

A community cohort study about childhood social and economic circumstances: racial/ethnic differences and associations with educational attainment of older adults

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 A Community cohort study about childhood social and economic circumstances: racial/ethnic differences and associations with adult educational attainment and health of older adults

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Article Summary

Article focus

- Introduces new retrospective measures of childhood social and economic circumstances, different from parents' socioeconomic status (e.g. school quality, extracurricular activities, adult support)
- Shows racial/ethnic differences of childhood circumstances for a community sample of older adults
- Investigates if childhood circumstances measures are associated with adult socioeconomic status
- Investigates if childhood circumstances are associated with adult health

Key messages

- Childhood circumstances measures have good reliability and variability.
- Most childhood circumstances differed across racial/ethnic groups.
- Childhood circumstances are associated with adult socioeconomic status
- Childhood circumstances (family composition, age began working, school experiences) are associated with adult health, even after taking into consideration a traditional measure of childhood socioeconomic circumstances and adult socioeconomic circumstances.

Strengths and limitations

- Introduces new retrospective measures that broaden the domains of childhood circumstances with potential relevance to health
- Uses the measures to describe circumstances in a racially/ethnically mixed community sample of older adults

Objectives: Typical measures of childhood socioeconomic status (SES), such as father's occupation, have limited ability to elucidate mechanisms by which childhood SES affects adult health. Mechanisms could include schooling experiences or work opportunities. Having previously used qualitative methods for concept development, we developed new retrospective measures of multiple domains of childhood social and economic circumstances in ethnically diverse older adults. We administered the new measures in a large sample and explored their association with adult SES.

Design: We used a cross-section survey design with a community sample.

Setting: The San Francisco Bay Area in California.

Participants: 400 community-dwelling adults from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds (Whites, African Americans, Latinos, Asians/Pacific Islanders) aged 55 and older (mean=67 years); 61% were women. Primary and secondary outcome measures: We measured perception of quality of schooling, extracurricular activities, and adult encouragement and discouragement during the childhood/teen years. Bivariate analysis tested racial/ethnic differences on the various measures. Multivariate regression models estimated the extent to which retrospective circumstances were independently associated with adult educational attainment and adult health.

Results: Most of the childhood circumstances measures differed across racial/ethnic groups. In general, Whites reported more positive circumstances than non-Whites. Family financial circumstances, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, high school extracurricular activities, summer travel, and summer reading were each statistically significantly associated with adult SES.

Family composition, age began work, high school extracurricular activities, attitudes toward schooling, and adult discouragement were associated with adult health.

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INTRODUCTION

Adult socioeconomic status (SES) is a key social factor associated with a wide variety of health behaviors and health outcomes. Adult SES is usually measured by educational attainment or income. Income is somewhat related to one's educational attainment and education is a process that begins in childhood. More recently, measures of wealth or assets have been used in addition to educational attainment or income.¹²

In order to understand why SES is so important for health, it is helpful to look at the trajectory of SES over a person's lifetime, beginning with childhood. In fact, childhood SES has emerged as an important social factor for health in childhood and adulthood.³

Childhood SES has been found to be associated with adult health behaviors⁴ and specific health conditions in adult populations,⁵⁻⁹ and its influence continues into middle and older ages.¹⁰⁻¹²

Disadvantageous circumstances during childhood also appear to influence health conditions for adults over age 60,¹³⁻¹⁵ and risk for premature mortality.^{10 11 16-22}

However, there are several limitations with this body of research with respect to identifying how and to what extent childhood SES and circumstances affect the health of older adults. First, only a few studies extend into older ages, so there is a gap in understanding how childhood SES may influence health of older adults. Most studies have focused on middle-aged adults or the general adult population. In 17 19 21 22 If people with lower SES in childhood die younger, perhaps the effect of childhood SES is diminished for people who live into older ages older age. However, if there are effects that extend to older ages, it could argue even more strongly for childhood interventions. Understanding the duration of influence of childhood SES on health, i.e., whether the influence continues into older ages, has both scientific and health policy value, as the world's population is aging.

 Third, with a few exceptions, previous studies measure childhood SES in terms of parental SES, such as father's occupation, mother's employment status, father's educational attainment or some combination of parents' educational attainment. 11 14 20 23-28 Some studies have used other variables that describe social or economic circumstances such as family size and configuration, family financial status, housing characteristics (e.g. number of rooms), and marital status of mother at the time of child's birth. Without measuring the experiences and circumstances of individuals throughout their childhood, it is not possible to identify causal mechanisms through which parents' SES eventually affects adult health. Figure 1 illustrates the intervening variables that potentially mediate the observed associations between parents' SES and adult health, such as school quality or supportive adults, that are amenable to early-life interventions and can have effects across the lifespan, including adult and older adult health.

To advance this field of study, retrospective measures are needed that assess more comprehensively the variety of circumstances that can affect adults' and older adults' health.

Retrospective measures allow for more cost effective research that can estimate provisional relationships between a broad array of childhood circumstances and adult health. These relationships can then be confirmed with prospective cohort studies. We first developed a comprehensive, multidimensional conceptual framework of childhood circumstances and experiences that ethnically

diverse older adults believe affect their health using qualitative interview methods.²⁹ Seven key domains were identified: home and family circumstances, neighborhood, work and money, potential for advancement through schooling, school quality and content, influence and support of adults, and leisure activities.

The purpose of this paper is to describe new retrospectively-assessed measures of SES-related childhood circumstances based on our framework, explore whether these childhood circumstances differed across racial/ethnic groups, and investigate if the measures are associated with older adults' socioeconomic status. Because much of the previous literature has used parental SES to measure childhood SES, we also were interested to learn if the new measures were simply proxies for parental SES or captured additional dimensions of childhood beyond what is conferred through parents' SES. Therefore, our research questions are: 1) Which childhood social and economic circumstances ('childhood circumstances') are associated with adult SES (measured with adult educational attainment)? 2) Which childhood circumstances are associated with older adult health? 3) Are childhood circumstances associated with older adult health after taking into consideration father's SES (measured by father's educational attainment), the current body of literatures' most common way to measure childhood SES? 4) Are childhood circumstances associated with older adult health after taking into consideration adult SES? And finally, 5) Are childhood circumstances associated with older adult health after taking into consideration father's SES and adult SES?

METHODS

Development of measures. We first created 53 survey items that reflected all of the domains in the conceptual framework, based on the qualitative data, 3-8 items for each domain.²⁹ Two phases of pretesting were conducted, both with racially/ethnically diverse older adults. We pilot tested these items with 19 older adults to determine if wording was clear, if response categories were adequate, and if we were missing any other circumstances. Participants understood the items, could recall their

childhoods such that they could answer the items, and found that the response categories reflected their circumstances. We revised a few items based on their input. For example, an item about extracurricular activities was revised to include church or community organizations serving youth organized activities. We subsequently conducted more in-depth cognitive interview pretesting with 32 older adults. After completing the survey, respondents were asked questions about how they interpreted the wording of items and whether the response categories provided were satisfactory and reflected their circumstances adequately. In general, participants interpreted the items as intended. Based on their feedback, we revised a few items to increase clarity. For example, we added a clarifying phrase to two items about summer leisure activities and to an item about working regularly.

Survey field test. The 53-item *Childhood social and economic circumstances survey* was administered to a new sample of ethnically diverse older adults. We also included one measure of adult SES (adult education) and one traditional measure of childhood SES (father's educational attainment).

Respondents were recruited between May 2007 and November 208 in the San Francisco Bay Area through senior centers, posted flyers in public places, senior health fairs, and referrals from respondents. Eligibility criteria for survey respondents included ages 55 and older; born in the US or emigrated before the age of 16; and self-identified as White, African American, Latino, or Asian. Eligible participants in another study who indicated a willingness to be contacted for future studies were also contacted and invited to participate. The goal was to survey approximately 400 people, equally distributed among the four racial/ethnic groups (White, Black, Latino/a, Asian/Pacific Islander) and approximately 60% female (to reflect their distribution in the population).

Surveys were administered to respondents on the telephone or in person. Respondents received a \$10 gift card for their participation. All study procedures were approved by the University of California, San Francisco Committee on Human Research.

Methods of analysis. To create scales from the survey items, we grouped items by domains and determined appropriate ways to combine items (e.g. mean of the responses to two items about perceived school quality – one for middle school, one for high school; sum of periods of deprivation – ever a time when family focus on surviving and ever a time when family did not have enough to eat). In some cases, factor analysis was used to determine which items within a set of items clustered together and could be combined in a scale. For example, there is a question about summer activities, which asks about socializing with friends, watching television, staying at home doing chores, working, playing sports, or reading. Factor analysis was performed to see how these items clustered. Reading did not cluster with the other items, so it became a single-item scale. Descriptive analysis of the individual measures and scales were performed including mean, standard deviation, and observed range. To explore racial/ethnic group differences in the mean scores of the final scales, bivariate analyses included chi-square and F-tests.

Childhood social and economic circumstances - scale construction. Scales were created within the seven domains. The scales ranged from single items to multi-item. For example in the domain of "Home and family circumstances," two items ("Was there ever a time when your family focused on surviving or just "getting by"? and "Was there ever a time when your family did not have enough to eat?") formed the scale "deprivation." Table 1 describes the items and scales and indicates the observed range. Internal-consistency reliability is shown for multi-item scales. Briefly, here is a description of each of the domains and the scales corresponding to each.

- 1) Home and family circumstances: housing tenure, moving, primary adults who raised the person (e.g. 1 parent, 2 parents, grandparents), and family economic conditions.
- 2) Neighborhood: the type of neighborhood (e.g. middle class, working class) and the proportion of neighbors who were the same race/ethnicity as the respondent.

- 3) Work and money: age when the respondent started working regularly for pay and how much work for pay during summer vacations.
- 4) Potential for advancement through schooling: parents' views about schooling for their children and the respondent's own attitude toward schooling as a means for getting ahead.
- 5) School quality and content. Perceived quality of schooling, the quality of schooling (whether school offered college preparatory classes), and participation in extracurricular activities in high school.
- 6) Influence and support of adults: support or discouragement from parents, grandparents, aunts or uncles, teachers, school counselors, clergy, or friends of parents. Respondents were asked to indicate how much support or discouragement, if any, they received while growing up from seven different adults.
- Leisure activities: Organized and unorganized activities respondents did for fun or recreation, 7) including summertime activities.

indicating good variability. Multi-item scales based on summated ratings scales had high Cronbach's alpha values (ranging from 0.63 to 0.90) indicating moderate to high internal consistency.

Health status measures. Three measures of health were included: 1) perceived health status; 2) SF-36 physical functioning measure^{31 32}, and self-reports of chronic conditions ("Has a doctor ever told you that you have: osteoporosis, diabetes, arthritis, chronic bronchitis or emphysema, asthma, hypertension, heart disease, a stroke, cancer). Perceived health was modeled as a continuous variable, range 1=poor to 5=excellent. SF-36 was modeled as a continuous variable, possible range 0 to 100.

Multivariate analysis. Bivariate regression models estimated the association of each childhood circumstance scale with adult SES (as measured by adult educational attainment in years, ranging from

 0 to 19). A multivariate linear regression model with backward elimination estimated conditional associations between childhood circumstances and adult SES; explanatory variables with p-values ≤.20 were retained; all models forced inclusion of demographic variables age, sex, and race/ethnicity (Model 1). Model 2 added father's education (this study's measure of parental SES, the traditional measure of childhood SES). Next, multivariate linear regression models with backward elimination estimated conditional associations between childhood circumstances and each health outcome. Explanatory variables with p-values values ≤ .20 were retained; all models forced inclusion of demographic variables age, sex, and race/ethnicity (Model 1). Model 2 added father's education.. Model 3, added current education (our measure for adult SES) to Model 1. Model 4 added father's education and current education to Model 1.

RESULTS

Demographic and health characteristics of the survey sample are shown in Table 2. By design, the sample included more women (61%) and roughly one-quarter each of White, Latino, African American, and Asian respondents. Recruiting Latinos was more difficult because of the inclusion criteria that respondents be born in the US or have emigrated before the age of 16. Respondents ranged in age from 55 to 93 (mean=67.3) and had a broad range of educational attainment levels. One-third (34%) of their father's completed grade school only, one-quarter (27%) had a high school education, and one-fifth (19%) did not know what level of education their father had attained.

Notable statistics described in Table 3 indicate that (i) about two-thirds reported that they had been raised by both parents; and (ii) respondents reported receiving far more support from adults than discouragement—given a possible range of 0 to 21, the mean was nearly 10 for support and only 2 for discouragement.

Most of the childhood circumstances scales differed across racial/ethnic groups. In general, White respondents reported more positive circumstances. Whites were less likely to live in a rented

home than people in the other racial/ethnic groups. Whites and Asians were more likely to be raised by two parents; Blacks were least likely to be raised by two parents. Whites were more likely to say their family's financial status was "pretty well off" and less likely to say they were "poor" than people in the other racial/ethnic groups. Latinos and Asians were more likely to say that their families were "poor." Whites were less likely to report deprivation during their childhood than people in the other racial/ethnic groups; Latinos were more likely to report both types of deprivation than the other groups. Whites and Blacks were more likely to grow up in neighborhoods were most of the neighbors were the same race/ethnicity as themselves. Whites reported higher perceived middle and high school quality than the other racial/ethnic groups. Whites and Blacks reported more adult support than the overall average; Asians reported less.

The associations between measures of childhood circumstances and adult education are shown in Table 4. Unadjusted models showed that the frequency of renting versus owning a home during four periods of childhood was negatively associated with adult educational attainment. Also, moving more often during childhood was associated with lower educational attainment. Being raised by two parents was positively associated with educational attainment compared to any other household arrangement. All school variables were positively associated with adult SES: parents' stressing the importance of schooling, individual's own perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, perceived quality of schooling, participation in high school extracurricular activities, and high school music-related extracurricular activities. Summer travel and reading were also positively associated with adult SES.

Multivariate regression modeling (Model 1) identified family financial circumstances, parents' stressing the importance of schooling, respondent's perception of schooling as a way to get ahead, extracurricular activities during high school (marginally), summer travel, and summer reading as uniquely and significantly associated with adult educational attainment. After taking into consideration father's educational attainment (the traditional measure of childhood SES, Model 2), family financial

 circumstances, respondent's perception of schooling as a way to get ahead, and summer reading continued to be associated with adult SES.

