Published in final edited form as:

Ethn Racial Stud. 2013 ; 36(4): 557–589. doi:10.1080/01419870.2013.757339.

Dreaming in Spain: Parental Determinants of Immigrant Children's Ambition¹

Alejandro Portes,
Princeton University

Erik Vickstrom,
Princeton University

William Haller, and
Clemson University

Rosa Aparicio
Instituto Iniversitario Ortega y Gasselt

Abstract

We examine determinants of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations among children of immigrants in Spain on the basis of a unique data set that includes statistically representative data for foreign-origin secondary students in Madrid and Barcelona plus a sample of one-fourth of their parents. Independently collected data for both generations allow us to establish effects of parental characteristics on children's orientations without the confounding potential inherent in children's reports about parents. We analyze first determinants of parental ambition and, through a series of step-wise regressions, the effects of these goals and other parental and family characteristics on children's aspirations and expectations. A structural equations model synthesizes results of the analysis. The model confirms predictions from the research literature, especially those based on the Wisconsin status attainment model, but rejects others, including the predicted significance of private vs. public school attendance. Parental ambition, knowledge of Spanish by parents and children, gender, and children's age are major determinants of youths' educational and occupational goals. These results have direct implications for policy; these are discussed in the conclusion.

Keywords

aspirations; expectations; children of immigrants; adaptation; Spain

For a long time now, the research literature on educational and occupational achievement has singled out the role of adolescent aspirations as a key determinant. Beginning with the classic Wisconsin model of status attainment, the same literature has also identified parental

¹Data for this analysis comes from the Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG in its Spanish acronym) conducted by a consortium of the Center for Migration and Development at Princeton University and the Ortega y Gasset Foundation of Madrid. It has been supported by the Spencer Foundation of Chicago and the Community of Madrid. Responsibility for the contents is exclusively the authors'.

socio-economic status (PSES) and parental expectations as being, in turn, major causes of adolescent ambition (Sewell, Haller and Portes 1969; Sewell and Hauser 1972; Haller and Portes 1973).² Results demonstrating the causal link between aspirations and subsequent achievement have been based on longitudinal studies in the United States that singled out ambition as a necessary condition for adult attainment. Put differently, young people who aspire to a university-level education and a professional career may or may not get there; but those who do not aim at these goals will surely not achieve them (Portes, Mcleod and Parker 1978; Haller 1982; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005).

Similar evidence for immigrant youths has been limited by the dearth of longitudinal studies focused on this population. In the United States, only one such study of the immigrant second generation has been completed – the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS). This project was based on representative samples of children of immigrants in South Florida and Southern California interviewed at average age 14 and followed over a decade into early adulthood. Results of this study will be reviewed later. For the time being, it suffices to note that they confirmed the strong positive association between early aspirations and expectations and subsequent achievements. (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller.2005, Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Rumbaut 2005).

Additional supportive evidence comes from other large longitudinal samples of U.S. high school students that, while not focused specifically on children of immigrants, contain sufficient cases from this universe to arrive at reliable conclusions (Kao and Tienda 1998; Hao and Pong 2008). So far, research on this topic in other countries has been limited, thus restricting the empirical base of theoretical models of status attainment to North American data. An exception is the Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) that generated comparative data on second generation young adults from several immigrant nationalities, primarily Turks and Moroccan, in eight European countries. The cross-sectional character of this study limited its scope to describing early adulthood educational and occupational outcomes, rather than their individual *determinants*, including adolescent aspirations (Crul and Vermulen 2003; Simon 2003; Thomson and Crul 2007).

Until recently, there has been a dearth of attention to the role of ambition in determining alternative paths of integration among immigrant youths in Europe. With the exception of a few studies conducted in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, we do not have a quantitative literature on determinants of adolescent aspirations in the region. This paper aims at partially correcting this gap by presenting results from the first phase of a large, statistically representative sample of second generation students in a major European country. It makes the additional contribution of employing -- as predictors of children's ambition -- parental characteristics and outlooks measured directly from rather than indirectly from children's reports.

²The Wisconsin status attainment model was based on a large sample of Wisconsin youths interviewed in their last year of secondary school in 1957 and re-interviewed in 1964 when most had completed their education. On the basis of these longitudinal data, a model was developed using path analysis and predicting early occupational status as a five-stage causal process, with Parental Socio-economic Status and Mental Ability as exogenous variables. Educational and occupational aspirations played a key role in the model mediating the effects of exogenous and other intervening variable on the final outcomes. The original model, published in 1969, was subsequently replicated by other studies using different data sets. For the most part, results confirmed the validity of the original causal formulation.

Review of the Literature and Hypotheses

A strong and consistent finding in the research literature is that parental human capital and, for immigrants, the educational levels brought from the home country play a decisive role in molding children's aspirations (Inoue 1999; Kao and Tienda 1998; Feliciano 2006). In addition, the Wisconsin status attainment model predicts that a good portion of the family status influence on adolescent aspirations is mediated by the parents' own level of ambition (Sewell and Hauser 1972; Haller and Portes 1973). More recent studies focused on second generation youths in the United States find that family structure also has a significant effect, with children raised by both biological parents displaying higher levels of ambition. (Haller, Portes and Lynch 2011; Portes and Rivas 2011).

Much work has been devoted to ethnic/national differences in educational and occupational aspirations. The balance of these studies indicates that significant variation exists, although its direction is uncertain. One study comparing differences among Hispanic students in the United States found significantly higher levels of college aspirations among Cuban youths than among those of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin. The latter two groups' ambition was below the level of non-Hispanic whites although this level is attributable to the lower Mexican and Puerto Rican PSES; however, higher-than-average Cuban levels of aspirations remained even after controls for parental status were introduced (Bohon, Kirkpatrick Johnson and Gorman 2006).

In one of the few cross-national studies in this field, Buchmann and Dalton (2002) compared the effects of peers and parents orientations in twelve countries. Their findings supported the Wisconsin model's prediction of significant parent and peer influences on aspirations in countries with "relatively undifferentiated" secondary school systems. However, in those with strong tracking systems, such as in many European countries, parents and peers made much less difference, because the decisive event became the type of school that children attended in early adolescence (see also Alba, Sloan and Sperling 2011). These comparative findings point to the potentially significant influence of school type, a factor generally neglected in studies based on U.S. samples. A partial exception is the attention bestowed on differences between students attending public and Catholic private schools that consistently favor the latter in terms of both aspirations and achievement (Coleman 1988, 1993; Portes and MacLeod 1996).

Overwhelmingly, studies of immigrant youths' aspirations and their determinants have been conducted in the Anglophone world and they have depended on student reports for the measurement of parental and family characteristics (Strand and Winston 2008; Andres et al. 2007; Bodovski and Benavot 2006). For example, based on a large longitudinal study of Australian children, Marjoribanks (2003) reported that family background had large effects on adolescents' aspirations, and that the latter had the strongest effect on young adults' educational achievement. Such findings are subject to confounding, because children's views and outcomes can retroactively influence their reports on parents' characteristics.

Results from this Australian study coincide, however, with those found by the CILS in the United States. The latter confirmed the strong effect of parental human capital on adolescent

aspirations. In contrast to previous research in the USA and elsewhere, CILS included a parental survey which made it possible to establish the effects of family SES and parental ambition independently. The study also distinguished between “aspirations” as ideal goals and “expectations” as realistic ones (Haller, Portes and Lynch 2011).

