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Coming of Age in Spain: The Self-identification, Beliefs and Self-Esteem of the Second Generation¹

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Abstract

We review the literature on determinants of ethnic/national self-identities and self-esteem as a prelude to examining these outcomes among a large, statistically representative sample of second generation adolescents in Madrid and Barcelona. While these psycho-social outcomes are malleable, they still represent important dimensions of immigrant adaptation and can have significant consequences both for individual mobility and collective mobilizations. Current theories are largely based on data from the USA and other Anglophone countries. The availability of a new large Spanish survey allows us to test those theories in an entirely different socio-cultural context. The analysis concludes with a structural equations model that summarizes key determinants of national identities and self-esteem among children of immigrants in Spain. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords

Self-identity; self-esteem; selective acculturation; dissonant acculturation; Spain

One of the fundamental aspects of the process of adaptation of immigrants to a host society is their change of identities and the views that they come to hold about their new surroundings. If this is the case among first generation immigrants, how much more so among their offspring – the second generation. Adult immigrants commonly have solid identities forged in their countries of origin and tend to acquire only a limited identification with the receiving one. In Glazer's (1954) words, they are *in* the society, but not yet *of* it. By contrast, their children – including those brought at an early age from abroad – are raised in a new environment and mostly are there to stay. The ways in which they come to see themselves, including their positive or negative attitudes to the society that is now theirs, can play a decisive role in their future, including the possibilities of inserting themselves successfully in its hierarchies of status and wealth (Rumbaut 2005; Portes and Hao 1998).

There is a growing literature on the ethnic identities and levels of self-esteem of immigrant youths both in the USA and Western Europe. In part, this surge of interest has been prompted by dramatic events, such as the violent mobilizations in French cities in the fall of 2005 – largely attributed to youths of immigrant origin – and the proliferation of gangs in

¹Data on which this study is based were collected by the Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG in its Spanish acronym) conducted by a consortium of Princeton University and the University of Comillas in Madrid with support from the Spencer Foundation (Grant #200800067).

Los Angeles and other American cities – also created by disaffected second generation adolescents (Schneider 2008; Vigil 2002; Grascia 2004). Less spectacular, but equally important in the long run are the attitudes that this growing population of young citizens come to have of their host country and their own chances of success in it.

This paper examines these issues in a new country of immigration – Spain – on the basis of a large and representative sample of second generation youths in its two major cities, Madrid and Barcelona. The growth of the foreign-born population in Spain has been remarkable in recent years, turning the country into one of the major recipients, in absolute and relative terms, of immigration to major Western European countries (Cachón 2008; Pajares 2009). A surging population of immigrant children and children of immigrants in Spain offers a distinct opportunity to test hypotheses about youth identities and self-esteem developed primarily on the basis of data from the USA and other Anglophone countries. Our research question is thus how closely the new second generation in Spain identifies with their country and what attitudes they hold toward it. Further, we wish to know what determines their self-esteem and how these two social psychological traits -- self-esteem and self-identities – relate to each other.

Literature review and hypotheses

There has been an immense amount of attention to the ethnic identities and self-esteem of immigrant children and children of immigrants in recent years. The research literature has grown by leaps and bounds encompassing the most diverse foreign groups – from Mexicans, Dominicans, and Chinese in the USA (Jimenez 2008; Macias 2004; Louie 2006) – to Caribbeans in the Netherlands (van Niekerk 2007); Arabs in France (Keaton 2006); and sub-Saharan Africans in Italy (Andall 2002). This level of attention is remarkable since the literature also shows that ethnic/racial self-labels can change rapidly over time and in different social contexts. (Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee Bailey 2000). Self-identities and self-esteem are “soft” variables, highly malleable and flexible. Yet, within specific contexts, they have been shown to be associated with an array of important outcomes – from educational and occupational achievement to political militancy (Diehl and Schnell 2006; Feliciano 2009; Portes and MacLeod 1996).

Children of immigrants are confronted with a contest between two cultures, languages, and sets of expectations. The outcomes of this confrontation are not uniform and depend on a number of individual, family, and community factors. As part of their theory of segmented assimilation, Portes and his associates proposed a tripartite typology of inter-generational acculturation outcomes—ranging from *consonant acculturation*, where immigrant parents and children learn and adapt to the new culture and language at a similar pace—to *dissonant acculturation* where children race past their parents and eventually come to reject the parental language and culture in favor of those of the host nation. In between, there is an alternative path—*selective acculturation*—where adaptation to the new cultural environment is accompanied by preservation of the parental language and some key elements of the parents’ culture (Portes and Zhou 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

This typology and the accompanying model have been frequently used in subsequent research as an interpretive framework for numerous empirical findings concerning adolescent self-identities and self-esteem. Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee Bailey (2008) found, for example, that “bridging identities”, akin to selective acculturation, were associated with superior educational and occupational achievements in contrast to the “thin” aschematic identities, reflecting the dissonant path. Bailey (2000) found that Spanish language preservation was a crucial tool to resist racial stereotyping and discrimination among black second generation Dominicans. Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002) reported

that second generation Asian Indian youths had higher levels of self-esteem and suffered less anxiety when there was no acculturation gap with their parents, a situation common to those undergoing consonant or selective acculturation. In her study of Vietnamese-Americans in Orange County and Boston, San-Juan (2005) found that the best path for 'becoming American' was 'staying Vietnamese', a pattern reflecting selective acculturation also reported by Zhou and Bankston (1996) in their study of the Vietnamese community of New Orleans.

Determinants of immigrant identities identified in the research literature include length of time in the country, social class and education, attitudes of the native-born population, and the continuity or interruption of migration from the home country. Predictably, length of time in the host country and higher generations increase the probability of identification with the new society (Arriagada 2007; Diehl and Schnell 2006). A number of studies have also found that education does not increase identification with the host country, but leads instead to a more nuanced and discerning view that combines old and new identities (Duncan and Trejo 2009; Feliciano 2009; Hughes, Bachman, and Ruble 2006). The role of parental status is not clear, but it is reasonable to assume that higher parental education and occupation facilitate consonant or selective acculturation leading to both easier assimilation and higher self-esteem.

There is general agreement in the literature that discrimination and racial stereotyping by natives slow down the process of identificational assimilation and threaten self-esteem, encouraging reactive and militant identities. Second generation youths consistently exposed to the message that they are not part of the social mainstream for racial or cultural reasons tend to re-affirm the ethnic identities that set them apart as a means to protect their sense of self-worth (Golash-Boza 2006; Louie 2006; Ono 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: ch. 8). The work of Jimenez (2008) also shows that replenishment of the first generation through continuous immigration from the sending country sharpens intergroup boundaries and re-affirms ethnic identities among Mexican-Americans, thereby slowing down assimilation. The opposite happens, of course, to descendants of immigrants from countries that have ceased to be sources of immigration (Lieberson 1980; Perlmann 2005).

The external validity or representativeness of these findings varies greatly. Many studies, especially those among immigrant groups in Europe, are based on small samples of limited generalizability. While some studies combine the analysis of ethnic/racial identities with attitudes toward the host society, many others do not, leaving open the question of the relationship between both variables. In terms of the association between self-identities, self-esteem, and plans toward the future, the consensus of the research literature runs against conventional views that link full acculturation and identificational assimilation with higher levels of aspirations. Work by Zarate, Bhimji, and Reese (2005), Waters (1996), Bailey (2000, 2001), Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee Bailey (2008), and others point to selective acculturation, with strong retention of parental language and good inter-generational relations, as more conducive to positive adaptation outcomes in terms of both aspirations and self-esteem.