The childhood circumstances associated with adult self-rated health are raised by two parents, age began working regularly for pay, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, perceived school quality, high school extracurricular activities, high school music extracurricular activities, and summer reading (Table 5). From the backwards elimination process (Model 1), raised by two parents, age started to work, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and high school extracurricular activities are the childhood circumstances that are significantly associated with self-rated health. Taking into consideration father's education (Model 2), with the exception of raised by two parents (which become marginally statistically significant), the other childhood circumstances remain associated with self-rated health. Taking into consideration adult SES (Model 3), age began working and high school extracurricular activities are the two childhood circumstances that remain associated with adult self-rated health. Taking into consideration both father's education and adult SES (Model 4), age began working was associated with self-rated health.

For Models 1 and 2, age began working was associated with self-rated health in the opposite way than we would expect such that the older the age began working was associated with poorer self-rated health.

The childhood circumstances associated with physical functioning are raised by two parents, age began working regularly for pay, parents' emphasis on schooling, respondent's perception of schooling, high school extracurricular activities, and adult discouragement. From the backwards elimination process (Model 1), raised by two parents, age started working regularly for pay, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and adult discouragement are the childhood circumstances that are significantly associated with physical functioning. Taking into consideration father's education (Model 2), with the exception of raised by two parents, the other childhood circumstances remain associated with physical functioning. Taking into consideration adult

SES (Model 3), with the exception of raised by two parents, the other childhood circumstances remain associated with physical functioning. Taking into consideration both father's education and adult SES (Model 4), age began working, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and adult discouragement remain associated with physical functioning.

DISCUSSION

In a multiethnic sample of older adults, we developed about 20 scales within seven domains previously identified to be important childhood circumstances. Then, in an initial application of the new items in a larger ethnically diverse sample, we surveyed 400 older adults using the new scales. These questions assessed childhood circumstances retrospectively including family financial circumstances, perception of schooling, parents attitude toward schooling, and summer activities. There were prominent racial/ethnic differences across different types of childhood circumstances. African Americans had poorer circumstances in almost every domain, except for parental attitude toward school—where they indicated more support for schooling as a way to get ahead than the people in all other racial/ethnic groups—and extent of adult support. Asians and Latinos also fared more poorly than Whites on several of the measures, such as periods of renting, moves, deprivation, parent attitude toward school, perceived school quality, extent of adult support, and summer travel.

In bivariate analyses, measures within home and family, potential for advancement through schooling, school quality and content, influence and support of adults, and leisure activities each were associated with adult educational attainment taking into consideration age, sex, and race/ethnicity. Several scales were associated with adult education including family financial situation, parent attitude toward education, perceived importance of education, summer travel, and summer reading. Importantly, other measures which are often seen to be markers of socioeconomic status, e.g. housing tenure, economic deprivation, and age started work were not associated with adult educational attainment, suggesting that these measures get to other dimensions of social and economic

 circumstances. These findings are generally in agreement with sociology and education research that has used data collected during childhood and adolescence directly.³³⁻³⁷ Results thus support the validity of these retrospective reports by older adults, suggesting they provide useful insights into socioeconomic experiences in childhood and adolescence.

Multivariate analysis suggest that specific childhood experiences related to family composition, working, and school experiences are associated with adult health outcomes even after taking into consideration father's SES (a traditional measure of childhood SES) and adult SES.

There are a number of study limitations. The survey sample was a purposive sample, so not representative of people age 55 and older. Indeed the educational attainment data suggest these people were better educated than the general population, with one-third of the sample having at least a college degree. As with any study that relies on self-reporting, the childhood circumstances items are subject to the accurate recall of the respondent.

In the United States, the ability to measure childhood experiences of a racially/ethnically diverse sample of older adults could also make possible investigation into the underpinnings of socioeconomic and racial/ethnic disparities in health status. With expanded measures, it would be possible to describe and distinguish in more detail the childhood circumstances of people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Social science studies have reported that African Americans and Latinos have differential educational opportunity, such as variations in school resources and school climate. Urban school districts with higher proportions of minority students have fewer dollars to spend per pupil than suburban white school districts. In addition, even those with the same educational attainment, such as a college degree, racial/ethnic minorities earn lower wages compared to Whites. Under the degree of the same of

Since these are retrospective measures, the next steps are to test people's recall of these circumstances by including the most important measures in a future wave of a longitudinal cohort study in which similar measures were collected during childhood and adolescence. Eventually, it

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would be optimal to be able to create a single score summarizing each of the seven domains. These data with a purposive sample may not be best suited to create more broadly generalizable summary measures. These initial findings suggest that retrospective self-reports of childhood and adolescent socioeconomic status experiences are a promising approach to examine the nuances of social determinants of health across the lifecourse.



Table 1. Description of Childhood Social and Economic Circumstances Domains and Scales

Domain / scale	Definition	# of items	Mean (SD)	Possible Range	Observed range	alpha	Meaning of high score
Home and family circumstances	Deminion	iteilis	Weall (SD)	Range	Observed range	аірпа	Meaning of high score
•	,						·
# of times renting during 4 periods of childhood (0-4)	Rented during 4 periods of childhood: 0-5, 6-9, 10-14, 15-18	4	2.07(1.62)	0-4	0-4		More periods of renting
# times moved (categories)	0, 1, 2, 3, 4+	1	3.31 (1.48)	1-5	1-5		More moves
Raised by 2 parents (1/0)	Raised by both parents versus raised by one parent, a grandparent, a parent and a step parent, or some other combination of adults	1	0.67	0-1	0-1		Raised by 2 parents
Deprivation	Periods when their family was just surviving or when there was not enough food to eat or both	2	0.79 (0.77)	0-2	0-2		More periods of disadvantage
Family financial status	Rating of family's financial status as 1=pretty well off, 2=about average, 3=poor	1	2.28 (0.61)	1-3	1-3		Poorer status
Neighborhood							
Neighborhood type	1= upper middle class 2 = middle 3 = lower middle class 4 = working class	1	3.02 (1.00)	1-4	1-4		Lower income type
Neighbors who are same ethnicity	How many neighbors were the same race/ethnicity as themselves with 1=none, 2=a few, 3=about half, and 4=all or most	2	3.32(0.97)	1-4	1-4		Higher proportion same ethnicity
Work and money							
Age began working regularly		1	16.11(3.19)		7-35		Older age
Summer work for pay	Extent of working for pay during middle- and high school summers	2	2.49 (1.10)	1-4	1-4	0.63	More work during summer
Potential for advancement through	schooling						
Parent attitude toward education	Extent to which parents paid attention to grades, stressed importance of education	2	3.16 (0.98)	1-4	1-4	0.82	More support for schooling
Perceived importance of education	Respondent's sense that schooling is important to get a good job	1	3.44 (0.92)	1-4	1-4		More important

Domain / scale	Definition	# of items	Mean (SD)	Possible Range	Observed range	alpha	Meaning of high score
School quality and content							·
Perceived school quality	Rating of quality of middle- and high school education	2	2.99 (0.77)	1-4	1-4	0.76	Higher perceived quality
Extracurricular activities – high school	Number of years on organized sports, school clubs, school organizations	3	2.85 (2.75)	0-9	0-9	0.59	More extracurricular
Music extracurricular activities – high school	Number of years in band/choir or taking music lessons	2	1.28 (1.98)	0-6	0-6	0.71	More music activities
Influence and support of adults							
Extent of adult support	Extent of encouragement/support from parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, teachers, counselors, clergy/minister, other adult during age 5-18	7	9.85 (5.20)	0-21	0-21	0.74	More support
Extent of adult discouragement	Extent of discouragement from parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, teachers, counselors, clergy/minister, other adult during age 5-18	7	1.85 (2.73)	0-21	0-16	0.67	More discouragement
Leisure activities							
Summer travel	Extent of summer camp, family trips, family scenic rental during middle- and high school summers	6	2.95 (3.61)	0-15	0-15	0.78	More summers of travel
Summer reading	Extent of reading during middle- and high school summers	2	2.83 (1.14)	1-4	1-4	0.90	More reading
Summer social activities	Extent of playing with friends, watching TV, playing on organized sports teams, during middle- and high school summers	6	2.24 (0.68)	1-4	1-4	0.70	More social/leisure

Table 2. Description of the sample

Demographic characteristics	Survey respondents (n=400)
Sex	
Male	155 (39%)
Female	245 (61%)
Age in years	Mean=67.3 (55-93)
Race/Ethnicity ¹	
White/other	104 (26%)
Latino	93 (23%)
African American	101 (25%)
Asian or Pacific Islander (API)	102 (26 %)
Education	
≤ high school	32 (8%)
High school graduate	87 (22%)
Some college	138 (35%)
College graduate	67 (17%)
Graduate degree	76 (19%)
Father's education	
No formal education	19 (6%)
Grade school	110 (34%)
Some high school	30 (9%)
High school equivalency or diploma	109 (27%)
Associate's or Bachelor's degree	36 (9%)
Graduate degree	22 (6%)
Unknown	77 (19%)
Health status measures	Mean (SD), range
Self-rated health	3.2 (1.1), 1-5
Physical functioning	73.7 (29.2), 0-100

Table 3. Childhood Circumstances by Race/ethnicity

	Total sample	White	African American	Latino	API	
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	Chi-square/F-test (p-value)
Demographics						(p-value)
Father's education, N (%) No education Grade school Some high High school College + Missing	19 (5) 110 (28) 30 (8) 109 (27) 58 (15) 74 (19)	1 (1) 23 (22) 11 (11) 30 (29) 24 (23) 15 (14)	3 (3) 24 (24) 4 (4) 34 (34) 11 (11) 25 (25)	10 (11) 36 (39) 7 (8) 18 (19) 9 (10) 13 (14)	5 (5) 27 (26) 8 (8) 27 (26) 14 (14) 21 (21)	X ² =35.62 (0.002)
Adult education, N (%) < high school High school grad Some college College grad Postgraduate	32 (%) 87 (22) 138 (35) 67 (17) 74 (19)	3 (3) 23 (22) 32 (31) 18 (17) 28 (27)	11 (11) 33 (33) 42 (42) 12 (12) 3 (3)	17 (8) 15 (16) 33 (36) 12 (13) 15 (16)	1 (1) 16 (16) 31 (31) 25 (25) 28 (28)	X ² =61.86 (< 0.0001)
Childhood Circumstances Home and family circumstances						
Rent (# periods renting), N %) 0 1 2 3 4	111 (28) 44 (11) 69 (18) 45 (11) 125 (32)	43 (43) 9 (9) 13 (13) 9 (9) 26 (26)	28 (28) 13 (13) 15 (15) 11 (11) 34 (34)	22 (24) 9 (10) 22 (24) 14 (15) 25 (27)	18 (18) 13 (13) 19 (19) 11 (11) 40 (40)	X ² =22.62 (0.03)
Moves (# time), N (%) 0 1 2 3 4+	64 (16) 70 (18) 75 (19) 61 (15) 130 (33)	24 (23) 16 (15) 19 (18) 11 (11) 34 (33)	18 (18) 17 (17) 19 (19) 16 (16) 31 (31)	11 (12) 14 (15) 22 (24) 15 (16) 31 (33)	11 (11) 23 (23) 15 (15) 19 (19) 34 (33)	X ² =12.87 (0.38)
Fwo parents – yes, N %) Deprivation 0 1 2	268 (67) 170 (43) 143 (36) 85 (21)	78 (75) 58 (56) 31 (30) 14 (14)	50 (50) 45 (45) 36 (36) 19 (19)	62 (67) 32 (34) 32 (34) 29 (31)	78 (76) 35 (34) 44 (43) 23 (23)	X ² =21.13*** X ² =17.72 (0.007)
Family financial status, N (%) Pretty well off About average Poor	33 (8) 222 (56) 143 (36)	14 (14) 61 (59) 28 (27)	3 (3) 63 (63) 34 (34)	9 (10) 46 (49) 38 (41)	7 (7) 52 (51) 43 (42)	X ² =13.60 (0.03)
Neighborhood Neighborhood type, N (%) upper middle class middle	29 (7) 119 (30)	14 (13) 41 (39)	3 (3) 22 (22)	7 (8) 32 (34)	5 (5) 24 (24)	X2=27.34
lower middle class working class	78 (20) 173 (43)	14 (13) 35 (34)	21 (21) 55 (54)	15 (16) 39 (42)	28 (28) 44 (44)	(0.001)
Proportion neighborhood same ace/ethnicity	00 (04)	E (E)	40 (40)	20 (40)	40 (00)	V2_07_40 / -2 000 t
None or a few Some Most Work and money	96 (24) 56 (14) 248 (62)	5 (5) 11 (11) 88 (85)	12 (12) 19 (19) 70 (69)	39 (42) 16 (17) 38 (41)	40 (39) 10 (10) 52 (51)	X ² =67.10 (<0.0001)

Table 4. Childhood circumstances and adult education (n=381)

[note: final analytic sample, missing data for 29 people on father's education]

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Inote: final analytic sample, mi			
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model2=Model 1 +
Dama amankina			father's education
Demographics			
Variable	0.000 (0.00)	2 222 /2 222 /2	2 222 (2 2 4)
Age	-0.026 (0.09)	-0.032 (0.0004)	-0.032 (0.01)
Sex (male)	0.10	0.26	0.30 (0.17)
Race/Ethnicity	4 = 4 4444	4 = 4 data	4 0 - 444
African American	-1.54***	-1.54 ***	-1.35 ***
Asian	0.42	0.59 (0.05)	0.71 (0.02)
Latino	-1.25 (0.0009)	-0.40 (0.20)	-0.30 REF
White	REF	REF	KEF
Father's education	2.04***		0.00 (0.40)
No education	-3.04***	-	-0.82 (0.18)
Grade school	-1.34 (0.001)	-	-0.69 (0.05)
Some high High school	-1.32 (0.02) -0.95 (0.02)	-	-0.79 (0.10) -0.60 (0.08)
Missing	-2.95***	-	-0.00 (0.08) -1.72***
College+	REF	-	REF
Childhood Circumstances	INLI		INLI
Home and family circumstances	0.25 (0.0004)	0.11 (0.12)	0.40 (0.44)
Rent	-0.25 (0.0004)	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.11)
Moves	-0.21 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.14 (0.08)
Two parents	0.83 (0.004)	0.37 (0.12)	0.19
Family financial	-0.34 (0.14)	0.50 (0.01)	0.53 (0.008)
Deprivation	-0.29 (0.10)	-	-
Neighborhood			
Neighborhood type	-0.24 (0.07)	-	-
Proportion neighbors same ethnicity	-0.15	•	-
Work and money			
Age started work	0.24		-
Working	-0.13	_	_
Potential for advancement through sch			
Parent attitude toward education	0.65***	0.25 (0.05)	0.17
Perceived importance of education	0.89***	0.27 (0.04)	0.31 (0.02)
School quality and content	0.09	0.27 (0.04)	0.31 (0.02)
, ,	0.54 (0.0007)		
Perceived school quality	0.51 (0.0007)	- 0.077 (0.00)	0.050 (0.45)
Extracurricular activities hi school	0.17***	0.077 (0.06)	0.059 (0.15)
Music extracurricular hi school	0.17***	-	-
Influence and support of adults	T	T	
Extent of adult support	0.064 (0.01)	-	-
Extent of adult discouragement	0.049	-	-
Leisure activities			
Summer travel	0.15***	0.07 (0.03)	0.063 (0.06)
Summer reading	0.45***	0.29 (0.005)	0.26 (0.0009)
Summer social activities	0.30 (0.08)	-	-0.27 (0.18)
r-square	,	0.27	0.31
- Does not apply not in mode		1	ı