The CILS data identified two other important causal factors. First, the previously cited effect of family composition was in evidence, as children growing up with both biological parents had significantly higher levels of ambition. Second, gender differences were significant with girls having higher aspirations and being better able to translate them into subsequent educational achievement (Fernández-Kelly and Konczal 2005; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005). Both effects were attributed by researchers to the power of family social capital. Social capital tends to be higher in stable two-parent families where both parents can team up to guide their child. Similarly, girls are more apt to be supervised and be less independent than boys, thus being more influenced by parental aspirations (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, pp. 227–29).

Efforts to test the “segmented assimilation” model derived from the CILS project have also come up with additional factors potentially influencing second generation ambition. Based on his study of second generation Mexicans, St.-Hilaire (2002) identified length of US residence as having a significant *negative* effect on aspirations, while fluency in English increased them. Partially contradicting this finding, Portes and Rumbaut (2001: 228) reported that native-born children of immigrants had significantly higher expectations than those born abroad. Based on this diverse array of results, it is possible to advance several key hypotheses concerning determinants of aspirations and expectations among immigrant youths. Drawing on the principal studies conducted so far, we predict that:

1. Parental education and occupation will have strong positive effects on children’s ambition, whether measured by ideal aspirations or realistic expectations.
2. Family composition (two-parent families) will have a similar positive effect.
3. Knowledge of the host country language and length of residence in the country among parents will also increase children’s aspirations.
4. These parental effects will be largely mediated by parents’ own level of ambition.
5. Girls will have higher aspirations and expectations than boys.
6. Type of school will have a significant effect, with private school students displaying a significant advantage.
7. Knowledge of the host country language among children will also be associated with higher ambition, net of other predictor variables.

These hypotheses basically summarize a causal sequence in which immigrant parents’ socio-economic and linguistic characteristics translate into different expectations for children and these lead, in turn, to different levels of ambition among youths. These outcomes are also

influenced by the children's own circumstances, including their gender, school type, and knowledge of the country's language.

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 course leading to the return of millions of former emigrants (Cachon 2009; Calavita 2005). Since the early 1990s, Spain found itself in the role of net recipient of major migration flows, first from nearby Morocco, and subsequently from Latin American countries, Eastern Europe, and even Asia (Carvajal and Isabel 2006).

As a consequence of these flows, the foreign-born population grew by leaps and bounds and, by 2010, had reached 5.7 million persons or 12.1 percent of the population (Santa-Olalla 2010). The figure is very close to the proportion of the foreign-born in the U.S. population (13 percent), despite the much shorter period of Spain-bound migration -- scarcely twenty years. Starting in 2008, a severe economic recession and high levels of unemployment have greatly reduced the immigrant flow to Spain, although there are no indications at present of a massive return movement among immigrants already living in the country (Torreblanca 2010; Borasteros 2011).

Inevitably, first generation immigrants spawned a second generation that became the fastest growing component of Spain's population aged 18 and younger (Aparicio 2006; Cachon 2009). Not traditionally a country of immigration, Spain was ill-prepared to guide the process of incorporation of its new immigrants and, especially that, of their children. The arrival of this young population into the schools and in the streets was accompanied by much uncertainty and considerable anxiety among the Spaniards about what the phenomenon portends for the nation as a whole (Pajares 2009; Aparicio and Tornos 2008). Journalistic articles about the growth of Latin American youth gangs or the danger of Islamic fundamentalism among second-generation Muslims proliferated, while the national government and those of the country's autonomous regions (*comunidades*) rehearsed numerous policies seeking to integrate second-generation youths into the schools and avoid early, but disturbing signs of downward assimilation (Borasteros and Barroso 2008, Diez Nicolas 2006).

So far, however, few empirical studies of the Spanish second generation have been conducted and those that exist are based on convenience or local samples (see Aparicio 2006; Aparicio and Tornos 2008; Gualda 2009). By all counts, this is still a young population, the majority of whom are still in the primary and early secondary school years. At this age, a key consideration, in addition to demographic characteristics, is the orientation of these youths toward the future and, in particular, their goals. If, as seen previously, aspirations and expectations are major predictors of the life course in adulthood, it makes a great deal of difference how children of immigrants see the future and how they perceive

their chances of moving upwards in the Spanish socio-economic hierarchy (Portes et al. 2010).

Unlike other European countries, Spain does not “track” students from an early age (Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Aparicio 2006). It is thus possible for youths in the basic secondary years to plan for themselves alternative career paths, including leaving the educational system after compulsory schooling, moving on to a technical-vocational education, or continuing academic secondary training as a prerequisite to enter the university (Gibson and Carrasco 2009). A study of second generation goals and their determinants offers a chance of casting light on a so-far unknown population, while testing existing theories of adolescent ambition in a school context unconstrained by early tracking policies. As seen previously, theoretical propositions about the origins of adolescent aspirations and expectations derive primarily from North American studies. Applying these hypotheses in a European setting provides an opportunity to establish their generalizability and to extend them when appropriate.

Methodology

The data set on which the following analysis is based is the product of a collaborative effort between university-based research centers in the USA and Spain, with the goal of interviewing representative samples of second generation youths in their principal areas of concentration. The study aimed at replicating the research design of the previously discussed CILS in the USA. To this end, researchers sought the approval and support of education authorities in Madrid and Barcelona – the two largest immigrant-receiving cities in the country (OPI 2009). Having obtained it, the research team proceeded to draw random samples of secondary schools in each metropolitan area, stratified by type of school (public versus private) and by geographical location. Complete lists of schools were made available for this purpose by the respective education superintendencies (*consejerías*). The stratified sample design maintained the same sampling fraction by school type and by region within each metropolitan area, thus making it self-weighting with respect to the relevant universe (Kish 1967; Firebaugh 2008).

Within each school, all second generation students were included. Following CILS, “second generation” was defined as children with at least one foreign-born parent, whether born in Spain or brought to the country before age 12. By convention, those born in the host country are known as the second generation “proper”, while those brought at an early age from abroad are defined as the “1.5 generation” (Rumbaut 2004). It is well-known that most immigrant-origin youths in Spain attend public schools, but a significant minority has found its way into state-supported private schools, mostly Catholic affiliated.³ As seen previously, Catholic school students have repeatedly been found to have higher aspirations and achievements in the USA (Coleman 1998; Portes and Macleod 1996). The present data allow us to test this relationship in a different national context. 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 central cities, a simple random

³These are known as “concerted” schools because they are state supported, but privately administered.

sample would have excluded those in many outlying regions. In total, 101 schools took part in the study in Madrid and seventy-nine in Barcelona.

Basic secondary education in Spain is compulsory and students are, overwhelmingly, in the 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, as almost all of its members are still in school. Significant school attrition in later years gradually reduces the overlap between enrolled students and the respective age cohort. The study targeted the first, second and third years of basic secondary school (ESO in its Spanish acronym)⁴ because they include the population of average age fourteen that represented the universe of interest. The total Madrid sample numbers 3,375 cases; in Barcelona, 3,530.

Approximately one year after completion of these surveys in 2009, the project undertook a study of the parents to supplement the data obtained from their children. To this end, letters were sent to all the home addresses supplied by students with an attached questionnaire to be completed by their parents. The letter explained the goals of the project and offered an incentive in the form of a sizable money prize to be awarded by lottery among those returning completed questionnaires. Reminders were sent to parents not responding to the original letter. In total, approximately 700 usable questionnaires were obtained, a figure that represented less than half of the target sample for the parental survey – 1,750 cases or one-fourth of the children's sample.