This study focuses on self-identities, attitudes toward the host society, and self-esteem levels among immigrant-origin youths in Spain. We deal with the first two variables jointly, analysing self-esteem and its determinants subsequently. From the abundant research literature, we draw a series of determinants that can be classified into objective and subjective factors. The causal direction of the relationship between objective factors and the three social-psychological outcomes are fairly clear, while those involving other subjective traits are best seen as correlational rather than causal. Objective factors include age, sex, birthplace, length of residence in the country, father's and mother's birthplace, family status,

and knowledge of the host country language. They also include nationality of origin in so far as it can affect self-identities and attitudes separate from birthplace. Subjective factors include reported experiences of discrimination and reported relationships with parents indicative of consonant/selective or dissonant acculturation, following Portes' typology.

The research literature that identifies these determinants is not always clear on the direction of causal effects. Based on past results, a limited set of hypotheses can be advanced as a guide to our analysis. The following ones are, in our view, the most important:

1. Birthplace should significantly influence self-identities, with the native-born being more likely to identify with the host society; length of residence in the host country should also lead to higher identification and more positive orientation toward it.
2. Mixed-parentage youths, one of whose parents is born in the host country, should have stronger identification and a more positive orientation toward it.
3. Knowledge of the host country language should also increase identification with it, as well as raise self-esteem. Parental status should have similar effects.
4. Repeated experiences of discrimination will lower self-esteem and slow down identification with the host society, leading to more critical attitudes toward it. Reactive identities will emerge as a consequence.
5. Positive inter-generational (parent-child) relations reflecting consonant or selective acculturation will heighten self-esteem; negative relations, reflecting dissonant acculturation, will have the opposite effect.

Other relationships are more ambiguous. For example, it is not clear what effects age and sex have on the three outcomes; how specific national origins influence them; or how self-identity actually relates to self-esteem. Nor has it been established how inter-generational relations affect national/ethnic identities or attitudes toward the host society. These questions become more evident in a new context of reception where the presence of immigrants and their offspring is a relatively new phenomenon. They represent ancillary questions to be addressed by the analysis. In sum, we have at our disposal a large and statistically representative sample of the second generations with which to address the five hypotheses of interest and a series of other questions not elucidated by the past research literature.

Immigration to Spain

Traditionally, Spain has been a country of out-migration, sending millions of migrant workers first to Latin America and, in the post-World War II period, to Northern Europe. Since joining the European Common Market and subsequently the European Union, the country experienced a sustained process of economic growth that brought it into the ranks of the developed world. As a result, labor out-migration not only ceased but reversed itself leading to the return of millions of former emigrants (Cachón 2009; Calavita 2005). Since the early 1990s, Spain has found itself in the unexpected role of recipient of major migration flows, initially from nearby Morocco, and subsequently from Latin American countries, Eastern Europe, and even Asia (Carvajal Gomez 2006). As a result, the foreign-born population grew by leaps and bounds and, by 2008, it had reached 5.6 million, or close to 12 per cent of the total (Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración 2009; Cachón 2009). The figure is very close to the proportion of foreign-born in the US population (12.5 per cent), despite the much shorter period of Spain-bound migration -- scarcely twenty years. Immigration has declined sharply in the wake of the economic crisis starting in 2008, a trend common to all of Europe. However, the resident foreign-born have stayed put, consolidating their roots in Spanish soil (Torreblanca 2010; Barbulo 2009).

Inevitably, first generation immigrants have spawned a second generation that currently represents the fastest growing component of Spain's population aged 18 and younger (Aparicio 2006). Not being traditionally a country of immigration, Spain was ill-prepared to guide the incorporation of its new immigrants and, especially, their offspring. The arrival of this young population into the schools and the streets has been accompanied by much uncertainty and considerable anxiety among Spaniards about what the phenomenon portends for their future (Cachón 2009; Aparicio and Tornos 2008). Journalistic articles about the growth of Latin youth gangs or the danger of Islamic fundamentalism among young Moroccans and other second-generation Muslims have proliferated, while the national government and those of the country's autonomous regions (*comunidades*) have rehearsed numerous policies seeking to integrate immigrant children into the schools and avoid early, but disturbing signs of downward assimilation (Sotelo 2005; Diez Nicolas 2006).

So far, however, few empirical studies of children of immigrants in Spain have been conducted and those that exist are based on statistically unrepresentative or exclusively local samples (Aparicio 2006; Aparicio and Tornos 2008; Gualda 2008). By all counts, this is still a young population, the majority of whom are still children or adolescents. By early adolescence, however, self-identities and attitudes toward the host nation are beginning to take form. Our key concern is what direction they have taken and how they vary by national origin and by the other causal factors hypothesized above. A sense of identification or estrangement from the host society has been shown in the past to be an important factor associated with both career aspirations and different adaptation paths (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Zhou, Lee, Vallejo, Tafoga-Estrada, Xiong 2008; Portes and MacLeod 1996).

Accordingly, a study of the self-images, attitudes toward the host society, and self-esteem of the second generation in Spain offers a chance of casting light on a so-far unknown population, while simultaneously testing existing theories in a new social context. As seen previously, propositions about the origins of adolescent self-identities and self-esteem, their causes and correlates derive primarily from US empirical research, with limited contributions from other countries. Applying them in an entirely different social and cultural environment provides the opportunity not only to test these theories, but also to extend and refine them.

Methodology

The data on which this study is based are the product of a collaborative effort between university-based research centres in the USA and Spain, with the aim of interviewing representative samples of second generation youths in their principal areas of concentration. To this end, researchers sought the approval and support of education authorities in Madrid and Barcelona – the two largest immigrant-receiving cities in Spain (Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración 2009). The research team proceeded to draw random samples of secondary schools in each of the two metropolitan area, stratified by type of school (public vs. private) and by geographical area. Complete lists of schools were made available for that purpose by the respective education authorities (*consejerías*). The stratified random sample design succeeded in maintaining a constant sampling fraction by school type and by region within each metropolitan area, thus making the sample statistically representative of the respective universes (Kish 1967; Firebaugh 2008).

Within each school, all eligible students were included. 'Second generation' was defined as children born in Spain or brought to the country before age 12 with at least one foreign-born parent. By convention, those born in the host country are defined as second generation 'proper', while those brought at an early age from abroad are defined as the "1.5 generation"

(Rumbaut 2004). Most immigrant youths in Spain attend public schools, but a significant minority has found its way into state-supported private schools, mostly Catholic-affiliated.² One of the subsidiary questions for analysis is whether the self-identities and attitudes toward Spain of these adolescents vary by the type of school. Geographically, the sample was also stratified by region to insure that all schools in each metropolitan area were included. Because of the concentration of schools in the respective central cities, a simple random sample would have excluded those in many suburban areas. In total, 180 schools took part in the study; 101 in Madrid and 79 in Barcelona; of these, 111 were public schools and the rest private.

Basic secondary education in Spain is compulsory and its students are, overwhelmingly, in their early adolescent years. These two features are methodologically convenient because they guarantee that a school-drawn sample will be representative of the respective age cohort, since almost all of its members are still in school. The study targeted the first three years of basic secondary school (ESO in its Spanish acronym)³ because they include the population of average age --13–14-- that represented the population of interest. At this age, almost all children are enrolled in school and they are sufficiently mature to be able to fill a simple questionnaire.

