

J Acquir Immune Defic Syndr. Author manuscript; available in PMC 2023 May 24.

Published in final edited form as:

J Acquir Immune Defic Syndr. 2022 February 01; 89(2): 159–165. doi:10.1097/QAI.000000000002828.

Material Hardship and Association With Sexual Risk Behavior Among Adolescent Sexual Minority Males in 3 US Cities— National HIV Behavioral Surveillance—Young Men Who Have Sex With Men, 2015

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Abstract

Introduction: Adolescent sexual minority males (ASMMs) are disproportionately affected by HIV relative to other youth within the United States. Social determinants of health have been explored among this population; however, economic determinants, such as material hardship, remain understudied. We examined the relationship between material hardship and sexual behavior among ASMMs aged 13-18 years residing in 3 US cities using 2015 data from CDC's National HIV Behavioral Surveillance among Young Men Who Have Sex with Men.

Methods: Young men ages 13–18 years residing in 3 US cities were recruited through venuebased, respondent-driven, or Facebook sampling. We estimated adjusted prevalence ratios (aPRs) with 95% confidence intervals (CIs) for condomless anal intercourse (CAI) with a male sex partner in the past 12 months and with having 4 or more male sex partners in the past 12 months.

Results: Of 547 ASMMs, 27% reported experiencing material hardship in the past 12 months. After adjusting for demographics, household characteristics, and city, ASMMs who experienced material hardship were more likely to report CAI with a male partner in the past 12 months (aPR: 1.55, 95% CI: 1.25 to 1.93) and to have had 4 or more male sex partners in the past 12 months (aPR: 1.44, 95% CI: 1.08 to 1.91).

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The authors have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The data sets generated during and/or analyzed during the current study are not publicly available but are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

Discussion: More than a quarter of ASMMs experienced material hardship that was associated with increased sexual risk behavior among ASMMs. Incorporating services that address all unmet needs is important to consider for HIV prevention efforts for ASMMs.

Keywords

material hardship; sexual behavior; adolescence; YMSM; NHBS

INTRODUCTION

Adolescent sexual minority males (ASMMs)—young men aged 13-24 years who identify as gay, bisexual, or who have sexual contact with or attraction to persons of the same sex—are disproportionally affected by HIV. In 2018, 21% of new HIV diagnoses in the United States and dependent areas were among youth aged 13-24 years, and 92% of diagnoses among young men were attributed to male-to-male sexual contact. 1 Characteristics associated with HIV prevalence among ASMMs include sexual behaviors such as condomless anal intercourse (CAI) and having multiple partners.² ASMMs are more likely to report these behaviors than their nonsexual minority counterparts.³ However, HIV prevalence is not parallel to reported sexual risk behavior by ASMM subgroups; although young (13-24 years) non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic/Latino men experience the highest rates of HIV diagnoses, 1 studies have found similar rates of sexual risk behavior across all racial/ethnic identities.⁴ Although male-to-male sexual contact is reported as the most common mode of transmission for young men aged 18 years and younger, the contrast between HIV prevalence and sexual behavior by race/ethnicity suggests that sexual risk behavior alone does not explain differences in HIV prevalence among subgroups of youth and may be part of the causal pathway of external factors that include sexual risk.

Social determinants of health, which include socioeconomic status (SES) and access to health care, are receiving increased attention and focus as part of social and structural inequalities that may explain observed health disparities. Socioeconomic conditions that have been previously explored include the association of poverty with HIV diagnoses and income and educational attainment with HIV risk behaviors. Exploring socioeconomic characteristics in conjunction with individual behaviors may provide a clearer picture of how sexual minority youth are at increased risk for HIV than individual behaviors alone. A systematic review found that young MSM ranging from age 16 to 30 years were more likely to have low SES and less likely to have access to HIV prevention services compared with their older counterparts. One study found that young men aged 18–29 years whose incomes were below the poverty line were more likely to report partner serodiscordance. Another study found that lower educational attainment was a predictor for increased CAI among Black men aged 29 years and younger but not for older Black men, 11 suggesting that socioeconomic characteristics may affect sexual risk behavior differently by age.