The project team then turned to telephone data supplied by students and spent the entire summer and part of the fall of 2010 calling home numbers in Madrid and Barcelona. The team kept a moving tally of completed questionnaires to insure that they would be roughly balanced between both cities and that all major nationalities in the original survey were represented. In total, 1,843 parents responded representing 28 percent of the original student survey. The major nationalities in both surveys are identical: In the parental sample, they include Ecuador (28%), Morocco (10.5%), Colombia (7.8%), Peru (6.7%), the Dominican Republic (5.5%), and Romania (5.1%). Among second generation children born abroad, but brought at an early age to Spain, the corresponding figures were: 28.6% (Ecuador); 7.1% (Morocco); 8.4% (Colombia); 6.1% (Peru); 5.2% (Dominican Republic); and 5% (Romania). No other nationality in either sample exceeded 5 percent of the total.

Descriptive Results

Table 1 presents descriptive characteristics for both surveys, broken down by city of residence. The table includes variables for the respondents themselves, as well as children's reports on parental characteristics and vice versa. The average age of children included in the 2008–09 survey was 13.9, and the mean age of parents in 2010, 42.6. The child sample is evenly balanced by gender, but this is not the case among parents given the greater propensity of mothers to stay at home and, hence, be more accessible for interviews. Data on family structure and language spoken at home yielded similar results in both surveys: over two-thirds of the children lived with both biological parents and close to three-fourths spoke

⁴*Educación Secundaria Obligatoria.*

Spanish at home. This proportion was somewhat lower in Barcelona where Catalan-speaking families represented between 2 and 3 percent.

Fluency in Spanish was high in both samples. The Knowledge of Spanish Index (KSI) is a summated scale of reported ability to speak, understand, read, and write the language. Self-reported language ability has been shown to be a reliable indicator of actual knowledge in a number of past studies (Fishman 1966, 1969; Lopez 1982; Rumbaut 1995). In our case, KSI ranges from a low of 1 (little knowledge) to 4 (perfect fluency). As shown in Table 1, both parents and children score high on average, although mean scores in Madrid are somewhat higher than in Barcelona.

Children's reports of their parents' characteristics are generally within an acceptable range when compared to parents' own responses. However, one-third of the children reported that they did not know their parents' education. Table 1 clarifies the reason by showing that most of these children come from families with low levels of parental education, as indicated by the large parent-child discrepancy in the lowest educational category.

For purposes of the present study, the most important questions are those that tap ambition for the future. As already noted, educational aspirations refer to ideal goals, while educational expectations are realistic levels believed to be attainable. As shown in Table 1, parental aspirations and expectations are much higher than among their children. Seventy-seven percent of parents aspire to a university degree for their offspring, but only 40 percent of the latter set their sights that high. Expectations are much lower for both generations but, while 46 percent of parents realistically expect their children to attain a university or a post-graduate degree, only 23 percent of their young agree. These patterns hold, without major differences, in both Madrid and Barcelona and among all immigrant groups, regardless of SES or language ability.⁵

A final notable discrepancy is in future life plans: the overwhelming majority of immigrant parents (85%) wished and expected their children to stay in Spain, but, surprisingly, only one-fourth of the youths agreed. The rest wishes to move elsewhere, primarily to North America (23%) or other Western European countries (15.8 %). This discrepancy suggests that, while most immigrants envision Spain as their final country of destination and settlement; most of the second generation sees the country, at least in adolescence, as a platform for moving elsewhere. This gap holds, without exception, across all socio-economic levels and all nationalities in the sample.

Multivariate findings

Determinants of Parental Ambition and School Involvement

We examine determinants of parental ambition for their children and parental behaviors conducive toward achieving these goals. For this analysis, we consider both parental

⁵University and post-graduate expectations for children reached 54 percent among Colombian parents; 44 percent among Ecuadoreans; 40 percent among Pakistanis; 36 percent among Dominicans; and 45 percent among Romanians; Corresponding percentages among their children were 31, 20, 27, 23, and 25. Exceptions were Moroccan and especially Chinese parents whose special case is discussed below.

aspirations and expectations, broken down in the categories shown in Table 1, plus a measure of parental participation in school activities. The Parental School Involvement Index (PSII) is a summated measure of standardized scores in four items indicating actual parental participation in school-related activities.⁶ As predictors for each of these variables, we use the parent's age, gender, years of residence in Spain, marital status, acquisition of the Spanish nationality, socio-economic status, and knowledge of Spanish.

Marital status ("married") and Spanish nationality ("yes") are dichotomous variables; knowledge of Spanish is measured by the index described previously (parental KSI); PSES is also an index constructed as the unit-weighted sum of the responding parents' education and occupational status; those of his/her spouse, if any; and family income. The PSES index is standardized to mean 0; standard deviation 1. Finally, we include dummy variables for all nationalities in the sample numbering at least 25 cases. The reference category is the rest of the parental sample comprising all other nationalities.

Table 2 presents ordered multinomial logistic regressions for parental aspirations and expectations and ordinary least squares (OLS) results for the continuous PSII scale. All regressions employ list-wise deletion of missing data and robust standard errors to correct for the school-clustered character of the original sample. List-wise deletion is generally considered the most conservative and least biased way of handling missing data (Firebaugh 2008). Results are quite similar across the three dependent variables: PSES and knowledge of Spanish are the principal determinants of school involvement; each of these effects exceeding five times its standard error. Lesser, but still significant positive effects on PSII are associated with marital status (married) and length of residence in the country. With this array of variables controlled, most individual nationalities have no significant effect, with the notable exception of the Chinese: Chinese parents are far less likely to involve themselves in school programs or activities; the corresponding negative coefficient exceeds 10 times its standard error.

Determinants of parental educational aspirations and expectations are largely the same as for School Involvement. In both cases, PSES and knowledge of Spanish are the principal determinants, each associated with higher levels of ambition.⁷ Several significant effects are associated, however, with specific nationalities, all of them reducing aspirations or expectations relative to the rest of the sample. The strongest and most consistent effect is

⁶The item components of PSII include the following questions coded on a four-point scale from "Never" (lowest) to "Almost always".

1. Talks to his/her child about what happens in school.
2. Helps his/her child with school homework.
3. Talks to his/her child about what she/he will study in the future or his/her plans after finishing school.
4. Attends parent's reunions at school.

⁷One may assume that the effect of knowledge of Spanish simply reflects the difference between Latin American nationalities, for which Spanish is the native tongue, and non-Spanish speaking immigrant groups. This is not the case. Gross differences in parental aspirations and expectations across nationalities are erratic and do not reflect any clear pattern in favor of Latin American groups. The only significant pattern is the consistent disadvantage of the Chinese in all three dependent variables. This disadvantage is reduced, but does not disappear once Knowledge of Spanish enters the equation. Certain Latin American nationalities such as Ecuadoreans and Dominicans actually exhibit significantly *lower* levels of ambition for their children.

associated with Chinese parents whose levels of educational ambition are far lower than for all other groups in the sample.

The disparity between these findings and the high levels of educational ambition reported among Chinese immigrant parents in the United States (Zhou et al. 2008; Zhou 1992; Hao and Pong 2008) is remarkable. Since family SES and knowledge of Spanish are controlled, this result cannot be attributed to higher poverty or lack of linguistic fluency. A unique characteristic of Chinese immigrants in Spain is their extraordinary orientation toward entrepreneurship (Gibson and Carrasco 2009); in our sample, one-fourth of Chinese parents are self-employed, a proportion that exceeds five times that of the next highest entrepreneurial group. Separate analysis of these data (not shown) indicates that Chinese parents transmit this entrepreneurial orientation to children, in effect substituting it for higher educational aspirations.

