	15.2
Asian	%	18.4	21.9	12.5	0.3
American Indian, Other	%	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.8
Two or more "races"	%	2.0	3.7	4.6	1.9
Educational attainment:**					
Less than high school	%	37.6	22.7	15.9	12.7
High school graduate	%	25.5	26.7	25.3	30.7
Some college	%	15.4	30.8	37.8	35.5
Bachelor's degree (25 and older)	%	16.6	22.4	25.8	23.2
Advanced degree (25 and older)	%	9.6	7.6	8.8	7.3
Labor force participation:					
LFP rate	%	73.0	73.5	73.2	77.9
Working full-time	%	57.5	54.2	50.2	54.8
Working part-time	%	10.9	13.8	16.5	16.8
Not working	%	31.6	31.9	33.3	28.3
Occupational status index:***					
Higher (SEI > 50)	%	23.4	32.9	36.5	35.0
Middle (SEI > 25)	%	19.3	31.3	35.4	32.1
Low-wage labor (SEI < 25)	%	57.4	35.8	28.1	32.9
Economic status:					
Poverty rate (below poverty line)	%	21.8	14.1	13.2	13.4
Family annual income	\$	45,034	57,511	63,177	59,146
Earnings (among those who are working)	\$	25,972	27,559	28,047	27,675
Living with parents (row percentages):					
18-24 years old	%	19.2	53.5	60.7	51.8
25-29 years old	%	5.7	21.9	27.1	14.7
30-34 years old	%	2.9	9.5	13.1	7.7
Marital and parental status:					
Never married	%	37.1	56.9	63.2	51.7
Cohabiting	%	5.0	6.0	6.4	8.7
Currently married	%	54.0	33.4	27.0	34.5
Divorced, separated, widowed	%	3.9	3.7	3.4	5.1
Has one or more children	%	40.1	27.5	23.6	31.1

Source: Current Population Survey, 2003-06. (Figures are column percentages unless noted.)

* Foreign-born ("first generation") is divided into two cohorts: 1.0 (age 13+ at arrival) & 1.5 (< age 12 at arrival) .

** Educational attainment for Bachelor's degree or higher are reported only for 25-34 year olds.

*** Socioeconomic index (SEI): higher = profess., tech., white-collar occupations with SEI (Duncan) scores 50+; middle = services and skilled blue-collar jobs with SEI scores above 25; low = jobs with SEI scores below 25.

Table 16
Social and Economic Characteristics of Young Adults, by Ethnoracial Groups and Generation

Selected Characteristics	Generation:	Non-Hispanic											
		Hispanic			Black			White			Asian		
		1st	2nd	3rd+	1st	2nd	3rd+	1st	2nd	3rd+	1st	2nd	3rd+
Total young adults (18–34)	N	5,150,866	4,687,097	2,652,439	540,549	671,004	7,402,978	1,212,777	2,587,471	37,296,700	1,568,756	1,593,997	146,917
Educational attainment*													
Less than high school	%	56.2	28.5	20.8	15.3	12.6	18.1	10.1	8.9	10.9	6.5	9.1	6.7
High school graduate	%	27.8	31.0	35.8	31.2	25.7	37.6	26.0	22.4	28.9	15.0	17.0	16.6
Some college	%	10.3	31.3	33.8	31.2	43.5	32.5	22.7	37.6	36.1	20.6	37.5	38.5
Bachelor's degree (age 25+)	%	5.6	12.8	11.3	19.7	23.2	13.9	30.4	33.3	26.1	38.3	41.2	34.6
Advanced degree (age 25+)	%	1.6	2.8	3.3	7.9	7.8	3.7	18.6	12.5	8.4	27.5	16.1	15.8
Labor force participation													
LFP rate	%	74.8	74.5	77.2	76.1	67.1	71.9	72.2	75.2	79.3	66.4	69.4	75.6
Working full-time	%	59.6	53.9	55.0	55.9	42.6	48.6	56.8	52.2	56.3	52.2	48.9	49.4
Working part-time	%	10.1	14.1	15.3	14.4	15.3	12.2	12.4	17.7	17.9	11.0	15.7	19.9
Not working	%	30.3	32.0	29.7	29.7	42.1	39.2	30.9	30.0	25.8	36.8	35.4	30.7
Occupational status index**													
Higher (SEI > 50)	%	8.9	26.8	28.4	25.9	31.8	25.9	45.9	43.1	37.2	56.1	47.6	47.2
Middle (SEI > 25)	%	16.8	34.8	37.1	27.7	39.2	34.2	23.9	32.1	31.4	20.7	30.1	25.3
Low-wage labor (SEI < 25)	%	74.3	38.4	34.5	46.4	29.0	39.9	30.1	24.7	31.4	23.2	22.3	27.4
Economic status:													
Poverty rate (below poverty line)	%	25.8	17.1	16.6	19.7	13.8	25.6	13.7	8.9	10.6	15.8	10.9	8.8
Family annual income	\$	35,206	48,642	50,256	44,838	57,138	40,204	61,893	74,756	63,521	63,345	75,561	81,352
Earnings (among those who are working)	\$	20,252	23,936	24,612	23,938	26,430	22,818	35,356	31,741	28,803	39,911	33,615	35,725
Living with parents (row %s):													
18-24 years old	%	14.9	54.3	48.2	33.6	65.2	48.6	24.8	62.5	52.9	27.4	60.4	50.5
25-29 years old	%	4.9	22.6	17.9	9.3	40.9	20.9	5.9	22.2	13.1	6.8	30.9	23.9
30-34 years old	%	2.6	12.4	10.3	4.0	20.6	11.9	1.4	9.4	6.6	4.3	11.4	11.9
Marital and parental status:													