While income and education are recognized as key characteristics of SES, exploration of additional SES characteristics is needed to understand how social determinants play a role in observed disparities. ¹² One characteristic, access to material resources, has been explored in households, ¹³ but not specifically for households with ASMMs. However, key indicators

of low-income households, such as material hardship, have been found to be associated with adverse health outcomes among adults (age 18 years) and children 5–11 years old alike. ^{14,15} As prevalence of material hardship is high among subgroups of youth, ^{16,17} it may help explain health disparities among youth.

Material hardship is defined as conditions in which a household has insufficient financial resources to adequately meet personal or household needs and has been used to supplement income-based poverty measures. Material hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how SES contributes to health disparities by race/ethnicity and how poverty affects children's developmental outcomes. Material hardship may be a better measure of experienced economic conditions for ASMMs because of challenges in collecting accurate household income from adolescents aged 11–16 years. Using material hardship as a measure can also capture the differences that cost of living contributes toward access to food or health care. Indices of material hardship, such as food insecurity and residential instability, are associated with low perception of health and access to care. Material hardship has been used to supplement income-based poverty affects children's developmental outcomes. Using the supplemental hardship has been used to supplement income-based poverty affects children's developmental outcomes. The supplemental hardship has been used to supplement income-based poverty affects children's developmental outcomes. The supplemental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects children's developmental outcomes. The supplemental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects children's developmental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects children's developmental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects the supplemental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects children's developmental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects children's developmental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects children's developmental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affects children's developmental hardship has been identified as a mechanism of how poverty affec

Although hardship characteristics have been assessed among adult MSM (ages >18 years), few studies have explored the relationship of individual hardship characteristics and HIV-related risk behaviors among ASMMs (aged 13–18 years). A study of MSM found high financial hardship was associated with increased sexual risk behavior²⁵ and substance use. Among Black MSM, experiencing a worsening of financial status was found to be associated with having multiple male partners. Among persons living with HIV, MSM reported condomless sex because of food insecurity, an indicator of hardship, as a means of survival. For young Black MSM ages 16–29 years, food insecurity was found to be a strong predictor of sexual risk behavior. Residential instability, another characteristic of hardship, was also found to be associated with CAI with a same-sex partner. Emerging evidence of the relationship between hardship characteristics and sexual risk behavior outcomes suggests that material hardship may be an important risk factor for HIV.

As research focused on ASMMs moves toward structural indicators, further exploration of material hardship and its potential relation to sexual risk behavior is needed to comprehend key differences for outreach efforts in HIV prevention. To address the gap in the literature, we assessed whether there is an observed relationship between material hardship and sexual behavior among ASMMs (aged 13–18 years). Specifically, we assessed the association of material hardship and sexual risk behavior among ASMMs using data from the 2015 National HIV Behavioral Surveillance among Young Men Who Have Sex with Men (NHBS-YMSM).

METHODS

Young men aged 13–18 years were recruited and interviewed for NHBS-YMSM in 3 metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs): Chicago, IL; New York City, NY; and Philadelphia, PA. Participants were recruited using a combination of venue-based time-space sampling, respondent-driven sampling, and Facebook sampling.³ Eligibility for the study was assessed in-person, and trained interviewers reviewed informed consent/assent information with eligible participants. Waivers of parental consent for participants younger than 18 years were

obtained by each site for varying age groups (New York City ages 13–17 years; Philadelphia ages 14–17 years; and Chicago ages 16–17 years). All consenting/assenting participants were administered an anonymous survey with a trained interviewer and offered an HIV test. Anonymous HIV testing was offered to all participants regardless of self-reported HIV status. Participants were compensated \$25 for survey participation and \$25 for HIV testing. All NHBS-YMSM activities were approved by local institutional review boards in each city and by CDC. More details about sampling, recruitment, and measures are reported elsewhere. Participation was limited to cisgender males (reported male assigned sex at birth and identified as male) and indicated same-sex attraction, gay, bisexual, or same-gender—loving identity, or ever having had any sexual contact with a male. In addition, participants had to be residents of the MSA, able to provide informed consent/assent, and able to complete the interview in English.

Measures

The questionnaire included items on individual demographics, household characteristics, and sexual risk behaviors.