As evidence of this trend, one-third of Chinese children in the sample preferred to ‘leave school early in order to learn a business trade’, a far higher proportion than among any other nationality. Further, the number of these youths thinking that ‘it is very important to get good grades in school’ was just 39 percent, far below all other nationalities. Chinese migrants in Spain are thus a group who have managed to carve a viable business niche for themselves; perceiving upward mobility via the educational system in Spain to be blocked by ethnic discrimination, they ‘bet’ on the expansion of their firms as the most viable mobility path for themselves and their youths.⁸

Children’s Educational Plans

We consider next the extent to which parental variables bear on children’s ambition. First, we examine determinants of educational aspirations and expectations, followed by occupational plans. Dependent variables for the first part of the analysis are the ordinal-coded children’s educational goals presented in Table 1. We use step-wise ordered logistical regression with robust standard errors and listwise deletion of missing data for reasons explained previously. The first step includes parental objective characteristics previously used as predictors of parental aspirations and expectations. The second step adds the two indicators of parents’ ambition. In the third step, children’s objective characteristics are entered, including age, gender, year in school, place of birth, school type, and knowledge of Spanish. Place of birth is a dummy variable coded 1 if the child was born in Spain and 0 if born abroad; school type is coded 1 for youths who attended private (mostly Catholic) schools, and 0 otherwise. Knowledge of Spanish is measured by the KSI index described previously. The last step adds parental national origins, with dummy variables for all nationalities numbering at least 25 cases. City of residence is also included in this step.

Step-wise regression is a method that progressively reduces the unobserved heterogeneity of the model. While there is no guarantee that all relevant predictors are included, the array of variables in the third and, especially fourth step comprises all those that theory and common

⁸A separate analysis of these data demonstrates the effects of this inter-generational transmission and uses it to explain the vast gap between the low educational aspirations of second generation Chinese in the Spanish context and the very high ones among their counterparts in the United States. See Yiu (2012).

sense have identified as significant factors. Table 3-A and 3-B present results of the analysis. Parental factors affecting children's goals are similar, whether one considers ideal or realistic educational plans. PSES plays the lead role, followed by parental knowledge of Spanish (PKSI) and, in the case of expectations, years of residence in Spain. The last two effects, however, cease to be significant once parental goals enter the equation, but the family status effect continues to be significant.

Corresponding to theoretical expectations described earlier, both regressions indicate that the influence of parental objective characteristics on children's school plans is largely "filtered" through parents' own goals. Addition of children's own characteristics eliminates the effect of parental aspirations but not those of expectations or family SES, indicating that these variables are resilient determinants of children's level of ambition.

Among children's traits the strongest predictors of ambition are age, followed by language ability and school year. With the latter variable controlled, the effect of age is strongly negative indicating that youths who are older than their respective school cohort tend to adjust their educational plans downwards. This effect is equally strong in both aspirations and expectations. School year, on the other hand, has the opposite effect, with more advanced students being most ambitious. Knowledge of Spanish also has a positive effect on both dependent variables, a result that corresponds to one of our original hypothesis.⁹ Girls display significantly higher educational aspirations, but not expectations. The positive gender effect on aspirations corresponds to one of the original hypotheses; the prediction is not supported, however, in the case of realistic goals.

When national origins and city of residence are added, little changes except for a few negative effects among children of several Latin American nationalities. Without exception, these effects are negative, although not strong. With other variables controlled, the significant Chinese negative effect disappears indicating that the original disadvantage observed among Chinese youths is due primarily to low family status and, in particular, very low parental educational goals for their children.

Overall, these results indicate that parents' characteristics do affect their offspring's educational plans. They do so primarily through parents' own realistic expectations, followed by SES. Parental school involvement has no influence. These effects are not mediated by children's own characteristics, although several of the latter have a consistent influence on both dependent variables. Age and school year work at cross-purpose. National origins have only a few scattered effects, indicating that most differences among youths from different nationalities origins are accounted for by family and self characteristics.

Occupational Plans

The original survey measured children's occupational aspirations with a closed item and occupational expectations by an open question where respondents filled the occupation that they realistically expected to hold as adults. This procedure was adopted to avoid frivolous

⁹Once again, it may be argued that the effect of Knowledge of Spanish is due to differences between Latin American nationalities and non-Spanish speaking groups. This is not the case. Initial differences in aspirations and expectations among immigrant nationalities before controlling for other variables do not reveal any clear pattern, nor any advantage for Latin American groups.

responses about ideal goals and to concentrate the attention of respondents on the jobs that they actually aimed at.¹⁰ Accordingly, we place greater weight on determinants of occupational expectations, although results for both variables are presented. Aspirations are a dichotomy: professional-executive occupations are coded 1, and others including no aspirations, 0.

We examine determinants with a step-wise binary logistic routine using list-wise deletion of missing data. Mood (2009) has argued against the use of logistic regression with dichotomous variables suggesting that the resulting coefficients are not comparable across models. She proposes instead a return to simple linear regressions, despite violation of the assumptions of homoscedastic and normal residuals that such method implies. Following her suggestion, we replicated the analysis using linear regression, and found exactly the same pattern of results reported herein down to the actual size of coefficients.¹¹ Open occupational expectations were coded into occupational prestige scores employing the PRESCA-2 scale, developed specifically for Spain by Carabaña and Gomez Bueno (1997). This is an interval-level scale and, hence, we regress it on the same set of predictors using OLS. Robust standard errors are used throughout the analysis. Table 4-A and 4-B present the results.

Among parental variables, two display significant effects on occupational aspirations: knowledge of Spanish and family structure. Children growing up with both biological parents have higher ideal goals, as do those whose parents speak the host country language. These effects persist even after controlling for parental ambition and children's own characteristics. Parental expectations, but not aspirations are also a resilient predictor of children's ideal goals. The picture changes drastically when children's realistic expectations are considered. In this instance, all parental effects disappear once children's own characteristics are controlled. Parent's influences on expectations are thus entirely mediated by youths' characteristics, of which school year and gender are paramount.

In agreement with findings for educational ambition, age reduces occupational goals while children's knowledge of Spanish increases them. The positive female and language knowledge coefficients correspond to the original set of hypotheses. The strong age effect was not predicted, however, nor was that of school year. With this array of variables controlled, there are practically no effects of national origins or city of residence. Overall, parents have lesser influence on their offspring's occupational goals than on their educational plans. This is arguably due to two factors: (1) the more immediate character of educational plans for children who are still in school which makes these plans more amenable to parental influence. (2) parental goals were measured for education but not occupation, which makes them have a closer link to the former. The most consistent result from this analysis are the effects of family SES, parental realistic expectations, and parents' knowledge of Spanish, to which are added the influence of children's own characteristics.

¹⁰Measurement of occupational expectations in this survey is similar to that employed in the OECD- Sponsored Program of International Student Achievement (PISA) that conducts regular large surveys of secondary students in 50 countries, including Spain. (OECD 2007).

¹¹The results are available from the authors, upon request.

Results are equally interesting for what they do *not* find. For example, parents' school involvement, measured by a reliable index, shows no significant effect on any dependent variable, nor does attendance at private (mostly Catholic) schools. Private school students have a significant absolute advantage in both indicators of ambition, but this effect disappears, in both educational and occupational expectations, once other variables are controlled. This finding differs from U.S. results, where attendance at private Catholic schools yields a consistently significant advantage (Coleman 1988, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001)¹². Few net nationality effects are found and none is particularly strong. This is not because there are no absolute differences across national origins, but because, as in the case of educational goals, they are almost entirely accounted for by the array of family and individual predictors in these models.