Project staff were at hand to facilitate the process by clarifying doubts and helping students answer questions during administering sessions at each selected school. The total sample size is 6,905: 3,375 in Madrid and 3,530 in Barcelona. With a constant sampling fraction, the sample is self-weighting with respect to the total universe and each sampling strata. Table I presents its basic demographic characteristics, broken down by metropolitan area.

Preliminary findings: descriptive results

Table II presents frequency distributions in both cities of national self-identification and related attitudinal variables. As indicated previously, we deal with these variables first and discuss self-esteem and its determinants later. A first major finding is that self-identification as “Spanish” encompasses only one-third of the total sample, with the rest identifying primarily with their parents’ country of birth. This pattern is the same for youths in Madrid and Barcelona. A large majority in both cities considered their self-identities ‘important’ or ‘very important’, which adds weight to these findings: they show that two-thirds of second generation youths who live in Spain and are being educated in it do not consider themselves part of Spanish society.

These results are supported by those in the next row of Table II that reveal another interesting fact: contrary to what happens in other countries of immigration, a large majority of children of immigrants in Spain plan to live elsewhere as adults. Only one-fourth intend to remain in the country, about the same proportion of those who plan to go live in North America. An additional 17 per cent plan to move to another West European country. This lack of attachment to the receiving society is surprising and requires attention. On a preliminary basis, these results indicate that, having arrived or been born in Spain, the majority of children of immigrants do not consider the country as their final destination, but as a stepping stone to moving elsewhere.

The set of attitudinal questions presented next in Table II accords in general with these findings. On the positive side, a large majority of respondents report that there is no color

²Private schools in this sample are known as ‘concerted’ schools in Spain because they are state-supported and must follow state educational directives. The vast majority of these schools are Catholic-affiliated. A small group of other private schools were excluded because they are high-tuition institutions that very few children of immigrants can attend.

³Obligatory Secondary Schooling (*Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria*)

line in Spain, as far as opportunities for advancement are concerned. The generalized perception is that the country is egalitarian, but not particularly attractive in terms of opportunity. Hence, only one-fourth of respondents is in partial or complete agreement with the statement, “There is no better country to live in than Spain.” Differences between Madrid and Barcelona in this item, as in all previous ones, are minor indicating that there are no major variations in identities and beliefs between the two cities.

Table III presents frequency distributions broken down by type of school and place of birth. Contrary to the plausible expectation of differences between students attending private and public schools, there are no significant variations in self-identities, future living plans, or attitudes toward Spain by type of school. Both sub-samples exhibit essentially the same profile. The story is different when variables are tabulated by place of birth. The second generation proper – the minority born in Spain – displays a much stronger level of self-identification with the country, significantly more positive attitudes toward it, and firmer plans to stay. This result is what we would expect based on the past literature. It suggests that much of the weak attachment of immigrant youths to Spain stems from their recency there. At the same time, results also show that not all native-born youths identify with the country or plan to stay put. These differences bear directly on the question of reactive or oppositional identities, to be considered below.

Figures I and II present histograms depicting the national self-identities and future plans of all nationalities in the sample numbering at least 100 cases, and among whom at least fifteen were born in Spain.⁴ The overall story is much the same. Consistently, self-identification with the country is significantly higher among the second generation proper, regardless of nationality. Large majorities of the native-born identify themselves as ‘Spanish’, with the single exception of second generation Dominicans who are about evenly divided.

There are additional exceptions when our attention turns to plans about the future or attitudes toward the country. Second-generation Chinese are, for example, almost as likely to want to live abroad as their peers born in China. The same is true for Filipinos and to a somewhat lesser extent, for Moroccans. Spanish-born Colombians are *less* likely to want to stay in the country than their co-nationals born abroad. These attitudes suggest a less-than-uniform commitment to the country among the native-born and a possible reactive or oppositional identity among some of them. We examine these possibilities next.

Multivariate findings

a. Identification and Attitudes toward the Host Country

The following analyses focuses on two dependent variables. The first is a simple dichotomy indicating self-identification as ‘Spanish’ (coded 1) or ‘Other Country’ (coded 0). The second is based on a factor analysis of the rest of the attitudinal items in Table II. One of these factors reflects a clear positive attitude toward Spain and a desire to stay and live there. The resulting measure, labeled the Attitude toward Spain Index (ATTSP) is composed of the unit-weighted sum of items loading highly on this factor.⁵

Following the hypotheses, we include as predictors birthplace of the respondents and of their parents, length of residence in the country⁶, and controls for age and sex. We also include

⁴National origin was assigned to the foreign-born according to their country of birth and to the Spanish-born according to the country of birth of their parents. If parents were born in different countries, the nationality of the father was assigned if present in the household; otherwise, the nationality of the mother. If one parent was Spanish-born, the nationality of the foreign parent was assigned.

⁵Items loading highly on this factor are intentions to live in Spain as an adult and endorsement of the statement favoring Spain as the best country to live in. The range of the ATTSP index is thus 0–2. Results of the factor analysis are available from authors upon request.

three composite variables: Family socio-economic status (FSES) is the sum of father's and mother's education and father's and mother's occupation in standardized form.⁷ The Knowledge of Spanish Index (KSI) is the sum of self-reported ability to speak, understand, read, and write the language. Self-reported knowledge of a language has been found to be a reliable and valid indicator by past studies in different national contexts (Hakuta 1986; Fishman 1981; Lopez 1982). The alpha coefficient for KSI is 0.89 indicating a high level of internal consistency.

The Inter-generational Relation Index (INTGEN) is the sum of four dichotomous items indicating whether or not respondents feel embarrassed by their parents' ways and whether they see the world in similar ways. Higher scores in this Index reflect a more positive relationship with parents indicative of consonant or selective acculturation; lower scores reflect the likelihood of dissonant acculturation.⁸ Experiences of discrimination, another hypothesized determinant, is measured by a single item based on the reported frequency with which respondents have felt rejected by others. Descriptive statistics for all variables in the analysis are presented in the Appendix.

The left-hand columns in the following tables show the effects of this array of predictors on the two dependent variables. The right-hand columns add dummy variables for all nationalities with at least 100 cases in the sample in order to investigate specific national effects, with birthplace controlled. The models use listwise deletion of missing data as the most conservative method and the least likely to bias regression coefficients.⁹ Table IVA presents nested logistic regressions of national self-identification; Table IVB presents ordered multinomial logistic coefficients of the comparable regressions for ATTSP.¹⁰ All significant coefficients are exponentiated for ease of interpretation, yielding net odds associated with each predictor.

The strongest predictor of national self-identity is length of Spanish residence, followed by birthplace of the child and the parents. Each additional year of residence in the country raises the odds of self-identification as Spanish by 16 per cent. A child with a Spanish-born father is 3 to 1 more likely to adopt this identity; if the mother is born in the country, the odds increase to 4.5 to one. Family socio-economic status has a somewhat weaker but still significant positive effect.

All these effects accord with the hypothesis: Native birth and longer residence lead, as expected, to a much stronger identification with the country; high parental status promotes consonant or selective acculturation, leading to a less traumatic process of adaptation. Less expected, however, is the influence of age and sex. Older respondents and females are significantly less likely to identify themselves as Spanish. Since birthplace, length of residence, and family SES are controlled, these results are not attributable to less experience in the country or to lower parental status. Reasons for these effects are not self-evident and will receive further attention. Noteworthy, as well, is that while the influence of reported experiences of discrimination is in the right direction, it is statistically insignificant. Controlling for family SES, inter-generational relations also lacks a significant effect.