Table 16 continued...

Never married	%	35.5	57.2	51.1	55.0	76.9	67.2	33.8	57.5	48.5	38.5	69.0	61.1
Cohabiting	%	5.8	6.7	9.1	4.5	3.7	7.3	5.3	6.9	8.9	2.3	4.2	5.5
Currently married	%	54.1	31.9	33.5	36.6	15.1	19.5	57.6	32.6	37.8	57.2	24.9	30.5
Divorced, separated, widowed	%	4.6	4.3	6.3	3.9	4.2	5.9	3.3	3.1	4.8	2.0	1.9	3.0
Has one or more children	%	44.1	30.5	33.9	30.8	16.9	32.2	36.6	23.7	30.7	33.0	16.0	21.2

Source: Current Population Survey, 2003-06. (Figures are column percentages unless noted.)

* Educational attainment for Bachelor's degree or higher are reported only for 25-34 year olds.

** Socioeconomic index (SEI): higher = professional, technical, white-collar occupations with SEI (Duncan) scores above 50; middle = services and skilled blue-collar jobs with SEI scores above 25; low = jobs with SEI scores below 25.

- ◆ Among Hispanic young adults, there is very solid evidence of intergenerational social mobility, especially in educational attainment but also in occupational and economic status. That in part reflects the very low starting points of the immigrant generation. For example, among Hispanics 18-34, 56% have no high school diploma in the foreign-born *first* generation (combining both 1.0 and 1.5), but that rate declines to 29% in the *second* generation, and 21% in the *third and beyond*. College graduation rates double from 7.2% in the first generation to more than 14% by the third+. Among foreign-born Latin Americans, many (especially undocumented labor migrants from Mexico and Central America) came to work in their teens and had not completed secondary schooling in their country of origin (it is not so much that they “dropped out” of high school than that they never “dropped in”).
- ◆ Educational and occupational attainment are highest among Asian Americans. Because of the very high levels of education brought by immigrants from India, Taiwan and other Asian countries (a function of “brain-drain” migration histories noted earlier), we do not see the same pattern of upward intergenerational social mobility among Asians that we do among Hispanics. For example, among Asians, two thirds (66%) hold a Bachelor’s degree or higher in the immigrant *first* generation (and a remarkable 28% hold advanced degrees); but that rate declines to 57% in the *second* generation, and 50% in the *third and beyond*. Despite the relative decline across generations, college graduation rates among Asians are still far higher than any of the other groups. A similar pattern is repeated with regards to occupational status, with 56% of the first generation, compared to 47% of the second and third-plus generations, holding high-status jobs.
- ◆ Among non-Hispanic white young adults, 3rd+ generation natives reflect an educational and occupational profile well below that of Asian Americans. Just over a third (34%) hold Bachelor’s degrees or higher (including the 8% who hold advanced degrees). However, first and second generation “whites” (primarily immigrants from Europe, Canada and the Middle East, and their U.S.-born children) show a stronger profile of educational achievement, with nearly half holding Bachelor’s degrees or more, which carries over as well into higher occupational statuses, as detailed in the table—suggestive of the selectivity of those flows.
- ◆ Among non-Hispanic black young adults, similarly, the first and second (immigrant-stock) generations also fare much better than their third-and-beyond (native-stock) counterparts. This is especially true when examining educational attainment and poverty rates. Whereas 28% of first-generation (foreign-born) blacks and 31% of second-generation blacks hold a Bachelor’s degree or higher, the percentage among the third-plus generation is only 18%. The discrepancy in poverty rates is more striking still. The poverty rate among third-plus generation blacks is almost double that of the second generation (26% to 14%).