A Synthetic Model of Second Generation Ambition

As seen in Table 1, aspirations and expectations of second generation youths are rather modest: although 40 percent aspire to a university degree or higher, less than one-fourth thinks that they would realistically get there. Perhaps more important, these goals differ markedly from the lofty ambitions of parents. This is undoubtedly a significant and worrying finding, but it must be placed in perspective. Data from national surveys of secondary students in Spain indicate that the average level of ambition among native-born students is still lower. In addition, results from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)-sponsored 2006 survey of almost 20,000 secondary students in the country show that occupational expectations of immigrant children are somewhat higher than among the native-born, although the difference is not statistically significant (OECD 2007).

Overall, the limited available evidence indicates that immigrant children in Spain are not handicapped relative to the native-born in terms of ambition (Gibson and Carrasco 2009). Instead, modest levels are common to both. What seems to be happening is that children of immigrants in Spain adjust their expectations to what they perceive as the normative and realistic level among their peers in their new environment.

This final section presents a succinct model that highlights the principal trends observed in the data and provides a graphic statement of the causal process leading to children's ambition. For this purpose, we use structural equation models (SEM), estimated through the MPLUS and AMOS routines. In addition to the indices described previously, we employ two latent variables: *parental ambition*, reflecting the combined influence of parental educational aspirations and expectations; and *children's ambition* corresponding to the joint educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of youths in the sample.

This model is presented in Figure 1. It includes four exogenous variables: PSES, parental knowledge of Spanish, child's age and child's gender. Double-pointed arrows indicate

¹²The sample included state-supported private school, but not those that are exclusively private. Exclusively private schools charge high tuition fees and, hence, are attended by children of affluent families. Few children of immigrants are found in these schools, which was the reason to exclude them from the sample. Hence, the issue of whether attendance to these exclusive schools affects children's plans is not answerable on the basis of the present data.

unanalyzed correlations. Parental Ambition is hypothesized to depend on parents' PSES and knowledge of Spanish. Year in School is a function of age; and child's Knowledge of Spanish is hypothesized to depend on their parents' own language fluency and ambition. The final endogenous variable, Child Ambition, is dependent on parents' own goals plus child's age, school year, gender, and language knowledge. The model uses just forty-two out of ninety available sample moments, thus having 48 degrees of freedom.

This level of parsimony is one of the reasons for the reasonable model fit. Steiger's widely used root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is close to the standard criteria of .05 and the Tucker Lewis Index (TLI), an indicator independent of sample size, exceeds .90, as does the IFI (Maruyama 1998). The model does an acceptable job in accounting for variance, explaining 32 percent in Children's Ambition. Causal determination of the other endogenous variables is weaker, although all hypothesized effects are significant at the .001 level.

For theoretical purposes, the most important effects are those bearing on the final dependent variable, and they are all causally unambiguous. The strongest of these corresponds to parents' own ambition. This causal path is important because, as noted at the start, parental orientations were measured independently from children's, thus avoiding the confounding effect of retroactive reporting. The model confirms the superiority of female levels of ambition, in agreement with one of the original hypotheses.

Conclusion

The modest level of aspirations detected by the analysis, the significant decline in goals across generations, the negative effect of age and of certain national origins, in particular the Chinese, come to the fore as results deserving both reflection and public attention. If aspirations represent a necessary condition for subsequent achievement, it behooves school authorities to intervene in support of the high goals voiced by most immigrant parents and to persuade skeptical ones that the best path to overcome racial discrimination is through educational achievement. The "open" character of the Spanish educational system and its avoidance of early tracking are positive traits; they need to be supplemented, however, by a more proactive intervention particularly in favor of the poorest and least culturally integrated immigrant families.

The Spanish context is notable for its uniformly modest aspirations and expectations among native and migrant youths alike. This is not a desirable state of affairs which should be of concern to public authorities. In this context, the drive to achievement evident among most immigrant parents represents a valuable tool that, if properly supported, can increase levels of ambition among this segment of Spain's young population. While our final model confirms that parental drive is the most important determinant of children's ambition, this effect is not enough to generate comparable aspirations and expectations in the second generation. That is the point where external assistance and support for the first generation and its dreams for the future becomes necessary.

References

- Alba, Richard; Sloan, Jennifer; Sperling, Jessica. The Integration Imperative: Children of Low-status Immigrants in the Schools of Wealthy Societies. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 2011; 37:395–416.
- Andres, Lesley; Adamuti-Trache, Maria; Yoon, Ee-Seul; Pidgeon, Michelle; Thomsen, Jens Peter. Educational Expectations, Parental Social Class, Gender, and Postsecondary Attainment: A 10-Year Perspective. *Youth and Society*. 2007; 39:135–163.
- Aparicio, Rosa. *Hijos de Inmigrantes se Hacen Adultos*. Madrid: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración; 2006.
- Aparicio, Rosa; Tornos, Andres. “Aproximación al Estudio de las Bandas Latinas en Madrid.” Final report of the project “Diagnostics of Juvenile Immigrant Groups in Madrid.”. Institute of Migration Studies, University of Comillas; 2008.
- Bodovski, Katerina; Benavot, Aaron. Unequal Educational Outcomes among First-Generation Immigrants: The Case of Youth from the Former Soviet Union in Israel. *Research in Comparative and International Education*. 2006; 1:253–270.
- Bohon, Stephanie A.; Johnson, Monica Kirkpatrick; Gorman, Bridget K. College Aspirations and Expectations among Latino Adolescents in the United States. *Social Problems*. 2006; 53:207–225.
- Borasteros, Daniel. Baja el Numero de Inmigrantes por las Nacionalizaciones de los Ecuatorianos. *El Pais*. 2011 Apr 13.:6.
- Borasteros, Daniel; Barroso, Francisco J. Los Secretos, Ritos, Normas y Castigos de los Latin Kings en Madrid. *El Pais*. 2008 Sep 28.:1.
- Buchmann, Claudia; Dalton, Ben. Interpersonal Influences and Educational Aspirations in 12 Countries: The Importance of Institutional Context. *Sociology of Education*. 2002; 75:99–122.
- Cachon, Lorenzo. *La España Inmigrante*. Barcelona: Anthropos; 2009.
- Calavita, Kitty. *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 2005.
- Carabaña, Julio; Bueno, Carmen Gomez. *Escalas de Prestigio Profesional*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas; 1997.
- Carvajal, Gomez; Isabel, Maria. Evolución de las Cifras de Extranjeros con Tarjeta de Autorización en Vigor. In: Aja, E.; Arango, J., editors. *Veinte Años de Inmigración en España: Perspectivas Jurídicas*. Barcelona: Fundación CIDOB; 2006. p. 85–112.
- Coleman, James S. Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*. 1988; 94(Supplement):S95–S121.
- Coleman, James S. The Rational Reconstruction of Society. *American Sociological Review*. 1993; 58:1–15.
- Crul, Maurice; Vermeulen, Hans. The Second Generation in Europe. *International Migration Review*. 2003; 37:965–986.
- Crul, Maurice; Doornik, Jeroen. The Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in the Netherlands. *International Migration Review*. 2003; 37:1039–1064.
- Díez Nicolás, Juan. *Las Dos Caras de la Inmigración*. Madrid: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración; 2006.
- Feliciano, Cynthia. Beyond the Family: The Influence of Premigration Group Status on the Educational Expectations of Immigrants’ Children. *Sociology of Education*. 2006; 79:281–303.
- Feliciano, Cynthia; Rumbaut, Rubén. Gendered Paths: Educational and Occupational Expectations and Outcomes Among Adult Children of Immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 2005 Nov.28:1087–1118.
- Fernández-Kelly, Patricia; Konczal, Lisa. ‘Murdering the Alphabet’: Identity and Entrepreneurship among Second Generation Cubans, West Indians, and Central Americans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 2005 Nov.28:1153–1181.
- Firebaugh, Glenn. *Seven Rules for Social Research*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; 2008.
- Fishman, Joshua A. *Language Loyalty in the United States*. The Hague: Mouton; 1966.
- Gibson, Margaret A.; Carrasco, Silvia. The Education of Immigrant Youth: Some Lessons from the U.S. Spain. *Theory and Practice*. 2009; 48(4):249–257.