Exposure

Material hardship within the past 12 months was assessed with a composite variable based on household financial instability and forgone health care because of cost. Household financial instability was asked as the following with a yes/no response: "In the past 12 months, was there a time where there wasn't enough money in your house for rent, food, or utilities such as gas, electric, or phone?" Forgone health care was asked as a yes/no question: "During the past 12 months, was there any time when you needed medical care but didn't get it because it wasn't affordable?" Because both items were assessed within the same period and asked on the condition of money or affordability, answering "yes" to either question was coded as having experienced material hardship in the past 12 months.

Demographics

To assess race/ethnicity, participants were asked whether they considered themselves to be Hispanic or Latino followed by another question that asked which racial group(s) they considered themselves to be part of. For race, participants were able to select more than 1 option. The response options were combined to create the following categories: Hispanic/Latino, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic White, and non-Hispanic other racial group, which included Asian, American Indian or Alaskan Native, or multiple races. Sexual identity was assessed by asking whether the participant considered themselves to be heterosexual or "straight," homosexual or gay, or bisexual.

Household Characteristics

Participants were asked the following about their household structure: "Who did you live with for most of your childhood?" Reponses were collapsed to "two parent" if they reported both biological or adoptive parents or stepparent and biological parent, "one parent" if they reported either biological or adoptive mother or father only, and some "other" family structure if they reported biological grandparent(s) or other relative, foster parent(s), another

adult only, or some other living situation such as a group home. For parental education, the following question was asked: "What is the highest level of education that either of your parents or guardians completed?" Responses were collapsed to "high school graduate or less," "some college or technical/vocational school," or "having a college or graduate degree." For health insurance, participants were asked whether they currently have health insurance or health care coverage. Participants who said "yes" were coded as currently had health insurance at the time of interview.

Sexual risk Behavior

We assessed whether participants self-reported sexual risk behavior by asking the following questions. Participants who reported ever having had any sex were asked the number of male partners they had oral or anal sex with in the past 12 months. They were then asked the number of male partners they had anal sex with in the past 12 months, and, subsequently, the number of male partners with whom they had anal sex without a condom in the past 12 months. CAI was defined by having anal sex without a condom with at least 1 male partner in the past 12 months.

Data Analyses

Eligible participants who consented to and completed the survey and did not report a previous HIV-positive test result were included in the analysis. Participants who reported a previous HIV diagnosis were excluded from the analysis because of small sample size and because sexual behavior may differ by perceived HIV status. The final sample size was 547 ASMMs. We conducted descriptive statistics of demographics and household characteristics as well as bivariate analyses of material hardship with sexual risk behavior. Log-linked Poisson regression models were used to estimate prevalence ratios and 95% confidence intervals (CIs). Models for each sexual behavior characteristic were adjusted for variables identified a priori, which include age, race/ethnicity, and city as well as parental education and household structure.

RESULTS

Of the 547 participants in the analysis, 27% of ASMMs reported having experienced material hardship in the past 12 months (Table 1). Fifteen percent were 13–15 years old, 58% 16–17 years old, and 27% 18 years old. Thirty-nine percent were non-Hispanic Black, 39% Hispanic/Latino, 17% non-Hispanic White, and 5% other, which include Asian, American Indian/Alaskan Native and multiple races. Among ASMMs in our sample, 64% self-identified as homosexual or gay, 34% bisexual, and 3% heterosexual or straight. Of the household characteristics, 46% reported a two-parent household, 44% reported a one-parent household, and 10% reported some other family structure. Thirty-two percent reported the educational attainment of either parent was high school graduate or less; 19% some college, technical, or vocational school; and 50% having a college or graduate degree. Ninety-four percent of participants reported having any health insurance while 6% reported not having any health insurance.