Figure 1. Age-Sex Pyramids for Hispanic in the United States, 2006
 (Source: Current Population Survey, 2006)

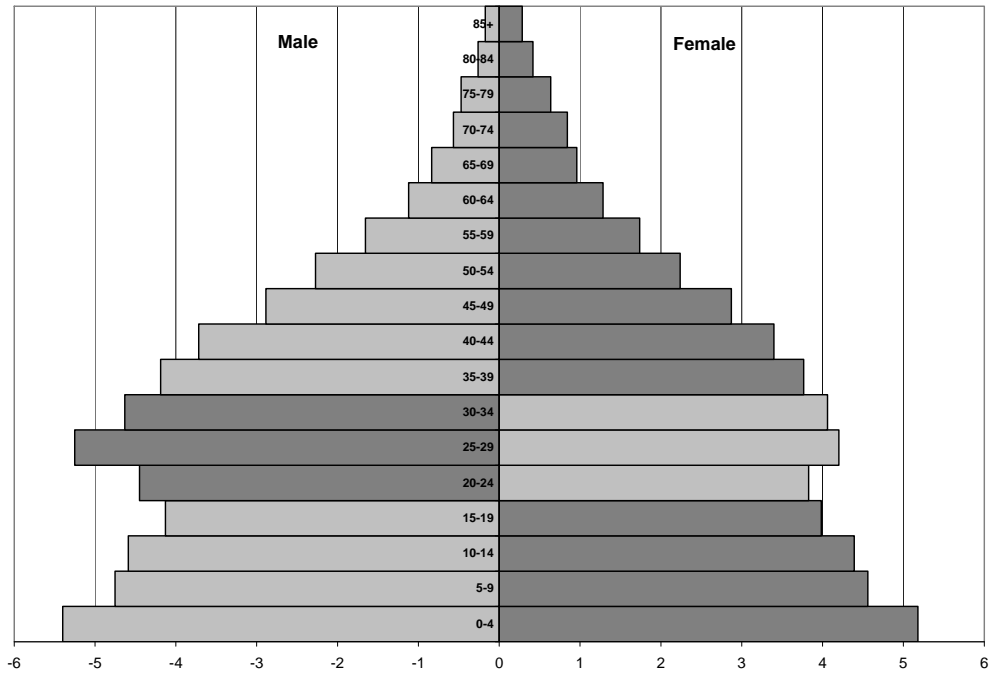


Figure 2. Age-Sex Pyramids for Non-Hispanic Whites in the United States, 2006
 (Source: Current Population Survey, 2006)