⁻ Does not apply, not in model

^{*** &}lt; 0.0001

Table 5a. Childhood circumstances and adult health: Multivariate linear regression models of self-rated health and physical functioning

Table 5a. Childhood circu			-rated Health (n=			Physical Functioning (n=388)				
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Demographics										
Variable	B (p-value)									
Age	0.0037	0.00078	0.0036	0.0052	0.0064	-0.25 (0.12)	-0.49 (0.009)	-0.45 (0.02)	-0.42 (0.02)	-0.42 (0.03)
Sex (male)	-0.083	-0.11	-0.10	-0.14	-0.13	2.34	2.91	3.27	2.53	2.86
Race/Ethnicity										
African American	-0.31 (0.05)	-0.21 (0.18)	-0.18 (0.18)	-0.71	-0.68	-0.25	0.43	1.68	5.64 (0.18)	6.22 (0.14)
Asian	0.24 (0.12)	0.34 (0.03)	0.36 (0.02)	0.30 (0.05)	-0.31 (0.04)	12.79 (0.002)	11.51 (0.004)	12.17 (0.002)	-10.34 (0.008)	10.80 (0.006)
Latino	-0.12	-0.039	-0.012	0.010	0.029	2.89	1.12	1.31	4.27	4.03
White	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF
Father's education										
No educ	-0.30	-	-0.16	-	-0.11	-2.19	-	-6.28	-	-3.40
Grade school	-0.43 (0.02)	-	-0.35 (0.05)	-	-0.31 (0.09)	3.00	-	2.60	-	4.22
Some high	-0.55 (0.03)	-	-0.48 (0.05)	-	-0.41 (0.09)	3.25	-	5.52	-	8.42 (0.17)
High school	-0.36 (0.04)	-	-0.29 (0.11)	-	-0.24 (0.18)	-0.82	-	-0.34	-	1.00
Missing	-0.66 (0.0007)	-	-0.41 (0.05)	V 4-	-0.26	-11.37 (0.03)	-	-7.62 (0.15)	-	-4.20
College+	REF	-	REF		REF	REF	-	REF	-	REF
Adult education										
< high school	-1.04 **	-	-	-0.73 (0.01)	-0.71 (0.02)	-28.68 ***	-	-	-30.23 ***	-28.91 (0.0001)
Hi school grad	-0.75 ***	-	-	-0.52 (0.005)	-0.47 (0.01)	14.47 (0.001)	-	-	-10.64 (0.02)	-9.29 (0.05)
Some college	-0.48 (0.002)	-	-	-0.29 (0.07)	-0.26 (0.12)	-14.68 (0.0003)	-	-	-12.33 (0.003)	-11.98 (0.004)
College grad	`-0.35	-	-	-0.17	-0.1 5	` -4.19	-	-	`-0.91	0.01
Postgraduate	REF	-	-	REF	REF	REF	-	-	REF	REF
Childhood Circumstance										
Economic and family circumstance				1					_	
Rent	-0.029	-0.046 (0.19)	-0.042	-0.036	-0.032	0.067	-	-	-	-
Moves	-0.010	-	-	-	-	0.22	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1			
Two parents	0.43 (0.0003)	0.25 (0.04)	0.22 (0.08)	0.21 (0.09)	0.20 (0.11)	9.97 (0.001)	6.48 (0.04)	5.34 (0.10)	5.27 (0.09)	4.52 (0.15)
Family financial	-0.11	-	-	-	-	-0.11	- J- J	-	-	-
Deprivation	-0.077	-	-	-	-	-1.69		-	-	-
Neighborhood						1				
Neigh type	-0.054	-	-	-	-	-0.16	-	-	-	-
Proportion neigh same race/ethnicity	-0.023	-	-	-	-	0.018	-	-	-	-
Work and money										
Age started work	-0.26 (0.0009)	-0.31 ***	-0.31***	-0.31 ***	-0.31***	-5.15 (0.01)	-4.89 (0.01)	-4.55 (0.02)	-5.32 (0.007)	-5.04 (0.01)
Working	0.087 (0.09)	-	-	-	-	1.73 (0.19)	-	-	-	-
Schooling										
Parent attitude toward educ	0.070	-	-	-	-	3.11 (0.04)	-	-	-	-

		Self	-rated Health (n=	384)		Physical Functioning (n=388)				
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Perception importance of educ	0.18 (0.002)	0.15 (0.02)	0.16 (0.02)	0.12 (0.06)	0.13 (0.05)	5.43 (0.0006)	6.48 (0.0001)	6.24(0.0003)	4.70(0.006)	4.48 (0.009)
Perceived school quality	0.24 (0.001)	-	-	-	-	3.67 (0.06)	-	-	-	-
Extracurricular activities hi school	0.075 (0.0002)	0.051 (0.01)	0.045 (0.03)	0.040 (0.05)	0.036(0.08)	1.11 (0.04)	1.01 (0.07)	0.96 (0.08)	0.72 (0.19)	0.76 (0.17)
Music extracurricular hi school	0.061 (0.03)	-	-	-	-	0.20	-	-		-
Adults										
Adult support	0.0004	-	-	-	-	-0.25	-0.48 (0.13)	-0.51 (0.12)	-0.55 (0.09)	-0.55 (0.08)
Adult discouragement	-0.0034	-	-	-	-	-1.24 (0.02)	-1.06 (0.04)	-1.15 (0.03)	-1.11 (0.03)	-1.19 (0.02)
Summer										
Summer travel	0.029 (0.06)	-	-		-	0.25	-	-	-	-
Reading	0.15 (0.002)	0.091 (0.08)	0.075 (0.15)	0.056	0.047	1.33	-	-	-	-
Summer leisure	-0.037		- ` ′	-		-0.74	-2.78	-2.95	-3.16 (0.20)	-3.25 (0.19)
R-square		0.14	0.16	0.17	0.18		0.14	0.15	0.19	0.20

ee, to lien only Model 1: covariates selected through backward selection;

Model 2: Model 1 + father's education;

Model 3: Model 1 + adult education

Model 4: Model 1 + father's education + adult education

***= < 0.0001

= not included

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COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have no competing interests to declare.

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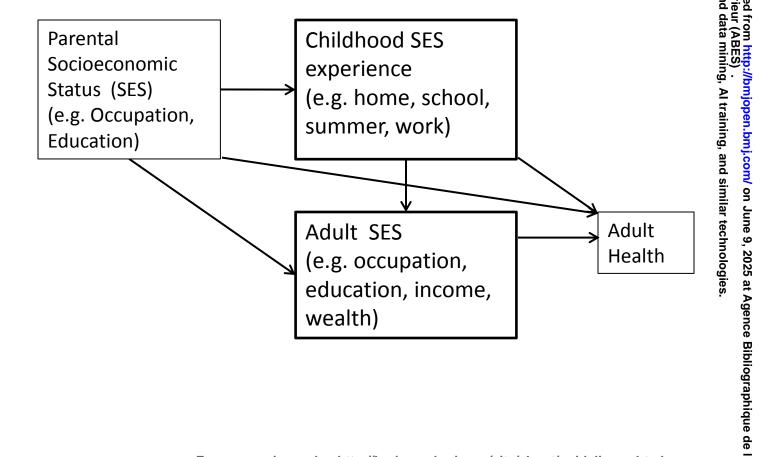
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Figure 1. Diagram demonstrating hypothesized relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and health at relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and health

Figure 1. Diagram demonstrating hypothesized relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and health are in the lifecourse.

This paper focuses on the relationship between childhood socioeconomic experience and adult SES, with an extension of the life of





A community cohort study about childhood social and economic circumstances: racial/ethnic differences and associations with educational attainment and health of older adults

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A community cohort study about childhood social and economic circumstances: racial/ethnic differences and associations with educational attainment and health of older adults

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Article focus

- Introduces new retrospective measures of childhood social and economic circumstances,
 different from parents' socioeconomic status (e.g. school quality, extracurricular activities,
 adult support)
- Shows racial/ethnic differences of childhood circumstances for a community sample of older adults
- Investigates if childhood circumstances measures are associated with adult socioeconomic status
- Investigates if childhood circumstances are associated with adult health

Key messages

- Childhood circumstances measures have good reliability and variability.
- Most childhood circumstances differed across racial/ethnic groups.
- Childhood circumstances are associated with adult socioeconomic status
- Childhood circumstances (family composition, age began working, school experiences) are
 associated with adult health, even after taking into consideration a traditional measure of
 childhood socioeconomic circumstances and adult socioeconomic circumstances.

Strengths and limitations

- Introduces new retrospective measures that broaden the domains of childhood circumstances with potential relevance to health
- Uses the measures to describe circumstances in a racially/ethnically mixed community sample of older adults

Objectives: Typical measures of childhood socioeconomic status (SES), such as father's occupation, have limited ability to elucidate mechanisms by which childhood SES affects adult health. Mechanisms could include schooling experiences or work opportunities. Having previously used qualitative methods for concept development, we developed new retrospective measures of multiple domains of childhood social and economic circumstances in ethnically diverse older adults. We administered the new measures in a large sample and explored their association with adult SES.

Design: We used a cross-section survey design with a community sample.

Setting: The San Francisco Bay Area in California.

Participants: 400 community-dwelling adults from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds (Whites, African Americans, Latinos, Asians/Pacific Islanders) aged 55 and older (mean=67 years); 61% were women. Primary and secondary outcome measures: We measured attitudes towards schooling, extracurricular activities, and adult encouragement and discouragement during the childhood/teen years. Bivariate analysis tested racial/ethnic differences on the various measures. Multivariate regression models estimated the extent to which retrospective circumstances were independently associated with adult educational attainment and adult health.

Results: Most of the childhood circumstances measures differed across racial/ethnic groups. In general, Whites reported more positive circumstances than non-Whites. Family financial circumstances. respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, high school extracurricular activities, summer travel, and summer reading were each statistically significantly associated with adult SES. Family composition, age began work, high school extracurricular activities, attitudes toward schooling, and adult discouragement were associated with adult health.

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INTRODUCTION

Adult socioeconomic status (SES) is a key social factor associated with a wide variety of health behaviors and health outcomes. Adult SES is often measured by educational attainment or income. Educational attainment and income are correlated, but education is a process that begins in childhood. More recently, measures of wealth or assets have also been used in addition to educational attainment or income to more comprehensively describe socioeconomic status.¹²

In order to understand why SES is so important for health, it is helpful to look at the trajectory of SES over a person's lifetime, beginning with childhood. In fact, childhood SES has emerged as an important social factor for health in childhood and adulthood.³

Childhood SES is associated with adult health behaviors⁴ and specific health conditions in adult populations,⁵⁻⁹ and its influence continues into middle and older ages.¹⁰⁻¹² Disadvantageous circumstances during childhood also appear to influence health conditions for adults over age 60,¹³⁻¹⁵ and risk for premature mortality.^{10 11 16-22}

However, there are several limitations with this body of research regarding identifying how and to what extent childhood socioeconomic circumstances affect the health of older adults. First, only a few studies extend into older ages, so there is a gap in understanding how childhood SES may influence health of older adults. Most studies have focused on middle-aged adults or the general adult population. In 17 19 21 22 If people with lower SES in childhood die younger, perhaps the effect of childhood SES is diminished for people who live into older ages. If there are effects that extend to older ages, it could argue even more strongly for childhood interventions. Understanding the duration of influence of childhood SES on health, i.e., whether the influence continues into older ages, has both scientific and health policy value, especially as the world's population ages.

Second, with the exception of a number of important studies using the US Health and Retirement Survey²³⁻²⁵, most studies of the effects of childhood SES mentioned above were cohort

 Third, with a few exceptions, previous studies measure childhood SES in terms of parental SES, such as father's occupation, mother's employment status, father's educational attainment or some combination of parents' educational attainment. Some studies have used other variables that describe social or economic circumstances such as family size and configuration, family financial status, father's unemployment, housing characteristics (e.g. number of rooms), father absence, and marital status of mother at the time of child's birth. In order to fully understand how parents' SES eventually affects adult health, though we must also measure the experiences and circumstances of individuals throughout their childhood. Figure 1 illustrates the intervening variables that potentially mediate the observed associations between parents' SES and adult health, such as school quality or supportive adults, that are amenable to early-life interventions and can have effects across the lifespan.

To advance this field of study, we need retrospective measures that more comprehensively assess early-life socioeconomic circumstances that may affect adult health. Retrospective measures allow for more cost-effective research that can estimate provisional relationships between a broad array of childhood circumstances and adult health. These relationships can then be confirmed with prospective cohort studies. We first developed a comprehensive, multidimensional conceptual framework of childhood circumstances and experiences that ethnically diverse older adults believe affect their health using qualitative interview methods.³² Seven key domains were identified: home

and family circumstances, neighborhood, work and money, potential for advancement through schooling, school quality and content, influence and support of adults, and leisure activities.

