Fertility Behavior and the U.S. Latino Population: a Racial Stratification Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues for a reexamination of the ubiquitous theory that pronatalist values are responsible for the high fertility rates found among Latino populations in the U.S. Instead, it points to the increasing relevance of framing the fertility behavior of U.S. Latinos within a racial stratification perspective that stresses the influence of U.S. social context on fertility. As a step in this direction, this presentation will use the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey (L.A.FANS) to evaluate the extent to which community context influences Latino fertility levels in Los Angeles neighborhoods and to identify which aspects of neighborhood differentiation contribute to this relationship.

INTRODUCTION

High fertility rates in the U.S. have long been dominated by Latina women. While the total number of children estimated to be born to non-Latina white women (assuming current fertility rates) is 1.84, the same estimate for Latina women is 2.75, almost an entire child higher (Ventura et al. 2003) Latina women also have consistently posted higher total fertility rates than African American women, who at 2.10 fall somewhere between White and Latina women.

The overall rate of Latino fertility masks important internal differences by immigrant sub-group. While the vital statistics are limited in the level of detail they provide regarding breakdown by Latino sub-group, it appears that the Mexican-Origin sub-population is a critical force driving the high Latina fertility rates. They have also received the lion's share of attention in both scholarly research and in the popular press, due undoubtedly to their large relative and absolute size. The Mexican-Origin population constitutes around 9 percent of the total U.S. population and represents over 60 percent of the larger Latino population. While less numerically significant, other Latino sub-populations have also exhibited consistently high fertility rates. Most notably, Central Americans exhibit fertility rates that are very similar to the patterns observed in the larger Mexican-Origin community, although they are not numerically distinguished from South Americans in the vital statistics. Following Mexican and Central American population sub-groups, Puerto Rican women post the next highest fertility rates followed by Other Hispanics. Each of these groups exhibits, to varying degrees, higher fertility levels than either non-Latina Whites or African Americans. The singular exception is the Cuban-American population whose TFR closely matches that of non-Latina Whites and is considerably lower than that of African Americans. This diversity makes any analysis of overall Latina fertility potentially problematic. Accordingly, the following analysis will only include those Latina sub-groups with the highest fertility levels, namely Mexican-Origin and Central-American women. Henceforth, references to "Latino fertility" will be primarily in reference to the fertility behavior of Mexican-Origin and Central-American women in the U.S.

The significance of gaining a better understanding of the factors contributing to the high levels of Latino fertility is two-fold. First, the increasing size of the Latino

population coupled with their high fertility rates will make an understanding of the characteristics of Latino fertility an increasingly important part of understanding the fertility of the entire country (Glusker 2003). Additionally, according to Bean et al. (2000), if levels of life expectancy and immigration remain stable, the major component of growth in the relative size of the Latino population over the next half-century will be natural increase caused by differential fertility. This trend makes the fertility rates of the Latino population a key factor in determining the future size and ethnic composition of the United States.

Second, aside from their demographic relevance, Latino fertility patterns also touch upon several key issues involving immigrant adaptation and incorporation. Typically, fertility is seen as a social behavior and a major behavioral expression of sub-group norms (Goldscheider and Uhlenberg 1969). As such, differences in fertility patterns between different race/ethnic groups are understood to reflect different values and have been used as proxies for the extent of adaptation or assimilation of a particular group as compared to American mainstream society (Glusker 2003). As Latinos increase their relative and absolute size in this country and their children become an increasingly important part of the future social fabric of the U.S., their fertility behavior offers a unique measure with which to quantify their incorporation into larger U.S. society.

THE CASE OF LATINO FERTILITY: COMPETING EXPLANATIONS

Cultural Explanations

The central explanation behind the high fertility rates found among the U.S. Latino population is essentially a cultural one. First-generation Latino immigrants are understood to come from cultural environments in their origin countries that reinforce and encourage adherence to traditional pronatalist norms (Rindfuss and Sweet 1977). These high reproductive norms and behaviors are then transferred to the U.S. via immigrants to re-create a pronatalist subculture that permeates the entire Latino community (Marcum 1980). This process is understood to be particularly strong for the Mexican-Origin population whose migration trajectories are characterized by back and forth movement and a high level of contact with their origin communities. As noted by Amba and Krivo (1991): "this flow of people and information [from Mexico] perpetuates sub-cultural pronatalist norms for individual Mexican immigrant families by reinforcing the influence of the norms and expectations of the origin society, and thereby weakening the effect of American fertility norms" (149). With time in the U.S. and greater assimilation into larger U.S. society, it is expected that a lessening of attachment to pronatalist norms will occur, and fertility levels will subsequently decrease.

Two consistent components undergird the aforementioned explanation and form the basis of every existing study of Latino fertility behavior. First, a move from a high fertility to a low fertility country is understood to imply attachment to pronatalist norms that are associated with origin country cultures and which work to inflate fertility rates once in the U.S. Second, attachment to pronatalist norms is understood to decrease with time in the U.S. and across generations, leading to lower fertility levels.

There are several problems, however, with the cultural explanation's two main components. First, the notion of universally accepted cultural norms emanating from origin communities represents a simplification of the migration process, which is often

selective, making migrants unrepresentative of the origin communities from where they come. Even more problematic is recent evidence suggesting that the premise upon which the cultural argument is built, i.e. Latino immigrants move from a high fertility context in their origin country to a low fertility context in the U.S., is no longer relevant, at least in the case of the largest Latino immigrant group in the U.S. In a comparison of fertility behavior among Mexican women in Mexico and Mexican-Origin women in the U.S., Frank and Heuveline (2003) found that beginning in the last decade, the TFR for Mexican-Origin women in the U.S. became *higher* than the TFR for women in Mexico. The gap between the two population groups has actually increased over the last decade, as the Mexican TFR has continued to fall and the TFR for Mexican-Origin women has increased slightly. So by 2000, the TFR for Mexicans in Mexico was reported to be 2.4 and the TFR for Mexicans in the U.S. was reported to be 3.3.[1] The crossover is almost entirely due to the spectacular decreases in the fertility behavior of the Mexican women in Mexico, whose TFR has fallen over 70 percent (from a TFR of 7.3 to 2.4) in the last thirty years (CONAPO 1999). Mexico's dramatic fertility declines provide a clear rebuke to the idea, very prevalent in U.S. based research on immigration, that the country of origin remains statically traditional; an unchanging world where cultural systems are passed from generation to generation. In the case of Mexico, this assumption ignores the country's recent rapid and dramatic demographic changes. Even more importantly, the case of Mexico/Mexican-Origin fertility calls into question the continuing relevance of a cultural explanation for understanding Latino fertility in the U.S. Instead, a pattern whereby a woman moves from a high fertility to a low fertility country, appears to have been replaced, at least in the case of Mexico, by a model whereby a woman moving from Mexico to the U.S. is actually moving from a lower fertility context into a higher fertility context, to the extent that she becomes integrated into the Mexican-Origin community in the U.S.

Another flawed premise of the cultural explanation is that it ignores the social reality of Latino groups in the U.S. An essential part of the cultural explanation for Latino fertility is that fertility will decrease with time in the U.S. and across generations, as attachment to pronatalist norms decreases with greater integration into mainstream U.S. society. Yet it is becoming increasingly clear that for many Latino groups a linear process of assimilation is not the predominant pattern characterizing their integration into U.S. society. Instead, an alternative model, first formulated by Portes and Zhou (1993), suggests that in the process of becoming American, immigrants and their children may adopt one of several trajectories, largely dependent on a combination of a group's internal resources, places of settlement, reception by host community and individual/familial background characteristics. Coined "segmented assimilation," this concept accommodates an array of disparate paths that diverge from the traditional model.