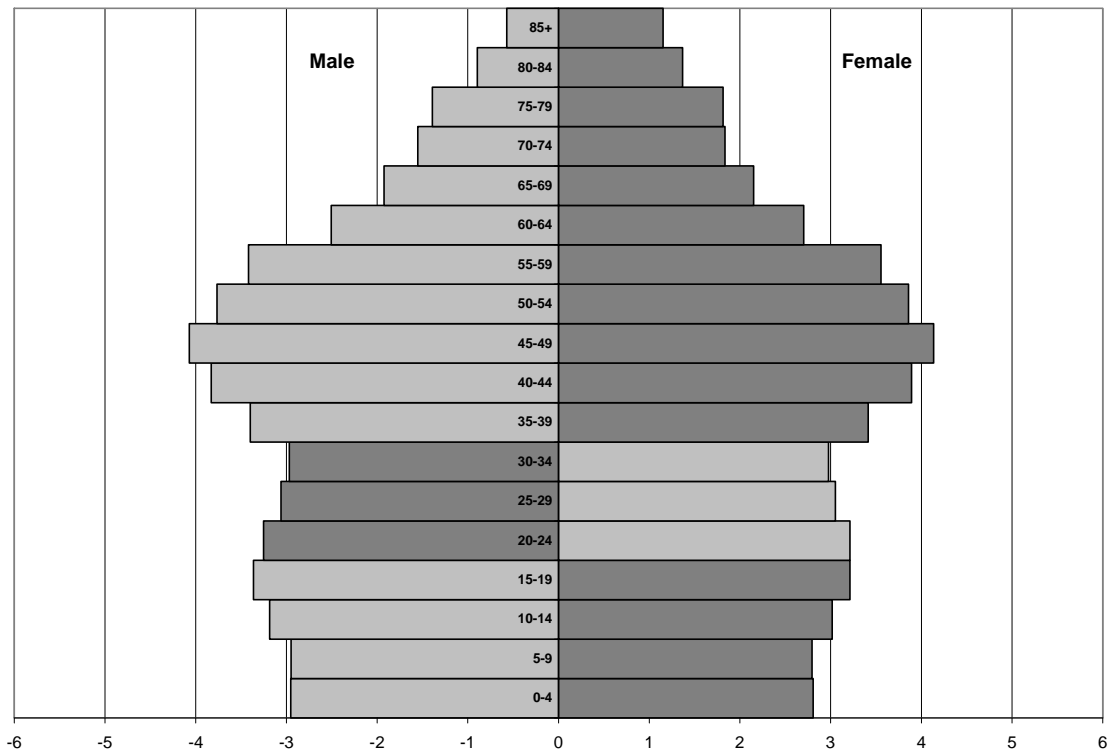


Figure 3. Age-Sex Pyramids for Non-Hispanic Blacks in the United States, 2006
 (Source: Current Population Survey, 2006)