The purpose of this paper is to describe new retrospectively-assessed measures of SES-related childhood circumstances based on our framework, explore whether these childhood circumstances differed across racial/ethnic groups, and investigate if the measures are associated with older adults' socioeconomic status and health. Because much of the previous literature has used parental SES to measure childhood SES, we also were interested to learn if the new measures were simply proxies for parental SES or captured additional dimensions of childhood beyond what is conferred through parents' SES. Therefore, our research questions are: 1) Which childhood social and economic circumstances ('childhood circumstances') are associated with adult SES (measured with adult educational attainment)? 2) Which childhood circumstances are associated with older adult health? 3) Are childhood circumstances still associated with older adult health, after controlling for father's educational attainment, the current body of literature's most common way to measure childhood SES? 4) Are childhood circumstances associated with older adult health after accounting for adult SES? And finally, 5) Are childhood circumstances associated with older adult health after controlling for both father's SES and respondent's SES?

METHODS

Development of measures. We first created 53 survey items that reflected all of the domains (3-8 items per domain) in the conceptual framework, based on the qualitative data.³² Two phases of pretesting were conducted with racially/ethnically diverse older adults. First, we pilot tested these items with 19 older adults to determine if wording was clear, if response categories were adequate, and if we were missing any other circumstances. Participants understood the items, could recall their childhoods such that they could answer the items, and found that the response categories reflected their circumstances. We revised a few items based on their input. For example, an item about extracurricular

 activities was revised to include church or community organizations that organized youth activities. We subsequently conducted more in-depth cognitive interview pretesting with 32 older adults. After completing the survey, respondents were asked questions about how they interpreted the wording of items and whether the response categories provided were satisfactory and reflected their circumstances adequately. In general, participants interpreted the items as intended. Based on their feedback, we revised a few items to increase clarity. For example, we added a clarifying phrase to two items about summer leisure activities and to an item about working regularly.

Survey field test. The 53-item Childhood social and economic circumstances survey was administered to a new sample of ethnically diverse older adults. We also included one measure of adult SES (adult education) and one traditional measure of childhood SES (father's educational attainment).

Respondents were recruited between May 2007 and November 208 in the San Francisco Bay Area through senior centers, posted flyers in public places, senior health fairs, and referrals from respondents. Eligibility criteria for survey respondents included ages 55 and older; born in the US or emigrated before the age of 16; and self-identified as White, African American, Latino, or Asian. Eligible participants in another study who indicated a willingness to be contacted for future studies were also contacted and invited to participate.³³ The goal was to survey approximately 400 people, equally distributed among the four racial/ethnic groups (White, Black, Latino/a, Asian/Pacific Islander) and approximately 60% female (to reflect their distribution in the population).

Surveys were administered to respondents on the telephone or in person. Respondents received a \$10 gift card for their participation. All study procedures were approved by the University of California, San Francisco Committee on Human Research.

Methods of analysis. To create scales from the survey items, we grouped items by domains and determined appropriate ways to combine items (e.g. mean of the responses to two items about

Childhood social and economic circumstances - scale construction. Scales were created within the seven domains. The scales ranged from single items to multi-item. For example in the domain of "Home and family circumstances," two items ("Was there ever a time when your family focused on surviving or just "getting by"? and "Was there ever a time when your family did not have enough to eat?") formed the scale "deprivation." Table 1 describes the items and scales and indicates the observed range. Internal-consistency reliability is shown for multi-item scales. Briefly, here is a description of each of the domains and the scales corresponding to each.

- 1) Home and family circumstances: housing tenure, moving, primary adults who raised the person (e.g. 1 parent, 2 parents, grandparents), and family economic conditions.
- 2) Neighborhood: the type of neighborhood (e.g. middle class, working class) and the proportion of neighbors who were the same race/ethnicity as the respondent.
- 3) Work and money: age when the respondent started working regularly for pay and how much work for pay during summer vacations.

 Multivariate analysis. Bivariate regression models estimated the association of each childhood circumstance scale with adult educational attainment. A multivariate linear regression model with backward elimination estimated conditional associations between childhood circumstances and adult educational attainment (SES); explanatory variables with p-values ≤.20 were retained; all models forced inclusion of demographic variables age, sex, and race/ethnicity (Model 1). Model 2 added father's education (this study's measure of parental SES, the traditional measure of childhood SES). Next, multivariate linear regression models with backward elimination estimated conditional associations between childhood circumstances and each health outcome. Explanatory variables with p-values values ≤ .20 were retained; all models forced inclusion of demographic variables age, sex, and race/ethnicity (Model 1). Model 2 added father's education. Model 3 added current education (our measure for adult SES) to Model 1. Model 4 added father's education and current education to Model 1.

RESULTS

Demographic and health characteristics of the survey sample are shown in Table 2. By design, the sample included more women (61%) and roughly one-quarter each of White, Latino, African American, and Asian respondents. Recruiting Latinos was more difficult because of the inclusion criteria that respondents be born in the US or have emigrated before the age of 16. Respondents ranged in age from 55 to 93 (mean=67.3) and had a broad range of educational attainment levels. One-third (34%) of their father's completed grade school only, one-quarter (27%) had a high school education, and one-fifth (19%) did not know what level of education their father had attained.

Notable statistics described in Table 3 indicate that (i) about two-thirds reported that they had been raised by both parents; and (ii) respondents reported receiving far more support from adults than discouragement—given a possible range of 0 to 21, the mean was nearly 10 for support and only 2 for discouragement.

 Most of the childhood circumstances scales differed by racial/ethnic group. In general, White respondents reported more positive circumstances. Whites were less likely to live in a rented home than people in the other racial/ethnic groups. Whites and Asians were more likely to be raised by two parents; Blacks were least likely to be raised by two parents. Whites were more likely to say their family's financial status was "pretty well off" and less likely to say they were "poor" than people in the other racial/ethnic groups. Latinos and Asians were more likely to say that their families were "poor." Whites were less likely to report deprivation during their childhood than people in the other racial/ethnic groups; Latinos were more likely to report both types of deprivation than the other groups. Whites and Blacks were more likely to grow up in neighborhoods where most of the neighbors were the same race/ethnicity as themselves. Whites reported higher perceived middle and high school quality than the other racial/ethnic groups. Whites and Blacks reported more adult support than the overall average; Asians reported less.

The associations between measures of childhood circumstances and adult education are shown in Table 4. Unadjusted models showed that the frequency of renting versus owning a home during four periods of childhood was negatively associated with adult educational attainment. Also, moving more often during childhood was associated with lower educational attainment. Being raised by two parents, as compared to any other household arrangement, was positively associated with educational attainment. All school variables were positively associated with adult SES: parents' stressing the importance of schooling, individual's own perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, perceived quality of schooling, participation in high school extracurricular activities, and high school music-related extracurricular activities. Summer travel and reading were also positively associated with adult SES.

Multivariate regression modeling (Model 1) identified family financial circumstances, parents' stressing the importance of schooling, respondent's perception of schooling as a way to get ahead, extracurricular activities during high school (marginally), summer travel, and summer reading as

 uniquely and significantly associated with adult educational attainment. After taking into consideration father's educational attainment (the traditional measure of childhood SES, Model 2), family financial circumstances, respondent's perception of schooling as a way to get ahead, and summer reading remained associated with adult SES.

The childhood circumstances associated with adult self-rated health in bivariate models were: raised by two parents, age began working regularly for pay, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, perceived school quality, high school extracurricular activities, high school music extracurricular activities, and summer reading (Table 5). From the backwards elimination process (Model 1), raised by two parents, age started to work, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and high school extracurricular activities were the childhood circumstances significantly associated with self-rated health. Taking into consideration father's education (Model 2), being raised by two parents became marginally statistically significant, but the other childhood circumstances remained associated with self-rated health. (We also note that for Models 1 and 2, age began working was associated with self-rated health in the opposite way than we would expect such that the older the age began working was associated with poorer self-rated health.) After adjusting for adult SES (Model 3), age began working and high school extracurricular activities were the two childhood circumstances that remained associated with adult self-rated health. Taking into consideration both father's education and adult SES (Model 4), only age began working was associated with self-rated health.

The childhood circumstances associated with physical functioning in bivariate models were: raised by two parents, age began working regularly for pay, parents' emphasis on schooling, respondent's perception of schooling, high school extracurricular activities, and adult discouragement. From the backwards elimination process (Model 1), raised by two parents, age started working regularly for pay, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and adult discouragement were the childhood circumstances that are significantly associated with physical functioning. Taking into consideration father's education (Model 2), with the exception of raised by

two parents, the other childhood circumstances remain associated with physical functioning. After adjusting for adult SES (Model 3), with the exception of raised by two parents, the other childhood circumstances remain associated with physical functioning. Taking into consideration both father's education and adult SES (Model 4), age began working, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and adult discouragement remain associated with physical functioning.

DISCUSSION

In a multiethnic sample of older adults, we developed about 20 scales within seven domains previously identified to be important childhood circumstances. Then, in an initial application of the new items in a larger ethnically diverse sample, we surveyed 400 older adults using the new scales. These questions assessed childhood circumstances retrospectively including family financial circumstances, perception of schooling, parent's attitude toward schooling, and summer activities. There were prominent racial/ethnic differences across different types of childhood circumstances. African Americans had poorer circumstances in almost every domain, except for parental attitude toward school—where they indicated more support for schooling as a way to get ahead than the people in all other racial/ethnic groups—and extent of adult support. Asians and Latinos also fared more poorly than Whites on several of the measures, such as periods of renting, moves, deprivation, parent attitude toward school, perceived school quality, extent of adult support, and summer travel.

In bivariate analyses, measures within home and family, potential for advancement through schooling, school quality and content, influence and support of adults, and leisure activities each were associated with adult educational attainment after adjusting for age, sex, and race/ethnicity. Several scales were associated with adult education, including: family financial situation, parent attitude toward education, perceived importance of education, summer travel, and summer reading.

Importantly, other measures which are often seen to be markers of socioeconomic status, e.g. housing tenure, economic deprivation, and age started work were not associated with adult educational

 attainment, suggesting that these measures may reflect other dimensions of social and economic circumstances. These findings are generally in agreement with sociology and education research that has used data collected during childhood and adolescence directly. Results thus support the validity of these retrospective reports by older adults, suggesting they provide useful insights into socioeconomic experiences in childhood and adolescence.

Multivariate analysis suggest that specific childhood experiences related to family composition, working, and school experiences are associated with adult health outcomes even after taking into consideration father's SES (a traditional measure of childhood SES) and adult SES.

There are a number of study limitations. The survey sample was a purposive sample, so not representative of people age 55 and older. Indeed the educational attainment data suggest these people were better educated than the general population, with one-third of the sample having at least a college degree. As with any study that relies on self-reporting, the childhood circumstances items are subject to the accurate recall of the respondent. Finally, the survey sample is older adults and thus the results could be affected by survivorship selection bias. This could lead to an underestimate in the effects of childhood circumstances if those with poorer circumstances did not survive.

In the United States, the ability to measure childhood experiences of a racially/ethnically diverse sample of older adults could also allow for investigating the underpinnings of socioeconomic and racial/ethnic disparities in health status. With expanded measures, it would be possible to describe and distinguish in more detail the childhood circumstances of people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Social science studies have reported that African Americans and Latinos have differential educational opportunities on average, including variations in school resources and school climate. Urban school districts with higher proportions of minority students often have fewer dollars to spend per pupil than suburban, primarily white school districts. In addition, even among those with the same educational attainment, such as a college degree, racial/ethnic minorities earn lower wages compared to Whites. 44 45

Table 1. Description of Childhood Social and Economic Circumstances Domains and Scales

Domain / scale	Definition	# of items	Mean (SD)	Possible Range	Observed range	alpha	Meaning of high score
Home and family circumstances							
# of times renting during 4 periods of childhood (0-4)	Rented during 4 periods of childhood: 0-5, 6-9, 10-14, 15-18	4	2.07(1.62)	0-4	0-4		More periods of renting
# times moved (categories)	0, 1, 2, 3, 4+	1	3.31 (1.48)	1-5	1-5		More moves
Raised by 2 parents (1/0)	Raised by both parents versus raised by one parent, a grandparent, a parent and a step parent, or some other combination of adults	1	0.67	0-1	0-1		Raised by 2 parents
Deprivation	Periods when their family was just surviving or when there was not enough food to eat or both	2	0.79 (0.77)	0-2	0-2		More periods of disadvantage
Family financial status	Rating of family's financial status as 1=pretty well off, 2=about average, 3=poor	1	2.28 (0.61)	1-3	1-3		Poorer status
Neighborhood							
Neighborhood type	1= upper middle class 2 = middle 3 = lower middle class 4 = working class	1	3.02 (1.00)	1-4	1-4		Lower income type
Neighbors who are same ethnicity	How many neighbors were the same race/ethnicity as themselves with 1=none, 2=a few, 3=about half, and 4=all or most	2	3.32(0.97)	1-4	1-4		Higher proportion same ethnicity
Work and money							
Age began working regularly		1	16.11(3.19)		7-35		Older age
Summer work for pay	Extent of working for pay during middle- and high school summers	2	2.49 (1.10)	1-4	1-4	0.63	More work during summer
Potential for advancement through	schooling						
Parent attitude toward education	Extent to which parents paid attention to grades, stressed importance of education	2	3.16 (0.98)	1-4	1-4	0.82	More support for schooling
Perceived importance of education	Respondent's sense that schooling is important to get a good job	1	3.44 (0.92)	1-4	1-4		More important

Domain / scale	Definition	# of items	Mean (SD)	Possible Range	Observed range	alpha	Meaning of high score
School quality and content							·
Perceived school quality	Rating of quality of middle- and high school education	2	2.99 (0.77)	1-4	1-4	0.76	Higher perceived quality
Extracurricular activities – high school	Number of years on organized sports, school clubs, school organizations	3	2.85 (2.75)	0-9	0-9	0.59	More extracurricular
Music extracurricular activities – high school	Number of years in band/choir or taking music lessons	2	1.28 (1.98)	0-6	0-6	0.71	More music activities
Influence and support of adults							
Extent of adult support	Extent of encouragement/support from parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, teachers, counselors, clergy/minister, other adult during age 5-18	7	9.85 (5.20)	0-21	0-21	0.74	More support
Extent of adult discouragement	Extent of discouragement from parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, teachers, counselors, clergy/minister, other adult during age 5-18	7	1.85 (2.73)	0-21	0-16	0.67	More discouragement
Leisure activities							
Summer travel	Extent of summer camp, family trips, family scenic rental during middle- and high school summers	6	2.95 (3.61)	0-15	0-15	0.78	More summers of travel
Summer reading	Extent of reading during middle- and high school summers	2	2.83 (1.14)	1-4	1-4	0.90	More reading
Summer social activities	Extent of playing with friends, watching TV, playing on organized sports teams, during middle- and high school summers	6	2.24 (0.68)	1-4	1-4	0.70	More social/leisure