- Gualda, Estrella. Aspiraciones y Expectativas Educativas y Laborales de Jovenes Inmigrantes e Hijos de Inmigrantes Escolarizados; Paper presented at the VI Congress of Migration to Spain, La Coruña, Galicia; 2009 Sep.
- Haller, Archibald D. Hauser, RM.; Mechanic, D.; Haller, AO.; Hauser, TS. Social Structure and Behavior: Essays in Honor of William H. Sewell. New York: Academic Press; 1982. Reflections on the Social Psychology of Status Attainment; p. 3-27.
- Haller, Archibald D.; Portes, Alejandro. Status Attainment Processes. *Sociology of Education*. 1973; 46:51-91.
- Haller, William; Portes, Alejandro; Scott, Mlynch. Dreams Fulfilled, Dreams Shattered” Determinants of Segmented Assimilation in the Second Generation”. *Social Forces*. 2011 Mar.89:733-762.
- Hao, Lingxin; Pong, suet-Ling. The Role of School in Upward Mobility of Disadvantaged Immigrants’ children’. *Annals of Political and Social Sciences*. 2008 Nov.629:62-89.
- Inoue, Yukiko. The Educational and Occupational Attainment Process: The Role of Adolescent Status Aspirations. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America; 1999.
- Kao, Grace; Tienda, Marta. Educational Aspirations of Minority Youth. *American Journal of Education*. 1998 May.106:349-84.
- Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling. New York: Wiley; 1967.
- Lopez, David E. Language Maintenance and Shift in the United States Today: The Basic Patterns and Their Social Implications. Vol. 1-4. Los Alamitos, CA: National Center for Bilingual Research; 1982.
- Louie, Vivian. Second-Generation Pessimism and Optimism: How Chinese and Dominicans Understand Education and Mobility through Ethnic and Transnational Orientations. *International Migration Review*. 2006; 40:537-72.
- Marjoribanks, Kevin. Learning Environments, Family Contexts, Educational Aspirations and Attainment: A Moderation-Mediation Model Extended. *Learning Environments Research*. 2003; 6:247-265.
- Maruyama, Geoffrey M. Basics of Structural Equation Modeling. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 1998.
- Menjivar, Cecilia. Educational Hopes, Documented Dreams: Guatemalan and Salvadoran Immigrants’ Legality and Educational Prospects. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 2008 Nov.620:177-193.
- Mood, Carina. Logistic Regression: Why We Cannot Do What We Think We Can Do and What We Can Do About it”. *European Sociological Review*, Advanced Access. 2009 Mar 9:1-16.
- Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración. Statistical Bulletin on Foreigners and Immigration to Spain #19. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración; 2009. (<http://extranjeros.mtin.es>)
- OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). PISA 2006: Science Competencies for Tomorrow’s World. 2007 www.oecd.org/dataoecd.
- Pajares, Miguel. La Inmigración en España: Sus Causas y las Politicas con las que se Gestiona. In: Olmos, F Checa; Checa, C.; Arjona, A., editors. Las Migraciones en el Mundo. Barcelona: Icaria Antrazyt; 2009. p. 175-192.
- Portes, Alejandro; McLeod, Samuel A.; Parker, Robert N. Immigrant Aspirations. *Sociology of Education*. 1978 Oct.51:241-260.
- Portes, Alejandro; MacLeod, Dag. Educational Progress of Children of Immigrants: The Roles of Class, Ethnicity, and School Context. *Sociology of Education*. 1996; 69:255-275.
- Portes, Alejandro; Rumbaut, Ruben G. Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation; 2001.
- Portes, Alejandro; Rivas, Alejandro. The Adaptation of Migrant Children. *The Future of Children*. 2011 Spring;21:219-246. [PubMed: 21465862]
- Portes, Alejandro; Fernandez-Kelly, Patricia; Haller, William. Segmented Assimilation on the Ground: The New Second Generation in Early Adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 2005 Nov.28:1000-1040.
- Portes, Alejandro; Aparicio, Rosa; Haller, William; Vickstrom, Erik. Moving Ahead in Madrid: Aspirations and Expectations in the Spanish Second Generation. *International Migration Review*. 2010 Winter;44 #4:767-801. [PubMed: 22904591]

- Rumbaut, Rubén G. Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States. *International Migration Review*. 2004 Fall;38:1160–1205.
- Rumbaut, Rubén G. Turning Points in the Transition to Adulthood: Determinants of Educational Attainment, Incarceration, and Early Childbearing among Children of Immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 2005 Nov.28:1041–1086.
- Santa-Olalla, Guillermo. La Afluencia de Inmigrantes se Freno en 2009. *ElMundo*. 2010 Apr 30.:17–18.
- Sewell, William H.; Haller, Archibald D.; Portes, Alejandro. The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process. *American Sociological Review*. 1969; 34:82–92.
- Sewell, William H.; Hauser, Robert M. Causes and Consequences of Higher Education: Models of the Status Attainment Process. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*. 1972 Dec.54:851–861.
- Simon, Patrick. France and the Unknown Second Generation: Preliminary Results on Social Mobility. *International Migration Review*. 2003; 37:1091–1119.
- St-Hilaire, Aonghas. The Social Adaptation of Children of Mexican Immigrants: Educational Aspirations beyond Junior High School. *Social Science Quarterly*. 2002; 83:1026–1043.
- Strand, Steve; Winston, Joe. Educational Aspirations in Inner City Schools. *Educational Studies*. 2008; 34:249.
- Thomson, Mark Maurice Crul. The Second Generation in Europe and the United States. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 2007; 33:1025–1041.
- Torreblanca, Jose Ignacio. Donde Están los Inmigrantes? *El Pais*. 2010 Jan 25.:10.
- Yiu, Jessica. “Alternative Ambitions: Low Educational Ambition as a Form of Strategic Adaptation among Chinese Youths in Spain.” Research report. Center for Migration and Development. Princeton University; 2012. (<http://cmd.princeton.edu>)
- Zhou, Min. New York's Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave. Philadelphia: Temple University Press; 1992.
- Zhou, Min; Jennifer, Lee; Vallejo, Jody A.; Tafoga-Estrada, Rosaura; Xiong, Yang Soa. Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles' New Second Generation. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. 2008 Nov. 620:37–61.