In the case of many Latino groups, and in particular the Mexican-Origin population, the dominant alternative to the traditional assimilation model appears to be a process of downward assimilation. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001: 277): "Mexican immigrants represent the textbook example of theoretically anticipated effects

[1] The denominator of the U.S. estimate is based on population projections from the 1990 census and as such is likely an underestimation. As a result, the TFR for the Mexican-Origin population is likely an over-estimation. Pending release of the 2000 census estimations for Hispanic sub-groups, this figure will be adjusted.

of low immigrant human capital combined with a negative context of reception." On a whole, Mexican immigrant youth and their native-born counterparts (who are wholly submerged in the U.S. social context), are characterized by overwhelmingly negative profiles, including low levels of high school completion, lower levels of college enrollment and high rates of teen pregnancy (Bean and Tienda 1987; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). An analysis of the ADDHEALTH data comparing foreign-born Latino immigrant groups to second-and-third-generation Latino sub-groups found monotonic increases in rates of substance use, health problems, delinquency, violence and sexual activity with more time in the U.S. and across generations (Harris 1999). Other analyses have documented a more curvilinear pattern in which improvements in the second-generation are overshadowed by setbacks in the third-generation. One such case involves fertility behavior. Two different analyses of the 1988-1988 and 1998-2000 Current Population Surveys found that while a decline in both current and cumulative fertility occurs between first and second generation Mexican-Origin women, third-or-later-generation women present levels fertility that are higher than those of second-generation women, particularly at younger ages (Bean et al. 2000a, Frank and Heuveline 2003). In stark contrast to the second major premise of the cultural hypothesis, namely that the fertility behavior of Latino immigrants and their descendants and that of non-Latino whites will converge over time, this curvilinear pattern suggests that Mexican-Origin fertility levels are actually increasing across generations in the U.S.

Structural Explanations

Both of the trends identified above, a crossover between Mexican and Mexican-Origin fertility rates and an increase in the fertility rates of third-or-later-generation Mexican American women, question the utility of a strict assimilationist perspective and instead raise the possibility that something about the U.S. social context may be influencing Latino fertility behavior, above and beyond "cultural heritage." One such approach involves the racial stratification perspective, which identifies race/ethnic differentials in fertility as resulting from the different levels of racial stratification that characterize U.S. society (McDaniel 1996). In the case of Latinos immigrant groups, their social history in the U.S. and their precarious socioeconomic position have long been understudied in research on fertility and family formation (Forste and Tienda 1996).

Lopez and Sabagh (1979) were the first to raise the possibility that high Latino fertility may be due to the negative structural features characterizing the U.S. communities in which the immigrants reside. Using a survey of 1,129 Los Angeles area Chicano couples, Lopez and Sabagh find that the ethnic homogeneity of each couple's neighborhood along with the ethnic homogeneity of each husband's coworkers (an index they call "context ethnicity") is positively related to fertility (as measured by children ever born). The authors argue that their index of "context ethnicity" serves as a proxy for residential and occupational "ghettoization" and as such, highlights the role of a negative structural environment in contributing to high Chicano fertility. Marcum (1980), however, takes issue with their interpretation and argues that their measure of "context ethnicity" most likely captures normative climate and not structural characteristics. Accordingly, Marcum (1980) uses Lopez and Sabagh's analysis to argue in favor of the cultural hypothesis noting that: "living among members of one's own

group places one in the most likely setting for distinctive subcultural norms to be reinforced" (380).

Bean and Swicegood (1985) put forth a structural explanation for high Latino fertility rates in their analysis of 1970 census data. Focusing on the case of Mexican-Origin fertility, the authors demonstrate that neighborhood income and the extent of residential segregation in an area influence Mexican-Origin fertility so that Mexican-Origin women in less advantaged areas are characterized by higher fertility levels. This relationship was particularly strong among less educated Mexican-Origin women. The authors conclude that differential opportunity costs are partly driving the high rates of fertility found among Mexican-Origin women. Characterized by lower levels of human capital and subject to social and economic discrimination, Mexican-Origin women are understood to face comparatively lower opportunity costs for childbearing and therefore demonstrate higher fertility.

Amba and Krivo (1991) update Bean and Swicegood's analysis of Mexican-Origin women using data from the 1980 census. They find that for younger Mexican-Origin women, the Latino/White unemployment ratio in a metropolitan statistical area (MSA) is strongly related to higher fertility levels. The authors conclude that more structurally limited economic environments may promote fertility because of the lower opportunity costs of childbearing among those living in more structurally limited environments.

The present analysis aims to contribute to the existing research on Latino fertility patterns by jointly examining both the cultural and structural explanation with a data set that is uniquely designed to account for contextual level effects. This analysis will overcome the methodological limitations plaguing previous studies that have simply relied upon aggregations of a sample's individual level characteristics as proxies for community context. Additionally, an explicit focus on neighborhoods will avoid the problems characterizing studies that have been limited to large geographic areas, such as MSAs, where many of the contextual level effects on fertility are likely to be obscured or distorted due to aggregation.

It follows that the specific aims of this presentation are to: 1) identify fertility patterns among the Latino population in Los Angeles, differentiating by nativity and generational status; 2) determine the individual level factors that contribute to variation in fertility levels by nativity and generational status; 3) test whether community context influences fertility behavior, above and beyond individual effects; 4) explore the mechanisms through which community context impacts Latino fertility patterns.

DATA

The data for this analysis come from the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey (L.A.FANS), a representative study of families in 90 different neighborhoods in Los Angeles County in 2000. The neighborhood level indicators for the analysis come from the 2000 census estimates for L.A. County. Neighborhoods are defined by census tract boundaries.

L.A. County represents a unique case with which to evaluate Latino fertility patterns. It has one of the largest concentrations of Latinos in the U.S., the vast majority of who are of Mexican-Origin. According to the 2000 census, the Mexican-Origin population constitutes over 30 percent of the total population of L.A. County and 71.7

percent of the Latino population. The second largest Latino sub-group are Central Americans who make up four percent of the County's total population and nine percent of the County's Latino population. This distribution is replicated in our own sample which is 75 percent Mexican-Origin and 15 percent Central American. The remaining 10 percent are immigrants from a small range of South American countries. It should be remembered that although the following analysis refers more generally to Latino fertility, the sample is overwhelmingly made up of respondents who are either of Mexican or Central American origin. The decision to keep the Central American respondents in the analysis was largely driven by sample size issues. Ideally any analysis of Latinos in the U.S. either distinguishes the population by its smaller sub-groups or restricts the analysis to one sub-group, thereby avoiding misleading generalizations. For this reason, the majority of previous research on Latino fertility has focused exclusively on the Mexican-Origin population in the U.S. Unfortunately, while the L.A.FANS data is overwhelmingly Mexican-Origin, the final sample size was insufficient for obtaining stable estimations of the coefficients if the Central American respondents were excluded. It can also be argued that while important differences do exist between the Mexican-Origin and Central American population in the U.S., these two Latino sub-groups are arguably the most similar, with regard to their reception and subsequent assimilation trajectories (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Accordingly, it is reasonable to expect that their fertility behavior and the factors that influence it operate similarly for both groups.

Despite the near uniformity in the national origins of Latinos in L.A. County, there is considerable diversity within the group along nativity and generational lines. Both Mexican and Central American immigrants have had a long history of migration to L.A. County and both groups continue to post remarkably high rates of current immigration into the area.[2] As a result, the Latino population boasts considerable generational depth at the same time that it is characterized by a high number of foreign born immigrants. This is reflected in the sample, of whom 70 are foreign-born, 19 percent are second-generation and a little over 10 percent are third-generation Latinas.

The sample used in the present analysis consists of all Latina women in the L.A.FANS data who were administered the adult questionnaire, which included a complete fertility history, as well as an extensive set of questions on demographic background and socioeconomic status. Women were selected to receive the adult questionnaire in one of two ways. First, a randomly selected adult (RSA) was chosen from each household. If the RSA was a woman between the ages of 18-49 then she was included in this sample. Additionally, if the household had children, the adult identified as the primary care giver (PCG) was also administered the adult questionnaire (if the RSA was also the PCG then she was only administered the questionnaire once). Weights were then constructed for all RSAs and PCGs in order to ensure that the total sample of adult interviewees was representative of all adults across the households. The weights eliminate concern over the possibility of selection bias with the PCG sample (who were interviewed based on their past fertility, i.e. if they had children). As a check of reliability, it was confirmed that the fertility rate for the randomly selected sample (the RSAs) was the same as the fertility rate for the entire RSA and PCG combined weighted sample.