Table 2. Description of the sample

Demographic characteristics	Survey respondents (n=400)
Sex	
Male	155 (39%)
Female	245 (61%)
Age in years	Mean=67.3 (55-93)
Race/Ethnicity ¹	
White/other	104 (26%)
Latino	93 (23%)
African American	101 (25%)
Asian or Pacific Islander (API)	102 (26 %)
Education	
≤ high school	32 (8%)
High school graduate	87 (22%)
Some college	138 (35%)
College graduate	67 (17%)
Graduate degree	76 (19%)
Father's education	
No formal education	19 (6%)
Grade school	110 (34%)
Some high school	30 (9%)
High school equivalency or diploma	109 (27%)
Associate's or Bachelor's degree	36 (9%)
Graduate degree	22 (6%)
Unknown	77 (19%)
Health status measures	Mean (SD), range
Self-rated health	3.2 (1.1), 1-5
Physical functioning	73.7 (29.2), 0-100

Table 3. Childhood Circumstances by Race/ethnicity

	Total sample	White	African American	Latino	API	
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	Chi-square/F-test (p-value)
Demographics N (9)						
Father's education, N (%) No education Grade school Some high High school College + Missing	19 (5) 110 (28) 30 (8) 109 (27) 58 (15) 74 (19)	1 (1) 23 (22) 11 (11) 30 (29) 24 (23) 15 (14)	3 (3) 24 (24) 4 (4) 34 (34) 11 (11) 25 (25)	10 (11) 36 (39) 7 (8) 18 (19) 9 (10) 13 (14)	5 (5) 27 (26) 8 (8) 27 (26) 14 (14) 21 (21)	X ² =35.62 (0.002)
Adult education, N (%) < high school High school grad Some college College grad Postgraduate	32 (%) 87 (22) 138 (35) 67 (17) 74 (19)	3 (3) 23 (22) 32 (31) 18 (17) 28 (27)	11 (11) 33 (33) 42 (42) 12 (12) 3 (3)	17 (8) 15 (16) 33 (36) 12 (13) 15 (16)	1 (1) 16 (16) 31 (31) 25 (25) 28 (28)	X ² =61.86 (< 0.0001)
Childhood Circumstances Home and family circumstance	es.					
Rent (# periods renting), N %) 0 1 2 3 4	111 (28) 44 (11) 69 (18) 45 (11) 125 (32)	43 (43) 9 (9) 13 (13) 9 (9) 26 (26)	28 (28) 13 (13) 15 (15) 11 (11) 34 (34)	22 (24) 9 (10) 22 (24) 14 (15) 25 (27)	18 (18) 13 (13) 19 (19) 11 (11) 40 (40)	X ² =22.62 (0.03)
Moves (# time), N (%) 0 1 2 3 4+ Two parents – yes, N %)	64 (16) 70 (18) 75 (19) 61 (15) 130 (33) 268 (67)	24 (23) 16 (15) 19 (18) 11 (11) 34 (33) 78 (75)	18 (18) 17 (17) 19 (19) 16 (16) 31 (31) 50 (50)	11 (12) 14 (15) 22 (24) 15 (16) 31 (33) 62 (67)	11 (11) 23 (23) 15 (15) 19 (19) 34 (33) 78 (76)	X ² =12.87 (0.38) X ² =21.13***
Deprivation 0 1 2	170 (43) 143 (36) 85 (21)	58 (56) 31 (30) 14 (14)	45 (45) 36 (36) 19 (19)	32 (34) 32 (34) 29 (31)	35 (34) 44 (43) 23 (23)	X ² =17.72 (0.007)
Family financial status, N (%) Pretty well off About average Poor	33 (8) 222 (56) 143 (36)	14 (14) 61 (59) 28 (27)	3 (3) 63 (63) 34 (34)	9 (10) 46 (49) 38 (41)	7 (7) 52 (51) 43 (42)	X ² =13.60 (0.03)
Neighborhood						
Neighborhood type, N (%) upper middle class middle lower middle class working class	29 (7) 119 (30) 78 (20) 173 (43)	14 (13) 41 (39) 14 (13) 35 (34)	3 (3) 22 (22) 21 (21) 55 (54)	7 (8) 32 (34) 15 (16) 39 (42)	5 (5) 24 (24) 28 (28) 44 (44)	X ² =27.34 (0.001)
Proportion neighborhood same race/ethnicity None or a few Some Most	96 (24) 56 (14) 248 (62)	5 (5) 11 (11) 88 (85)	12 (12) 19 (19) 70 (69)	39 (42) 16 (17) 38 (41)	40 (39) 10 (10) 52 (51)	X ² =67.10 (<0.0001)

Age started work, N (%) <16 16-18 19+ Summer work for pay	Total sample 159 (40)	07 (00)				
16-18 19+		07 (00)				
19+		37 (36)	39 (39)	43 (46)	40 (40)	X ² =13.17 (0.04)
	174 (44)	55 (53)	47 (47)	37 (40)	35 (35)	
Summer work for hav	66 (17)	12 (12)	15 (15)	13 (14)	26 (26)	E 0.05 (0.50)
	2.49	2.46	2.62	2.41	2.55	F=0.65 (0.58)
Potential for advancement through Parent attitude toward education	3.16	3.14	3.48	3.01	3.00	White-Black (0.01)
Parent attitude toward education	3.10	3.14	3.40	3.01	3.00	Black-Latino (0.0009) Black-API (0.0004)
Perceived importance of education,						
N (%)	30 (8)	6 (6)	2 (2)	11 (12)	11 (11)	
Not at all	30 (8)	7 (7)	12 (12)	6 (6)	5 (5)	X ² =16.61 (0.06)
A little	73 (18)	26 (25)	17 (17)	16 (17)	14 (14)	
Somewhat	267 (67)	65 (63)	70 (69)	60 (65)	72 (71)	
A lot						
School quality and content	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	
Perceived school quality	2.99	3.16	2.96	2.88	2.92	White-Latino (0.01)
		0.00	0.00		c = :	White-API (0.03)
Extracurricular high school, mean	2.85	3.03	2.92	3.06	2.74	F=0.28 (0.84)
Music extracurricular high school,	1.28	1.78	1.44	0.88	1.09	F=3.82 (0.01)
mean						
Influence and support of adults	0.0-	10.11	40.70			- 40 -0.1.1.1
Extent of adult support	9.85	10.11	12.56	9.06	7.60	F=18.50***
						· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Extent of adult discouragement	1.85	1.88	1.57	2.37	1.61	Black-Latino (0.04)
Leisure activities			A 15			140 0 - 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Summer travel	2.95	4.33	2.15	3.14	2.48	White-Black (<0.0001) White-Latino (0.02) White-API (0.0002)
Summer reading	2.83	2.99	2.89	2.67	2.91	F=1.3 (0.26)
Summer social activities	2.24	2.21	2.41	2.31	2.05	White-Black (0.03) Black-API (0.0002) Latino-API (0.008)
* = <0.0001						Latino-API (0.008)

^{*** = &}lt;0.0001

Table 4. Childhood circumstances and adult education: beta coefficients from regression models (n=381) Inote: final analytic sample missing data for 29 people on father's education.

Λ	0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.0004)	0.000 (0.04)
Variable			
Demographics			
	Onadjusted	Wodel	father's education
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model2=Model 1 +
[110te. Illiai aliaiytic sailipie, illi	ssing data for 29 p	copie on famer's edi	ucationj

	Onaujusteu	IVIOGEI I	father's education
Demographics			
Variable			
Age	-0.026 (0.09)	-0.032 (0.0004)	-0.032 (0.01)
Sex (male)	0.10	0.26	0.30 (0.17)
Race/Ethnicity			,
African American	-1.54***	-1.54 ***	-1.35 ***
Asian	0.42	0.59 (0.05)	0.71 (0.02)
Latino	-1.25 (0.0009)	-0.40 (0.20)	-0.30
White	REF	REF	REF
Father's education			
No education	-3.04***	-	-0.82 (0.18)
Grade school	-1.34 (0.001)	-	-0.69 (0.05)
Some high	-1.32 (0.02)	-	-0.79 (0.10)
High school	-0.95 (0.02) -2.95***	-	-0.60 (0.08) -1.72 ***
Missing College+	-2.95 REF	-	-1.72 REF
Childhood Circumstances	IXLI		
Home and family circumstances			
Rent	-0.25 (0.0004)	0.11 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.11)
Moves		-0.11 (0.13)	, ,
	-0.21 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.14 (0.08) 0.19
Two parents	0.83 (0.004)	0.37 (0.12)	
Family financial	-0.34 (0.14)	0.50 (0.01)	0.53 (0.008)
Deprivation	-0.29 (0.10)	-	-
Neighborhood	0.04 (0.07)		
Neighborhood type	-0.24 (0.07)	-	-
Proportion neighbors same ethnicity	-0.15	•	-
Work and money	Г		
Age started work	0.24	-	-
Working	-0.13	-	-
Potential for advancement through sch		T	
Parent attitude toward education	0.65***	0.25 (0.05)	0.17
Perceived importance of education	0.89***	0.27 (0.04)	0.31 (0.02)
School quality and content			
Perceived school quality	0.51 (0.0007)	-	-
Extracurricular activities hi school	0.17***	0.077 (0.06)	0.059 (0.15)
Music extracurricular hi school	0.17***	-	-
Influence and support of adults			
Extent of adult support	0.064 (0.01)	-	-
Extent of adult discouragement	0.049	-	-
Leisure activities			
Summer travel	0.15***	0.07 (0.03)	0.063 (0.06)
Summer reading	0.45***	0.29 (0.005)	0.26 (0.0009)
Summer social activities	0.30 (0.08)	-	-0.27 (0.18)
r-square		0.27	0.31

Does not apply, not in model

^{*** &}lt; 0.0001

		Self	-rated Health (n=	384)			Physic	al Functioning (ı	n=388)	
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Demographics										
Variable	B (p-value)									
Age	0.0037	0.00078	0.0036	0.0052	0.0064	-0.25 (0.12)	-0.49 (0.009)	-0.45 (0.02)	-0.42 (0.02)	-0.42 (0.03
Sex (male)	-0.083	-0.11	-0.10	-0.14	-0.13	2.34	2.91	3.27	2.53	2.86
Race/Ethnicity African American Asian Latino White	-0.31 (0.05) 0.24 (0.12) -0.12 REF	-0.21 (0.18) 0.34 (0.03) -0.039 REF	-0.18 (0.18) 0.36 (0.02) -0.012 REF	-0.71 0.30 (0.05) 0.010 REF	-0.68 -0.31 (0.04) 0.029 REF	-0.25 12.79 (0.002) 2.89 REF	0.43 11.51 (0.004) 1.12 REF	1.68 12.17 (0.002) 1.31 REF	5.64 (0.18) - 10.34 (0.008) 4.27 REF	6.22 (0.14 10.80 (0.006 4.03 REF
Father's education No educ Grade school Some high High school Missing College+	-0.30 -0.43 (0.02) -0.55 (0.03) -0.36 (0.04) -0.66 (0.0007) REF		-0.16 -0.35 (0.05) -0.48 (0.05) -0.29 (0.11) -0.41 (0.05) REF		-0.11 -0.31 (0.09) -0.41 (0.09) -0.24 (0.18) -0.26 REF	-2.19 3.00 3.25 -0.82 -11.37 (0.03) REF		-6.28 2.60 5.52 -0.34 -7.62 (0.15) REF		-3.40 4.22 8.42 (0.17) 1.00 -4.20 REF
Adult education < high school Hi school grad Some college College grad Postgraduate	-1.04 ** -0.75 *** -0.48 (0.002) -0.35 REF	- - - -		-0.73 (0.01) -0.52 (0.005) -0.29 (0.07) -0.17 REF	-0.71 (0.02) -0.47 (0.01) -0.26 (0.12) -0.15 REF	-28.68 *** 14.47 (0.001) -14.68 (0.0003) -4.19 REF		- - - -	-30.23 *** -10.64 (0.02) -12.33 (0.003) -0.91 REF	-28.91 (0.0001) -9.29 (0.05) -11.98 (0.004) 0.01 REF
Childhood Circumstance										
Economic and family circumstance	es									
Rent Moves Two parents Family financial Deprivation	-0.029 -0.010 0.43 (0.0003) -0.11 -0.077	-0.046 (0.19) - 0.25 (0.04) - -	-0.042 - 0.22 (0.08) - -	-0.036 - 0.21 (0.09) - -	-0.032 - 0.20 (0.11) - -	0.067 0.22 9.97 (0.001) -0.11 -1.69	6.48 (0.04)	5.34 (0.10) -	5.27 (0.09)	- 4.52 (0.15) - -
Neighborhood										
Neigh type Proportion neigh same race/ethnicity	-0.054 -0.023	-		-	-	-0.16 0.018		-		-
Work and money										
Age started work Working	-0.26 (0.0009) 0.087 (0.09)	-0.31 *** -	-0.31*** -	-0.31 *** -	-0.31*** -	-5.15 (0.01) 1.73 (0.19)	-4.89 (0.01) -	-4.55 (0.02) -	-5.32 (0.007) -	-5.04 (0.01) -
Schooling	, ,					, ,				
Parent attitude toward educ	0.070	-	-		-	3.11 (0.04)	-	-	-	-

		Self	-rated Health (n=	384)	•	Physical Functioning (n=388)				
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Perception importance of educ	0.18 (0.002)	0.15 (0.02)	0.16 (0.02)	0.12 (0.06)	0.13 (0.05)	5.43 (0.0006)	6.48 (0.0001)	6.24(0.0003)	4.70(0.006)	4.48 (0.009)
Perceived school quality	0.24 (0.001)	-	-	-	-	3.67 (0.06)	-	-	-	-
Extracurricular activities hi school	0.075 (0.0002)	0.051 (0.01)	0.045 (0.03)	0.040 (0.05)	0.036(0.08)	1.11 (0.04)	1.01 (0.07)	0.96 (0.08)	0.72 (0.19)	0.76 (0.17)
Music extracurricular hi school	0.061 (0.03)	-	-	-	-	0.20	-	-		-
Adults										
Adult support	0.0004	-	-	-	-	-0.25	-0.48 (0.13)	-0.51 (0.12)	-0.55 (0.09)	-0.55 (0.08)
Adult discouragement	-0.0034	-	-	-	-	-1.24 (0.02)	-1.06 (0.04)	-1.15 (0.03)	-1.11 (0.03)	-1.19 (0.02)
Summer										
Summer travel	0.029 (0.06)	-	-		-	0.25	-	-	-	-
Reading	0.15 (0.002)	0.091 (0.08)	0.075 (0.15)	0.056	0.047	1.33	-	-	-	-
Summer leisure	-0.037		- ` ′	-		-0.74	-2.78	-2.95	-3.16 (0.20)	-3.25 (0.19)
R-square		0.14	0.16	0.17	0.18		0.14	0.15	0.19	0.20

Model 1: covariates selected through backward selection;

Model 2: Model 1 + father's education;

Model 3: Model 1 + adult education

Model 4: Model 1 + father's education + adult education

***= <0.0001

= not included

Bold-faced indicates coefficient is significant at the p <0.05 level; p-value shown in (parenthesis)

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COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have no competing interests to declare.