⁶For the native-born, this variable equals their chronological age.

⁷Index components were standardized to mean 0 and standard deviation 1. Their unweighted sum was divided by four yielding a similar mean and standard deviation. In cases of missing data in one or two indicators, the sum was divided by the number of the remaining valid ones.

⁸The alpha coefficient for INTGEN is 0.552, indicating a moderate level of internal consistency.

⁹Imputation routines would simply inflate the Ns, yielding less reliable indicators of statistical significance.

¹⁰The Attitude toward Spain Index is an ordinal variable, with high scores indicating a more positive attitude toward the country.

The array of national origin predictors tells an interesting story showing that, with some exceptions, Latin American groups are significantly *less* likely to identify with Spain. North African, Eastern European, and Asian origins either make no difference or lead to a greater probability of identification with the country. These results run contrary to expectations since the closer cultural affinity of Latin Americans with Spain should facilitate a smoother psychological transition; instead we find that youths from more distant cultural origins appear better disposed to shift their identity. Latin American children are about half as likely to see themselves as Spanish as the rest of the sample. Since birthplace is controlled, these differences cannot be fully attributed to the differential presence of the foreign-born among the various nationalities. Nevertheless, understanding the role of national origin, as well as age and sex, requires a more refined analysis. We turn to this in the following section.

The ordered multinomial regressions of attitudes towards Spain in Table IVB yield similar results. Spanish birth and longer periods of residence in the country produce significantly more positive attitudes, as does having a Spanish-born father or mother. Experiences of discrimination do relate to attitudes toward the country: the odds of a positive stance are significantly less among those who have suffered discrimination. The riddle posed by age and sex continues, since older youths and girls are significantly more critical. Interestingly, those with better knowledge of Spanish are also more critical, a result attributable to the predominance of Latin American origins among them. Once national origin is added to the model, this language effect disappears. Again, Latin American-origin youths, particularly Colombian and Dominicans, are significantly more critical of Spain. Other national origins have no effect.

b. Refining the analysis: native-born trends

These findings are valid for the sample as a whole. As seen previously, however, most of it is formed by foreign-born youths, many of whom have been living in Spain for only a few years. Failure to identify with the country or a desire to return home is understandable among these youngsters. Different is the situation of the native-born—the second generation “proper”—who can be expected to display stronger identificational assimilation. (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: ch. 7). As results in Table 4 show, this is exactly what happens, but there are exceptions indicating the likelihood of a more alienated or confrontational stance among some of the native-born. To examine this possibility, we replicated the analysis on the sample of Spanish-born respondents. Birthplace and length of residence drop from the array of predictors; all nationalities for whom the native-born number less than 15 are also eliminated since smaller figures yield unreliable results.

Findings are presented in Table V. With the sample thus restricted, neither age nor sex retain a significant influence. This implies that the previously observed effects were due to the greater propensity among foreign-born girls and older students to resist a Spanish identification. A likely explanation of these effects is the greater attachment of foreign-born females and older youths to their families. Girls, in particular, are known to be closer to their parents and more strongly influenced by them, a factor that can play a role among the most recently arrived. The key variables increasing Spanish self-identification among the native-born are better knowledge of the language and a father or mother born in the country. Most national origin effects disappear with only three exceptions: children of Peruvian and Filipino parents are significantly more likely to call themselves Spanish, while second generation Dominicans continue to be half as likely to do so.

Results of the multinomial regression of attitudes towards Spain for the second generation yield other interesting patterns. Children raised in Barcelona are significantly less likely to hold positive attitudes, suggesting that they are absorbing the critical stance of many Catalonians toward Spain. Females and children from higher status families also display

more critical attitudes. This last result suggests that better education associated with high parental status may result in a less optimistic evaluation of future prospects in the country. That conclusion is reinforced by the negative coefficients associated with several national groups, including those who, like Filipinos, are more likely to identify themselves as Spanish. It should be remembered that these variations are *internal* to the native-born sample which, taken as a whole, is strongly more prone to identify with the country and to hold more positive attitudes toward it.¹¹

c. Determinants of self-esteem

Along with self-identities, self-esteem represents an important social psychological outcome of the adaptation process (Golash-Boza 2006; Rumbaut 2005). The key questions for this analysis are the average self-esteem level among children of immigrants, its principal determinants, and the extent to which they differ from predictors of self-identity. The survey instrument contained a Spanish translation of Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem index which is the most commonly employed scale to measure this dimension among adolescents. A factor analysis of the ten items composing this index yielded a clear unidimensional structure, with almost all items loading significantly on the first factor. Internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) reached 0.732 in Madrid and 0.694 in Barcelona. These results support Rosenberg's index as a cross-nationally reliable indicator.

The index range is 1–4, with higher scores indicating higher self-esteem. The average for the total sample is 2.97, suggesting a moderately high level. This average does not vary much by city (3.01 for Madrid; 2.93 for Barcelona); by type of school (2.94 private schools; 3.00 public ones); or by birthplace (2.96 foreign-born; 3.07 native-born). As predictors of self-esteem, we use of the same array of variables listed previously, adding national self-identification. Although the causal relationship between both variables is ambiguous, the presence or absence of a relationship, controlling for other variables, represents useful information. As before, regressions are nested, adding national-origin dummy variables in the right-most columns. The dependent variable, in this case, is an interval-level measure. Thus, we employ ordinary least square regression.

Results are presented in Table VI. The pattern of effects in this case is quite different from that observed for self-identities. The strongest determinant is, by far, inter-generational relations (INTGEN) whose effect exceeds 21 times its standard error; each additional point in this index increases self-esteem by a net quarter point. The next strongest effect is that of knowledge of Spanish with each additional point in the KSI index increasing self-esteem by 0.15. This effect is also highly reliable. The next strongest coefficient corresponds to past experiences of discrimination that significantly reduces self-esteem.

With these three predictors controlled, respondent's and parents' birthplace have no influence on self-esteem, nor does national self-identity indicating the absence of a relationship between these two psycho-social outcomes. A likely reason for this result is that self-identities are adjusted to protect self-esteem, leading to similar levels among youths with very different national identifications. Past research by Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee Bailey 2008); San Juan (2005), Ono (2002) and others demonstrate that migrant children

¹¹The only evidence of a reactive or oppositional stance is found among Dominican-origin youths. Their resistance to a Spanish self-identity is not due to their being overwhelmingly foreign-born since close to 20 per cent (67 cases) were born in Spain. To clarify this result, we interacted Dominican-origin with all other major predictors identified previously. Results (not shown) indicate that the single significant interaction is with sex: the odds of a Spanish-born Dominican girl identifying herself with the country is just one-in-ten ($p < .05$). When this interaction is controlled, both the main effects of gender and of Dominican origin become insignificant. Next we turned to the original questionnaires and found that many Dominican respondents had written statements complaining of outside rejection because of their race. This was especially the case among girls.

who perceive themselves to be discriminated against react by shifting self-identities as a way to try to preserve their own sense of self-worth.

Other noteworthy effects are those of family socio-economic status that significantly raises self esteem, and gender [female], that reduces it. Lower self-esteem among girls accords with findings from the American literature, including studies of second generation adolescents (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: ch. 8). Children being raised in Barcelona have significantly lower self-esteem levels than those growing up in Madrid, an unpredicted finding for which we have no ready explanation. The addition of national origin dummies does not modify these results, nor does it increase the explanatory power of the model. The R^2 remains the same, with few national coefficients reaching significance.