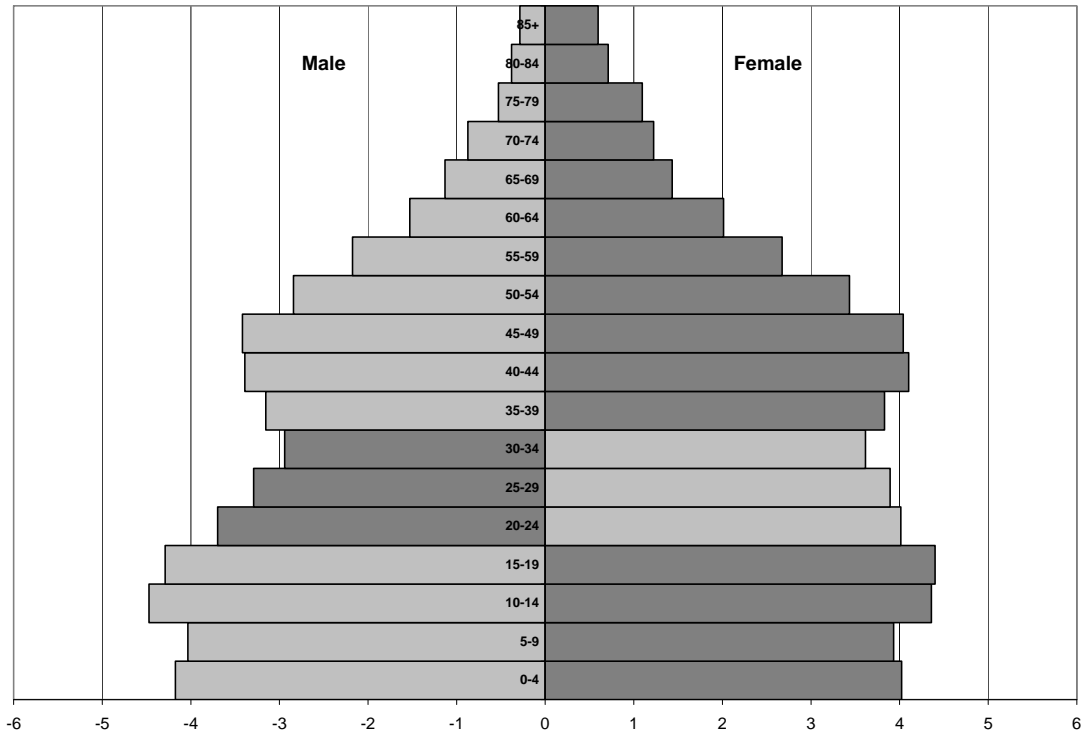
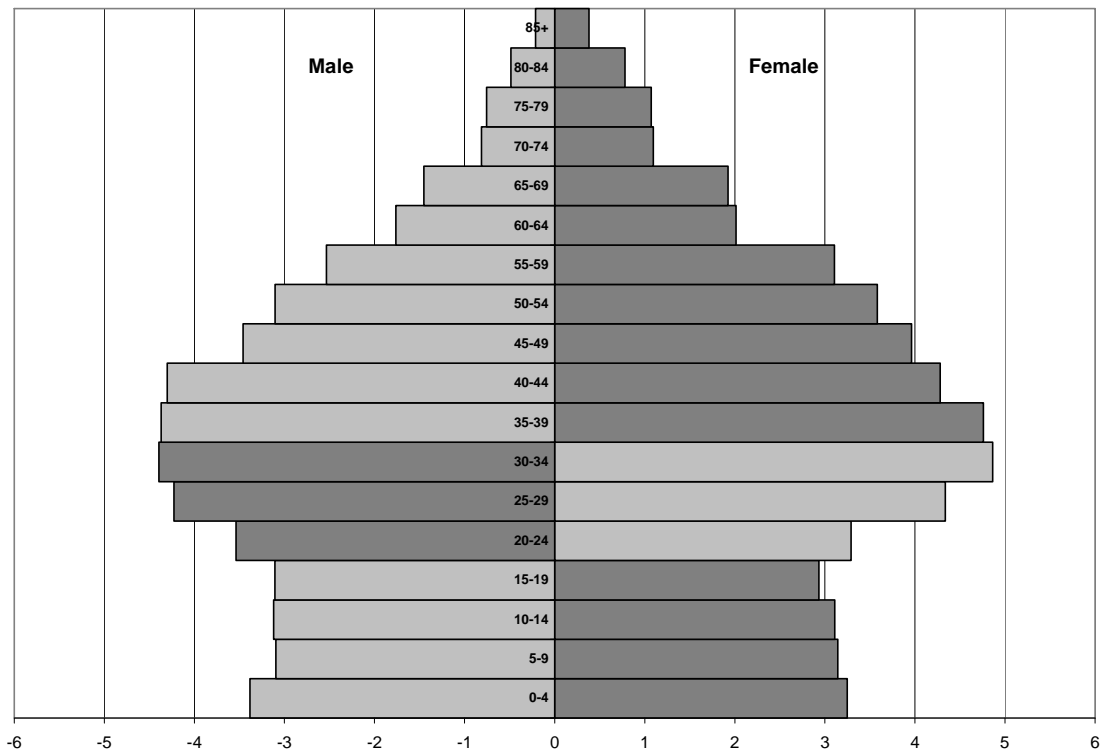


Figure 4. Age-Sex Pyramids for Non-Hispanic Asians in the United States, 2006
 (Source: Current Population Survey, 2006)



Figures 1-4. Age-Sex Pyramids for Four Ethnoracial Groups in the United States, 2006