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 A community cohort study about childhood social and economic circumstances: Racial/ethnic differences and associations with adult educational attainment and health of older adults

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Article focus

- Introduces new retrospective measures of childhood social and economic circumstances,
 different from parents' socioeconomic status (e.g. school quality, extracurricular activities,
 adult support)
- Shows racial/ethnic differences of childhood circumstances for a community sample of older adults
- Investigates if childhood circumstances measures are associated with adult socioeconomic status
- Investigates if childhood circumstances are associated with adult health

Key messages

- Childhood circumstances measures have good reliability and variability.
- Most childhood circumstances differed across racial/ethnic groups.
- Childhood circumstances are associated with adult socioeconomic status
- Childhood circumstances (family composition, age began working, school experiences) are
 associated with adult health, even after taking into consideration a traditional measure of
 childhood socioeconomic circumstances and adult socioeconomic circumstances.

Strengths and limitations

- Introduces new retrospective measures that broaden the domains of childhood circumstances with potential relevance to health
- Uses the measures to describe circumstances in a racially/ethnically mixed community sample of older adults

ABSTRACT

Objectives: Typical measures of childhood socioeconomic status (SES), such as father's occupation, have limited ability to elucidate mechanisms by which childhood SES affects adult health. Mechanisms could include schooling experiences or work opportunities. Having previously used qualitative methods for concept development, we developed new retrospective measures of multiple domains of childhood social and economic circumstances in ethnically diverse older adults. We administered the new measures in a large sample and explored their association with adult SES.

Design: We used a cross-section survey design with a community sample.

Setting: The San Francisco Bay Area in California.

Participants: 400 community-dwelling adults from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds (Whites, African Americans, Latinos, Asians/Pacific Islanders) aged 55 and older (mean=67 years); 61% were women. Primary and secondary outcome measures: We measured attitudes towards schooling, extracurricular activities, and adult encouragement and discouragement during the childhood/teen years. Bivariate analysis tested racial/ethnic differences on the various measures. Multivariate regression models estimated the extent to which retrospective circumstances were independently associated with adult educational attainment and adult health.

Results: Most of the childhood circumstances measures differed across racial/ethnic groups. In general, Whites reported more positive circumstances than non-Whites. Family financial circumstances, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, high school extracurricular activities, summer travel, and summer reading were each statistically significantly associated with adult SES.

Family composition, age began work, high school extracurricular activities, attitudes toward schooling, and adult discouragement were associated with adult health.

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INTRODUCTION

 Adult socioeconomic status (SES) is a key social factor associated with a wide variety of health behaviors and health outcomes. Adult SES is often measured by educational attainment or income. Educational attainment and income are correlated, but education is a process that begins in childhood. More recently, measures of wealth or assets have also been used in addition to educational attainment or income to more comprehensively describe socioeconomic status. 12

In order to understand why SES is so important for health, it is helpful to look at the trajectory of SES over a person's lifetime, beginning with childhood. In fact, childhood SES has emerged as an important social factor for health in childhood and adulthood.³

Childhood SES is associated with adult health behaviors⁴ and specific health conditions in adult populations,⁵⁻⁹ and its influence continues into middle and older ages.¹⁰⁻¹² Disadvantageous circumstances during childhood also appear to influence health conditions for adults over age 60,¹³⁻¹⁵ and risk for premature mortality.^{10 11 16-22}

However, there are several limitations with this body of research regarding identifying how and to what extent childhood socioeconomic circumstances affect the health of older adults. First, only a few studies extend into older ages, so there is a gap in understanding how childhood SES may influence health of older adults. Most studies have focused on middle-aged adults or the general adult population. In 17 19 21 22 If people with lower SES in childhood die younger, perhaps the effect of childhood SES is diminished for people who live into older ages. If there are effects that extend to older ages, it could argue even more strongly for childhood interventions. Understanding the duration of influence of childhood SES on health, i.e., whether the influence continues into older ages, has both scientific and health policy value, especially as the world's population ages.

Second, with the exception of a number of important studies using the US Health and Retirement Survey²³⁻²⁵, most studies of the effects of childhood SES mentioned above were cohort

 Third, with a few exceptions, previous studies measure childhood SES in terms of parental SES, such as father's occupation, mother's employment status, father's educational attainment or some combination of parents' educational attainment. Some studies have used other variables that describe social or economic circumstances such as family size and configuration, family financial status, father's unemployment, housing characteristics (e.g. number of rooms), father absence, and marital status of mother at the time of child's birth. In order to fully understand how parents' SES eventually affects adult health, though we must also measure the experiences and circumstances of individuals throughout their childhood. Figure 1 illustrates the intervening variables that potentially mediate the observed associations between parents' SES and adult health, such as school quality or supportive adults, that are amenable to early-life interventions and can have effects across the lifespan.

To advance this field of study, we need retrospective measures that more comprehensively assess early-life socioeconomic circumstances that may affect adult health. Retrospective measures allow for more cost-effective research that can estimate provisional relationships between a broad array of childhood circumstances and adult health. These relationships can then be confirmed with prospective cohort studies. We first developed a comprehensive, multidimensional conceptual framework of childhood circumstances and experiences that ethnically diverse older adults believe affect their health using qualitative interview methods.³² Seven key domains were identified: home

and family circumstances, neighborhood, work and money, potential for advancement through schooling, school quality and content, influence and support of adults, and leisure activities.

The purpose of this paper is to describe new retrospectively-assessed measures of SES-related childhood circumstances based on our framework, explore whether these childhood circumstances differed across racial/ethnic groups, and investigate if the measures are associated with older adults' socioeconomic status and health. Because much of the previous literature has used parental SES to measure childhood SES, we also were interested to learn if the new measures were simply proxies for parental SES or captured additional dimensions of childhood beyond what is conferred through parents' SES. Therefore, our research questions are: 1) Which childhood social and economic circumstances ('childhood circumstances') are associated with adult SES (measured with adult educational attainment)? 2) Which childhood circumstances are associated with older adult health? 3) Are childhood circumstances still associated with older adult health, after controlling for father's educational attainment, the current body of literature's most common way to measure childhood SES? 4) Are childhood circumstances associated with older adult health after accounting for adult SES? And finally, 5) Are childhood circumstances associated with older adult health after controlling for both father's SES and respondent's SES?

METHODS

 Development of measures. We first created 53 survey items that reflected all of the domains (3-8 items per domain) in the conceptual framework, based on the qualitative data.³² Two phases of pretesting were conducted with racially/ethnically diverse older adults. First, we pilot tested these items with 19 older adults to determine if wording was clear, if response categories were adequate, and if we were missing any other circumstances. Participants understood the items, could recall their childhoods such that they could answer the items, and found that the response categories reflected their circumstances. We revised a few items based on their input. For example, an item about extracurricular

 activities was revised to include church or community organizations that organized youth activities. We subsequently conducted more in-depth cognitive interview pretesting with 32 older adults. After completing the survey, respondents were asked questions about how they interpreted the wording of items and whether the response categories provided were satisfactory and reflected their circumstances adequately. In general, participants interpreted the items as intended. Based on their feedback, we revised a few items to increase clarity. For example, we added a clarifying phrase to two items about summer leisure activities and to an item about working regularly.

Survey field test. The 53-item *Childhood social and economic circumstances survey* was administered to a new sample of ethnically diverse older adults. We also included one measure of adult SES (adult education) and one traditional measure of childhood SES (father's educational attainment).

Respondents were recruited between May 2007 and November 208 in the San Francisco Bay Area through senior centers, posted flyers in public places, senior health fairs, and referrals from respondents. Eligibility criteria for survey respondents included ages 55 and older; born in the US or emigrated before the age of 16; and self-identified as White, African American, Latino, or Asian. Eligible participants in another study who indicated a willingness to be contacted for future studies were also contacted and invited to participate.³³ The goal was to survey approximately 400 people, equally distributed among the four racial/ethnic groups (White, Black, Latino/a, Asian/Pacific Islander) and approximately 60% female (to reflect their distribution in the population).

Surveys were administered to respondents on the telephone or in person. Respondents received a \$10 gift card for their participation. All study procedures were approved by the University of California, San Francisco Committee on Human Research.

Methods of analysis. To create scales from the survey items, we grouped items by domains and determined appropriate ways to combine items (e.g. mean of the responses to two items about

perceived school quality – one for middle school, one for high school; sum of periods of deprivation – ever a time when family focus on surviving and ever a time when family did not have enough to eat). In some cases, factor analysis was used to determine which items within a set of items clustered together and could be combined in a scale. For example, there is a question about summer activities, which asks about socializing with friends, watching television, staying at home doing chores, working, playing sports, or reading. Factor analysis revealed that reading did not cluster with the other items, so it was treated as a single-item scale. Descriptive analysis of the individual measures and scales were performed including mean, standard deviation, and observed range. To explore racial/ethnic group differences in the mean scores of the final scales, bivariate analyses included chi-square and F-tests.

Childhood social and economic circumstances - scale construction. Scales were created within the seven domains. The scales ranged from single items to multi-item. For example in the domain of "Home and family circumstances," two items ("Was there ever a time when your family focused on surviving or just "getting by"? and "Was there ever a time when your family did not have enough to eat?") formed the scale "deprivation." Table 1 describes the items and scales and indicates the observed range. Internal-consistency reliability is shown for multi-item scales. Briefly, here is a description of each of the domains and the scales corresponding to each.

- 1) Home and family circumstances: housing tenure, moving, primary adults who raised the person (e.g. 1 parent, 2 parents, grandparents), and family economic conditions.
- 2) Neighborhood: the type of neighborhood (e.g. middle class, working class) and the proportion of neighbors who were the same race/ethnicity as the respondent.
- 3) Work and money: age when the respondent started working regularly for pay and how much work for pay during summer vacations.

- 4) Potential for advancement through schooling: parents' views about schooling for their children and the respondent's own attitude toward schooling as a means for getting ahead.
- 5) School quality and content. Perceived quality of schooling, the quality of schooling (whether school offered college preparatory classes), and participation in extracurricular activities in high school.
- Influence and support of adults: support or discouragement from parents, grandparents, aunts or uncles, teachers, school counselors, clergy, or friends of parents. Respondents were asked to indicate how much support or discouragement, if any, they received while growing up from seven different adults.
- 7) Leisure activities: Organized and unorganized activities respondents did for fun or recreation, including summertime activities.

In most instances, the observed range of the item or scale was the same as the possible range, indicating good variability. The items that composed multi-item scales had high Cronbach's alpha values (ranging from 0.63 to 0.90), indicating moderate to high internal consistency.

Adult SES measure. Adult socioeconomic status was measured using by adult educational attainment in years, which ranged from 0 to 19.

Health status measures. Three measures of health were included: 1) perceived health status; 2) SF-36 physical functioning measure^{34 35}, and self-reports of chronic conditions ("Has a doctor ever told you that you have: osteoporosis, diabetes, arthritis, chronic bronchitis or emphysema, asthma, hypertension, heart disease, a stroke, cancer). Perceived health was modeled as a continuous variable (range: 1=poor to 5=excellent). SF-36 was also modeled as a continuous variable (possible range 0 to 100).

Multivariate analysis. Bivariate regression models estimated the association of each childhood circumstance scale with adult educational attainment. A multivariate linear regression model with backward elimination estimated conditional associations between childhood circumstances and adult educational attainment (SES); explanatory variables with p-values ≤.20 were retained; all models forced inclusion of demographic variables age, sex, and race/ethnicity (Model 1). Model 2 added father's education (this study's measure of parental SES, the traditional measure of childhood SES). Next, multivariate linear regression models with backward elimination estimated conditional associations between childhood circumstances and each health outcome. Explanatory variables with p-values values ≤ .20 were retained; all models forced inclusion of demographic variables age, sex, and race/ethnicity (Model 1). Model 2 added father's education. Model 3 added current education (our measure for adult SES) to Model 1. Model 4 added father's education and current education to Model 1.

RESULTS

 Demographic and health characteristics of the survey sample are shown in Table 2. By design, the sample included more women (61%) and roughly one-quarter each of White, Latino, African American, and Asian respondents. Recruiting Latinos was more difficult because of the inclusion criteria that respondents be born in the US or have emigrated before the age of 16. Respondents ranged in age from 55 to 93 (mean=67.3) and had a broad range of educational attainment levels. One-third (34%) of their father's completed grade school only, one-quarter (27%) had a high school education, and one-fifth (19%) did not know what level of education their father had attained.

Notable statistics described in Table 3 indicate that (i) about two-thirds reported that they had been raised by both parents; and (ii) respondents reported receiving far more support from adults than discouragement—given a possible range of 0 to 21, the mean was nearly 10 for support and only 2 for discouragement.

 Most of the childhood circumstances scales differed by racial/ethnic group. In general, White respondents reported more positive circumstances. Whites were less likely to live in a rented home than people in the other racial/ethnic groups. Whites and Asians were more likely to be raised by two parents; Blacks were least likely to be raised by two parents. Whites were more likely to say their family's financial status was "pretty well off" and less likely to say they were "poor" than people in the other racial/ethnic groups. Latinos and Asians were more likely to say that their families were "poor." Whites were less likely to report deprivation during their childhood than people in the other racial/ethnic groups; Latinos were more likely to report both types of deprivation than the other groups. Whites and Blacks were more likely to grow up in neighborhoods where most of the neighbors were the same race/ethnicity as themselves. Whites reported higher perceived middle and high school quality than the other racial/ethnic groups. Whites and Blacks reported more adult support than the overall average; Asians reported less.