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[2] There is increasing evidence, however, of a shift away from California as a destination point for Latino immigrants (see Suro and Singer 2002).

Only Latina women are included in the sample as the main aim of the analysis is to identify the contextual features influencing Latina fertility. The final sample size consists of 1210 Latina women between the ages of 18-49.

MEASUREMENT

Outcomes variable

The fertility measure included in the multivariate analysis captures whether or not the respondent experienced a birth in the three years prior to the survey. Given the sample size, extending the period to the three years prior to the survey (instead of limiting it to the previous year) will result in more stable estimates of Latino fertility behavior. In the descriptive statistics, the fertility rate is calculated according to whether a woman reported having had a birth in the year prior to the survey. The descriptive statistics also include an additional measure of fertility that measures the total number of children ever born to a woman. This measure will better capture cumulative (as opposed to current) fertility. Due to causality issues with regard to the contextual-level effects and cumulative fertility, the measure of child ever born will not be included as a outcome in the multivariate models.

Individual-level explanatory variables

Nativity and generational status are two of the key explanatory variables that will be included in the analysis. Information was obtained on year of immigration and country of birth of individuals and their parents, allowing for the construction of detailed immigrant categories. Subdividing the Latina population allows us to determine if more time in the U.S. results in lowered fertility and if this is an effect that continues to operate even among native-born generations, i.e. from the second to third generation. For foreign-born women, who make up the majority of the sample, respondents are distinguished by their age of arrival to the U.S. It is expected that fertility preferences are largely formed in the place where a woman spends the majority of her childbearing years. Women who migrated to the U.S. as children and spent the majority of their childbearing years in the U.S. (<15 years old at migration) are distinguished from women who migrated as adults (15+ years at migration). The native-born population is differentiated by the country of origin of their parents. The second generation is defined as consisting of Latina women who were born in the United States or abroad to an American parent and who reported that at least one parent was born outside of the U.S. Women who are classified as belonging to the third-or-later generation were born in the U.S. or abroad and also reported that both of their parents were born in the U.S. Taken together, the groups represent a linear pattern with each category indicating more time in the U.S., or in the case of the two native-born groups, a move from second-to-third generation Americans.

Comparisons of fertility behavior are highly contingent on age and parity status. Maternal age is coded into three age-group categories that capture the curvilinear pattern of fertility by age. The three groups are: 18-24, 25-34, and 34-49. In addition to age, two other demographic controls are also included. Parity status refers to the number of children born to the respondent in the year prior to the most recent birth, if one occurred. The number of previous births is kept as a continuous predictor in the analysis. In the descriptive statistics parity status is operationalized based on the Kleinman and Kessel

Index, in which birth order and maternal age are combined to result in three categories: 1. No births; 2. Low parity (first-order, second-order births to women 18 and older, third-order births to women 25 and older); and 3. High parity (second- or higher-order births to women under 18, third- or higher-order births to women under 25, and forth- and higher-order births to women 25 and older). In the descriptive statistics, parity status for women who had given birth in the last three years refers to her status prior to that birth. Marital status of the respondent distinguishes between women who reported that they were cohabiting, women who were neither married nor living with a significant other, and women who reported that they were married. The marital status variables should be treated with caution because they do not necessarily reflect that marital status as the time of the pregnancy but rather at the time of the survey (the pregnancy could have occurred within up to three years prior to the survey). Accordingly, it is highly likely that the estimates presented here are an underestimation of the number of non-marital births, given that unwed women are more likely to wed following a birth.

Three different variables are included that are intended to capture each respondent's socioeconomic status. Appropriate controls for individual-level socioeconomic status are important in that they will allow for a more accurate estimation of community-level socioeconomic effects. Education level is included as a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent completed high school or not. In terms of income and assets, two household-level indicators are included. Each household head reported the total annual income for the family. Not surprisingly, a considerable number of households failed to report their annual income, resulting in a large number of missing cases. While the L.A.FANS survey team is currently working on the imputation of data for missing assets and income, this information is not yet publicly available. In order to avoid deleting those cases, a dummy variable was created that indicated whether or not the respondents were missing on the family income variable. For those respondents who did report their family income, they were subdivided by quartile group, with the highest category representing the fourth quartile. A final measure of socioeconomic status represents an indicator of family assets. Respondents who reported living in rented living quarters were distinguished from those who reported living in a home owned by the household.

Neighborhood-level explanatory variables

Three different neighborhood-level measures are included in this analysis. The first is a measure of the relative size of the Latino community in each neighborhood. To produce this proportion, the number of Latinos in each census tract is divided by the number of the total population in the census tract. The second contextual measure is an index that is closely modeled after the one created by Abma and Krivo (1991) in their 1980 analysis of Mexican-Origin fertility. This index is intended to measure the strength of the normative sub-culture within the Latino community and will serve as a test of the cultural hypothesis. It combines three measures that capture the relative presence within the Latino community of those who are expected to be most integrated into the ethnic subculture. The reasoning follows that areas with close contacts to the sending country will provide, "the most favorable milieu for intragroup patterns of interaction to develop-patterns which, in turn, work to preserve unique values" (Marcum 1980). This index includes the proportion of Latinos in each neighborhood: 1) who are foreign born, 2) who

immigrated to the U.S. within the past ten years (i.e. after 1990) and 3) who speak English poorly.

A second index is included that is intended to capture the alternative hypothesis, namely the role of a community's economic opportunity structure in influencing fertility behavior. This index includes 1) the proportion of neighborhood residents who were living in poverty 2) the proportion of female residents who did not complete high school 3) the proportion of female residents who were unemployed. Both indices are calculated as the sum of the z-scores of the two different sets of variables and each index demonstrated good internal consistency reliability with Cronback alpha values over .85. There were several other level-2 contextual variables that we considered including in the analysis but we were restricted to using only a few level-2 predictors given that the analysis is based on a limited number of level-2 units. The level-2 variables that were chosen were those that demonstrated the strongest effects on fertility.

METHODS

Of primary concern for the present analysis is the relative importance of different community-level indicators for determining the fertility behavior of Latina women in L.A. County. Given that we expect to observe fertility influences at both the individual and community-level of analysis, we use a form of hierarchical linear models (HLM) known as hierarchical generalized linear modeling methods to predict the binary outcome of a recent birth (Kanaiaupuni and Donato 1999). HLGM estimates linear equations that explain individual-level outcomes for persons, in this case Latina women between the ages of 18-49, who themselves are nested in groups, i.e. neighborhoods. HLM does not need to assume that the person and neighborhood characteristics of the women come from simple random samples, as would be the case were logistic regression employed. Instead, HGLM separates the error variance by level of analysis, i.e. that occurring within neighborhoods and between neighborhoods, thereby giving proper estimate of the variability of regression coefficients (Arnold 1992).