- ◆ The age-sex structure of a population (the proportion of males and females at each age) is the cumulative result of past trends in fertility, mortality and migration. The age-sex structures of Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups in the United States today are depicted in the population pyramids sketched in Figures 1-6. The horizontal bars show the percentage of males and females in each age group (the early adulthood years of 20-34 are highlighted here); the overall shape of the pyramid indicates the potential for future growth of particular age groups, as well as the total population. These pyramids point to different stages of population growth among the largest ethnoracial groups, with significant implications for the future of these groups and for the ethnic segmentation of early adulthood in American society.
- ◆ The age structures of Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites, blacks and Asians are drawn in Figures 1-4 (based on data from the 2006 CPS). The sharpest contrast is seen between the age structures of the Hispanic and the non-Hispanic white populations, with the black and Asian populations falling in between.
- ◆ The Hispanic pyramid, with its wide base and narrow top—and the widest bars in early adulthood—is concentrated in the younger age groups (its median age is 27), reflecting both their higher birth rates as well as the immigration of working-age young adults with children, and a disproportionate number of males in the younger working ages, indicated by the bulge in that side of the pyramid (as is typical of labor migrations, especially among undocumented migrants; this pattern is most pronounced among Mexicans, Salvadorans and Guatemalans). Almost 40% of the total Hispanic population is made up of young adults 18-39, and another third (34%) are children under 18, so that nearly three-fourths are under age 40. The smaller proportion of Hispanics in the older age groups (only 5% are 65 or older) explains why at present there are not many deaths in this population compared to the older non-Hispanic white and black populations.
- ◆ Conversely, the non-Hispanic white pyramid reflects an aging population with declining fertility rates. It is concentrated in the older age groups (its median age is 41), which will expand further as aging baby boomers (the large bulge of the generation born after World War II) start reaching 65 in 2011. Already 15% are 65 or older; that proportion may reach 25% in the next generation. Currently, just over a quarter (27%) are young adults 18-39, and just over a fifth (21%) are children under 18, so that less than half are under age 40.
- ◆ The size and growth of the Hispanic population of the United States marks an extraordinary demographic development. Hispanics accounted for *half* of U.S. population growth between 2000 and 2004, although they comprised 14% of the total population (US Census Bureau 2004a, 2004b). By contrast, non-Hispanic whites accounted for only 18% of the increase in population over the same period, though they comprised more than two-thirds of the total population. Relatively high rates of immigration and fertility have shaped the growth and the creation of an especially youthful age structure among most Hispanic groups (the Cubans are an older group and a notable exception to this pattern). While their expansion was due primarily to immigration in the 1980s and 1990s, births are now outpacing immigrants as the driver of Hispanic population growth, and will increasingly become the most important component of growth (Telles *et al.* 2006).

- ◆ The birth rate of Hispanics is much higher than that of non-Hispanic whites, blacks and Asians. Among U.S. women between the ages of 15 and 44, the mean number of children a woman bears (the total fertility rate) is 1.8 for non-Hispanic whites and 2.8 for Hispanic women (Saens 2006; see also Landale *et al.*, 2006). [Among the various national origin groups, Mexican women had the highest fertility, with a rate of 3.3 in 2000, while Cuban women had only 1.9 children.]
- ◆ As a result of these differences in age structure and fertility, there is a huge gap in the ratio of births to deaths between these two populations. Among non-Hispanic whites there is approximately one birth for every death. Among Hispanics, the ratio is eight births for every death. The youthfulness of the Hispanic population will thus supply much of U.S. population growth in the decades to come (Haub 2006)—and especially to the growth and changing composition of the young adult population. The impact of the youthful age structure and higher birthrates of Hispanics is already being felt in schools today; it will be felt tomorrow in higher education and in labor markets, in consumption patterns, and at the ballot box.