The associations between measures of childhood circumstances and adult education are shown in Table 4. Unadjusted models showed that the frequency of renting versus owning a home during four periods of childhood was negatively associated with adult educational attainment. Also, moving more often during childhood was associated with lower educational attainment. Being raised by two parents, as compared to any other household arrangement, was positively associated with educational attainment. All school variables were positively associated with adult SES: parents' stressing the importance of schooling, individual's own perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, perceived quality of schooling, participation in high school extracurricular activities, and high school music-related extracurricular activities. Summer travel and reading were also positively associated with adult SES.

Multivariate regression modeling (Model 1) identified family financial circumstances, parents' stressing the importance of schooling, respondent's perception of schooling as a way to get ahead, extracurricular activities during high school (marginally), summer travel, and summer reading as

uniquely and significantly associated with adult educational attainment. After taking into consideration father's educational attainment (the traditional measure of childhood SES, Model 2), family financial circumstances, respondent's perception of schooling as a way to get ahead, and summer reading remained associated with adult SES.

The childhood circumstances associated with adult self-rated health in bivariate models were: raised by two parents, age began working regularly for pay, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, perceived school quality, high school extracurricular activities, high school music extracurricular activities, and summer reading (Table 5). From the backwards elimination process (Model 1), raised by two parents, age started to work, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and high school extracurricular activities were the childhood circumstances significantly associated with self-rated health. Taking into consideration father's education (Model 2), being raised by two parents became marginally statistically significant, but the other childhood circumstances remained associated with self-rated health. (We also note that for Models 1 and 2, age began working was associated with self-rated health in the opposite way than we would expect such that the older the age began working was associated with poorer self-rated health.) After adjusting for adult SES (Model 3), age began working and high school extracurricular activities were the two childhood circumstances that remained associated with adult self-rated health. Taking into consideration both father's education and adult SES (Model 4), only age began working was associated with self-rated health.

The childhood circumstances associated with physical functioning in bivariate models were: raised by two parents, age began working regularly for pay, parents' emphasis on schooling, respondent's perception of schooling, high school extracurricular activities, and adult discouragement. From the backwards elimination process (Model 1), raised by two parents, age started working regularly for pay, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and adult discouragement were the childhood circumstances that are significantly associated with physical functioning. Taking into consideration father's education (Model 2), with the exception of raised by

 two parents, the other childhood circumstances remain associated with physical functioning. After adjusting for adult SES (Model 3), with the exception of raised by two parents, the other childhood circumstances remain associated with physical functioning. Taking into consideration both father's education and adult SES (Model 4), age began working, respondent's perception of schooling as a means to get ahead, and adult discouragement remain associated with physical functioning.

DISCUSSION

In a multiethnic sample of older adults, we developed about 20 scales within seven domains previously identified to be important childhood circumstances. Then, in an initial application of the new items in a larger ethnically diverse sample, we surveyed 400 older adults using the new scales. These questions assessed childhood circumstances retrospectively including family financial circumstances, perception of schooling, parent's attitude toward schooling, and summer activities. There were prominent racial/ethnic differences across different types of childhood circumstances. African Americans had poorer circumstances in almost every domain, except for parental attitude toward school—where they indicated more support for schooling as a way to get ahead than the people in all other racial/ethnic groups—and extent of adult support. Asians and Latinos also fared more poorly than Whites on several of the measures, such as periods of renting, moves, deprivation, parent attitude toward school, perceived school quality, extent of adult support, and summer travel.

In bivariate analyses, measures within home and family, potential for advancement through schooling, school quality and content, influence and support of adults, and leisure activities each were associated with adult educational attainment after adjusting for age, sex, and race/ethnicity. Several scales were associated with adult education, including: family financial situation, parent attitude toward education, perceived importance of education, summer travel, and summer reading.

Importantly, other measures which are often seen to be markers of socioeconomic status, e.g. housing tenure, economic deprivation, and age started work were not associated with adult educational

 attainment, suggesting that these measures may reflect other dimensions of social and economic circumstances. These findings are generally in agreement with sociology and education research that has used data collected during childhood and adolescence directly. Results thus support the validity of these retrospective reports by older adults, suggesting they provide useful insights into socioeconomic experiences in childhood and adolescence.

Multivariate analysis suggest that specific childhood experiences related to family composition, working, and school experiences are associated with adult health outcomes even after taking into consideration father's SES (a traditional measure of childhood SES) and adult SES.

There are a number of study limitations. The survey sample was a purposive sample, so not representative of people age 55 and older. Indeed the educational attainment data suggest these people were better educated than the general population, with one-third of the sample having at least a college degree. As with any study that relies on self-reporting, the childhood circumstances items are subject to the accurate recall of the respondent. Finally, the survey sample is older adults and thus the results could be affected by survivorship selection bias. This could lead to an underestimate in the effects of childhood circumstances if those with poorer circumstances did not survive.

In the United States, the ability to measure childhood experiences of a racially/ethnically diverse sample of older adults could also allow for investigating the underpinnings of socioeconomic and racial/ethnic disparities in health status. With expanded measures, it would be possible to describe and distinguish in more detail the childhood circumstances of people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Social science studies have reported that African Americans and Latinos have differential educational opportunities on average, including variations in school resources and school climate. Urban school districts with higher proportions of minority students often have fewer dollars to spend per pupil than suburban, primarily white school districts. In addition, even among those with the same educational attainment, such as a college degree, racial/ethnic minorities earn lower wages compared to Whites. At 44.5

Since these are retrospective measures, the next steps are to test people's recall of these circumstances by including the most important measures in a future wave of a longitudinal cohort study in which similar measures were collected during childhood and adolescence. Eventually, it would be optimal to be able to create a single score summarizing each of the seven domains. These data with a purposive sample may not be best suited to create more broadly generalizable summary measures, but are an important first step. Our findings suggest that retrospective self-reports of childhood and adolescent socioeconomic status experiences are a promising approach to examine the nuances of social determinants of health across the lifecourse.

Table 1. Description of Childhood Social and Economic Circumstances Domains and Scales

Domain / scale	Definition	# of items	Mean (SD)	Possible Range	Observed range	alpha	Meaning of high score
Home and family circumstances							
# of times renting during 4 periods of childhood (0-4)	Rented during 4 periods of childhood: 0-5, 6-9, 10-14, 15-18	4	2.07(1.62)	0-4	0-4		More periods of renting
# times moved (categories)	0, 1, 2, 3, 4+	1	3.31 (1.48)	1-5	1-5		More moves
Raised by 2 parents (1/0)	Raised by both parents versus raised by one parent, a grandparent, a parent and a step parent, or some other combination of adults	1	0.67	0-1	0-1		Raised by 2 parents
Deprivation	Periods when their family was just surviving or when there was not enough food to eat or both	2	0.79 (0.77)	0-2	0-2		More periods of disadvantage
Family financial status Rating of family's financial status as 1=pretty well off, 2=about average, 3=poor		1	2.28 (0.61)	1-3	1-3		Poorer status
Neighborhood							
Neighborhood type	1= upper middle class 2 = middle 3 = lower middle class 4 = working class	1	3.02 (1.00)	1-4	1-4		Lower income type
Neighbors who are same ethnicity	How many neighbors were the same race/ethnicity as themselves with 1=none, 2=a few, 3=about half, and 4=all or most	2	3.32(0.97)	1-4	1-4		Higher proportion same ethnicity
Work and money							
Age began working regularly		1	16.11(3.19)		7-35		Older age
Summer work for pay	Extent of working for pay during middle- and high school summers	2	2.49 (1.10)	1-4	1-4	0.63	More work during summer
Potential for advancement through	schooling						
Parent attitude toward education	Extent to which parents paid attention to grades, stressed importance of education	2	3.16 (0.98)	1-4	1-4	0.82	More support for schooling
Perceived importance of education	Respondent's sense that schooling is important to get a good job	1	3.44 (0.92)	1-4	1-4		More important

Domain / scale	Definition	# of items	Mean (SD)	Possible Range	Observed range	alpha	Meaning of high score	
School quality and content	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·							
Perceived school quality	Rating of quality of middle- and high school education	2	2.99 (0.77)	1-4	1-4	0.76	Higher perceived quality	
Extracurricular activities – high school	Number of years on organized sports, school clubs, school organizations	3	2.85 (2.75)	0-9	0-9	0.59	More extracurricular	
Music extracurricular activities – high school	Number of years in band/choir or taking music lessons	2	1.28 (1.98)	0-6	0-6	0.71	More music activities	
Influence and support of adults								
Extent of adult support	Extent of encouragement/support from parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, teachers, counselors, clergy/minister, other adult during age 5-18	7	9.85 (5.20)	0-21	0-21	0.74	More support	
Extent of adult discouragement	Extent of discouragement from parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, teachers, counselors, clergy/minister, other adult during age 5-18	7	1.85 (2.73)	0-21	0-16	0.67	More discouragement	
Leisure activities								
Summer travel	Extent of summer camp, family trips, family scenic rental during middle- and high school summers	6	2.95 (3.61)	0-15	0-15	0.78	More summers of travel	
Summer reading	Extent of reading during middle- and high school summers	2	2.83 (1.14)	1-4	1-4	0.90	More reading	
Summer social activities	Extent of playing with friends, watching TV, playing on organized sports teams, during middle- and high school summers	6	2.24 (0.68)	1-4	1-4	0.70	More social/leisure	

Table 2. Description of the sample

Demographic characteristics	Survey respondents (n=400)
Sex	
Male	155 (39%)
Female	245 (61%)
Age in years	Mean=67.3 (55-93)
Race/Ethnicity ¹	
White/other	104 (26%)
Latino	93 (23%)
African American	101 (25%)
Asian or Pacific Islander (API)	102 (26 %)
Education	
≤ high school	32 (8%)
High school graduate	87 (22%)
Some college	138 (35%)
College graduate	67 (17%)
Graduate degree	76 (19%)
Father's education	
No formal education	19 (6%)
Grade school	110 (34%)
Some high school	30 (9%)
High school equivalency or diploma	109 (27%)
Associate's or Bachelor's degree	36 (9%)
Graduate degree	22 (6%)
Unknown	77 (19%)
Health status measures	Mean (SD), range
Self-rated health	3.2 (1.1), 1-5
Physical functioning	73.7 (29.2), 0-100

Table 3. Childhood Circumstances by Race/ethnicity

	Total sample	White	African American	Latino	API	
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	Chi-square/F-test (p-value)
Demographics						(p-vaiue)
ather's education, N (%)	40 (5)	4 (4)	2 (2)	40 (44)	F (F)	
No education Grade school	19 (5) 110 (28)	1 (1) 23 (22)	3 (3) 24 (24)	10 (11) 36 (39)	5 (5) 27 (26)	
Some high	30 (8)	11 (11)	4 (4)	7 (8)	8 (8)	X ² =35.62
High school	109 (27)	30 (29)	34 (34)	18 (19)	27 (26)	(0.002)
College +	58 (15)	24 (23)	11 (11)	9 (10)	14 (14)	, ,
Missing	74 (19)	15 (14)	25 (25)	13 (14)	21 (21)	
dult education, N (%)						
< high school	32 (%)	3 (3)	11 (11)	17 (8)	1 (1)	
High school grad	87 (22)	23 (22)	33 (33)	15 (16)	16 (16)	X ² =61.86
Some college	138 (35)	32 (31)	42 (42)	33 (36)	31 (31)	(< 0.0001)
College grad Postgraduate	67 (17) 74 (19)	18 (17) 28 (27)	12 (12) 3 (3)	12 (13) 15 (16)	25 (25) 28 (28)	
-	74(10)	20 (21)	0 (0)	10 (10)	20 (20)	
Childhood Circumstances Home and family circumstances	0					
Rent (# periods renting), N %)	5					
0	111 (28)	43 (43)	28 (28)	22 (24)	18 (18)	
1	44 (11)	9 (9)	13 (13)	9 (10)	13 (13)	
2 3	69 (18)	13 (13)	15 (15)	22 (24)	19 (19)	X ² =22.62
4	45 (11) 125 (32)	9 (9) 26 (26)	11 (11) 34 (34)	14 (15) 25 (27)	11 (11) 40 (40)	(0.03)
4	123 (32)	20 (20)	34 (34)	25 (21)	40 (40)	
loves (# time), N (%)	04 (40)	04 (00)	10 (10)	44 (40)	44 (44)	
0	64 (16)	24 (23)	18 (18)	11 (12)	11 (11)	X ² =12.87
2	70 (18) 75 (19)	16 (15) 19 (18)	17 (17) 19 (19)	14 (15) 22 (24)	23 (23) 15 (15)	(0.38)
3	61 (15)	11 (11)	16 (16)	15 (16)	19 (19)	(0.00)
4+	130 (33)	34 (33)	31 (31)	31 (33)	34 (33)	
wo parents – yes, N %)	268 (67)	78 (75)	50 (50)	62 (67)	78 (76)	X ² =21.13***
Deprivation 0	170 (43)	58 (56)	45 (45)	32 (34)	35 (34)	X ² =17.72
1	143 (36)	31 (30)	36 (36)	32 (34)	44 (43)	(0.007)
2	85 (21)	14 (14)	19 (19)	29 (31)	23 (23)	(0.00.7)
amily financial status, N (%)						
Pretty well off	33 (8)	14 (14)	3 (3)	9 (10)	7 (7)	
About average	222 (56)	61 (59)	63 (63)	46 (49)	52 (51)	X ² =13.60
Poor	143 (36)	28 (27)	34 (34)	38 (41)	43 (42)	(0.03)
Neighborhood						
leighborhood type, N (%)						
upper middle class	29 (7)	14 (13)	3 (3)	7 (8)	5 (5)	V0. 07.04
middle	119 (30)	41 (39)	22 (22)	32 (34)	24 (24)	X ² =27.34
lower middle class working class	78 (20) 173 (43)	14 (13) 35 (34)	21 (21) 55 (54)	15 (16) 39 (42)	28 (28) 44 (44)	(0.001)
worming class	173 (43)	JJ (J 4)	JJ (J4)	55 (42)	 ()	
roportion neighborhood same						
ace/ethnicity None or a few	96 (24)	5 (5)	12 (12)	39 (42)	40 (39)	X ² =67.10 (<0.0001
Some	56 (14)	11 (11)	19 (19)	16 (17)	10 (10)	7. 07.10 (30.0001)
Most	248 (62)	88 (85)	70 (69)	38 (41)	52 (51)	
Work and money						