Table 2 presents bivariate analysis with material hardship and characteristics identified as potential confounders. By race/ethnicity, 28% of non-Hispanic Black ASMMs, 34% of Hispanic/Latino ASMMs, 22% of other non-Hispanic ASMMs, and 10% of non-Hispanic White ASMMs reported experiencing material hardship in the past 12 months (P< 0.001). By household structure, 21% of ASMMs who lived in a two-parent household, 32% of ASMMs who lived in a one-parent household, and 39% of ASMMs who lived in some other household reported material hardship in the past 12 months (P= 0.003). Seventeen percent of ASMMs who reported educational attainment of either parent as college degree or higher experienced material hardship while 36% of ASMMs who reported parental education as being some college, technical school, or vocational school experienced material hardship in the past 12 months; 37 percent of ASMMs who reported parental education as high school graduate or less experienced material hardship in the past 12 months (P< 0.001).

After adjustments for age, race/ethnicity, parental education, and household structure, participants experiencing material hardship in the past 12 months were more likely to report CAI with a male partner in the past 12 months compared with those not experiencing material hardship (55.0% vs 33.2%; aPR: 1.55, 95% CI: 1.25—1.93) (Table 3). Participants who experienced material hardship in the past 12 months were also more likely to have had 4 or more male sex partners in the past 12 months than those not experiencing material hardship (38.3% vs 25.6%; aPR: 1.44, 95% CI: 1.08—1.91) after adjustments. In addition, the parental education level of some college/technical/vocational school was associated with CAI with a male partner in the past 12 months compared with the parental education level of college degree or higher (50.5% vs. 33.2%; aPR: 1.34, 95% CI: 1.02—1.76). A *post hoc* analysis was conducted to assess parental education with CAI with a male partner, but findings were not significant when material hardship was removed from the models.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to assess the association between material hardship and sexual risk behavior among ASMMs. We found that more than a quarter of ASMMs experienced material hardship, which was associated with CAI with a male partner and having 4 or more male sex partners in the past 12 months after controlling for age, race/ethnicity, and household characteristics. The findings suggest that experiences of material hardship are important to consider for HIV prevention because it may help explain differences in an increased risk for HIV acquisition for ASMMs regardless of parental education and household structure.

This study demonstrates the importance of material hardship as a socioeconomic indicator for HIV prevention among ASMMs. Previous studies have shown the relationship of material hardship and sexual risk behavior among adult populations at risk for HIV, but this study is the first to assess this relationship among ASMMs. Previous studies have used different indicators of hardship, such as job loss²⁷ or mortgage payments,³² that may be more challenging for adolescents to accurately report. Material hardship can better capture the malleability of the environment of ASMMs, such as increasing expenses relative to household income.^{33,34} The observed relationship between material hardship and sexual risk behavior may serve as a starting point for the use of material hardship as a measure when

assessing associations with health-related risk factors and outcomes among ASMMs; it may also be a catalyst for the use of material hardship as a measure within the larger field of adolescent health research.

The material hardship construct for this study was a combination of 2 characteristics: forgone health care because of cost and household financial insecurity measured by the household not being able to pay for food, rent, or utilities. The 2 characteristics represent items of the family resource scale, where factors identified from a reliability and validity study indicate correlations with income among economically disadvantaged populations. Although most of the sample had reported having health insurance, the event of foregoing health care because of cost likely occurred as a result of out-of-pocket health care costs surpassing coverage. 36,37 In addition, higher economic stress has been positively associated with seeing a provider for sexual health care among sexual minority youth; however, it is also associated with not having a regular doctor. Not having a regular doctor can impede timeliness of additional health services, which can lead to negative health outcomes, which in turn may incur out-of-pocket costs that bring financial distress. Incorporating other necessities such as internet availability and clothing in future survey instruments would be beneficial in further developing the measure for ASMM-specific studies.