Figures 5-6. Age-Sex Pyramids for Foreign-Born vs. U.S.-Born Hispanics, 2006

- ◆ The story of Hispanic demography and its implications for the study of young adulthood can be made more salient still by differentiating the population pyramids of *foreign-born* Hispanics vs. *U.S.-born* Hispanics. (As noted earlier, first-generation immigrants comprise 45% of the 44 million Hispanics in the United States, the U.S.-born second generation accounts for another 31%, and the third-and-beyond generations for the remaining 24%.)
- ◆ As the pyramid in Figure 5 shows, the *foreign-born* among the Hispanic population dominate the 20 to 39-year-old age bars; indeed, *half of them are in their 20s and 30s*, and *males* predominate among them. Immigration, typically, is the province of the young—and especially of young adults.
- ◆ In sharp contrast, their *U.S.-born* children (see the pyramid in Figure 6) fill the ranks of the youngest age brackets; *over half of them are under 20*. Indeed, the median age of the Hispanic second generation is 12. A large, diverse Hispanic component born and socialized in the United States is now and will increasingly be entering the labor force; given the socioeconomic profiles sketched earlier, it is likely that in parts of the country it will dominate the blue-collar work force for at least the next 40 years (Tienda *et al.*, 2006). The Latino proportion of the U.S. electorate is also certain to grow, which may have measurable impacts on U.S. leadership in the 21st century.
- ◆ Hispanics are thus coming of age in an aging society. Although the Hispanic population will continue to grow through immigration, it is primarily the U.S.-born children and grandchildren of immigrants—the rising second generation and their offspring—who will shape its economic and social destinies. Their potential contributions will depend on earnings capacity, which in turn depends on educational investments (*cf.* Danziger and Rouse, 2007). That is, the potential dividend offered by young adult Hispanic immigrants and their future offspring is tempered by their relatively low average earning capacity on arrival. Given the very substantial differences in education and earnings (as well as English

fluency, attitudes, and median age) between foreign-born and native-born Hispanics, the economic and social repercussions of the generational transformation now under way will depend largely on social investments in U.S.-born Hispanics—the second and later generations. The amount of Hispanic upward mobility that can be expected from future educational investments may be uncertain, but a sustained presence in low-wage jobs in the absence of significant educational improvement is a virtual certainty (Tienda *et al.*, 2006).

Figure 5. Age-Sex Pyramid for Foreign-Born Hispanics in the United States, 2006
 (Source: Current Population Survey, 2006)

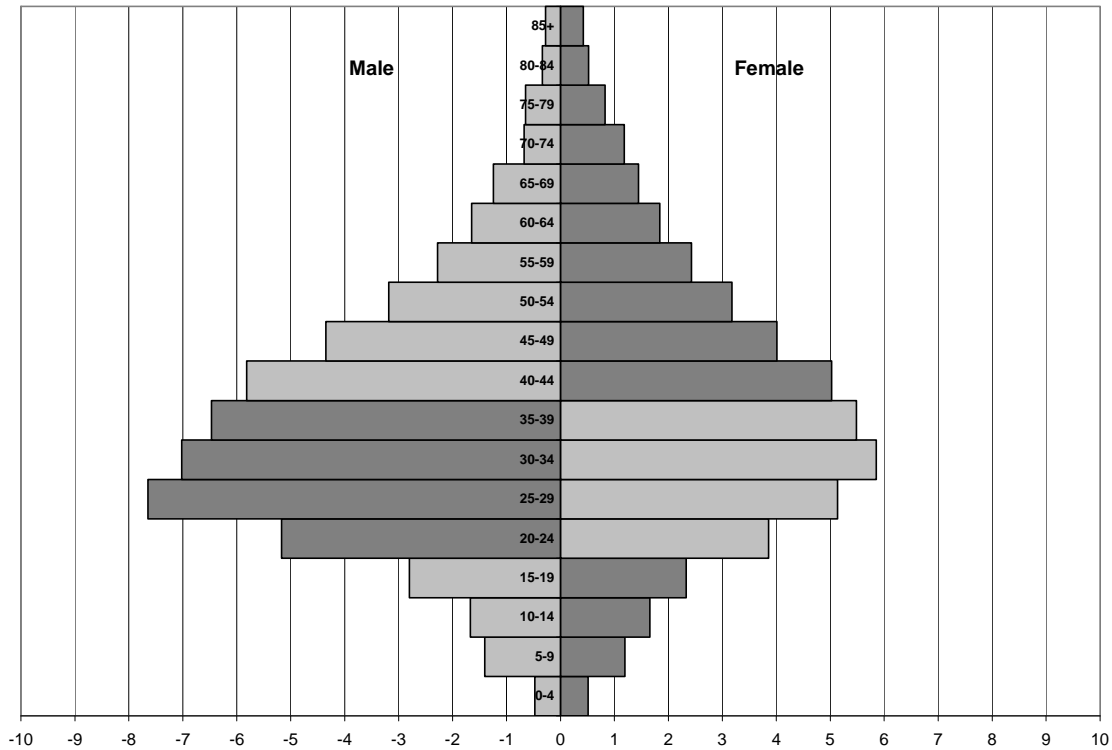
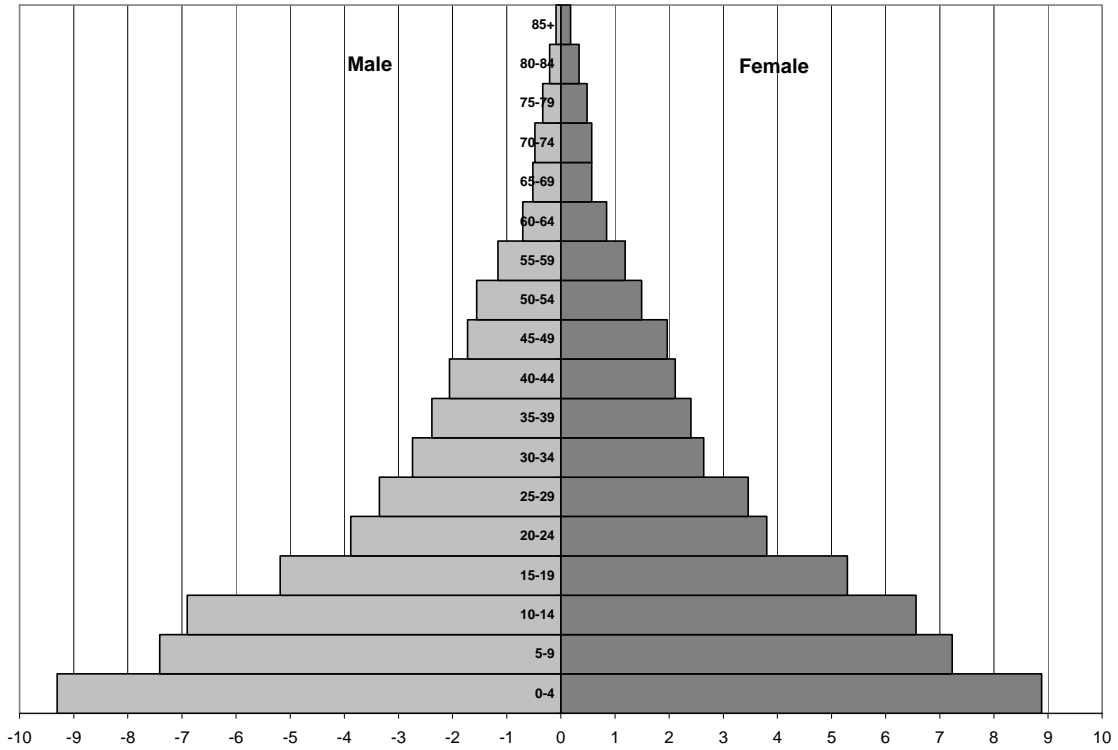