The principal story in Table VI6 is that determinants of self-esteem among children of immigrants in Spain are primarily relational. Good relations with parents trump everything else, including the influence of family status; bad external relations, as indexed by the experiences of discrimination, scale, also affect self-esteem decisively. Finally, being fluent in the language of the country greatly contributes to migrant youths' sense of self-worth. Controlling for these variables, most of the major predictors of national self-identity -- and national identity itself -- do not have strong causal influence, indicating that processes leading to these two social psychological outcomes are different.

A structural model of psycho-social adaptation

Having examined separately self-identities and self-esteem, we now seek to integrate results into a single model that provides a unified theoretical statement of our findings. For this purpose, we make use of structural equations models (SEM) estimated through the AMOS and MPLUS routines. All theory implies simplification and our case is no exception. Hence, we do not aim to include in the model all individual findings discussed previously, but only the most significant from a theoretical or practical viewpoint. This model seeks to capture determinants of two outcomes: National Orientation, defined as a latent variable empirically measured by two indicators, and Self-esteem, defined as scores in Rosenberg's index. The model is presented in Figure III.

Previous results in tables IVb and Vb indicate that our attitudinal measure (ATTSP) is influenced by both national self-identification and by a realistic assessment of conditions in Spain, as indicated, among others, by the negative influence of family status among the native-born. In the present estimation, we seek to focus on national identity proper and, to that end, we define it as a latent construct affecting the two empirical measures conceptually closest to it: self-identification as Spanish and intention to live in Spain during adult life.

As exogenous variables, the model includes age, sex, family socio-economic status, and length of Spanish residence. As seen in the prior analysis, both birthplace and length of residence in the country have strong effects on self-identities, but their simultaneous inclusion in the model is precluded by their high collinearity. We selected length of residence because of its continuous metric and coverage of the full sample.¹² The list of exogenous variables also includes an integrated indicator of parental birthplace, coded 1 if either father or mother was born in Spain and 0 otherwise. Finally, national origins are also included as a dichotomy, reflecting the significant negative influence on Spanish identity of certain Caribbean and Andean nationalities. This variable is coded 1 if the child or his/her

¹²See note 6.

parents were born in the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Colombia, or Ecuador and 0 otherwise.¹³

The causal direction of this array of exogenous variables on the two outcomes is unambiguous since it is implausible that adolescent self-identities or self-esteem could determine parental birthplace, family status, or national origin. As intervening variables, mainly affecting self-esteem, the model includes knowledge of Spanish (KSI), the index of inter-generational relations (INTGEN), and past experiences of discrimination. While it is possible that levels of self-esteem can affect these variables, theoretical logic and the weight of past research evidence indicates that causal directionality runs in the opposite direction. It is more plausible, for example, that parent-child relations affect adolescent self-esteem than the other way around. The same is the case for knowledge of the host country language. For this reason, the model in Figure III is fully recursive.

For the model to converge in both estimations, one of the indicators of the latent variable, National Orientation, was fixed at 1. The strongest effect on this variable is length of Spanish residence whose effect in the MPLUS estimation exceeds 23 times its standard error. The next effect is parental birthplace: having one parent born in Spain increases a positive orientation toward the country by almost one-third of a point.¹⁴ Next comes the influence of Caribbean/Andean origin that exceeds 10 times its standard error, running in the opposite direction. Age and gender (female) also lead to a significantly lower pro- Spanish orientation.

Self-esteem is determined by an entirely different array of predictors. Indeed, the two dependent variables do not have a single direct determinant in common and their residual correlation is minimal. The strongest predictor of self-esteem is Inter-generational Relations, whose coefficient in both estimations exceed 23 times its standard error. Each point increase in the INTGEN index leads to a corresponding net increase of a third of a point in the self-esteem scale. Knowledge of Spanish (KSI) and family socio-economic status also have strong positive influences on self-esteem, while past experiences of discrimination significantly reduces it.

Overall, the model does a good job in accounting for the main causal trends in the data, as indicated by the residual effects of predictors of one of the two dependent variables on the other. These effects (not shown) are, without exception, not significantly different from zero. Explained variance is sizable for both outcomes: the R^2 coefficients for national orientation are 0.388 in the AMOS model and 0.400 in MPLUS. For self-esteem, the respective coefficients are 0.203 and 0.190. Explained variance in the intervening variables is much lower, but this is less relevant to the theoretical purposes of the model, and is compensated by its parsimony: it employs only 29 of 51 available degrees of freedom. For this reason, diagnostics, although not perfect, are within an acceptable range: the NFI Delta 1 index approaches 0.90 (0.860) and so does Bollen's IDI (0.864 relative to 1.000 for the saturated model). The TLI in MPLUS is 0.80; while the widely used Steiger's root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), a measure that takes into account the model's parsimony, reaches the acceptable criterion of 0.05 (Maruyama 1998). The model allows for correlation of residuals among all endogenous variables. As noted, the correlation between the two outcomes is minimal, while those between the three intervening variables are higher but still modest.

¹³Peru is excluded because, as seen in Tables IV and V, effects of this nationality on self-identity is consistently insignificant.

¹⁴The scale of the latent variable, National orientation is 1–4.

Conclusion

Mass immigration in the last quarter of the twentieth century and the initial one of the twenty-first has had significant effects on receiving societies, modifying their demographics, the composition of their labor force, and the look and ‘feel’ of their cities. One of the most important long-term consequences is the emergence of a second generation entitled to citizenship in host nations and comprising a growing percentage of their young population. This second generation poses a series of challenges for receiving societies and governments that must seek to integrate and educate its members to become law-abiding and productive citizens. For the most part, research and theorizing on the present and future of children of immigrants have been conducted in the USA, although there is a growing literature on the topic in Western Europe.

In this paper, we seek to contribute to this emerging comparative literature by drawing on a large and statistically representative sample of second generation youths in the two largest Spanish cities, Madrid and Barcelona. The survey corresponds to the first phase of a longitudinal study that intends to follow this population over time and into early adulthood. Accordingly, the survey targeted an adolescent population of average age 14. At this point, adaptation outcomes are not final, comprising instead a set of academic and social psychological variables. From these, we selected national self-identity, attitudes toward the host nation, and self-esteem for analysis.

Self-identities are significant not only to individuals themselves but, under certain conditions, to the host society. Resilient foreign identities can provide a basis for solidarity, common resistance and, on occasion, massive protest mobilizations—as exemplified by the revolts in French cities in 2005. (Schneider 2008). Conversely, identification with the host society represents a definite sign of integration and establishes the psychological basis for pursuing upward mobility within it. On its part, self-esteem has been consistently associated with positive academic outcomes and is influenced, in turn, by the quality of relations with parents and by past experiences of acceptance or rejection in the host society.

Our analysis reveals an initially anomalous result: the majority of children of immigrants in Spain neither identify with the country nor intend to live there as adults. This finding is mostly accounted for by the sample is composition, since the vast majority of it are members of the 1.5 generation—born abroad and brought to Spain at an early age. Once this factor is taken into account, the distribution changes markedly even then, however, more than half of the native-born do not intend to live in the country as adults and only a third believe that Spain is the best country to live in. These results indicate that, along with strong identification with the country as ‘theirs’, most native-born children of immigrants tend to hold a rather dim view of their future opportunities in it. The relatively recent entry of Spain into the ranks of the developed world and its poorer labor market opportunities, relative to richer Western European countries and the USA, may arguably be a reason for these perceptions (Cachón 2009).