Furthermore, this analysis demonstrates the differences of experienced material hardship by key demographics including race/ethnicity. The data include a large representation of non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic/Latino ASMMs, who also reported higher prevalence of experiencing material hardship. This is reflective of the general population, in that Black and Hispanic/Latino populations have the highest poverty rates in the United States. ⁴⁰ The observed effect of material hardship may also be attributed to perpetual income inequalities that affect Black and Hispanic/Latino populations. ⁴¹ In addition, sexual risk behavior was similar across all race/ethnic groups, which is consistent with the literature in that the incidence of HIV is not solely attributed to behavior but because of structural-based inequalities that make minority ASMMs more vulnerable than their White counterparts. ⁴² More research is needed to explore the influence of SES on ASMMs with more equitable representation from all racial/ethnic groups to further understand the relationship between SES and HIV risk.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the analysis. First, the sample of ASMMs is a convenience sample, so it cannot be considered representative of all ASMMs aged 13–18 years within the United States or the participating MSAs. Second, data were self-reported and may be subject to recall error and social desirability bias. Third, the study design was cross-sectional, so temporality cannot be established. Fourth, the material hardship construct is not comprehensive of all aspects that influence material hardship. For example, precarious housing 43 and economic dependence on sex partners 44 were not captured with the survey instrument. In addition, the survey instrument was only able to capture homelessness at the time of interview. Owing to a small sample size of participants reporting homelessness, meaningful statistical analyses could not be conducted; further inquiry on precarious housing experiences and economic dependence on sex partners would provide more context

to the experiences of ASMMs. Fifth, nuanced measures of sexual risk behavior, such as whether CAI was receptive or insertive, and other measures of social exposures, such as sexual communication between participants and their sex partners, were not adequately captured by the survey instrument. Previous research suggests that unequal power dynamics in relationships can promote circumstances where condoms or other protective interventions are not used. Asked incorporating such measures in the study and assessing the relationship with material hardship may provide additional context on how material hardship influences ASMMs.

Recommendations

Future HIV prevention programs must consider the challenges faced by marginalized populations, which include reduced access to resources. ⁴⁷ Policies that affect access to basic necessities such as food and health care enable the social environments to perpetuate health inequities that contribute to HIV risk. ²⁷ Owing to the growing evidence supporting the role of material hardship in HIV prevention, incorporating additional characteristics that address basic physiological needs would provide a more precise picture of how ASMMs are differentially affected. A way to address the basic needs of this population would be by implementing HIV prevention programs that include housing and food programs for families with children. Although findings from previous interventions have been promising, ⁴⁸ integrating all basic needs is necessary to be effective. ⁴⁹ Because experiences of material hardship among youth can vary by local policies, integrating HIV prevention efforts with other services that address unmet material resource needs may be beneficial.

CONCLUSIONS

Material hardship was related to a higher prevalence of CAI with a male partner and having 4 or more male sex partners among ASMMs after adjusting for key demographics and household characteristics. The findings contribute to emerging evidence of material hardship as a determinant for HIV risk among ASMMs. In addition, this study demonstrates the importance of the construct for adolescent health research going forward. The observed relationship between material hardship and higher prevalence of sexual risk behavior suggests the importance of incorporating material hardship within frameworks of equitable interventions for youth before or around the time of sexual debut. Further research on mechanisms through which material hardship influences sexual risk behaviors of ASMMs may better inform intervention programming for this population.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors thank the local staff in our three funded cities (Chicago, New York City, and Philadelphia) and the young men who participated in this project.

Supported in part by an appointment to the Research Participation Program at the CDC administered by the Oak Ridge Institute for Science and Education through an interagency agreement between the US Department of Energy and the CDC.

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TABLE 1.

Characteristics of Adolescent Sexual Minority Males, 3 US Cities, National HIV Behavioral Surveillance—Young Men Who Have Sex With Men, 2015

	No.	(%)
Overall	547	100.0
Age groups (yr)		
13–15	81	14.8
16–17	318	58.1
18	148	27.1
Race/ethnicity		
Black, non-Hispanic	212	38.8
Hispanic/Latino *	215	39.4
White, non-Hispanic	92	16.9
Other $\dot{\tau}$	27	5.0
Sexual identity		
Homosexual or gay	343	63.5
Bisexual	182	33.7
Heterosexual or straight	15	2.8
City		
Chicago	225	41.1
New York City	226	41.3
Philadelphia	96	17.6
Household structure [‡]		
Two parent	252	46.1
One parent	238	43.5
Other $^{\class{c}}$	57	10.4
Parental education //		
High school graduate or less	171	32.0
Some college/technical school/vocational school	99	18.5
College or graduate degree	265	49.5
Currently have health insurance		
Yes	506	94.2
No	31	5.8
Material hardship \P in the past 12 mo		
Yes	149	27.4
No	395	72.6

Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

^{*}Hispanic/Latino participants can be of any race.