Figure 1.
A Structural Model of Ambition in the Spanish Second Generation, 2010¹

Table 1
Socio-demographic Characteristics of Immigrant Parents and their Children in Spain, 2010

Characteristic	Parents			Children		
	Madrid	Barcelona	Total	Madrid	Barcelona	Total
Age, Average	43.21	41.98	42.62	14.36	13.5	13.91
Gender (Female), %	69.25	66.02	67.72	51.46	45.98	48.66
Parent Has Spanish Nationality, %	41.10	34.34	37.87	45.66	51.68	48.71
Years in Spain, Mean	11.9	10.7	11.4	6.8	6.2	6.5
Language Spoken at Home:						
Spanish %	77.50	71.71	74.77	73.87	65.46	69.54
Catalan, %	0.0	2.10	0.99	0.0	2.6	1.34
Other, %	22.50	26.19	24.24	26.13	31.90	29.01
Knowledge of Spanish, Mean	3.56	3.41	3.49	3.64	3.46	3.55
Family Structure:						
Both Biological Parents %	67.95	73.83	70.77	66.86	65.91	66.37
Other, %	32.05	26.17	29.23	33.14	34.09	33.63
Parental Education ² :						
Less than Secondary %	42.19	48.95	45.59	17.34	15.80	16.55
Secondary, %	40.07	34.72	37.46	34.22	25.81	29.94
Some University, %	8.80	9.55	9.16	10.37	9.22	9.78
University graduate, %	8.94	6.78	7.89	11.53	9.80	10.65
Does not know, %	--	--	--	26.54	39.37	33.08
Parental Employment Situation ³ :						
Employed, %	60.66	57.19	58.97	87.69	80.80	84.17
Unemployed, %	23.69	22.46	23.09	10.23	17.30	13.84
Disabled, other, %	15.65	20.35	17.94	2.08	1.90	1.99
Parental Occupation ⁴ :						
Average Prestige Score	85.13	86.43	85.75	87.96	88.55	88.26

Characteristic	Parents			Children		
	Madrid	Barcelona	Total	Madrid	Barcelona	Total
Educational Aspirations for Child:						
Secondary or less, %	4.98	5.57	5.26	25.64	28.05	26.86
Technical degree, %	17.20	12.72	15.07	21.64	15.14	18.35
Some University, %	1.97	3.64	2.76	14.21	15.67	14.96
University degree, %	59.68	62.84	61.19	29.13	31.14	30.13
Post-graduate, %	16.17	15.23	15.72	9.38	10.03	9.70
Educational Expectations for Child:						
Secondary or less, %	12.98	17.06	14.93	45.07	43.57	44.32
Technical degree, %	32.60	25.49	29.21	22.33	18.12	20.20
Some university, %	5.83	13.20	9.39	11.89	13.51	12.70
University degree, %	39.25	33.45	36.48	15.61	18.69	17.17
Post-graduate degree, %	9.25	10.80	9.99	5.10	6.11	5.61
Future Life Plans for Child ⁵ :						
Live in Spain, %	84.69	85.35	85.00	27.24	24.54	25.90
Move Elsewhere, %	15.31	14.65	15.00	72.76	75.45	74.10

¹ Scores in the Knowledge of Spanish Index (KSI). Range: 1 (lowest) to 4.

² Parental figures refer to the parent answering the survey; children's figures are a weighted average of reported education for father and mother.

³ Parental figures refer to the parent answering the survey; children's figures are a weighted average of reported employment situation for father and mother.

⁴ Scores in the PRESCA-2 Spanish occupational prestige scale (Caraba a and Gomez Bueno, 1997).

⁵ Item in the parental survey asks whether the parent wishes child to stay and live in Spain; item in the children's survey asks for preferred country to live as an adult.

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Second Generation (ILSEG).

Table 2
Determinants of Immigrant Parents' School Involvement and Ambition in Spain, 2010

Predictor ¹	School Involvement Index		Educ. Aspirations		Educ. Expectations	
	Coeff. ²	t	Coeff. ³	z-ratio	Coeff. ³	z-ratio
Age	-.005	-2.2 *	-.009	-0.9	-.009	-1.2
Sex (Female)	-.024	-0.8	.161	1.2	-.038	-0.3
Years of Spanish Residence	.008	3.0 **	.005	0.4	.020	2.1 *
Has Spanish Nationality	-.018	-0.6	-.079	-0.6	.062	0.6
Marital Status (married)	.077	2.4 *	.044	0.3	.017	0.2
Socio-economic Status (PSES)	.119	5.7 ***	.580	5.4 ***	.750	9.2 **
Knowledge of Spanish (PKSI)	.208	7.7 ***	.417	3.6 ***	.239	2.6 ***
National Origins: ⁴						
Argentina	.076	1.1	-1.031	-2.1 *	-.213	-0.5
Bolivia	.066	0.90	.038	0.1	.219	0.8
Bulgaria	.069	.06	-.438	-0.9	.182	0.4
Chile	.080	0.7	.357	0.5	-.612	-1.5
China	-.800	-10.1 ***	-1.682	-5.3 ***	-1.726	-5.7 ***
Colombia	.138	2.2 *	-.202	-0.6	-.146	-0.6
Ecuador	.053	1.1	.257	1.1	-.489	-2.8 **
Philippines	-.105	-1.1	-.484	-1.2	-.445	-1.4
Morocco	.040	0.7	-.460	-1.7 #	-.075	-0.3
Peru	.036	0.6	-.459	-1.5	-.077	-0.3
Dominican Rep.	-.035	-0.5	-.106	-0.3	-.604	-2.4 *
Romania	.042	0.6	-.787	-2.5 *	-.463	-1.8 #
Pakistan	.110	1.1	.303	0.7	.214	0.7
Ukraine	.009	0.1	-.246	-0.4	-.493	-1.3
Venezuela	.005	0.0	.161	0.2	-.516	-1.1

Predictor ¹	School Involvement Index		Educ. Aspirations		Educ. Expectations	
	Coeff. ²	t	Coeff. ³	z-ratio	Coeff. ³	z-ratio
Constant	2.538		-1.423		-.505	
R ²	.221		--		--	
Pseudo R ²	--		.067		.060	
Chi Square (24 d.f.)	--		157.59 ***		214.65 ***	
N	1705		1705		1700	

* P < .05
** P < .01
P < .10
*** P < .001

¹ See Appendix for variable measurement.

² Ordinary least squares unstandardized coefficients

³ Ordered logistic coefficients

⁴ Rest of the sample is the reference category.

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Spanish Second Generation (ILSEG), Parental Sample.

Table 3

A Determinants of Educational Aspirations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010						
Predictors ¹	I		II		III	
	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio
Parent:						
-Age	-.005	-0.67	-.001	-0.18	.001	0.16
-Gender (Female)	.067	0.66	.068	0.63	-.051	-0.46
-Years of Spanish Residence	.013	1.66	.010	1.32	-.002	-0.20
-Nationality (Spanish)	-.041	-0.40	-.082	-0.80	-.091	-0.87
-Both Parents Present	-.120	-1.13	-.150	-1.38	-.213	-1.89 [#]
-Socio-economic Status (PSES)	.631	9.06 ^{***}	.473	6.43 ^{***}	.444	5.69 ^{***}
-Knowledge of Spanish (PKSI)	.207	2.75 ^{**}	.091	1.09	.020	0.22
-School Involvement (PSII)			.011	0.12	-.015	-0.16
-Educational Aspirations			.205	2.63 ^{**}	.121	1.47
-Educational Expectations			.607	9.93 ^{***}	.491	7.51 ^{***}
Child:						
-Age					-.467	-7.20 ^{***}
-Gender (Female)					.427	4.26 ^{***}
-Birthplace (Spain)					.223	1.17
-School Type (Private)					.147	1.17
-Year in School					.300	3.03 ^{**}
-Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)					.537	5.38 ^{***}
-City of Residence (Barcelona)					-.156	-1.33
National Origin³:						
-Ecuador					-.442	-2.35 [*]
/ Cut 1	-1.367		.092		-4.683	

A Determinants of Educational Aspirations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010

<i>Predictors^I</i>	<i>I</i>		<i>II</i>		<i>III</i>		<i>IV</i>	
	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio
/ Cut 2	-0.304		1.225		-3.480		-3.361	
/ Cut 3	0.861		2.478		-2.095		-1.959	
Wald Chi Sq.	123.43 ***		263.80 ***		366.24 ***		391.07 ***	
Pseudo R ²	.028		.065		.100		.106	
N	1665		1636		1577		1576	