Nevertheless, our multivariate analysis demonstrates that Spanish birthplace, having one native-born parent, and length of residence in the country all lead to higher identification with the country and a more positive attitude toward it. This is solid evidence allaying fears that the second generation is not integrating properly. Resistance to a Spanish self-identification is higher among older respondents, females, and adolescents of Caribbean and Andean origin. These results are also attributable to the foreign-birth and recent arrival in the country of most of the sample and, hence, do not appear to signal any long-term trend: negative influences of sex and age on Spanish self-identity disappear among the native-born, as do most effects associated with national origins.

Self-esteem and national self-identity are not correlated. This result is arguably due to the adjustment of national and ethnic self-identifications precisely to protect self-esteem. For the sample as a whole, average self-esteem is reasonably high. Still, despite whatever adjustment in self-identities is made, past experiences of discrimination significantly reduce self-esteem. On the contrary, good relationships with parents and a full command of the language of the land increase it. For the sample as a whole, Caribbean/Andean origins exercise an indirect negative influence on self-esteem via its negative effect on inter-generational relations.

This last effect is one of many captured by an integrated model that seeks to portray the principal causal patterns in these data. The model in Figure III provides a graphic synthesis of determinants of psycho-social outcomes for the second generation, including its native- and foreign-born components.¹⁵

Lastly and to put these findings in comparative perspective, we can relate them to those of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) in the USA, the project after which the present study was modeled (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The main outcome of this exercise is to show that, despite very different national contexts and a 15-year hiatus in the onset of data collection, results of both studies are similar. To cite just a few of these similarities:

1. Only 35 per cent of foreign-born youths in the baseline CILS survey (at average age 14) identified themselves as “American” (hyphenated or not); the figure increased to 69 per cent among the native-born, anticipating the pattern observed in Spain (Rumbaut 1996: 136).
2. Parental birthplace exercised a decisive influence on self-identifications in both studies: among those who reported a foreign identity in the USA, close to 90 per cent had both parents born in the same foreign country; foreign identities dropped to a minuscule 5 per cent among those with one US-born parent. (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 165).
3. Self-esteem, as measured by Rosenberg’s index, is somewhat higher among second generation youths in the U.S. ($\bar{X}=3.29$). However, the causal process leading to it is basically the same in both countries: females display significantly lower self-images, as do children who experienced repeated discrimination in the past. As in Spain, levels of self-esteem were increased in the CILS sample by fluency in the host country language and a positive relationship with parents (Rumbaut 1996:143; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: Table 8.6).

These similarities are important because they support the cross-national validity of social factors affecting social-psychological outcomes among children of immigrants. From a practical standpoint, the process of growing up by these children in Spain appears ‘normal’, both in terms of average trends and of causal determinants. Relative to the United States, the main difference is the high proportion intending to move abroad as adults. Differences in the levels of development of both countries and the future economic and occupational opportunities that they offer have surely something to do with this finding. But, with a few exceptions, there is nothing in our results that points to the emergence of an alienated or adversarial stance among foreign-origin youths and nothing that appears to arrest the integrative influence of the passage of time on self-identities and plans toward the future.

¹⁵A similar model limited to the minority of native-born youths in the sample would look quite different since the negative influences of age, sex, and Andean origins on self-identities would disappear.

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Appendix: Descriptive statistics for variables used in analyses

Variable	Measurement level	Range or value codes	Mean or proportion	Standard deviation	Median	25 th Percentile	75 th Percentile
<u>Outcomes</u>							
Self-identification as Spanish	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.30	-	0	0	1
Desired country of residence	Dichotomous	1 = Spain 0 = Others	0.26	-	0	0	1
Attitude toward Spain	Ordinal	2 = Positive 1 = Neutral 0 = Negative	0.51	-	0	0	1
Self-esteem	Interval	1 – 4	2.97	0.44	2.95	-	-
<u>Predictors</u>							
Age	Interval	12 – 19	13.91	1.22	14.00	-	-
Sex	Dichotomous	1 = Female 0 = Male	0.49	-	0	0	1
City of residence	Dichotomous	1 = Barcelona 0 = Madrid	0.52	-	1	0	1
Birthplace	Dichotomous	1 = Spain 0 = Abroad	0.15	-	0	0	0
Length of Spanish residence	Interval	0 – 17	6.45	3.99	6.00	-	-
Family socioeconomic status	Interval	-1.58 – 4.46	-0.01	0.74	-0.10	-	-
Knowledge of Spanish Index	Interval	1 – 4	3.55	0.60	3.75	-	-
Inter-generational relations	Interval	1 – 3.75	2.88	0.56	3.00	-	-
Father's birthplace	Dichotomous	1 = Spain 0 = Abroad	0.05	-	0	0	0
Mother's birthplace	Dichotomous	1 = Spain	0.04	-	0	0	0

Variable	Measurement level	Range or value codes	Mean or proportion	Standard deviation	Median	25 th Percentile	75 th Percentile
		0 = Abroad					
Experiences of discrimination	Dichotomous	1 = Much or Some 0 = None	0.49	-	0	0	1
One parent Spanish born	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.09	-	0	0	0
<u>National origins</u>				-			
Argentina	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.03	-	0	0	0
Bolivia	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.05	-	0	0	0
Caribbean/Andean	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.52	-	1	0	1
China	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.04	-	0	0	0
Colombia	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.08	-	0	0	0
Dominican Republic	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.06	-	0	0	0
Ecuador	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.27	-	0	0	1
Morocco	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.10	-	0	0	0
Other Western Europe	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.04	-	0	0	0
Pakistan	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.02	-	0	0	0
Peru	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.06	-	0	0	0
Philippines	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.03	-	0	0	0
Romania	Dichotomous	1 = Yes 0 = No	0.05	-	0	0	0

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG)

Figure I.
Self-identification by place of birth for different nationalities in Spain, 2008

Figure II.

Residential plans by place of birth for different nationalities in Spain, 2008

Figure III.

A structural model of psycho-social outcomes in the Spanish second generationa

NFI= 0.860

IFI= 0.864

TLI= 0.797

RMSEA= 0.055

Notes: ^aFigures in single-pointed arrows from boxed variables are standardized regression coefficients. Those in double-pointed arrows are correlations. Coefficients attached to letter-subscripted arrows are residuals. (1-R²) MPLUS estimation.

*p<.05

**p<.01

***p<.001

Table I

Demographic characteristics of the second generation in Spain, 2008

Variable	Values	Barcelona	Madrid	Totals
Sex	Male, %	54.13	48.54	51.38
	Female, %	45.87	51.46	48.62
Age	Mean	13.48	14.36	13.91
	Median	13	14	14
Country of birth	Spain, %	15.94	13.56	14.77
	Abroad, %	84.06	86.44	85.23
Years of Spanish residence (for respondents born abroad)	Mean	6.14	6.78	6.45
	Median	5	6	5
Family composition	Lives with both natural parents, %	65.80	66.87	66.32
	Other arrangements, %	34.20	33.13	33.68
Year in Secondary School	1 st	33.59	8.77	21.67
	2 nd	34.73	54.40	44.18
	3 rd	31.68	36.83	34.15
Father's Country of Birth	Spain, %	5.52	5.36	5.44
	Abroad, %	94.48	94.64	94.56
Mother's country of birth	Spain, %	4.70	3.87	4.29
	Abroad, %	95.30	96.13	95.71
Knowledge of Spanish speaks understands	Little, %	3.69	1.05	2.39
	Some, %	5.68	3.45	4.58
	Well, %	23.86	22.95	23.42
	Perfectly, %	66.77	72.55	69.61
	Little, %	3.03	0.78	1.93
	Some, %	3.50	2.37	2.95
	Well, %	18.09	19.46	18.76
	Perfectly, %	75.38	77.39	76.36