 $[\]dot{\tau}$ Other category is composed of Asian (55.6%), American Indian/Alaskan Native (11.1%), and multiple races (33.3%).

 $^{^{\}rlap{\slash}\slash}$ Household structure in which the participant lived for most of their childhood.

 $[\]S_{\text{Category includes grandparents, other relatives, foster parent(s), group home, and dormitory.}$

[#] Highest educational attainment of either parent or guardian.

 $[\]P_{ ext{Participant's household had forgone food/rent/utilities}}$ or the participant had foregone health care because they could not afford it.

TABLE 2.

Demographics and Household Characteristics by Material Hardship in the Past 12 months Among Adolescent Sexual Minority Males, 3 US Cities, National HIV Behavioral Surveillance—Young Men Who Have Sex With Men, 2015

	Overall	Material Hardship	in the Past 12 mo*	
	No.	n	%	$\chi^{2\dagger}$
Overall	547	149	27.4	
Race/Ethnicity				< 0.001
Black, non-Hispanic	212	59	27.8	
Hispanic/Latino‡	215	74	34.4	
White, non-Hispanic	92	9	9.8	
Other \S	27	6	22.2	
Household structure//				0.003
Two parent	252	52	20.6	
One parent	238	75	31.5	
Other \P	57	22	38.6	
Parental education [#]				< 0.001
High school graduate or less	171	64	37.4	
Some college/technical school/vocational School	99	36	36.4	
College or graduate degree	265	46	17.4	

^{*} Participant's household had forgone food/rent/utilities or the participant had foregone health care because they could not afford it.

 $^{^{\}dagger}\!P$ values calculated from the Wald χ^2 analysis.

[‡]Hispanic/Latino can be of any race.

[§]Other category is composed of Asian, American Indian/Alaskan Native, and multiple races.

Household structure in which the participant lived for most of their childhood.

Category includes grandparents, other relatives, foster parent(s), group home, and dormitory.

[#]Highest educational attainment of either parent.

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TABLE 3.

Demographics and Household Characteristics by Material Hardship in the Past 12 months Among Adolescent Sexual Minority Males, 3 US Cities, National HIV Behavioral Surveillance-Young Men Who Have Sex With Men, 2015

Material hardship in the past 12 mo Yes No Race/ethnicity	Prev. (%)	aPR (95% CI)	Ь	Dnor. (0/.)	OF0/ GE	
			•	LIEV. (/0)	af R (95% CI)	Ь
	55.0	1.55 (1.25–1.93)	<0.001	38.3	1.44 (1.08–1.91)	0.013
Race/ethnicity	33.2	REF		25.6	REF	
Black, non-Hispanic 38	38.7	0.95 (0.67–1.34)	0.755	30.2	1.19 (0.75–1.88)	0.461
Hispanic/Latino 41	41.9	1.00 (0.71–1.41)	0.987	28.4	1.08 (0.69–1.71)	0.733
White, non-Hispanic 35	35.9	REF		25.0	REF	
Other, non-Hispanic *	33.3	1.00 (0.57—1.73)	0.987	37.0	1.51 (0.83—2.75)	0.181
Household structure ${}^{\!$						
Two parent 35	35.3	REF		29.4	REF	
One parent 42	42.9	1.23 (0.97–1.55)	0.091	26.0	0.87 (0.64–1.18)	0.366
Other [‡] 42	42.1	1.21 (0.86–1.71)	0.272	40.3	1.30 (0.87–1.94)	0.199
Parental education §						
High school graduate or less	42.1	1.15 (0.89–1.49)	0.291	28.6	0.96 (0.70–1.33)	0.823
Some college/technical school/vocational school 50	50.5	1.34 (1.02–1.76)	0.034	35.3	1.17 (0.82–1.67)	0.383
College or graduate degree 33	33.2	REF		27.5	REF	

Models were adjusted for variables listed in the table in addition to age and city.

 $^{^{\}ast}$ Other, non-Hispanic category is composed of Asian, American Indian/Alaskan Native, and multiple races.

 $^{^{\}dagger}$ Category includes grandparents, other relatives, foster parent(s), group home, and dormitory.

 $^{^{\$}}$ Highest educational attainment of either parent.