	Total sample	White	African American	Latino	API	
Age started work, N (%)	Total Sample	VVIIIC	American	Latino	Λι ι	
<16	159 (40)	37 (36)	39 (39)	43 (46)	40 (40)	X ² =13.17 (0.04)
16-18	174 (44)	55 (53)	47 (47)	37 (40)	35 (35)	70.17 (0.01)
19+	66 (17)	12 (12)	15 (15)	13 (14)	26 (26)	
Summer work for pay	2.49	2.46	2.62	2.41	2.55	F=0.65 (0.58)
Potential for advancement through		2.40	2.02	4 . T (2.00	1 0.00 (0.00)
Parent attitude toward education	3.16	3.14	3.48	3.01	3.00	White-Black (0.01)
	0.10	0.14	0.40	0.01	0.00	Black-Latino (0.0009) Black-API (0.0004)
Perceived importance of education,						
N (%)	30 (8)	6 (6)	2 (2)	11 (12)	11 (11)	
Not at all	30 (8)	7 (7)	12 (12)	6 (6)	5 (5)	X ² =16.61 (0.06)
A little	73 (18)	26 (25)	17 (17)	16 (17)	14 (14)	
Somewhat	267 (67)	65 (63)	70 (69)	60 (65)	72 (71)	
A lot						
School quality and content	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	
Perceived school quality	2.99	3.16	2.96	2.88	2.92	White-Latino (0.01) White-API (0.03)
Extracurricular high school, mean	2.85	3.03	2.92	3.06	2.74	F=0.28 (0.84)
Music extracurricular high school,	1.28	1.78	1.44	0.88	1.09	F=3.82 (0.01)
mean	1.20	1.70	1.77	0.00	1.03	1 –3.02 (0.01)
Influence and support of adults	0.05	10.44	10.50	0.00	- 00	E 40 E0444
Extent of adult support	9.85	10.11	12.56	9.06	7.60	F=18.50***
Extent of adult discouragement	1.85	1.88	1.57	2.37	1.61	Black-Latino (0.04)
Leisure activities						
Summer travel	2.95	4.33	2.15	3.14	2.48	White-Black (<0.0001)
			9,			White-Latino (0.02) White-API (0.0002)
Summer reading	2.83	2.99	2.89	2.67	2.91	F=1.3 (0.26)
Summer social activities	2.24	2.21	2.41	2.31	2.05	White-Black (0.03)
						Black-API (0.0002)

Table 4. Childhood circumstances and adult education: beta coefficients from regression models (n=381)

[note: final analytic sample, missing data for 29 people on father's education]

[note: final analytic sample, mi	ssing data for 29 p	eople on father's edu	ucation]
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model2=Model 1 +
			father's education
Demographics			
Variable			
Age	-0.026 (0.09)	-0.032 (0.0004)	-0.032 (0.01)
Sex (male)	0.10	0.26	0.30 (0.17)
Race/Ethnicity			
African American	-1.54***	-1.54 ***	-1.35 ***
Asian	0.42	0.59 (0.05)	0.71 (0.02)
Latino	-1.25 (0.0009)	-0.40 (0.20)	-0.30
White	REF	REF	REF
Father's education			
No education	-3.04***	-	-0.82 (0.18)
Grade school	-1.34 (0.001)	-	-0.69 (0.05)
Some high	-1.32 (0.02)	-	-0.79 (0.10)
High school	-0.95 (0.02) -2.95***	-	-0.60 (0.08) -1.72 ***
Missing College+	-2.93 REF	-	-1.72 REF
Childhood Circumstances	INLI		INLI
Home and family circumstances	0.05 (0.0004)	0.44 (0.42)	0.40 (0.44)
Rent	-0.25 (0.0004)	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.11)
Moves	-0.21 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.14 (0.08)
Two parents	0.83 (0.004)	0.37 (0.12)	0.19
Family financial	-0.34 (0.14)	0.50 (0.01)	0.53 (0.008)
Deprivation	-0.29 (0.10)	-	-
Neighborhood			
Neighborhood type	-0.24 (0.07)	-	-
Proportion neighbors same ethnicity	-0.15	•	-
Work and money			
Age started work	0.24	-	-
Working	-0.13	-	-
Potential for advancement through sch	nooling		
Parent attitude toward education	0.65***	0.25 (0.05)	0.17
Perceived importance of education	0.89***	0.27 (0.04)	0.31 (0.02)
School quality and content		1 (0.0.7)	()
Perceived school quality	0.51 (0.0007)	_	
Extracurricular activities hi school	0.51 (0.0007)	0.077 (0.06)	0.059 (0.15)
Music extracurricular hi school	0.17	0.077 (0.00)	-
Influence and support of adults	0.17	-	<u>-</u>
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	0.064 (0.04)		
Extent of adult support	0.064 (0.01)	-	-
Extent of adult discouragement	0.049	-	-
Leisure activities	A 4 F. J. J. J.	0.07 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)
Summer travel	0.15***	0.07 (0.03)	0.063 (0.06)
Summer reading	0.45***	0.29 (0.005)	0.26 (0.0009)
Summer social activities	0.30 (0.08)	-	-0.27 (0.18)
r-square		0.27	0.31

Does not apply, not in model

Bold-faced indicates coefficient is significant at the p <0.05 level, p-values indicated in (parentheses)

^{*** &}lt; 0.0001

Table 5. Childhood circumstances and adult health: Multivariate linear regression models of self-rated health and physical functioning

Demographics B (p-value)			Self	-rated Health (n=	- 384)		Physical Functioning (n=388)				
Variable B (p-value) 0		Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	Demographics										
Sex (mile) -0.083	Variable	B (p-value)									
Race Ethnicity		0.0037	0.00078	0.0036	0.0052	0.0064	-0.25 (0.12)	-0.49 (0.009)	-0.45 (0.02)	-0.42 (0.02)	-0.42 (0.03)
African American Asian A	Sex (male)	-0.083	-0.11	-0.10	-0.14	-0.13	2.34	2.91	3.27	2.53	2.86
Asian											
Latino White REF											6.22 (0.14)
White										, ,	10.80 (0.006)
Father's education No educ -0.30 -0.43 (0.02) -0.43 (0.02) -0.43 (0.02) -0.43 (0.02) -0.43 (0.02) -0.44 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.00 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.05 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.05 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.05 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.05 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) 3.05 -0.55 (0.05) -0.44 (0.09) -0.26 (0.18) -0.82 -0.34 -0.05 (0.05) -0.24 (0.18) -0.82 -0.034 -0.05 (0.05) -0.26 (0.18) -0.26 (0.18) -0.26 (0.18) -0.26 (0.18) -0.26 (0.18) -0.26 (0.18) -0.26 (0.12) -0.26											4.03
No educ	White	REF	REF	KEF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF	REF
Grade school -0.43 (0.02) - -0.35 (0.05) - -0.31 (0.09) 3.00 - 2.60 - 8.42	Father's education										
Some high -0.55 (0.03) - -0.48 (0.05) - -0.41 (0.09) 3.25 - 5.52 - 8.42	No educ	-0.30	-	-0.16	-	-0.11	-2.19	-	-6.28	-	-3.40
High school -0.56 (0.04)0.26 (0.11)0.29 (0.11)0.26 (1.18) -0.260.26 (1.18) -0.260.26 (1.18) -0.26 (1.18) -0.260.26 (1.18) -0.27 (1.18) -0	Grade school	-0.43 (0.02)	-	-0.35 (0.05)	-	-0.31 (0.09)		-	2.60	-	4.22
Missing College+ REF College+ C	Some high	-0.55 (0.03)	-		-	-0.41 (0.09)	3.25	-	5.52	-	8.42 (0.17)
College+ REF - REF REF - REF - REF REF - REF REF - REF - REF - REF - REF - REF - REF - REF - REF REF - REF REF - REF REF - REF REF - REF - REF - REF - REF REF - REF - REF - REF REF REF - REF REF - REF REF - REF - REF REF REF - REF REF - REF REF REF - REF REF REF - REF REF REF REF - REF REF REF REF REF REF - REF REF REF REF - REF			-		-	-0.24 (0.18)		-		-	1.00
Adult education <		-0.66 (0.0007)	-	-0.41 (0.05)	V 4-		-11.37 (0.03)	-	-7.62 (0.15)	-	-4.20
Section Control Cont	College+	REF	-	REF		REF	REF	-	REF	-	REF
Second S	Adult education										
Hi school grad		-1 04 **	_	_	-0.73 (0.01)	-0.71 (0.02)	-28 68 ***	_	_	-30 23 ***	-28.91 (0.0001)
Some college -0.48 (0.002) - - -0.29 (0.07) -0.26 (0.12) -1.18 (0.0003) - - -12.33 (0.003) -1.198 (0.00			_	-				-	_		-9.29 (0.05)
College grad Postgraduate REF			_	_				-	_		-11.98 (0.004)
Posigraduate REF - - REF REF REF - - REF			-	-			` '	-	-		0.01
Rent			-	-				-	-		REF
Rent	Childhood Circumstance										
Moves -0.010 - - - - 0.22 (0.08) 0.21 (0.09) 0.20 (0.11) 9.97 (0.001) 6.48 (0.04) 5.34 (0.10) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.09) 4.52 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) 5.34 (0.10) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) 5.34 (0.10) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) 5.34 (0.10) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) 4.52 (0.01) 5.34 (0.10) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.09) 4.52 (0.01) <td></td>											
Two parents 0.43 (0.0003) 0.25 (0.04) 0.22 (0.08) 0.21 (0.09) 0.20 (0.11) 9.97 (0.001) 6.48 (0.04) 5.34 (0.10) 5.27 (0.09) 4.52 (0.09)			-0.046 (0.19)	-0.042	-0.036	-0.032		-	-	-	-
Family financial -0.11			- 0.05 (0.04)	- 0.00 (0.00)	0.04 (0.00)	- 0.00 (0.44)		C 40 (0 04)	- - 24 (0.40)	- - 07 (0 00)	4.50.(0.45)
Deprivation -0.077 - - - - -1.69 - - - - - - - - -		, ,	0.25 (0.04)	0.22 (0.08)	0.21 (0.09)	0.20 (0.11)	, ,	6.48 (0.04)	5.34 (0.10)	5.27 (0.09)	4.52 (0.15)
Neighborhood Neigh type -0.054 - </td <td></td> <td></td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td>			-	-	-	-			-	-	-
Neigh type		-0.077	-	-	-	-	-1.09		-	•	•
Proportion neigh same race/ethnicity Work and money Age started work Working -0.023		-0.054		_			0.16		_	-	_
Work and money -0.26 (0.0009) -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -5.15 (0.01) -4.89 (0.01) -4.55 (0.02) -5.32 (0.007) -5.04 (0.007)	0 71			-	_	_		-	_	-	-
Age started work Working 0.087 (0.09) -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -5.15 (0.01) -4.89 (0.01) -4.55 (0.02) -5.32 (0.007) -5.04 (0.01) -5.04 (0.0		-0.023	-	-	-	-	0.018	-	-	-	•
Age started work Working -0.26 (0.0009) -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -0.31 *** -5.15 (0.01) -4.89 (0.01) -4.55 (0.02) -5.32 (0.007) -5.04 (0.01)											
Working 0.087 (0.09) 1.73 (0.19)		-0.26 (0.0009)	-0.31 ***	-0.31***	-0.31 ***	-0.31***	-5.15 (0.01)	-4.89 (0.01)	-4.55 (0.02)	-5.32 (0.007)	-5.04 (0.01)
		, ,					, ,		1	- '	- '
	Schooling						`				
Parent attitude toward educ 0.070 3.11 (0.04)	Parent attitude toward educ	0.070	-	-	-	-	3.11 (0.04)	-	-	-	-

	Self-rated Health (n=384)					Physical Functioning (n=388)					
	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	
Perception importance of educ Perceived school quality	0.18 (0.002) 0.24 (0.001)	0.15 (0.02) -	0.16 (0.02) -	0.12 (0.06)	0.13 (0.05) -	5.43 (0.0006) 3.67 (0.06)	6.48 (0.0001)	6.24(0.0003)	4.70(0.006) -	4.48 (0.009)	
Extracurricular activities hi school	0.075 (0.0002)	0.051 (0.01)	0.045 (0.03)	0.040 (0.05)	0.036(0.08)	1.11 (0.04)	1.01 (0.07)	0.96 (0.08)	0.72 (0.19)	0.76 (0.17)	
Music extracurricular hi school	0.061 (0.03)	-	-	-	-	0.20	-	-		-	
Adults											
Adult support	0.0004	-	-	-	-	-0.25	-0.48 (0.13)	-0.51 (0.12)	-0.55 (0.09)	-0.55 (0.08)	
Adult discouragement	-0.0034	-	-	-	-	-1.24 (0.02)	-1.06 (0.04)	-1.15 (0.03)	-1.11 (0.03)	-1.19 (0.02)	
Summer											
Summer travel	0.029 (0.06)	-	-	-	-	0.25	-	-	-	-	
Reading	0.15 (0.002)	0.091 (0.08)	0.075 (0.15)	0.056	0.047	1.33	-	-	-	-	
Summer leisure	-0.037		- ` '	-		-0.74	-2.78	-2.95	-3.16 (0.20)	-3.25 (0.19)	
R-square		0.14	0.16	0.17	0.18	·	0.14	0.15	0.19	0.20	

Model 1: covariates selected through backward selection;

Model 2: Model 1 + father's education;

Model 3: Model 1 + adult education

Model 4: Model 1 + father's education + adult education

***= <0.0001

= not included

Bold-faced indicates coefficient is significant at the p <0.05 level; p-value shown in (parenthesis)

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COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have no competing interests to declare.

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 Figure 1. Diagram demonstrating hypothesized relationship between socioeconomic status (SES)and health atalifferent points

Figure 1. Diagram demonstrating hypothesized relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and health are in the lifecourse.

This paper focuses on the relationship between childhood socioeconomic experience and adult SES, with an extension of the life of