At the individual level (level-1), a Bernoulli model predicts the likelihood of a recent birth among $i = 1,\ldots,_j$ women, who are nested within each of $j = 1 \ldots., J$ neighborhoods (level-2) units. The outcome for case i is:

$$Y_{ij} = \log[\phi_{ij} / 1 - \phi_{ij}] = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\textit{Individual Attributes})_{ij} + r_{ij}$$

Where Y_{ij} is the log of the odds of individual i's recent fertility in neighborhood j; $\beta_{0j} \ldots \beta_{1j}$ are coefficients for the intercept and the individual-level explanatory variables; r_{ij} is an error term for each individual i in each neighborhood j. The intercept is allowed to vary across the different neighborhoods and is the following (the star indicates centering at grand mean):

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{Percent Hispanic})_j^* + \gamma_{02}(\text{Ethnic Context Index})_j + \gamma_{03}(\text{Economic Disadvantage Index})_j + u_{0j.}$$

Where β_{0j} is interpreted as the average women's probability of having a recent birth in each neighborhood; $\gamma_{00} \ldots \gamma_{03}$ are the Level-2 intercept and coefficients for each

neighborhood variable; and u_{0j} is the Level-2 random effect. HLM permits tests for heterogeneity of regression slopes between levels of analysis. Heterogeneity tests (not shown) revealed that the effect of unwed marital status differed significantly across communities by percent Hispanic. Therefore, the intercept and the unwed status slope are allowed to vary across neighborhoods and is the following:

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}(\text{Percent Hispanic})_j + u_{1j.}$$

All other effects are fixed at the grand mean. HLM calculates the equations simultaneously using generalized least square estimators of the level 2 coefficients and restricted maximum-likelihood estimators of the variance and covariance parameters (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002).

Several two-level explanatory models are presented using stepwise regression which allows us to explore the relative contribution of each set of variables in explaining the variation in the dependent variable at each of these levels as well as at all levels combined.

Findings

Descriptive

Table 1 presents estimates of current fertility (as measured by the fertility rate) and cumulative fertility (as measured by the mean children ever born) for non-Latino White, non-Latino Black and Latino women. The estimates of current and cumulative fertility for each group are nearly identical to those estimated from the 2000 Current Population Survey (CPS), with the exception of the lower fertility rate found for the non-Latino white population in the L.A.FANS (Frank and Heuveline 2003).

Columns 2 and 4 provide comparisons between the fertility behavior of these groups as compared to non-Latino whites. Looking at the percent difference between the fertility of Latina women and non-Latina whites (column 2), we see that there is over a two-fold difference in fertility rates. Likewise, in the case of cumulative fertility, the average number of children ever born in the Latino population is 60 percent higher than for non-Latino whites (column 4). This difference is the same as the difference between non-Latino whites and African Americans.

In the second panel of Table 1, the Latino population is differentiated by nativity and generational status. For current fertility, we see a linear pattern with fertility decreasing with time in the U.S. until one reaches the third-generation. From the second-generation to the third-generation there is a considerable uptick in fertility so that third-generation women have the highest fertility rates of the four nativity/generational groups. This curvilinear pattern replicates the one found in the CPS data, although the uptick in the L.A.FANS data is considerably more pronounced (Bean et al. 2000, Frank and Heuveline 2003). We see the same pattern in the measure of cumulative fertility. While foreign-born adult immigrants continue to have the highest average number of children, the two native born groups hold contrasting positions. Third-generation Latina women have a higher mean number of children than second-generation Latina women, whose average number of children is slightly lower than that of non-Latina whites.

In order to address differences in age structure, Figure 1 presents the age-specific fertility rates for non-Latino whites, African Americans and the Latino population. As

compared to the two other race/ethnic groups, Latina women demonstrate higher fertility rates for every age group, followed by African Americans and non-Latino whites. The singular exception is in the oldest age group in which the fertility rates of African Americans falls below that of non-Latino Whites.

Figure 2 illustrates the effect of these differences on patterns of cumulative fertility. For interpretive purposes, the estimate of mean children ever born for the oldest age group is analogous to a measure of completed fertility. With respect to the Latina population, the effect of higher current fertility at every age group translates into considerably higher completed fertility, so that Latina women have over one more child on average than non-Latino whites.

In order to address the variability within the Latina population, Figure 3 presents current fertility rates for the Latina sample, differentiating by its respective nativity/generational groups. Adult immigrants have either the highest or next highest fertility rate in each age group. At the other end of the continuum, second-generation Latina women have the lowest fertility rates in each age group, with the exception of the oldest in which they have the next to lowest fertility rate. Again, third-generation women display fertility rates considerably higher than second-generation women in every age group. The relationship between the two foreign-born groups is more variable. While adult immigrants tend to have higher fertility than child immigrants at younger and older ages, child immigrants have the highest fertility rates between the ages of 25-34.

Figure 4 presents the age-specific measures of cumulative fertility by nativity/generational sub-group. Replicating the same pattern observed for current fertility, third-generation Latina women exhibit higher cumulative fertility as compared to second-generation women at every age. Interestingly, despite differences in age-specific fertility rates, completed fertility at the oldest ages demonstrates very little difference between the groups, with each woman averaging around 3 children. Taken together, this set of figures has demonstrated that the variation that exists within the Latina community with regard to fertility behavior does not necessarily correspond to the direction predicted by the assimilationist model. Despite a linear decrease in fertility rates with time in the U.S., the results demonstrate that a move from second-generation immigrant to third-generation immigrant is associated with a substantial increase in fertility.

The next table takes a closer look at the individual profiles that may contribute to these patterns. The percent distribution of several demographic and socioeconomic variables for all women ages 18-49 are presented for each nativity/generational sub-group. First comparing non-Latino whites and the Latina population (columns 1 and 2), we observe considerable variation in the indices. Non-Latina white women are more likely to not have had children while Latina women exhibit more high parity births. Latinas are slightly more highly represented among cohabitors than non-Latina whites. There are no appreciable differences with regard to married status between the two groups. The same is not true with regard to the socioeconomic indicators. Over 40 percent of the Latina population did not complete high school whereas less than 5 percent of the non-Latina white population failed to do so. While this number closely matches national estimates for Latino completion rates, the figure for non-Latina whites is considerably lower than national estimates, suggesting that the non-Latino White population in L.A. County is more advantaged than as compared to non-Latino whites in

the country as a whole. Latina women also have lower mean household incomes and a higher prevalence of living in rented quarters than non-Hispanic whites.

Columns 3-6 differentiate the Latina population by nativity and generational status. In terms of the demographic variables, adult immigrant women tend to be slightly older while women belonging to the second generation are more highly represented in the youngest age group. The foreign-born adult immigrants are the least likely to be childless and have the highest rates of both low and high parity births. Adult foreign-born immigrants are also the least likely to be unwed (58 percent). With regard to the socioeconomic indicators, we observe a linear decrease in the percentage of women without a high school education, so that among foreign-born adult immigrants almost 60 percent lack a high school education whereas only fourteen percent of third-generation women do. The same pattern holds for mean household income, with a linear increase with more time in the U.S. and across generations. However, in most cases the differences between the two native born groups are minor. While there appear to be considerable improvements from child immigrants to second-generation women, there are only relatively small changes between second and third-generation Latina women for both education and mean household income. In fact, there was an increase in the number of third-generation women who rent their home as opposed to own them. These patterns indicate limited upward mobility from one native born generation to the next. This blocked mobility occurs in the context of considerable differences between the native-born Latina population and non-Latina whites.

The bottom panel of the table presents the mean of each of the neighborhood-level indicators that are included in the analyses. Not surprisingly, non-Latina white women live in neighborhoods that are characterized by a lower number of Latinos than do Latina women. But reflecting the overall high levels of Latinos in L.A. County, even non-Latina white women live in neighborhoods where the average percent Latino is over one-quarter. Latina women live in neighborhoods that are on average almost two-thirds Latino, indicating a high level of residential segregation. The neighborhoods of the non-Latina white women in the sample are also considerably more socioeconomically advantaged, as indicated by their lower averages of percent poor, percent of women without a high school diploma and percent of the female labor force that is unemployed. With regard to the nativity/generational sub-groups, the distributions demonstrate that all groups are characterized by neighborhoods with high average levels of Latinos. Only for the third-generation does the average percent Latino decrease some. For every indicator, the most appreciable differences are between the foreign-born adult immigrants and third-generation Latinos. Foreign-born adult immigrants are more likely to live in neighborhoods with the highest averages of foreign-born Latinos, recent foreign-born Latinos and Latinos with low levels of English ability. Overall, however, the differences in the averages across the groups are not very pronounced. The same is true for the neighborhood socioeconomic indicators. While we observe lower averages in negative economic context for the native-born groups, these decreases are not very pronounced.