B Determinants of Educational Expectations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010

<i>Predictors^I</i>	<i>I</i>		<i>II</i>		<i>III</i>		<i>IV</i>	
	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio
Parent:								
-Age	-.005	-0.69	-.002	-0.22	.000	0.08	.003	0.38
-Gender (Female)	-.019	-0.19	-.001	-0.01	-.097	-0.88	-.050	-0.45
-Years of Spanish Residence	.015	2.32 *	.012	1.80 #	-.001	-0.13	-.006	-0.70
-Nationality (Spanish)	-.087	-0.89	-.104	-1.03	-.124	-1.21	-.045	-0.41
-Both Parents Present	.022	0.22	.005	0.05	-.033	-0.31	-.058	-0.53
-Socio-economic Status (PSES)	.504	7.47 ***	.333	4.70 ***	.279	3.82 ***	.259	3.23 **
-Knowledge of Spanish (PKSI)	.162	2.25 *	.041	0.50	.019	0.22	.161	1.52
-School Involvement (PSII)			-.028	-0.32	-.050	-0.56	.008	0.09
-Educational Aspirations			.208	2.54 *	-.128	1.49	.139	1.58
-Educational Expectations			.611	9.93 ***	.505	7.81 ***	.506	7.58 ***
Child:								
-Age					-.448	-7.09 ***	-.438	-6.39 ***
-Gender (Female)					.166	1.74 #	.134	1.39
-Birthplace (Spain)					.319	1.74 #	.112	0.58
-School Type (Private)					.115	0.93	.135	1.06
-Year in School					.312	3.16 **	.311	3.08 **

B Determinants of Educational Expectations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010

<i>Predictors¹</i>	<i>I</i>		<i>II</i>		<i>III</i>		<i>IV</i>	
	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio	Coeff. ²	Z-ratio
-Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)					.524	5.12***	.603	5.97***
-City of Residence (Barcelona)							.095	0.85
National Origin³:								
-Argentina							-.710	-2.09*
-Ecuador							-.522	-2.91**
-Peru							-.527	-2.38*
/ Cut 1	-.860		.544		-3.817		-2.869	
/ Cut 2	.474		1.972		-2.294		-1.336	
/ Cut 3	1.535		3.099		1.092		-0.112	
Wald Chi Sq.	78.80***		222.92***		320.86***		348.52***	
Pseudo R ²	.018		.053		.082		.089	
N	1651		1622		1564		1563	

¹ See Appendix for variable measurement.² Ordered logistic regression coefficients.³ Dummy variables for 17 different nationalities are included in Step IV; only significant coefficients are presented.

p < .10

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Spanish Second Generation (ILSEG)

¹ See Appendix for variable measurement.² Ordered logistic regression coefficients.³ Dummy variables for 17 different nationalities are included in Step IV; only significant coefficients are presented.

p < .10

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Spanish Second Generation (ILSEG)

100' > .001
p

10' > p
**
50' > p
*

Author Manuscript

Author Manuscript

Author Manuscript

Author Manuscript

Table 4

A Determinants of Occupational Aspirations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010						
Predictors ¹	I		II		III	
	Coeff. 2	Z-ratio	Coeff. 2	Z-ratio	Coeff. 2	Z-ratio
Parent:						
-Age	-.002	-0.23	.001	0.18	.005	0.58
-Gender (Female)	.033	0.29	.039	0.33	-.084	-0.68
-Years of Spanish Residence	-.000	-0.01	-.003	-0.38	-.011	-1.06
-Nationality (Spanish)	.011	0.10	-.003	-0.03	-.001	-0.01
-Both Parents Present	.288	2.38 *	.312	2.54 *	.253	1.98 #
-Socio-economic Status (PSES)	.054	0.75	-.052	-0.67	-.104	-1.24
-Knowledge of Spanish (PKSI)	.302	3.45 ***	.226	2.42 *	.210	2.03 *
-School Involvement (PSII)			.037	0.38	.006	0.06
-Educational Aspirations			.092	0.98	.049	0.50
-Educational Expectations			.324	4.58 ***	.202	2.74 **
Child:						
-Age					-.283	-3.97 ***
-Gender (Female)					.725	6.49 ***
-Birthplace (Spain)					.146	0.72
-School Type (Private)					.257	1.77 #
-Year in School					.284	2.57 *
-Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)					.245	2.14 *
-City of Residence (Barcelona)					-.239	-1.87 #
National Origin^{2,3}:						
-Argentina					-.1049	-2.33 *
Constant	-1.571	-3.13	-2.495	-4.31	.079	0.07

A Determinants of Occupational Aspirations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010						
Predictors ^I	I		II		III	
	Coeff. 2	Z-ratio	Coeff. 2	Z-ratio	Coeff. 2	Z-ratio
Wald Chi Sq.	19.69**		50.46***		105.94***	
Pseudo R ²	.010		.025		.059	
N	1592		1563		1508	
						123.38***
						.069
						1507

B Determinants of Occupational Expectations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010						
Predictors ^I	I		II		III	
	Coeff. 2	t	Coeff. 2	t	Coeff. 2	t
Parent:						
-Age	-.016	-0.05	.116	0.37	.075	0.24
-Gender (Female)	-2.529	-0.53	2.773	-0.56	-8.033	-1.56
-Years of Spanish Residence	-.002	-0.01	-.058	-0.20	-.706	-2.11*
-Nationality (Spanish)	-3.252	-0.82	-3.561	-0.91	-4.214	-1.03
-Both Parents Present	-5.826	-1.24	-5.953	-1.26	-7.625	-1.56
-Socio-economic Status (PSES)	7.711	4.16***	4.650	2.25*	2.643	1.25
-Knowledge of Spanish (PKSI)	5.249	2.09*	2.750	1.15	.735	0.25
-School Involvement (PSII)			.447	0.14	.453	0.15
-Educational Aspirations			2.762	0.49	.410	0.07
-Educational Expectations			8.601	2.54*	5.366	1.60#
Child:						
-Age					-7.111	-3.20***
-Gender (Female)					11.920	2.88**
-Birthplace (Spain)					13.848	1.42
-School Type (Private)					1.773	0.48
-Year in School					10.551	3.85***
-Knowledge of Spanish (KSI)					12.776	3.02**
						11.888
						2.92
						-6.765
						-2.91**
						12.472
						3.01**
						16.620
						1.45
						2.414
						0.66
						11.273
						3.82***
						11.888
						2.92

B Determinants of Occupational Expectations among Second Generation Youths in Spain, 2010									
Predictors ¹	I		II		III		IV		
	Coeff.	t	Coeff.	t	Coeff.	t	Coeff.	t	
-City of Residence (Barcelona)							4.065	1.19	
National Origin ³ :									
-Argentina							-22.562	-1.85#	
Constant	142.824	9.07	119.664	7.14	176.369	5.38	183.694	3.89	
F	5.17***		6.63***		8.78***		4.96***		
R ²	.010		.020		.043		.056		
N	1615		1588		1530		1529		

¹ See Appendix for variable measurement.

² Binomial logistic regression coefficients.

³ Dummy variables for 17 different nationalities are included in Step IV; only significant coefficients are presented.

p < .10

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Spanish Second Generation (ILSEG)

¹ See Appendix for variable measurement.

² Ordinary least squares unstandardized coefficients with robust standard errors.

³ Dummy variables for 17 different nationalities are included in Step IV; only significant coefficients are presented.

p < .10

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Source: Longitudinal Study of the Spanish Second Generation (ILSEG)