Figure 6. Age-Sex Pyramid for U.S.-Born Hispanics, 2006
(Source: Current Population Survey, 2006)



A Final Note

A caveat noted in our earlier report (Rumbaut 2004) is worth reiterating here. The five conventional “milestones” or “markers” in transitions to adult statuses, as measured and reported in both profiles, should be seen only as a snapshot, a frozen moment in the life course, not as “completed” or irreversible social accomplishments or changes in social status. Indeed, most (and arguably all) of the five are reversible, both in principle and in practice—and hinge on the larger social and economic contexts in which they are embedded (*cf.* Danziger and Rouse, 2007; Osgood et al., 2006; Settersten *et al.*, 2005).

For instance, young adults who leave home at one point in time may return to live with their parents at a later age; those who are no longer attending school may do so subsequently, and those who “drop out” of college may “drop in” years after; those who hold a full-time job now may lose it or leave it for any number of reasons. In addition, marriage or cohabitation are scarcely permanent arrangements, but may eventuate in separation or divorce (or in the death of a partner) and into a newfound marital status as a single (although the data reported here distinguish only the never married from the ever married or cohabiting). Even having a child of one’s own living in one’s household can be subject to status change.

Nonetheless, it remains the case that those traditional normative markers do reflect key exits and entrances into adult statuses, and as such the typology of the five transitions remains useful as a means to sketch—if with broad brush strokes, as done here—a heuristically meaningful empirical portrait of the present social and economic situation of young adults in the United States.

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