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG)

Table II
Self-identities and related attitudes of second generation youths in Madrid and Barcelona, 2008

Variable	Value	Madrid		Barcelona		Total	
		%	N	%	N	%	N
'Do you consider yourself Spanish?'	Yes	27.0	911	30.3	1069	28.7	1980
	No	68.4	2308	63.6	2246	66.0	4554
	Neither/ND ^a	4.6	156	6.1	215	5.4	371
'If not, of what nationality do you consider yourself?'	Bolivian	6.1	136	--	--	5.1	231
	Colombian	7.2	161	10.6	245	8.9	406
	Dominican	--	--	5.6	128	6.1	276
	Ecuadorian	24.9	560	33.2	765	29.1	1,325
	Moroccan	7.5	168	5.6	130	6.5	298
'How important is your nationality to you?'	Peruvian	6.1	136	6.1	141	6.1	277
	Rumanian	--	--	8.3	192	--	--
	Very important	55.8	1882	54.7	1931	55.2	3813
'In what country would you like to live when you grow up?'	Important	29.4	992	29.1	1028	29.3	2020
	Not important	11.9	402	9.2	326	10.5	728
	DK/ND ^c	2.9	99	6.9	245	5.0	344
'Not everyone has the same economic opportunities in Spain.'	■ Spain	25.9	874	22.1	781	24.0	1655
	■ West European Country	15.2	513	16.4	579	15.8	1092
	■ North American Country	23.6	798	24.1	852	23.9	1650
	■ South American	13.3	449	12.8	451	13.0	900
	■ Caribbean	3.1	106	1.9	68	2.5	174
	■ Others	13.9	470	12.8	452	13.4	922
	■ DK/ND	4.9	165	9.8	347	7.4	512
'Life in Spain weakens family'	Strongly Agrees	19.9	673	19.0	672	19.5	1345
	Agrees	38.0	1281	33.9	1197	35.9	2478
	Disagrees	25.4	858	20.4	719	22.8	1577
	Strongly Disagrees	8.9	300	10.3	364	9.6	664
'Life in Spain weakens family'	DK	7.8	263	16.4	578	12.2	841
	Strongly agrees	10.5	356	10.3	365	10.4	721
	Strongly agrees	26.8	876	20.3	866	20.9	1722

Variable	Value	Madrid		Barcelona		Total	
		%	N	%	N	%	N
relations. ^a	Agrees	39.8	1872	33.5	1850	36.9	2526
	Strongly disagrees	17.2	582	16.7	591	17.0	1173
	DK ^d	6.8	231	15.4	542	11.2	773
	Strongly agrees	6.9	232	7.3	257	7.1	489
'There is no better country to live in than Spain.'	Agrees	15.2	512	15.0	531	15.1	1043
	Disagrees	43.1	1455	37.1	1311	40.1	2766
	Strongly disagrees	28.7	967	26.7	941	27.6	2908
	DK	6.2	209	13.9	490	10.1	699
'People of color have as many opportunities to advance as whites in Spain.'	Strongly agrees	51.3	1732	39.1	1381	45.1	3113
	Agrees	23.4	789	26.1	921	24.8	1710
	Disagrees	12.5	421	13.9	490	13.2	911
	Strongly disagrees	6.8	231	7.2	253	7.0	484
'Spaniards feel themselves superior to foreigners.'	DK	6.0	202	13.7	485	9.9	687
	Strongly agrees	31.1	1049	26.8	945	28.9	1994
	Agrees	35.2	1188	31.0	1096	33.1	2284
	Disagrees	20.7	698	20.2	712	20.4	1410
Strongly disagrees	Strongly disagrees	6.6	224	8.4	296	7.5	520
	DK	6.4	216	13.6	481	10.1	697

Notes:

^aND = No data

^bListed nationalities are those representing at least 5 percent of the city samples and the total

^cDK = Does not know.

^dDK=does not know.

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG)

Table III

Self-identities and related attitudes by school type and country of birth, Spain, 2008

Variable ^a	Value	School Type ^a		Country of Birth ^a	
		Public	Private	Spain	Abroad
'Do you consider yourself Spanish?'	Yes, %	30.40	30.20	77.67	22.08
	No, %	69.80	69.70	22.31	77.92
		$(\chi^2 = .03 \text{ n.s.})^i$			
'How important is your nationality to you?'	Important or very important, %	88.02	89.91	82.19	90.09
	Not important/other, %	11.98	10.09	17.81	9.91
		$(\chi^2 = 5.91 \text{ n.s.})$			
'In what country would you like to live when you grow up?'	Spain, %	26.55	25.14	40.32	23.60
	Others, %	73.45	74.86	59.68	76.40
		$(\chi^2 = 1.63 \text{ n.s.})$			
'There is no better country to live in than Spain.'	Agrees/Strongly agrees, %	24.02	25.46	30.73	23.57
	Disagrees/Other, %	75.98	74.54	69.27	76.43
		$(\chi^2 = 1.73 \text{ n.s.})$			
'Spaniards generally feel superior to foreigners.'	Agrees/Strongly agrees, %	70.24	67.36	63.18	69.93
	Disagrees/Other, %	29.76	32.64	36.82	30.07
		$(\chi^2 = 5.95 \text{ n.s.})$			
		$(\chi^2 = 16.91 \text{ p}<.000)$			

Notes:

^aChi square coefficients and probabilities in parentheses.

n.s.= not significant; due to the large sample size, differences are considered significant only at the .001 level.

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG)

Table IV

Determinants of national self-identities and attitudes toward Spain among children of immigrants

A. Self-identification as Spanish						
Predictor:	I.			II.		
	Coeff. ^a	Wald	Exp.B ^a	Coeff. ^a	Wald	Exp.B ^b
Age	-0.260	-7.4***	0.77	-0.266	-7.4***	0.77
Sex (female)	-0.233	-3.2**	0.79	-0.259	-3.4**	0.77
City of residence (Barcelona)	0.043	0.5	—	0.099	1.2	—
Birthplace (Spain)	0.941	6.4***	2.56	0.578	3.7***	1.78
Length of Spanish residence	0.151	10.6***	1.16	0.162	10.9***	1.18
Family status (FSES)	0.213	4.2***	1.24	0.145	2.7**	1.16
Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)	-0.011	-0.1	—	0.171	1.9	—
Father's birthplace (Spain)	1.153	7.0***	3.17	1.277	7.6***	3.58
Mother's birthplace (Spain)	1.495	6.7***	4.46	1.616	7.1***	5.03
Inter-generational relations (IntGen)	0.019	0.3	—	-0.009	-0.1	—
Experiences of discrimination	-0.060	-1.0	—	-0.108	-1.7	—
National Origin:						
Argentina				0.167	0.8	—
Bolivia				-0.933	-4.0***	0.39
China				0.294	1.2	—
Colombia				-0.745	-4.8***	0.47
Dominican Republic				-0.815	-4.2***	0.44
Ecuador				-0.730	-6.2***	0.48
Morocco				-0.157	-1.0	—
Pakistan				0.844	2.2*	2.32
Peru				-0.062	-0.4	—
Philippines				0.819	3.2**	2.27
Romania				0.090	0.5	—
Other Western Europe				-0.486	-2.2	.61