Table 3 presents the percent distribution for the same set of variables but limits the sample to women who had a birth in the three year prior to the survey. Latina women having a birth in the last three years are younger and exhibit higher parity status as compared to non-Latina whites. Latina women giving birth in the last three years are also more likely to be cohabiting than non-Latina white women and less likely to be married,

even in the context of similar percentages of wed women in the two populations (see Table 2). As compared to non-Latina whites, considerably more Latina women giving birth in the last year do not have a high school degree and also exhibit substantially lower income levels.

Columns 3-6 differentiate the Latina sample by sub-group. Third generation women having had a birth in the last three years are overwhelmingly represented in the older age category, although given the small sample size these distributions should be treated with caution. Predictably, adult foreign-born women who had a birth in the last three years are the most likely to exhibit high parity status. There are considerable differences in marital status for women having given birth in the last three years, in particular by unwed status. Third generation mothers are overwhelming more likely to be unwed as compared to adult foreign-born immigrants. By the third-generation, almost 40 percent of the women giving birth in the last three years are unwed, a figure that closely matches the figures estimated from the 2000 CPS ((Frank and Heuveline 2003). In comparison, only 11 percent of adult migrants who gave birth in the previous three years are unwed. Third-generation women having children in the previous three years also have the lowest mean household incomes, excepting adult foreign-born immigrants. Again, there are very slight differences between the second and third-generation mothers in terms of having completed high school and living in rented quarters, distributions that point to the very limited mobility that has occurred across generations for the Latina population.

With regard to the neighborhood-level indicators, a pattern emerges that is similar to the one identified for all women, regardless of fertility status. Latina women who had a recent birth live in neighborhoods characterized by higher average levels of Latinos than do recent non-Latina white mothers. Recent Latina mothers are also more likely to live in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods as compared to their non-Latina white counterparts. Comparing these neighborhood distributions to those presented in Table 2, we observe that for both non-Latina whites and Latinas, women recently giving birth are more likely to reside in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods. Similar patterns also hold for the nativity/generational subgroups. One notable exception is that foreign-born *child* immigrants who recently had a birth live in neighborhoods with the highest average number of Latinos, foreign born recent Latinos and foreign born Latinos. This pattern differs from the one observed among the general female sample, in which foreign-born *adult* immigrants were characterized by more culturally homogeneous neighborhoods.

Multivariate

Table 4 presents the results from the HLM analysis of recent fertility behavior. The first four models contain only individual-level effects while the final model incorporates individual as well as neighborhood-level indicators in predicting fertility. Only the Latina sub-sample of women is included in the multivariate models, in order to facilitate the measurement and interpretation of contextual-level effects on the fertility of the Latina population.

Model 1 examines the relationship between nativity/generational and the odds of having a birth in the three years prior to the survey. The results illustrate the curvilinear pattern identified in the descriptive statistics. There is a significant and negative

difference between second generation Latinas and foreign-born adult immigrants, so that second-generation Latina women present a decreased risk of having a recent birth as compared to adult foreign-born Latina immigrants. This decreased risk of recent fertility for second-generation Latinas disappears among the third-generation of Latina women, whose recent fertility risk increases to the point that it is not significantly different from that of foreign-born adult immigrants.

Model 2 clarifies the nativity/generational pattern of recent fertility behavior by controlling for age. Once the age structure of the different nativity/generational groups is taken into account, the slightly elevated, but still not significant, risk of having a birth for foreign-born *child* immigrants disappears, reflecting their younger age structure as compared to foreign-born adult immigrants. Excepting the third-generation of Latina women, we observe a linear pattern in fertility behavior so that there is a monotonic decline in fertility as one moves from adult immigrants to child immigrants and from child immigrants to second generation Latina women. Second generation women demonstrate the most dramatic decrease and the only significant difference in the risk of having a recent birth as compared to foreign-born adult women. The exception to this pattern is third-generation Latina women, who continue to exhibit fertility behavior that is indistinguishable from foreign-born adult immigrant women. The age pattern of recent fertility behavior is characteristically non-linear so that younger women and older women exhibit decreased odds of having a recent birth as compared to women between the ages of 25-35, although only the effect for the older age group is significant.

The third model includes controls for the demographic profile of the women in the sample, including marital status and parity level. The number of previous births has a negative effect on recent fertility so that the more children a respondent has the less likely she is to experience an additional birth. Marital status distinguishes between cohabitation and women who were neither married nor living with a significant other at the time of the survey. Only women who reported that they were unwed displayed significantly different decreased odds of having a recent birth as compared to married women. The risk of a recent birth for cohabiting women is not statistically different from married women.

The effects of adding parity and marital status to Model 3 work to increase the odds of having a recent birth for each of the nativity/generational groups relative to foreign-born adult Latina immigrants. This is due to the remarkably different marital profiles for mothers between the different groups. According to the descriptive statistics, both of the U.S.-born groups, as well as foreign-born child immigrants, are all more likely to have a non-marital birth as compared to foreign-born adult immigrants. Accordingly, controlling for marital status increases each group's risk of having a recent birth relative to foreign-born adult immigrants. This pattern demonstrates that, with time in the U.S., a de-coupling of childbearing and marriage occurs among Latina women, a trend that does not appear to be occurring to the same extent among adult-foreign-born immigrants.

Model 4 includes the individual-level controls for socioeconomic status. The results demonstrate that lower socioeconomic status, whether measured by education, assets, or income, significantly increases the odds of experiencing a recent birth as compared to more socioeconomically advantaged women. Underscoring the importance of keeping the women who were missing on income in the sample, women with unknown

household income exhibit a significantly increased risk of having a recent birth as compared to women in the highest income bracket. Comparing effect sizes of the socioeconomic predictors, income presents the strongest effects, followed by whether the woman completed high school and whether the house she lived in was owned or rented. With regard to the nativity/generational groups, the negative effect of second generation status on recent fertility increases and becomes insignificant once controls are included for socioeconomic status. This change indicates that the lower risk of having a recent birth for second generation Latinas as compared to foreign-born adult immigrants is largely due to their more positive socioeconomic profiles.

Of primary concern for this analysis is the possibility that neighborhood community context affects fertility behavior above and beyond individual-level characteristics. Model 5 addresses this possibility by expanding on the previous four individual-level models to include neighborhood-level effects. Comparing the variance component of the random effect estimated in Model 4 (0.33165) to that estimated in Model 5 (0.28209), we see that the addition of the neighborhood level predictors explains 15 percent of the variation in recent fertility behavior within this sample.

The results generally confirm the expectation that contextual conditions affect fertility behavior, just not necessarily in the direction that conventional wisdom would predict. The coefficient capturing the effect of the proportion of Latinos in a neighborhood on recent fertility behavior is not significant, indicating that the relative size of the Latino community does not have any detectable effect on Latina fertility. This effect, or lack thereof, may be peculiar to the sample area included in this analysis. As mentioned in the preceding sections, Los Angeles County is unique in its demographic profile. It may be that in an area with such a large number of Latinos, the relative size of the Latino population is not as salient in contributing to fertility as it may be in areas with less pervasive Latino populations. In contrast, the coefficient capturing the co-ethnic cultural context is significant. But instead of leading to increased fertility risk, the results indicate that stronger Latino ethnic cultural context is associated with decreased fertility. This finding does not support past arguments that have held that the high fertility rates observed among Latina women in the U.S. are due to cultural norms. To the extent that this index measures the strength of a co-ethnic cultural context, the reverse appears to be true. Increased Latino cultural context is associated with decreased fertility. In fact, the only neighborhood-level variable that does appear to be positively associated with recent Latina fertility is the indicator of limited economic opportunities. Negative structural context is associated with higher fertility, above and beyond individual level socioeconomic status, indicating support for the opportunity-costs explanation for high Latina fertility. In areas with higher rates of female unemployment/poverty and lower rates of female high school completion, the higher risk of fertility may be associated with the lower opportunity costs of childbearing.

Separate tests for heterogeneity revealed only one significant multi-level interaction between proportion Latino and unwed status. The results demonstrate that there is a tendency for neighborhoods with a higher proportion of Latinos to have a positive unwed and fertility slope. This effect indicates that the relationship between marital status and fertility operates differently in Latino neighborhoods so that unwed status does not work to discourage recent fertility as it does in neighborhoods with less of a geographic concentration of Latinos.

CONCLUSIONS

As far back as 1969, Goldscheider and Uhlenberg argued that, "(o)nly when minority groups are viewed as involving subcommunities and subcultures and only when fertility is viewed as social behavior or social process can we expect beginning solutions to the sociological understanding of the fertility patterns of minority populations" (372). The present analysis has taken this premise as its starting point and set out to incorporate the social history of Latinos in the U.S. in an analysis of their high fertility levels.

The results of the HLM analysis demonstrate that above and beyond individual factors, community context exerts a significant influence on recent fertility behavior. Far from uniform, however, the neighborhood level effects operationalized in the present analysis perform it divergent directions. Our indicator of co-ethnic cultural context, as measured by the relative presence of those who are expected to be most affiliated with the migrant-sending country, was negatively and significantly associated with recent fertility. Not only does this effect provide no support for past arguments that high Latino fertility rates are due to pronatalist subcultural norms originating from origin-country communities, it actually suggests the opposite. Controlling for individual-level demographic and socioeconomic profiles as well as neighborhood-level economic disadvantage, women living in neighborhoods characterized by strong cultural attachments to the migrant-sending country (again, as measured by the relative presence of the most recent migrants and those the least able to speak English) are associated with lower fertility. This effect is possibly related to the cross-over in national fertility rates identified earlier, i.e. Mexican women in Mexico now display lower fertility than Mexican-Origin women in the U.S., so that neighborhoods with higher levels of recent migrants may reflect these new fertility norms. Yet given the recentness of the cross-over (in the last ten years) it is unlikely to exert such a strong effect so soon. The far more likely scenario is that past research on Latino fertility has overstated the strength of the cultural explanation for understanding the Latino fertility rates. Once the structural effects of a community are appropriately accounted for in models that correctly specify for both individual and community-level variation, it appears that strong co-ethnic ties are not as important in contributing to high fertility in the U.S. social context.

Instead, what does appear to be important in contributing to high Latina fertility is the economic opportunity context in which Latina women live. Our measure for the structural disadvantage of a community indicates that Latino women are reacting to constrained environment where childbearing is likely less costly than in a context in which more labor-market and educational opportunities are available. Faced with a lack of viable alternatives, these women are more likely to bear more children than their counterparts living in more advantaged economic neighborhoods. This finding suggests that future attempts to understand the sources of Latino fertility differentials should account for the group's economic inequality in broader U.S. society.

The implications of these findings are two-fold. First, in terms of addressing the problem of high Latino fertility rates, the results affirm past research that has suggested that high fertility among Latino groups in the U.S. is not an immigrant issue but instead a U.S. minority issue (Glusker 2003). The findings presented here suggest that the high fertility found in Latino communities is largely the result of the unique set of economic

disadvantages that immigrants and their offspring find when they arrive in the U.S. and as they move across generations.

This brings us to the second implication of this study. To the extent that fertility represents a quantifiable measure with which to examine assimilation, the findings presented here are cause for concern. An increase in overall fertility levels and in non-marital fertility as one moves from the second to third-generation of Latino immigrants points to a process of downward assimilation. In addition, evidence of pervasive economic disadvantage across generations raises critical questions regarding the long-term fate of the Latino immigrants in the U.S. While these findings are specific only to L.A. County, the unique multi-ethnic context characterizing Los Angeles is likely to be a harbinger for the future demographic profile of communities across the country, especially as Latino immigrants move away from traditional settlement areas and towards newer destinations (Suro and Singer 2002).

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This analysis has positively answered the question as to *whether* neighborhoods influence recent fertility among Latinas in L.A.County. It has also taken a step forward in answering the question as to *why* neighborhoods matter with analyses evaluating the relative contributions of cultural versus structural explanations. The next step will be to begin to quantify *how* neighborhoods matter. What are the mechanisms through which neighborhood context influences fertility behavior? The L.A.FANS includes a rich set of social-interactional questions that can be aggregated to the neighborhood level to allow us to test the ways in which neighborhood context influences fertility. In addition, the three neighborhood-level measures that were included in this analysis will be expanded and improved upon. Aggregate indices are useful because they allow for a diverse range of factors to be incorporated into studies that are limited by relatively small sample sizes. However, by virtue of their aggregation, they also tend to obscure the real nature of the specific influences. The possibility of including more specific neighborhood-level effects will be explored in the creation of another sample from L.A.FANS that includes all Latina household respondents and uses own child methodology to create proxies of recent fertility behavior. This new sample will be three times larger than the one used in the current study and should facilitate more precise measurement of neighborhood level factors.

One such measure that will be included in the next stage of analysis will be an additional conceptualization of Latino ethnic cultural context. The index included in this analysis conceived of cultural context as the strength of attachment to the migrant-sending country (as measured by the relative presence of the most recent migrants and those least able to speak English). This index was included to serve as a test of the possibility that pronatalist cultural norms emanating from origin country communities are responsible for high Latina fertility. However, ethnic affiliation to the origin country is not the only type of Latino cultural affiliation relevant to Latinos in Los Angeles. Given its generational depth, the Latino community in the U.S. has developed its own unique Latino subculture that is likely to be qualitatively different than the type of ethnic attachment measured by ties to the origin community. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) call this a “counterculture” orientation that often represents adherence to norms that are exactly the opposite espoused by more traditional ethnic attachments. The next stage of

the present analysis will attempt to operationalize a "counterculture" orientation and examine its effect on fertility, including the possibility that this relationship may be linked to the structural opportunities in an area.

A final concern for the next stage of this analysis is the analytic challenges involved in multi-level models. These include the endogenity problems. We may see an artifactual effect of neighborhood contextual factors on subsequent outcomes simply because, in neighborhoods with poor structural features and social process, positively selected individuals move away, while more disadvantaged families are forced to stay or even migrate into the neighborhood from other areas which are too expensive. To address the possibility that families have chosen to live in neighborhoods according to criteria that would be related to our outcome measure, such as family economic welfare, controls were included for individual socioeconomic status. However, neighborhoods are often comprised of people in similar stages of the life cycle, resulting in some area more heavily dominated by families with children. Accordingly, this may upwardly bias contextual effects on fertility because of neighborhood selectivity by family type (Alba and Krivo 1991). Further analysis will operationalize neighborhood stability which will permit sensitivity analyses to assess the potential magnitude of the problem.

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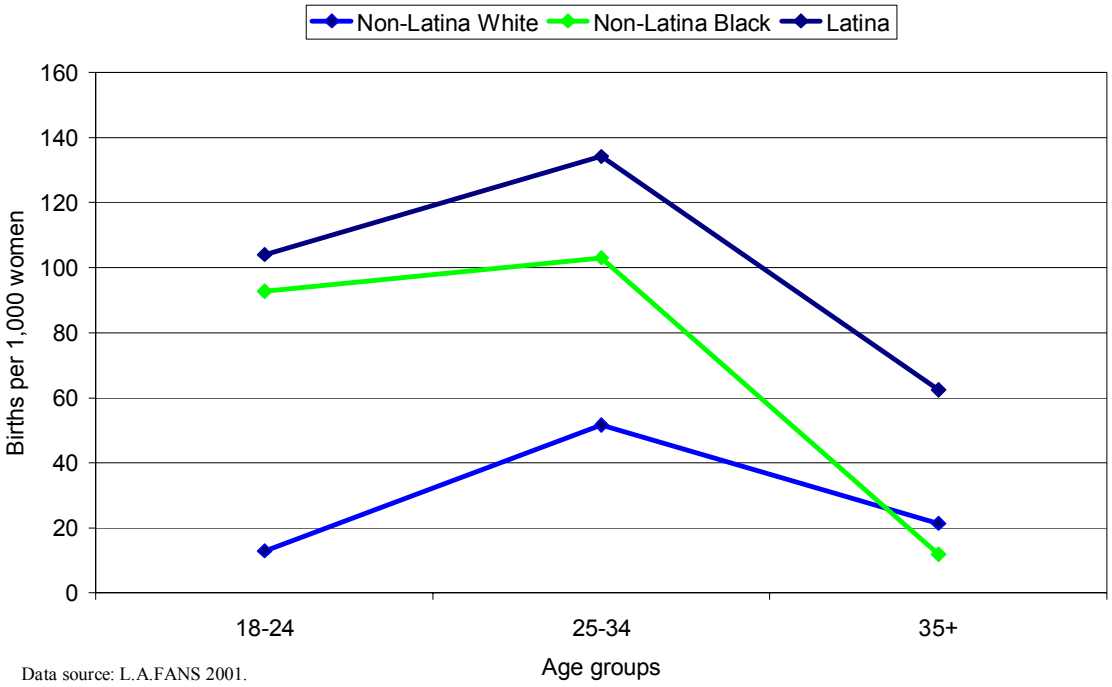
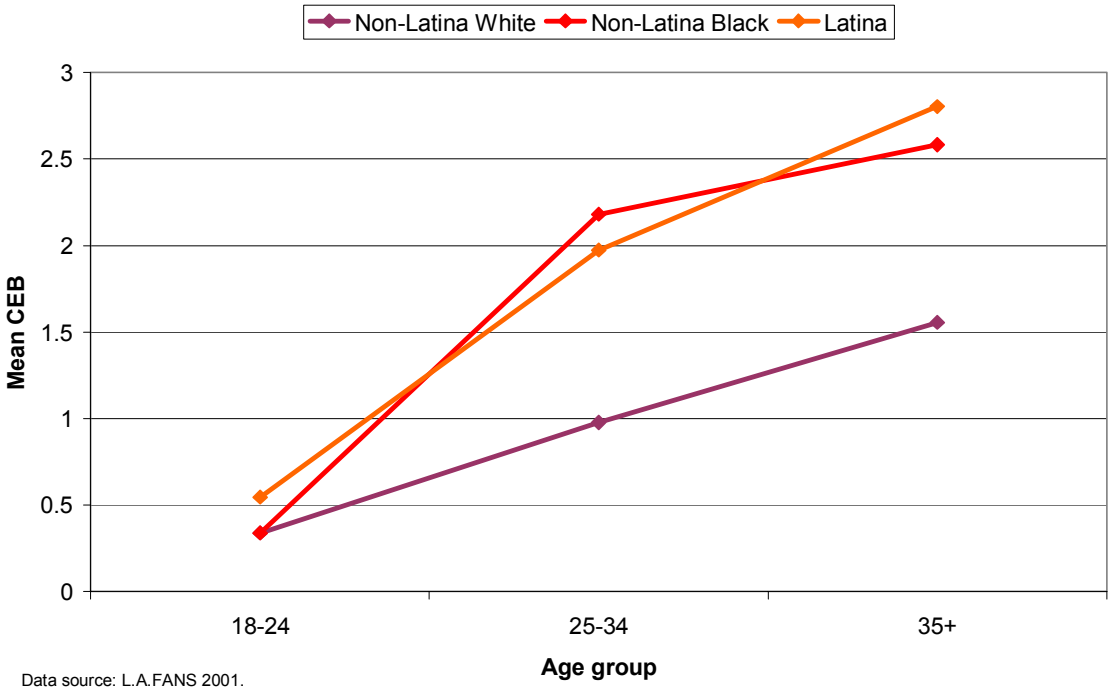
Figure 1. Age-specific Fertility Rates by Race/Ethnicity



Data source: L.A.FANS 2001.

Figure 2. Mean Children Ever Born (CEB) by Age-Group and Race/Ethnicity



Data source: L.A.FANS 2001.

Figure 3. Age-specific Latina Fertility Rates by Nativity/Generational Group

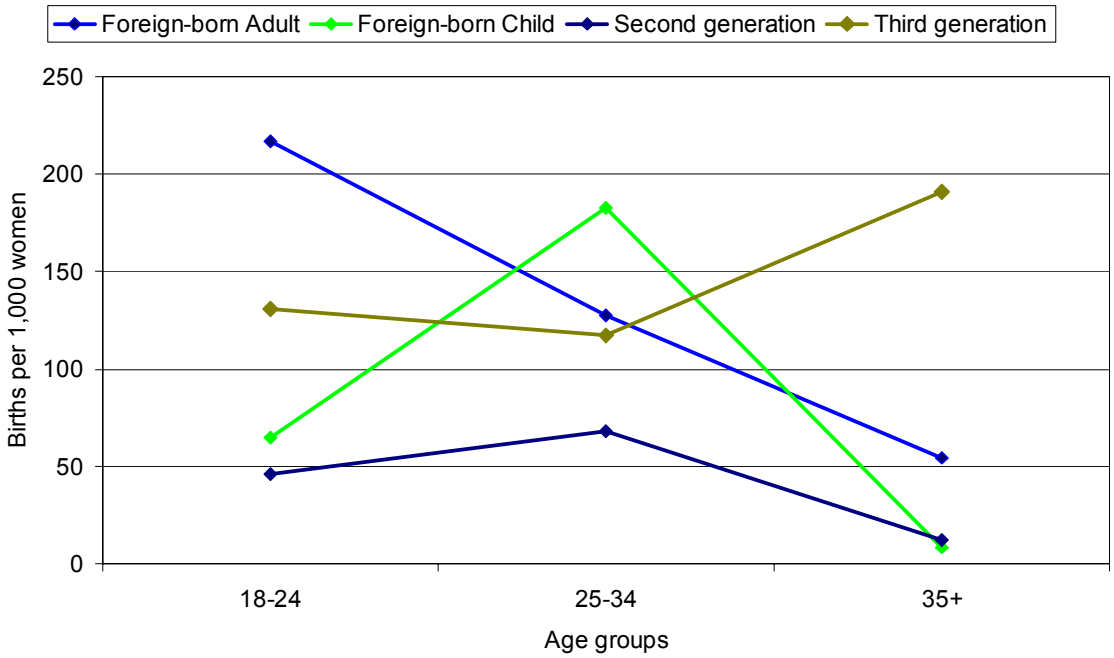


Figure 4. Latina CEB by Age-Group and Nativity/Generational Status

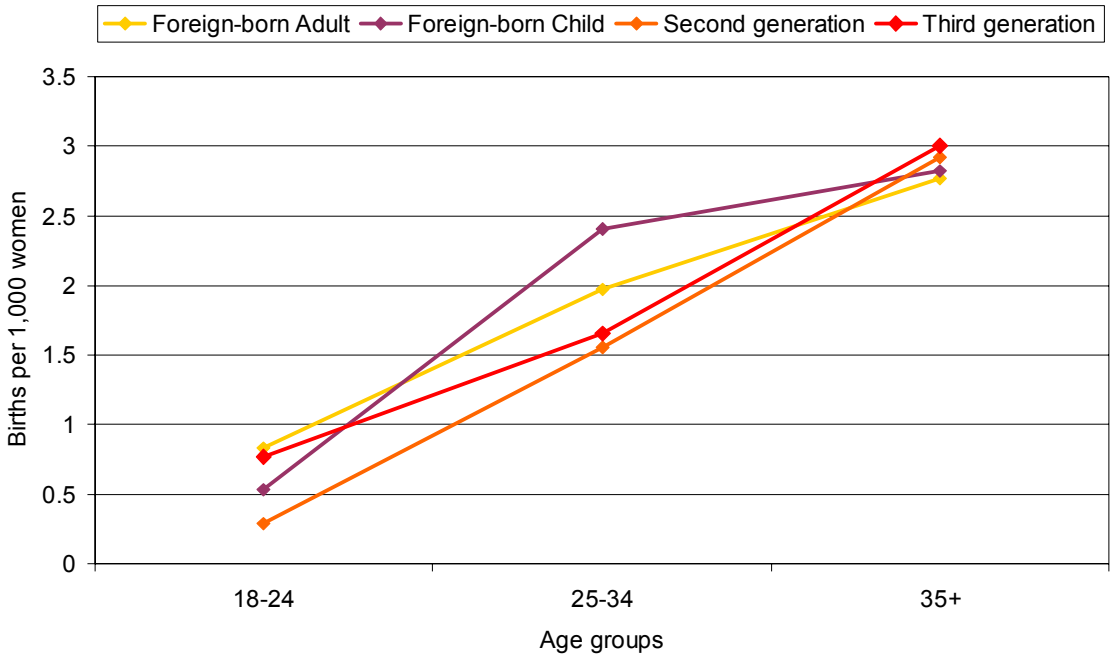


Table 1. Comparisons of Current and Cumulative Fertility by Race/Ethnic group [Ages 18-49].

	Current Fertility		Cumulative Fertility		
	Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	
	Fertility Rates	Percent Difference[1]	Mean CEB	Ratio[1]	*N*
Race/Ethnicity					
Non-Latina White	29.8	0.0	1.211	1.00	430
Non-Latina Black	62.2	100.9	1.944	1.61	167
Latina	97.8	228.0	1.940	1.60	1256
Latina by Nativity/Generation					
Foreign Born					
Adult Immigrant	102.5	244.0	2.219	1.83	712
Child Immigrant	96.2	223.0	1.794	1.48	230
Native born					
2nd Generation	46.1	35.0	1.185	0.98	171
3rd Generation	156.0	4.2	2.105	1.74	97

[1] Non-Latina white as reference group.

Source: L.A. FANS 2001.

Table 2. Percent distribution of individual-level predictor variables and mean percentage of contextual-level variables by Latino generation/nativity group. Ages [18-49].

		Latina Population				
			Foreign Born		Native Born	
	Non-Latina White	Latina	Adult Migrant	Child Migrant	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Individual-level predictors						
Age						
18-24	13.3	25.6	13.3	38.0	50.2	22.6
25-34	31.6	34.5	36.1	38.1	30.2	29.0
35+	55.1	39.9	50.5	23.9	19.6	48.4
Parity						
None	40.5	25.0	15.5	31.9	47.2	19.5
Low Parity	55.1	57.5	64.1	50.0	44.5	62.5
High Parity	4.4	17.5	20.4	18.0	8.3	18.1
Marital Status						
Unwed	54.4	48.6	57.6	34.6	34.7	49.7
Cohabit	10.7	18.2	19.9	21.6	19.5	4.5
Wed	35.0	33.3	22.5	43.8	45.8	45.8
Education						
<12 years	4.5	43.2	57.8	45.8	18.9	14.0
12 ≥ years	95.5	56.8	42.2	54.3	81.0	85.9
Mean HH income	60,410	26,857	19,840	26,851	35308	46843
Living quarters						
Rented	44.6	69.4	79.3	67.6	46.9	67.6
Owned	55.4	30.6	20.7	32.5	53.1	32.5
Neighborhood-level Indicators						
Mean level across neighborhoods by nativity/generational group						
Mean percent Latino	27.5	65.7	67.9	65.1	66.3	54.8
Mean percent of Latinos: FB	9.7	18.0	20.3	19.0	14.3	12.1
Mean percent of Latinos: Recent FB	39.1	50.0	53.6	51.6	44.6	39.5
Mean percent of Latinos: Poor Eng.	5.3	21.2	23.2	21.8	19.0	13.7
Mean percent in Poverty	13.1	23.4	26.8	24.8	19.5	16.4
Mean percent Female No High Sch.	9.1	47.7	51.1	49.0	44.1	34.8
Mean percent Female Unemployed	9.0	13.1	14.1	13.9	11.6	10.1
(N)	430	1256	712	230	171	97

Source: L.A. FANS 2001.

Table 3. Percent distribution of predictor variables and mean levels for recent mothers by Latino generation/nativity group. Ages [18-49].

		Latina Population				
			Foreign Born		Native Born	
	Non-Latina White	Latina	Adult Migrant	Child Migrant	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Individual-level predictors						
Age						
18-24	17.2	27.3	20.6	38.2	45.6	21.3
25-34	54.9	52.3	55.7	53.7	51.0	33.3
35+	27.9	20.3	23.7	8.0	3.4	45.4
Parity						
None	27.3	34.3	32.2	39.9	32.3	41.9
Low Parity	71.2	58.9	58.0	56.6	66.9	50.8
High Parity	1.5	6.7	9.8	3.5	0.8	7.3
Marital Status						
Unwed	73.9	57.9	59.0	59.7	55.8	51.7
Cohabit	9.7	24.6	29.9	18.4	25.5	10.4
Wed	16.4	17.6	11.1	21.9	18.6	37.9
Education						
<12 years	10.6	50.0	60.1	55.4	20.7	26.8
12 ≥ years	89.5	50.0	39.9	44.6	79.3	73.2
Mean HH income	63,643	21,067	18,757	21,363	29,955	20,480
Living quarters						
Rented	39.4	82.3	90.1	78.0	56.4	84.1
Owned	60.6	17.8	9.9	22.0	43.6	16.0
Neighborhood-level Indicators						
Mean level across neighborhoods by nativity group						
Mean percent Latino	31.6	67.5	68.4	72.0	70.8	55.8
Mean percent of Latinos: FB	10.2	18.6	19.9	21.6	15.3	12.6
Mean percent of Latinos: Recent FB	41.2	51.0	53.6	54.5	47.6	37.9
Mean percent of Latinos: Poor Eng.	6.5	22.1	23.1	25.9	21.1	13.3
Mean percent in Poverty	13.9	25.4	27.3	28.9	21.7	15.2
Mean percent Female No High Sch.	22.1	49.6	52.1	54.4	49.4	32.9
Mean percent Female Unemployed	10.1	13.9	14.2	16.3	13.3	10.6
(N)	118	394	213	93	50	24

Source: L.A. FANS 2001.

Table 4. Estimated Effects on the Log-Odds of a Recent Latina Birth in 90 Los Angeles Neighborhoods.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Individual-level					
Nativity/Generational Status					
[Adult immigrant]					
Child Immigrant	0.160	-0.121	0.151	0.337	0.410
2nd Generation	-0.607**	-0.933***	-0.785**	-0.299	-0.218
3rd Generation	0.736	0.037	0.352	0.515	0.508
Demographics					
Age [25-34]					
18-24		-0.321	-0.316	-0.437	-0.572*
35+		-1.457***	-1.168***	-1.082***	-1.031***
Parity [Mean]			-0.255**	-0.306***	-0.344***
Marital Status [Wed]					
Cohabiting			-0.172	-0.374	-0.344
Unwed			-1.299***	-1.589***	-1.864***
Socioeconomic Indicators					
Education [≥12 years]					
<12 years				0.585**	0.607**
Income [Fourth quartile]					
First quartile				1.139*	1.002*
Second quartile				0.840†	0.804†
Third quartile				0.716	0.615
Missing				1.558**	1.425**
Home ownership [Owned]					
Rented				0.520†	0.530†
Contextual-level					
Percent Hispanic					0.002
Index of co-ethnic cultural ties					-0.492**
Index of economic disadvantage					0.209**
Cross-Level					
Unwed-Percent Hispanic					0.035***
Intercept	-1.147***	-0.476*	-0.430*	-2.081***	-1.738***
Unweighted N	1210	1210	1209	1152	1152

Source: L.A.FANS 2001.
†p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.