A. Self-identification as Spanish						
Predictor:	I.			II.		
$\chi^2=772.83^{***}$ (11 d.f.)				$\chi^2=850.82^{***}$ (23 d.f.)		
Pseudo R ² = 0.211				Pseudo R ² =0.231		
N= 4727				N= 4723		
B. Attitude toward Spain						
Predictor:	I.			II.		
	Coeff. ^a	Wald	Exp.B ^b	Coeff. ^a	Wald	Exp.B ^b
Age	-0.075	-2.8**	0.93	-0.072	-2.6**	0.93
Sex (female)	-0.334	-5.6***	0.72	-0.338	-5.6***	0.71
City of residence (Barcelona)	-0.100	-1.5	—	-0.094	-1.4	—
Birthplace (Spain)	0.337	2.6**	1.40	0.286	2.1*	1.33
Length of Spanish residence	0.026	2.1*	1.03	0.027	2.2*	1.03
Family status (FSES)	-0.050	-1.2	—	-0.057	-1.3	—
Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)	-0.132	-2.1*	0.88	-0.105	-1.6	—
Father's birthplace (Spain)	0.589	4.6***	1.80	0.611	4.6***	1.84
Mother's birthplace (Spain)	0.364	2.5**	1.44	0.302	2.0*	1.35
Inter-generational relations (IntGen)	-0.032	-0.6	—	-0.047	-0.8	—
Experiences of discrimination	-0.112	-2.2*	0.89	-0.120	-2.3*	0.89
National Origin:						
Argentina				-0.040	-0.2	—
Bolivia				-0.020	-0.1	—
China				0.067	0.4	—
Colombia				-0.301	-2.3*	0.74
Dominican Republic				-0.469	-2.9**	0.63
Ecuador				-0.140	-1.5	—
Morocco				0.042	0.3	—
Pakistan				0.160	0.6	—
Peru				0.031	0.2	—
Philippines				-0.339	-1.6	—
Romania				0.166	1.1	—
Other Western Europe				0.089	0.6	—

<i>B. Attitude toward Spain</i>		
Predictor:	I.	II.
$\chi^2=151.3^{***}$ (11 d.f.)		$\chi^2=177.36^{***}$ (23 d.f.)
Pseudo $R^2=0.019$		Pseudo $R^2=0.022$
N = 4577		N = 4573
Notes:		
^a Binomial logistic regression coefficients		
^b Net odds computed for significant effects only		
* p < .05		
** p .01		
*** p < .001		
Notes:		
^a Ordered multinomial regression coefficients		
^b Net odds computed for significant effects only		

Table V

Predictors of self-identities and attitudes toward Spain among native-born youths, 2008

<i>A. Self-identification as Spanish</i>			
<i>Predictor</i>	<i>I.</i>		
	<i>Coeff.^a</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp.B^b</i>
Age	−0.081	−0.9	—
Sex (female)	0.162	0.8	—
City of Residence (Barcelona)	−0.264	−1.2	—
Family Status (FSES)	−0.099	−0.9	—
Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)	0.596	2.2 *	1.81
Father's Birthplace (Spain)	1.138	3.8 ***	3.12
Mother's Birthplace (Spain)	1.580	5.0 ***	4.86
Inter-generational Relations (IntGen)	0.047	0.3	—
Experiences of Discrimination	−0.046	−0.3	—
<i>National Origin:</i>			
Argentina	0.456	0.8	—
China	0.384	0.8	—
Colombia	0.832	0.8	—
Dominican Republic	−0.671	−1.8 #	0.51
Ecuador	−0.238	−0.4	—
Morocco	−0.043	−0.2	—
Pakistan	0.286	0.3	—
Peru	1.109	2.1 *	3.03
Philippines	0.805	2.0 *	2.24
Other Western Europe	−0.119	−0.4	—
$\chi^2 = 69.27^{***}$ (20 d.f.)			
Pseudo $R^2 = 0.089$			
N= 731			
<i>B. Attitudes toward Spain</i>			
<i>Predictor</i>			
	<i>Coeff.^a</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp.B^b</i>
Age	−0.171	−2.4 *	0.84
Sex (female)	−0.389	−2.6 **	0.68
City of Residence (Barcelona)	−0.415	−2.5 *	0.66
Family Status (FSES)	−0.287	−3.1 **	0.75
Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)	0.032	0.01	—
Father's Birthplace (Spain)	0.539	2.5 *	1.71
Mother's Birthplace (Spain)	0.363	1.8 #	1.44
Inter-generational Relations (IntGen)	0.160	1.2	—

B. Attitudes toward Spain**Predictor**

	Coeff.^a	Wald	Exp.B^b
Experiences of Discrimination	-0.122	-1.0	—
<u>National Origin:</u>			
Argentina	0.385	1.0	—
China	-0.373	-0.9	—
Colombia	-1.339	-2.1 *	0.26
Dominican Republic	-1.152	-3.1 **	0.32
Ecuador	-0.223	-0.4	—
Morocco	-0.516	-2.1 *	0.60
Pakistan	0.187	0.3	—
Peru	-0.168	0.5	—
Philippines	-0.886	-2.8 **	0.41
Other Western Europe	0.228	1.0	—
$\chi^2 = 85.13^{***}$ (21 d.f.)			
Pseudo R ² = 0.059			
N = 705			

p < .10*
p < .05**
p < .01***
p < .001

Notes:

^a Binomial logistic regression coefficients^b Net odds computed for significant effects only#
p < .10*
p < .05**
p < .01***
p < .001

Notes:

^a Ordered multinomial logistic regression coefficients^b Net odds computed for significant effects only

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG)

Table VI

Determinants of self-esteem among children of immigrants in Spain, 2008

Predictors:	I.		II.	
	Coeff. ^a	t-value	Coeff. ¹	t-value
Age	0.011	2.0 *	0.010	1.9
Sex (female)	-0.034	-2.9 **	-0.033	-2.9 **
City of Residence (Barcelona)	-0.051	-4.0 ***	-0.046	-3.6 ***
Birthplace (Spain)	0.030	1.2	0.038	1.4
Length of Spanish Residence	0.001	0.4	0.001	0.4
Father's Birthplace (Spain)	0.030	1.2	0.012	0.5
Mother's Birthplace (Spain)	0.013	0.4	-0.014	-0.4
Family status (FSES)	0.047	5.9 ***	0.041	5.0 ***
Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)	0.148	12.5 ***	0.146	11.3 ***
Inter-generational Relations (IntGen)	0.255	21.6 ***	0.253	21.4 ***
Experiences of Discrimination	-0.091	-8.6 ***	-0.094	-8.8 ***
Self-identity (Spanish)	0.014	1.0	0.015	1.0
<u>National origin:</u>				
Argentina			-0.003	-0.1
Bolivia			-0.073	-2.5 *
China			0.006	-0.2
Colombia			0.010	0.4
Dominican Republic			-0.001	0.0
Ecuador			-0.032	-1.7
Morocco			-0.040	-1.5
Pakistan			-0.067	-1.2
Peru			-0.019	-0.7
Philippines			-0.125	-3.5 ***
Romania			0.010	0.3
Other Western Europe			0.028	0.8
Constant	1.638	16.8 ***	1.676	16.5 ***
R ² = 0.201			R ² = 0.205	
N = 4704			N = 4700	

Notes:

^a Ordinary least squares regression coefficients (unstandardized)*
p<.05**
p<.01***
p</.001

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG)