Beyond the Family: The Influence of Premigration Group Status on the Educational Expectations of Immigrants' Children

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Understanding how immigrants' children form educational expectations may yield insights into the causes of eventual ethnic disparities in socioeconomic attainments. This article examines how the average relative premigration educational status of the immigrant group and the immigrant group's average postmigration SES shape the educational expectations of immigrants' children. It analyzes a unique data set that was compiled from published international data and U.S. census data on 30 immigrant groups, combined with data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey. The findings reveal that higher group premigration educational status facilitates higher perceived parental aspirations, which shape the educational expectations of second-generation youths. Furthermore, as an immigrant group's premigration educational status increases, youths' educational expectations also increase. The results highlight the interaction between group and individual-level factors in that the effect of parents' socioeconomic status on students' educational expectations depends upon the premigration status of their immigrant group. These findings suggest that a premigration group-level characteristic influences second-generation adaptation beyond its association with family background and that greater attention should be drawn to the effects of premigration factors in shaping ethnic communities and the experiences of immigrant groups in the United States.

Accounting for 1 out of 5 of all youths in American schools, children of immigrants are an increasingly important focus of studies of educational outcomes. The educational adaptation of the second generation (which includes the children of immigrants who were born in the United States or who arrived at an early age) has significant implications because it indicates which immigrant groups will ultimately adapt successfully to mainstream American socioeconomic life. Studies have shown that second-generation youths from different national-origin groups face disparate educational trajectories, but individual-level family background factors and postmigration contextual factors do not fully account for such differences (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). Some scholars have speculated that the premigration origins of immigrant groups may influence the next generation's success in the U.S. context (Rumbaut 1997),

but premigration factors have rarely been empirically examined.

Since many children of immigrants are still in school, understanding how they form educational expectations may help to explain eventual disparities in socioeconomic attainment in the United States among ethnic groups. The literature on status attainment has shown that educational attainment predicts eventual economic success and that educational expectations are a key predictor of educational attainment (Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan 1972; Haller and Portes 1973; Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969; Sewell and Hauser 1975, 1980). This article examines how the socioeconomic characteristics of national-origin groups, prior to and after migration, shape the educational expectations of immigrants' children. Thus, it brings together the sociological literatures on second-generation adaptation, immigrant selectivity, and educational expectations and status attainment by examining whether and how immigrants' premigration educational status—that is, the educational attainment of immigrant groups relative to nonmigrants in their home countries—influences the educational expectations of members of the next-generation group, beyond the influence of their individual family backgrounds.

BACKGROUND

National Origin and Second-Generation Adaptation

The literature on second-generation adaptation suggests that it is important to look beyond family background to understand educational differences among immigrants' children. This literature has emphasized the adaptation patterns of the second generation as individuals within ethnic groups. Individual-level factors, such as family socioeconomic status (SES), are not thought to be sufficient to explain patterns of adaptation. For example, one of the most striking findings in Portes and Rumbaut's book, *Legacies*, was that "every multivariate analysis of [the results of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey] identified nationality or ethnicity as a strong and significant predictor of virtually every adaptation outcome," even after as many individual-level factors as possible were controlled (Rumbaut and Portes 2001:xvii). Portes and Rumbaut (1996) argued that persistent national-origin differences in attainment, controlling for individual-level background factors, suggest that "broader cultural or social factors" affect group performance.

Segmented assimilation theory emphasizes the importance of group-level processes in determining the fate of contemporary immigrants and their children (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1999). Although, different outcomes may theoretically occur for different individuals within the same national-origin group, this literature has tended to emphasize the outcomes of ethnic groups as a whole; the puzzle has been to understand "how it is that different groups may come to assimilate into different segments of American society" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:6). To understand these diverse outcomes, scholars have emphasized the modes through which immigrant groups are incorporated into the United States. "Modes of incorporation" depend on the contexts of reception that the group members encounter upon their arrival, such as U.S. policy toward the group (whether the group members were given refugee status and assistance, for example), the prejudices of the receiving society, and the characteristics of the co-ethnic community (Portes and Zhou 1993:83). Portes and Zhou's theoretical framework, which emphasizes the importance of modes of incorporation pertaining to entire national-origin groups, suggests that it is important to consider the characteristics of the group as a whole (rather than just family and individual variables) to understand different patterns of adaptation among the second generation. This article builds on this idea by considering the role of immigrant groups' pre- and post-migration socioeconomic characteristics in explaining differences in educational expectations among the second generation.

As was suggested earlier, scholars have increasingly argued that it is necessary to go beyond family SES to understand why certain ethnic backgrounds, such as Chinese, have positive effects, while other backgrounds,

such as Mexican, have negative effects (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Zhou 2001). In trying to explain such ethnic differences, Zhou (2001) emphasized how social networks that are based on ethnic ties within communities can provide support to certain disadvantaged groups. Bankston and Zhou (2002) pointed out that family ties are often disrupted by migration, while ethnic-group membership is often intensified upon settling in a new country. Their work on the Vietnamese illustrates how community efforts outside the family can facilitate the next generation's academic success (Zhou and Bankston 1998). Zhou and Kim's (forthcoming) study of supplementary education in Chinese and Korean immigrant communities provided a concrete example of "group-specific social structures" that can promote the academic achievement of second-generation youths; these group structures, they argued, "may be contingent upon circumstances prior to and after immigration" (p. 2). Likewise, Goyette and Conchas (2002) found that relationships *outside* the family, such as those with co-ethnic peers and teachers, play a large role in explaining variation between the educational habits of Vietnamese and Mexicans.

This literature has suggested that social and economic resources (or the lack of resources) that are available to ethnic-group members outside their family contexts can help facilitate (or undermine) individual achievement. As Zhou and Kim (forthcoming) emphasized, a group's socioeconomic position, prior to and after migration, can *interact* with the socioeconomic characteristics of an individual family to influence second-generation educational outcomes. Thus, the effect of an individual's family socioeconomic background may depend on the circumstances of the entire ethnic group, such that poorer individual-level socioeconomic conditions may not be as detrimental for individuals within higher-status immigrant communities because these individuals have resources outside the family that are available to them. Although an examination of community effects or relationships per se is beyond the scope of this article, I examine the characteristics of the immigrant generation, which ultimately shape those ethnic communities. More advantageous communities may be built upon the desirable structural characteristics of the immigrant groups, including their position in the social structure of their home country prior to migration and the status-attainment expectations that they bring with them. In this article, I examine whether group-level pre- and postmigration socioeconomic characteristics interact with individual-level family background characteristics to influence educational expectations among the second generation.

IMMIGRANT SELECTIVITY

As was suggested earlier, the characteristics of immigrant groups are shaped by their selectivity from their countries of origin. Immigrants are not random samples of the populations from which they came, but instead are drawn from particular segments of their sending societies. Immigrant selectivity occurs on several complex and interrelated levels. For example, immigrants self-select, since only some people want to migrate or have the resources to do so. Furthermore, some countries have historically had restrictive exit policies that have allowed only select individuals to emigrate (Foner 2000). The nature of migration flows is also influenced by political and economic conditions in the sending country (the contexts of exit) (Massey 1999; Menjivar 2000; Rumbaut 1997), the historical relationship between the United States and potential sending countries (Rumbaut 1995, 1997), and U.S. immigration policy (Green 1999). Regardless of the causes of immigrant selectivity, the question of whether immigrants represent the "best and the brightest" or the "poorest of the poor" continues to be debated. Recent research on immigration has not adequately addressed this basic question of how immigrants compare to those who do not migrate (Gans 2000), and therefore scholars have not agreed on this issue or on how selectivity, or premigration SES, affects adaptation. Borjas (1990, 1999) argued that contemporary immigrants are of increasingly low quality because relatively less skilled migrants domi-

nate contemporary flows. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) contended, however, that all immigrants represent a positively selected, highly motivated group from their home country.

Immigrant selectivity has been shown to affect earnings (Borjas 1987; Carliner 1980; Chiswick 1978) and health disparities among immigrants (Landale, Oropesa, and Gorman 2000; Weeks, Rumbaut, and Ojeda 1999). However, the impact of selectivity and premigration characteristics, in general, on adaptation processes has been understudied (Rumbaut 1999). Because of data limitations, most studies that have used the concept of selectivity have not adequately specified its role. Adjudicating the effects of selectivity, or premigration characteristics, requires data on the home populations in the sending country, as well as comparable data on immigrants from the same countries in the United States. Only a few case studies of specific immigrant groups have used such data (Landale et al. 2000; Ortiz 1986; Ramos 1992; Weeks et al. 1999). Instead, comparative studies have used a set of proxies for selectivity, such as gross national product, income inequality, and distance, which even their authors have admitted are "ad hoc" (Borjas 1987; Cobb-Clark 1993; Jasso and Rosenzweig 1986). In contrast, this article directly examines the impact of immigrant selectivity by using a measure of premigration educational status, which I constructed in previous work (Feliciano 2005), that compares the educational attainments of migrants and nonmigrants from many of the top immigrant-sending countries to the United States. In prior work, I found that while nearly all immigrants are more highly educated than the populations that remain in their home countries, immigrants vary considerably in their degree of educational selectivity, depending upon the country of origin and the timing of migration from a particular country (Feliciano 2005). In this article, I address the question of whether these differences in the *degree* of positive educational selectivity influence educational expectations among groups of immigrants' children from different countries.

One reason why immigrant selectivity, particularly premigration SES, may be important is that postmigration socioeconomic standing in the U.S. context does not always correspond well to an immigrant group's premigration status. After migration, some immigrants experience downward mobility in economic and social status, owing to the difficulty of transferring occupational credentials or learning a new language. For example, Espiritu (2003:265) noted that although some of the poorer Filipino immigrants she interviewed lived in poor conditions in the United States, they owned substantial property in the Philippines and "continued to view themselves as 'upper class.'" Similarly, Louie (2001) described how some Chinese immigrant parents who experienced substantial loss of status after migration had high expectations for their children in the United States, partly because they saw their children's success as a reward for their sacrifice and downward mobility. Clearly, opportunity structures differ from country to country, and many immigrants come to the United States to improve their standards of living. But even those who experience improvements, in absolute terms, in their living conditions or incomes after migration may have experienced a decline in status in *relative* terms compared to where they were situated in their home country's class structure prior to migration. By examining both the premigration and postmigration class status of immigrant groups in the United States, I assess whether both influence the second generation's educational expectations.

Expectations and Achievement Among Minority Youths

Educational expectations are an important outcome to study because research has consistently found that they are powerful predictors of eventual educational attainment (Duncan et al. 1972; Haller and Portes 1973; Sewell et al. 1969; Sewell and Hauser 1975, 1980). Expectations are seen as mediating the relationship between socioeconomic background and attainment, as well as exercising an independent effect on attainment (Sewell et al. 1969; Sewell and Hauser 1975). While the literature has often used the con-

cepts of educational aspirations and expectations interchangeably, and they are clearly related, distinguishing between the two is important. Educational aspirations may capture general goals or ambitions for the future, whereas expectations more explicitly capture realistic plans for the future. Since educational expectations involve concrete goals and are thus more likely to correspond to eventual attainment, this article focuses on educational expectations. However, I also consider the role of both parental aspirations and expectations in shaping youths' educational expectations.

Although much of the early research that found a relationship between educational expectations and eventual achievement was on white youths only, studies have suggested that educational expectations are even more important predictors of educational attainment for minority youths (Kerckhoff and Campbell 1977; Portes and Wilson 1976). For example, high educational expectations have been shown to protect Latino youths against dropping out of school (Driscoll 1999). However, studies have also suggested that whites and ethnic minorities encounter different mobility systems (Kerckhoff and Campbell 1977; Porter 1974; Portes and Wilson 1976). Although not focused explicitly on educational expectations, studies that have shown that family socioeconomic background variables have stronger effects on whites' than on minorities' educational aspirations (Qian and Blair 1999) and attainment (Kuo and Hauser 1995) have suggested that the formation of educational expectations may differ for minorities, including most children of immigrants, compared to whites. Hanson's (1994) finding that SES affects the educational expectations of whites, but not of nonwhites, is also consistent with this idea. In addition, high expectations among minority and low-SES youths do not translate into high attainments to the same extent that they do for others (Entwisle and Hayduk 1978). Asians, blacks, and Latinos also hope to go further in higher education than may be expected, given their socioeconomic backgrounds (Kao and Tienda 1998). The socioeconomic background of these groups, however, is usually measured as parents' socioeconomic circumstances in the United States. For immigrant parents, considering only postmigration SES may be problematic if their socioeconomic circumstances were different prior to migration.

Research on the extraordinary achievement of many second-generation Asians may suggest one reason why socioeconomic background prior to migration may influence the second generation's expectations. Asians of all nationalities have been shown to have higher educational expectations than whites, but postmigration family and individual background factors do not fully explain this finding (Goyette and Xie 1999). Goyette and Xie (1999) suggested that the higher educational expectations of so many diverse Asian groups may be due to selectivity on characteristics and experiences that all Asian immigrant groups share. For example, the history of Asian exclusion may have made Asian immigration selective; thus, Asian immigrants may come from higher-class strata in their origin countries, even if high premigration SES does not translate into high SES in the U.S. context (Cheng and Yang 1996; Hirschman and Wong 1986).

Another possible explanation for the weaker relationship between family socioeconomic background and expectations for minorities compared to whites concerns the collective experiences and identities of minority-group members. For minorities, the collective experiences or identities of the racial/ethnic group (racial consciousness) may be more important than individual class backgrounds in shaping educational expectations. Ogbu's (1991, 2003) notion that groups develop a collective self-identity may provide some insight into this process, even though his framework, based on a distinction between immigrant/voluntary migrants and involuntary migrants, may not be entirely appropriate for analyses of the second generation, most of whose parents voluntarily migrated to this country. Ogbu argued that involuntary minorities, such as blacks, develop group self-definitions that are opposed to success in mainstream educational institutions and thus have low educational aspirations. Immigrant minorities, in contrast, develop group self-definitions that are based on a positive view

of a shared heritage, thereby creating a sense of group dignity and pride (Ogbu 1974, 1991, 2003). Although most empirical work has shown that, contrary to Ogbu's theory, most blacks hope to attain higher degrees and thus are not opposed to educational success (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998; Hauser and Anderson 1991; Kao and Tienda 1998), the idea that characteristics of immigrant groups shape the collective identity of second-generation members may nevertheless have merit. In particular, group premigration status may be important because if an immigrant group is composed mostly of the elite from a home country, that status can create a sense of group dignity and pride that fosters the next generation's success in school. In this article, I explicitly examine the impact of group membership on educational expectations by investigating whether the collective socioeconomic characteristics of national-origin groups shape educational expectations beyond the influence of individual family background characteristics.

However, individual family processes are also important. Studies have shown that higher parental expectations and aspirations lead to higher educational expectations among minority youths. One study found that the higher educational expectations of Asian parents play an important role in explaining the higher educational expectations of Asian compared to white students (Goyette and Xie 1999). Similarly, Kao (2002) found that Asian parents have especially high aspirations and that immigrant parents have higher aspirations for their children than do nonimmigrant parents. Black, Hispanic, and Asian parents have been found to have higher aspirations for their children than do white parents of the same (postmigration) socioeconomic background (Kao 2002). This article examines perceptions of parental aspirations as a predictor of adolescents' educational expectations and assesses the influence of immigrant groups' premigration and postmigration SES on the second generation's educational expectations.

In sum, the literatures on second-generation adaptation and segmented assimilation, immigrant selectivity, and minority group members' educational expectations all suggest that group-level characteristics should influence the educational expectations of the second generation. However, most studies have not explicitly accounted for group-level variables, especially premigration characteristics. This article's goal is not to adjudicate among competing explanations, but rather to examine explicitly whether immigrant pre- and postmigration socioeconomic characteristics, at the group level, influence second-generation individuals' educational expectations, an outcome that is a key predictor of later disparities in educational attainment.

DATA AND METHODS

Sample

The main data source for this study was the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), which was explicitly designed to examine the adaptation processes of U.S.-born children with at least one immigrant parent and children who immigrated at an early age, who lived in San Diego, California, and Miami/Fort Lauderdale, Florida. It was designed to assess children of immigrants' family structure, school achievement, educational and occupational expectations and aspirations, language use and preferences, ethnic identities, and psychosocial adjustment, as well as changes in these indicators over time. The first survey, conducted in 1992, included 5,262 second-generation respondents who were in the eighth and ninth grades. A second follow-up[1] was conducted three years later when most were about to graduate from high school; the follow-up included 4,288 (81.5 percent) of the original respondents.[2] The results in this article are drawn primarily from the sample of students who participated in both waves of the study (hereafter called Time 1 and Time 2). Although response rates for the second follow-up varied by national origin, from a low of 74 percent among Dominicans to a high of 89 percent among Filipinos (among the national-origin groups with more than 50 respondents), this selection did not appear to bias the results significantly (see note 14). Additional analyses were drawn from inter-

views with parents, conducted with the parents of 46 percent of the original respondents. The response rates to these interviews varied substantially for the larger national-origin groups. For example, only 32 percent of the original Cuban respondents' parents were interviewed, compared to 68 percent of the original Vietnamese respondents' parents. For this reason, and given the national-origin focus of this article, the parental survey was used only to supplement the main findings from the two student surveys.

From the CILS data, I selected children of immigrants from 30 national-origin groups, the largest of which were Cubans, Filipinos, Mexicans, Vietnamese, Nicaraguans, Colombians, Haitians, Jamaicans, and Dominicans (all more than 50 cases).[3] I selected only 30 national-origin groups (out of the 88 included in the CILS) because they were the only nationalities with available data on the immigrant groups' premigration educational status (as described later). As Rumbaut (1994) noted, assigning national origin in the CILS data is straightforward only for about 75 percent of the respondents. Regarding the other cases, I used the following rules to assign national origin:[4] (1) If one parent's birthplace was missing, the country of origin of the other parent was used; (2) if one parent was born in the United States, the other parent's country of origin was used; (3) if each parent was born in a different foreign country and the respondent was born in one of these two countries, then the birthplace of the respondent was used to assign national origin; and (4) if each parent was born in a different foreign country and the respondent was born either in the United States or in a different foreign country from either parent, then the mother's country of origin was used. The rationale for this usage is that in almost 30 percent of the families, the biological father was not present, and prior research by Rumbaut (1994) showed that mothers' characteristics are more determinative of outcomes than are fathers'.[5]

I used additional data sources to create the measures of the pre- and postmigration characteristics of the national-origin groups. Measuring immigrants' premigration SES required data for national-origin groups on both the sending and receiving sides of the migration process. Because education is one of the few socioeconomic indicators that is available in multiple countries, as well as for immigrants in the United States, and is one of the major determinants of economic success in the United States, premigration relative educational attainment was used as a proxy for premigration SES. However, since I do not have other premigration socioeconomic indicators, such as occupation or income, I refer to this measure as "premigration educational status." To compile this measure, I first gathered published data on the sending countries' average levels of educational attainment, by age, for many of the top migrant-sending countries to the United States.[6] Second, I created extracts of U.S. census data on first-generation U.S. immigrants from the Integrated Public Use Micro Samples (IPUMS 1997). My selection of immigrants for each country's sample was guided by three main principles. First, since I wanted measures of educational attainment that would reflect those of the "average" immigrant from that country, I included only immigrants who migrated within 10 years (before or after) the average year a particular immigrant group migrated to the United States. I collected the IPUMS data for the closest year available following the average years of migration for that particular national-origin group.[7] This method ensured that I would not overestimate the premigration class status of immigrants, since it is generally thought that the first waves of migrants are more skilled and educated than are the later waves (Massey 1988). Further-more, since return migration is common, the use of these data limited the possible bias of creating measures that are based only on long-term immigrants who may be the most successful in the United States and the most educated. Second, I limited the sample of immigrants to only those who migrated as adults. Thus, I analyzed data from those who migrated at age 22 or older, so that I could be reasonably sure that most of their education occurred in their home country, rather than in the United States. Third, I selected immigrants within the same age range as the home-country populations in the published UNESCO data (in most cases, age 25 and older). Doing so ensured that I was comparing migrants and nonmigrants within the same age range.

To calculate a measure of the average postmigration SES of the immigrant group, I used data from the 1990 U.S. census on adult immigrants (from the same 30 countries for which I had data to create the measures of premigration educational status). I merged the data on the pre- and postmigration SES of the 30 first-generation immigrant groups to the CILS data on the corresponding 1.5- and second-generation children.

Independent Variables

The two key independent variables were group-level variables describing the pre- and postmigration SES of the first-generation immigrant groups and are described in detail next. (See Appendix Table A for descriptive statistics on all the variables included in the analyses.)

Immigrant Groups' Premigration Educational Status Drawing on Lieberson's (1976, 1980) work, I calculated the net difference index (ND), a comparative measure of immigrants' and nonmigrants' educational attainments (adjusted for age[8]) along all points of the education distribution, as the measure of premigration educational status. The ND is calculated on the basis of the percentage of immigrants with the same level of attainment as nonmigrants in the home country, the percentage of immigrants with more education than nonmigrants, and the percentage of immigrants with less education than nonmigrants (for a detailed discussion of this measure, see Lieberson 1976). For example, an index of .35 indicates that an immigrant's educational attainment will exceed that of a nonmigrant from the same country 35 percent more often than a nonmigrant's education will exceed that of an immigrant from that country (Lieberson 1980). If the number of immigrants exceeding nonmigrants in educational attainment equals the number of nonmigrants exceeding immigrants in education, the value of ND will be zero. Thus, the higher the ND, the more educated the immigrants are relative to the nonmigrant population in their home country. If immigrants are more often less educated than are nonmigrants, the value of ND will be negative (Lieberson 1976, 1980). Table 1 lists the premigration educational status (ND) for the 22 national-origin groups with 10 or more cases represented in the CILS data; this was the key independent variable.

Immigrant Groups' Postmigration SES I calculated the average years of schooling, the average occupational status (score on the Duncan socioeconomic index; see Duncan 1961), and the average income for each national-origin group using data from the 1990 U.S. census (IPUMS). Even though the schooling was completed prior to migration, I included education as a postmigration variable because the absolute years of schooling were considered only in the U.S. context (rather than relative to the home-country population). Since years of schooling, occupational status, and income are all highly correlated, I standardized and summed these measures into an SES scale ranging from 0 to 1. Table 1 lists the average postmigration SES scores for the 22 largest national-origin groups. It shows that immigrant groups' premigration educational status and postmigration SES are related. For example, of the nationalities shown in this table, Mexicans have the lowest premigration educational status[9] (.200) and the lowest postmigration SES (.000). On the other hand, Indians have the highest premigration educational status (.858) and the highest postmigration SES (1.000). Therefore, one of the questions that this article addresses is whether premigration status influences second-generation educational expectations above and beyond its influence on the first-generation's postmigration SES.

Dependent Variable

Educational Expectations The dependent variable was educational expectations, measured in 1995–96, corresponding to when most of the respondents were high school seniors. The respondents were asked: "What is the highest level of education you think you will get?" From this question, I created a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the respondent expected to finish college.[10] Table 1 shows a range of educational

Table 1. Select National-Origin Groups, by the Dependent Variable and Key Independent Variables

	National-Origin Group-Level Independent Variables		Dependent Variable	Select Individual-Level Independent Variables						
							Perceives that Parent Wants Respondent to Attain (T2)			
Country of Origin	Premigration Educational Status (ND)	Post-migration SES	Expects College Degree (T2)	Parents' Post-migration SES (T1)	Believes Will Face Discrimination (T1)	Inner-City School (T1)	No College Degree	College Degree	Graduate Degree	*N*
Cuba	0.406	0.227	0.880	0.172	0.410	0.308	0.062	0.263	0.675	886
Philippines	0.602	0.658	0.860	0.309	0.718	0.053	0.041	0.312	0.646	701
Mexico	0.200	0.000	0.633	-0.633	0.638	0.595	0.155	0.325	0.520	575
Vietnam	0.589	0.423	0.862	-0.338	0.697	0.462	0.100	0.221	0.679	290
Nicaragua	0.669	0.285	0.864	0.054	0.476	0.260	0.026	0.201	0.773	273
Colombia	0.617	0.397	0.873	0.045	0.452	0.318	0.006	0.223	0.771	157
Haiti	0.710	0.187	0.821	-0.231	0.740	0.480	0.089	0.244	0.667	123
Jamaica	0.670	0.567	0.853	0.271	0.761	0.450	0.037	0.239	0.725	109
Dominican Republic	0.490	0.176	0.722	-0.075	0.582	0.494	0.101	0.342	0.557	79
Honduras	0.433	0.093	0.840	-0.291	0.440	0.480	0.060	0.340	0.600	50
Ecuador	0.513	0.287	0.895	0.082	0.500	0.289	0.026	0.316	0.658	38
Peru	0.645	0.427	0.969	0.250	0.406	0.156	0.000	0.156	0.844	32
El Salvador	0.342	0.057	0.833	-0.102	0.433	0.367	0.100	0.200	0.700	30
Guatemala	0.534	0.062	0.615	-0.197	0.500	0.500	0.154	0.308	0.538	26
Japan	0.670	0.766	0.917	0.471	0.708	0.083	0.000	0.375	0.625	24
India	0.858	1.000	0.944	0.724	0.667	0.222	0.056	0.056	0.889	18
Hong Kong	0.525	0.772	1.000	-0.165	0.824	0.353	0.000	0.353	0.647	17
Korea	0.524	0.575	0.867	0.270	0.600	0.000	0.000	0.400	0.600	15
Canada	0.434	0.749	0.692	0.557	0.615	0.462	0.077	0.154	0.769	13
Thailand	0.638	0.776	0.583	-0.013	0.667	0.333	0.083	0.583	0.333	12
China	0.667	0.380	0.900	-0.499	1.000	0.700	0.000	0.300	0.700	10

Note: T1 denotes that the variable is from the first wave of the CILS survey; T2 denotes that it is from the second wave.

expectations by national-origin groups: only 62 percent of second-generation Guatemalans and 63 percent of second-generation Mexicans expected to attain a college degree, compared to 100 percent of the second generation from Hong Kong and 97 percent of the second generation from Peru.

Control Variables

Parents' Postmigration SES A key control variable was the respondents' family background, or their parents' postmigration SES. I included Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) composite indicator of SES: the standardized unit-weighted sum of father's and mother's education, occupational status, and home ownership in 1992. Since the parents were also included in the national-origin group-level variables, it makes sense that the parents' SESs would correspond to those of their national-origin group. Indeed, this was the case much of the time: The average SES of Mexican parents, the lowest-status immigrant group, was quite low (-.633), while the average SES of Indian parents, the highest-status immigrant group, was high (.724). Still, there was a range of parental SESs, even within the same national-origin group. Thus, another question that motivated the subsequent analyses is whether group-level pre- and postmigration status influence the second generation after their own families' SESs are controlled.

Discrimination One limitation of the study is that with the available data, I could not evaluate how the individuals or groups were racialized in the U.S. context. That is, while racial discrimination, both personally experienced and observed of others, is likely to affect the formation of educational expectations for children of immigrants, it is unclear how, and to what extent, racialization processes differ among individuals and groups. Although I would hypothesize that experiences of racial discrimination are most pronounced for individuals who are racialized as "black" in the U.S. context (as children of Jamaican and Haitian immigrants, as well as some children of Cubans and Dominicans, often are), it would be simplistic to assume that even their experiences are uniform or that the discrimination faced by individuals of different national origins is necessarily less pronounced.

To attempt to address at least some of the complexities of the effect of racial discrimination in the United States on educational expectations, I included a variable describing the respondents' beliefs that discrimination will hinder their future success. The respondents were asked to answer "how true" ("very true," partly true," "not very true," or "not true at all") the statement, "No matter how much education I get, people will still discriminate against me" was for them. The answers to this question were dichotomized, distinguishing between those who believed that it was "not true at all" and those who believed that it was true, at least to some extent.[11] If one focuses on groups with more than 50 respondents, for whom the estimates are more reliable, one sees that Haitians (74 percent) and Jamaicans (76 percent), who are the most likely to be racialized as "black" in the United States, are more likely to believe that they will face discrimination than are respondents from many of the other national-origin groups (such as Cubans, only 41 percent of whom believed they will face discrimination). (See Table 1.)

Inner-City School Given the emphasis of segmented assimilation theory on the importance of contexts of reception, particularly how growing up in inner cities may negatively influence the adaptation of second-generation youths, I included a dichotomous variable that was based on whether the respondents attended an inner-city school.[12] Of the larger immigrant groups, second-generation Mexicans are the most likely to attend inner-city schools (60 percent), whereas Filipinos are the least likely (less than 6 percent).

Perceptions of Parents' Aspirations One key mechanism through which immigrant groups' pre- and postmigration characteristics may influence the second generation's adaptation is through their parents. For example, parents in high-status immigrant groups, even if they are not of high SES themselves, may compel their children to excel in

school to measure up to the standards of the group. Unfortunately, the CILS student surveys did not ask the respondents how far they thought their parents *expected* them to go in school, but the surveys did ask how far they thought their parents *aspired* for them to go in school. The respondents were asked, "What is the highest level of education that your parents want you to get?" This variable was coded as a series of dummy variables, depending on whether the respondent indicated that his or her parents aspired for him or her to attain less than a bachelor's degree, a bachelor's degree, or a graduate degree. Table 1 and Appendix Table A show that most of the respondents perceived that their parents had very high aspirations for them; well over half (65 percent; see Appendix Table A) thought that their parents wanted them to attain a graduate degree.

Although students' perceptions of what their parents want for them may not match parents' actual aspirations or expectations, students' own educational expectations are likely to be shaped, to some extent, by their perceptions of what they *think* their parents want for them, regardless of what their parents' expectations actually are (although clearly the two are related). As Thomas (1931) and Merton (1948) asserted, perceptions are important because, whether accurate or not, they shape behavior. The perceptions of children of immigrants are particularly important because the children may have more accurate knowledge about the U.S. educational system than do their parents. Children who think that their parents want them to go as far as possible in school would probably state that their parents want them to earn a graduate degree, even though the parents themselves may not actually know the meaning of a graduate degree. Nevertheless, this study is limited in that the CILS data do not include a direct measure of parents' educational expectations or aspirations, which are also important. Indeed, Davies and Kandel (1981) showed that parents' actual aspirations exert an independent effect on their children's aspirations, apart from the children's own perceptions. They also argued that perceptions are partly influenced by the perceiver's own aspirations, thus introducing potential endogeneity problems of which readers should be aware, particularly since this measure is available only in the Time 2 data set and was not measured at Time 1, as were the other independent variables.

Parents' Actual Expectations To overcome some of the limitations of the perceived parental aspirations variable, I included additional analyses with a measure of parents' actual educational expectations, drawn from the Time 2 parental survey. However, as I mentioned earlier, these data are limited because the response rates varied substantially by national-origin group and sample sizes were much lower than for the overall survey. The parents were asked about their expectations for their children's education (although not their *aspirations,* so I could not compare how well the students' perceptions of their parents' aspirations compared with their parents' actual aspirations).[13] Appendix Table A shows that most parents expected their children to attain a bachelor's degree (41 percent), and small proportions expected them to attain a graduate degree (36 percent) or less than a college degree (22 percent).

Additional Control Variables As additional control variables, I included the respondent's age and sex, whether the respondent was born in the United States, whether the respondent was fluent bilingual in 1992 (based on whether he or she spoke English very well and a foreign language at least well), and the respondent's grade point average (GPA) in 1992 (obtained from the student's record).

RESULTS

Table 2 reports the results of logistic regression models predicting whether the respondents expected to obtain a college degree or not at Time 2 (corresponding to the time when most of the respondents were high school seniors).[14] These models contain robust standard errors that adjust for clustering at the level of the national-origin group.[15] In terms of the control variables,[16] age and

nativity had no effect on educational expectations. However, the other control variables all had positive effects on the likelihood of the respondents expecting to graduate from college. Consistent with prior research that found a gender gap in educational outcomes (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005), females were 1.4 times as likely to expect to obtain a college degree as were males.[17] As predicted by the literature showing that fluent bilingualism is associated with favorable educational outcomes (Feliciano 2001; Fernandez and Nielsen 1986; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995), respondents who were fluent bilingual were 1.8 times as likely to expect to graduate from college as were those who were not. Also as anticipated, as the GPA at Time 1 increased by one point, the respondents were more than two times as likely to expect to graduate from college.

The effect of family SES is strong and significant: As parental SES increased, the respondents were much more likely to expect to graduate from college. In addition, dis-

Table 2. Odds Ratios from the Logistic Regressions of Expectations of Graduating from College on Selected Independent Variables (*N* = 3,498)

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Age (T1)	.925	.921	.901*	.984	.982
Female (T1)	1.428***	1.435***	1.399**	1.106	1.106
U.S. Born (T1)	1.043	1.072	1.213**	1.333**	1.316**
Fluent Bilingual (T1)	1.765***	1.832***	1.748***	1.691***	1.652***
Grade Point Average (T1)	2.264***	2.209***	2.269***	2.209***	2.224***
Parents' SES (T1)	2.254***	2.154***	2.082***	1.869***	3.026***
Believes Will Face Discrimination (T1)	.818*	.810*	.828**	.903+	.920
Inner-City School (T1)	.813+	.840	.838	.893	.890
Immigrant Group Postmigration SES		1.543	.411	.494	.540
Immigrant Group Premigration Educational Status (ND)			9.834**	6.229**	3.458+
Perceives that Parent Wants Respondent to Attain (T2)					
College degree				4.156***	4.156***
Graduate degree (reference = less than a college degree)				12.238***	12.238***
Interaction: Parents' SES (T1) and Group Premigration Educational Status					.346*
Pseudo R^2	.158	.159	.166	.247	.248

Note: Robust standard errors, adjusted for clustering at the national-origin group level: +$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. T1 denotes that the variable is from the first wave of the CILS survey; T2 denotes that it is from the second wave.

crimination and attending inner-city schools have their hypothesized effects: Respondents who believed that they would later face discrimination, regardless of how much education they attained, were less likely to expect to graduate from college than were those who did not believe they would face discrimination. Similarly, although only bordering on statistical significance, respondents who attended inner-city schools were less likely to expect to attain a college degree.

In Model 2, I added postmigration immigrant group SES, one of the key independent variables at the national-origin group level. Postmigration group SES does not have a significant effect. Additional analyses (available on request) showed that the effect of this variable was not significant because the effect of *parents*' postmigration SES is more important than the effect of the postmigration SES of the immigrant group as a whole.

In Model 3, I introduced immigrant group premigration educational status, which has a strong and significant effect: A one-unit increase in immigrant group premigration educational status (as measured by the ND) results in respondents being more than nine times as likely to expect to attain a college degree. Furthermore, introducing the immigrant group's *premigration* educational status changes the direction of the effect of the immigrant group's *postmigration* SES, although it is still not statistically significant. This finding is explained by the high correlation (.74) between pre- and postmigration group status; most immigrant groups of high postmigration status were of high premigration status, and vice versa. However, that premigration educational status is statistically significant and in the logical, positive direction suggests that premigration SES is more influential than is postmigration group status.

In separate analyses (available on request), I also calculated the premigration educational status of the respondents' parents (based on the difference between their parents' educational attainment and that of the average person in their home country). This variable, regardless of the way it was coded, did not significantly affect children's expectations, once parents' postmigration SES was included in the model. In addition, its inclusion did not affect the odds ratio on immigrant group postmigration educational status, which still significantly influenced educational expectations. These findings show that after parents' postmigration SES was controlled, the premigration educational status of the national-origin group, as a collective whole, not at the individual level, significantly affected the respondents' educational expectations.

In Model 4, I added children's perceptions of their parents' educational aspirations to the equation. This variable has a strong, significant effect on children's expectations. The respondents who believed that their parents aspired for them to obtain a college degree were more than 4 times as likely to expect to attain a graduate degree as were those who thought that their parents would be content for them to attain less than a college degree. Likewise, the respondents who believed that their parents wanted them to attain a graduate degree were more than 12 times as likely to expect to attain a college degree as were those who did not think their parents had such high aspirations for them. Once perceptions of parents' aspirations are controlled for, the effect of immigrant group premigration educational status declines (from 9.8 to 6.2). This finding suggests that at least part of the influence of an immigrant group's premigration educational status occurs through perceived parents' aspirations. That is, the immigrant group's premigration educational status influences the aspirations that parents have for their children (at least as perceived by the children), and it is partly through this mechanism that this group-level characteristic affects expectations among the second generation.

In Model 5, I introduced an interaction effect between parents' SES and group premigration educational status. The interaction effect is significant, indicating that the effect of parents' SES on children's educational expectations depends on the immigrant group's premigration educational status. Figure 1 illustrates this interaction effect by using five groups with various premigration educational statuses as examples. The figure is based on Table 2, Model 5, with all the independent variables (except parents' SES and group premigration status) set to their

means. It shows that for Mexicans, a group with one of the lowest premigration SESs (.200), the predicted probability of expecting to attain a college degree varies greatly, depending on the parents' SES (indicated by the steepness of the curve). That is, Mexican youths from families with low postmigration SES have relatively low educational expectations (less than 65 percent expect to attain a college degree), while those from high-SES families have high educational expectations (close to 97 percent expect to attain a college degree). In contrast, for immigrant groups with a relatively high premigration status, Haitians (.710) or Vietnamese (.589), the predicted probability of expecting a college degree does not depend as much on their parents' SES, even though their parents' SES may range from very low to very high. Because these immigrant groups' premigration statuses are fairly high, college expectations are only slightly lower among Haitian and Vietnamese youths in low postmigration SES families than among their counterparts in higher postmigration SES families; the relationship between parents' SES and college expectations is not nearly as strong as it is for Mexican youths. The predicted probabilities of expecting a college degree range from about 82 percent to 94 percent among Haitian youths and 80 percent to 94 percent among Vietnamese youths (compared to 64 percent to 97 percent among Mexican youths). These findings suggest that even if their parents are of low SES, youths from immigrant groups that were of a relatively high status prior to migration will have high educational expectations.

In Appendix Table B, I replicate these models for the sample of respondents whose parents completed the parental survey. Overall, the results are substantively similar to those in Table 2. In Model 5, I included parents' actual expectations. It is not surprising that the respondents whose parents expected them to complete college or graduate school were more likely to expect to attain a college degree. Readers should be cautioned, howev-

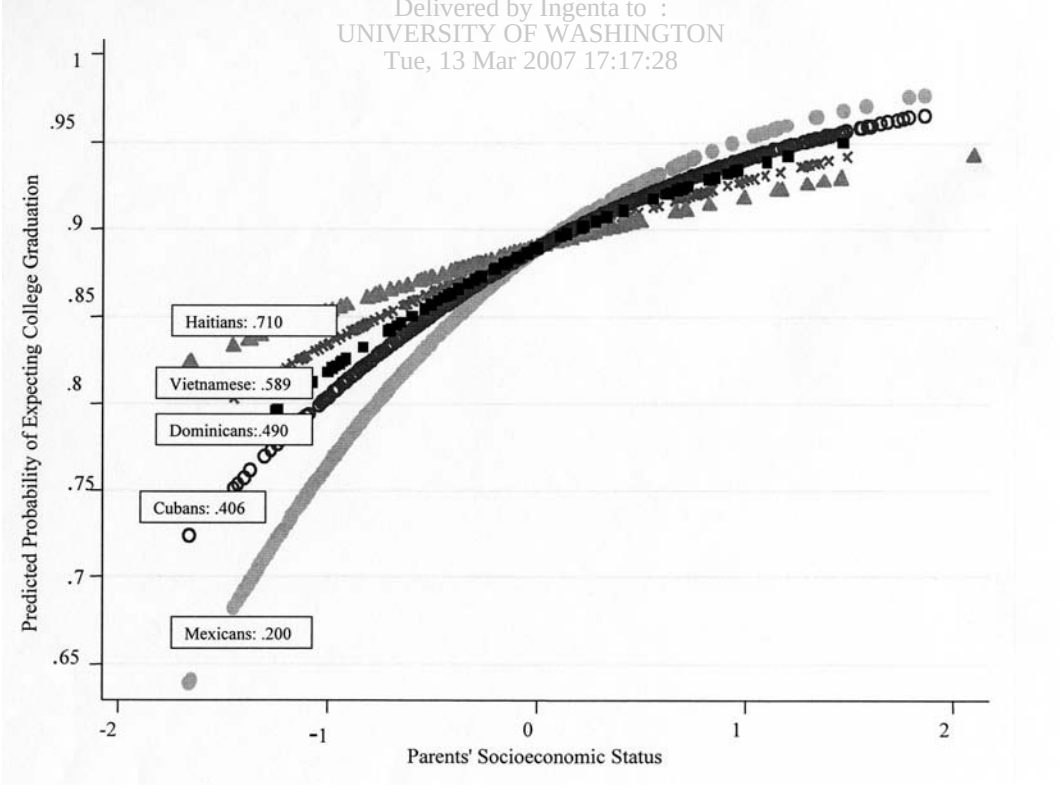

Figure 1. Interaction Between Immigrant Group Premigration Educational Status and Parents' SES

er, that the causal direction is not clear: Children's expectations can influence their parents', and vice versa. It is interesting that parents' actual expectations for their children's education do not change the effect of their children's *perceived* parental aspirations. However, parental expectations do explain some of the effect of immigrant group premigration educational status (the odds ratio declines from 11.1 to 8.4). Thus, part of the mechanism through which group premigration status influences the educational expectations of the second generation is through not only youths' perceptions of their parents' aspirations, but their parents' actual educational expectations.

DISCUSSION

The main finding of this article is that group-level premigration educational status influences educational expectations among the second generation. Some of this effect works through the influence of parents, or at least the students' perceptions of their parents' desires for them. That is, the respondents' perceptions of their parents' aspirations were partly influenced by the prior relative class standing of the entire immigrant generation who migrated to the United States from their country. The relative premigration educational status of the immigrant group also influences parents' actual educational expectations. Both perceived parents' aspirations and actual parental expectations, in turn, shape children's educational expectations such that children with parents who have higher hopes for their children's educational attainment develop higher educational expectations themselves. National-origin group premigration educational status also *directly* affects educational expectations for second-generation youths, beyond its influence on children's perceptions of parents' aspirations or parents' expectations, suggesting that second-generation youths are influenced by members of the national-origin group outside their families.

The finding that premigration status at the group level influences second-generation expectations supports segmented assimilation theory's emphasis on group-level processes and outcomes. However, while segmented assimilation theory focuses on contexts of reception and modes of incorporation in the United States *after* migration, this study extended the theory by showing that an immigrant group's experiences *prior* to migration also affect the second generation's adaptation.

Understanding precisely how and why national-origin group premigration educational status shapes individuals' aspirations and expectations is beyond the scope of this article. However, at least two explanations are suggested by the earlier literature. The first explanation is drawn from segmented assimilation theory, which emphasizes the role of the ethnic community in shaping the second generation's adaptation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou and Bankston 1998). The findings presented here suggest that collective experiences are important in shaping the experiences not only of immigrants, but of their children as well. Thus, youths may also be influenced by their co-ethnic community members, other than their parents, in forming expectations of the future. Immigrant groups that were of higher status in their home country may have higher expectations for their next generation and may foster the next generation's educational motivation through community activities and values. My finding that the influence of parents' SES on educational expectations depends on the educational selectivity of the immigrant group supports this interpretation. This finding suggests that even if parents have limited material resources, those from immigrant groups of higher premigration status will still have higher educational expectations, perhaps because of the added resources provided by a highly select co-ethnic community.

Another possible reason why premigration group status may influence second-generation adaptation draws upon Ogbu's (1991, 2003) notion that groups develop collective identities. National-origin premigration educational status may create a collective identity among group members, and these group reputations or group self-definitions may help shape educational outcomes among the second generation. For example, the identities of highly educationally select immigrant groups

may be based on a sense that they are entitled to mainstream success in the United States, given their place in their home countries' class system prior to migration. In this manner, the collective outlook of the immigrant group, shaped by their prior status, may influence second-generation youths' educational expectations and influence the extent to which individual-level class background in the United States affects these youths' educational expectations.

That a premigration characteristic of groups influences individual outcomes for second-generation adolescents suggests one reason why the status attainment process may differ for minorities and whites. At least for children of immigrants, family SES may matter less in shaping their educational expectations than it does for whites because second-generation adolescents are influenced by characteristics of the immigrant generation that are beyond their parents' influence. Furthermore, the effect of parents' SES may not be as strong for children of immigrants because the postmigration status of immigrants often differs from the immigrants' premigration status. Members of immigrant groups may identify strongly with a collective identity as a high-status group, consistent with their experiences prior to migration, even if they are not of a high status in the United States.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study support segmented assimilation theory, which argues that group-level characteristics are important in shaping the adaptation process of second-generation youths and that these characteristics matter above and beyond the influence of individual family backgrounds. They also highlight the interaction effects between group and individual-level factors, which the literature on segmented assimilation has discussed but has rarely operationalized. At least for expectations of graduating from college, the effect of parents' SES depends on the premigration educational status of the immigrant group to which the parents belong. This finding suggests one possible reason why children of certain immigrants, such as the Vietnamese, are often successful in school even if they come from poor families. Vietnamese youths' educational expectations are strongly influenced by the relatively high premigration educational status of their immigrant group, such that their own family background is not as determinative as it is for other groups who were of lower relative SES prior to migration (such as Mexicans). Structural characteristics of the immigrant group—especially the group's relative premigration educational status—influence the educational expectations of second-generation youths and thus their eventual educational attainment, and do so partly by shaping youths' perceptions of their parents' aspirations for them. These findings suggest that group-level characteristics matter above and beyond their association with individual family-background characteristics and that greater attention needs to be paid to the effects of ethnic communities and group identities in understanding the adaptation processes of the second generation.

NOTES

1. A third follow-up was conducted in 2001–03 as the respondents were entering adulthood. As of this writing, these data are not yet publicly available.

2. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) presented several analyses to show that there is no serious bias in the follow-up sample. For the most part, the respondents to the follow-up survey appear to be similar to the original survey respondents on such indicators as nativity, citizenship, parents' SES, and sex. However, there is a slight tendency for children from families with both parents present to be overrepresented in the follow-up survey.

3. The analyses also included children of immigrants from Honduras (50), Ecuador (38), Peru (32), El Salvador (30), Guatemala (26), Japan (24), India (18), Hong Kong (17), Korea (15), Canada (13), Thailand (12), China (10), Italy (7), Iran (3), Hungary (2), Poland (2), Puerto Rico (2), Greece (1), Russia (1), Yugoslavia (1), and Ireland (1).

4. Excluding cases with parents who were born in two different countries did not change the substantive results (analyses available on request). Therefore, these cases were retained because including them increased the sample sizes and the explained variance.

5. In some cases, I also examined the language spoken at home or with parents to assign national origin. I deleted cases who spoke Hmong, Lao, or Cambodian because these ethnic groups often have complicated migration histories, and I do not have premigration data on either Laos or Cambodia.

6. I gathered acceptable data for 32 groups, 30 of which were represented in the CILS data. The data on country of origin were found in UNESCO (1975, 1978–79, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1997) publications in a set of categories that are comparable across nations.

7. In most cases, I used IPUMS data from two decades (the census is collected every 10 years). For example, if the average year of immigration for immigrants from a certain country was 1980–81, I selected immigrants from that country who migrated from 1975 to 1980 using IPUMS data from 1980 and immigrants from that country who migrated from 1980 to 1986 using IPUMS data from 1990.

8. To adjust for the different age distributions of the immigrants and the home-country populations, I used direct standardization; that is, I used the age structure of each immigrant group to calculate the six measures for the populations of the corresponding country. This standardization was important because immigrants are selected by age as well as education and because age and educational attainment are related. In most cases, immigrants tend to be younger than those who remain in the homeland. Since most populations are becoming more educated over time, younger adults are generally more educated than are older persons from the same country. Not accounting for the different age distributions would have overestimated the premigration class status, or the degree of positive selectivity, simply because immigrants tend to be younger than nonmigrants.

9. Puerto Ricans have the lowest premigration educational status (-.064) of all the national-origin groups included in the analyses. Although Puerto Ricans are technically considered nonimmigrants and thus were excluded from the CILS data collection, two respondents in the CILS were considered Puerto Rican on the basis of my assignment of national origin (one was born in the United States of a father who was born in Colombia and a mother who was born in Puerto Rico; the other was born in the United States, and both parents were born in Puerto Rico). Table 1 is limited to the larger national-origin groups. With the exception of Puerto Ricans, all the other immigrant groups were more educated, or of a higher premigration educational status overall, than were their nonmigrant counterparts in the home country. Of course, since Puerto Rico is part of the United States, this migrant group is unique. For a further discussion of the uniqueness of the Puerto Rican case, see Feliciano (2005).

10. I also considered coding the variable as a set of categories (expects less than a college degree, college degree, and graduate degree) and using multinomial logistic regression. However, these analyses showed that the major differences in the effects of the independent variables were between those who expected to attain a college degree or higher and those who did not. Few respondents expected less than a high school degree, and the characteristics of those who expected a college or graduate degree did not vary much. Furthermore, the substantive results did not differ with this more complex analysis. Additional analyses are available on request.

11. I conducted analyses with various types of coding of this measure, such as including it as a set of dummy variables; however, it was the distinction between those who did not think discrimination would affect them at all and those who thought it would that was the most predictive of educational expectations (results available on request).

12. Although location is important, I did not include a control for the city of residence (Miami–Fort Lauderdale or San Diego) because national origin and state of residence are conflated. For example, nearly all the Cubans in the sample resided in south

Florida, whereas nearly all the Mexicans and Filipinos in the sample resided in southern California. Thus, controlling for city would have the effect of inadvertently comparing arbitrary national-origin groups to others, which is problematic, given this article's focus on group-level pre- and postmigration characteristics.

13. For those with available data, however, I was able to compare students' perceptions of their parents' desires for them with their parents' actual expectations. The two are positively correlated (.22), but students' perceptions of their parents' aspirations are generally much higher than the parents' expectations. For example, 66 percent of the students thought that their parents wanted them to obtain a graduate degree, but only 36 percent of the parents expected their children to do so.

14. I conducted additional analyses with only Time 1 variables to assess whether the results might be biased because of the differential drop-off in the follow-up survey by national origin. These regression results were similar to those presented here; I present the results from both waves of the survey to avoid endogeneity problems that arise from using only cross-sectional data.

15. I followed a similar method as that used by Borjas (2001) of using a "mixed" regression model with the dependent variable defined at the individual level and some of the independent variables defined at the group level. Since the residuals among the observations within the same national-origin group are correlated, I corrected the standard errors to account for the structure of the data using Stata's cluster option in logistic regression models.

16. I also tried additional variables—years in the United States, two-parent home, and limited bilingual—that consistently had no effect on the models and thus are not included here.

17. I conducted additional regression analyses separately for males and females to investigate whether the key independent variables had different effects for males and females, but did not find substantial differences by gender.

APPENDIX TABLE A

Descriptive Statistics of the Variables that Were Used in the Analysis (standard deviations for continuous variables in parentheses)

Variable	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Dependent Variable			
Expects college degree (Time 2, 1995–96)	.823	.000	1.000
Independent Variables			
Immigrant-group premigration educational status (ND) (Time 1, 1992)	.489 (.164)	-.064 (Puerto Rico)	.884 (Iran)
Immigrant-group postmigration socioeconomic status (Time 1, 1992)	.328 (.234)	.000 (Mexico)	1.000 (India)
Age (Time 1, 1992)	14.171 (.840)	12.000	18.000
Female (Time 1, 1992)	.517	.000	1.000
Born in the United States (Time 1, 1992)	.527	.000	1.000
Fluent bilingual (Time 1, 1992)	.549	.000	1.000
Grade point average (Time 1, 1992)	2.586 (.886)	.000	4.960
Parents' socioeconomic status (Time 1, 1992)	-.016 (.716)	-1.660	2.090
Believes will face discrimination (Time 1, 1992)	.578	.000	1.000
Inner-city school (Time 1, 1992)	.330	.000	1.000
Perceives that parent wants respondent to attain (Time 2, 1995–96)			
Less than a college degree	.071	.000	1.000
College degree	.276	.000	1.000
Graduate degree	.652	.000	1.000
Parent actually expects respondent to attain (Time 2, 1995–96, parent file, *n* = 1,812)			
Less than a college degree	.223	.000	1.000
College degree	.413	.000	1.000
Graduate degree	.364	.000	1.000
N	3,498		

APPENDIX TABLE B

Odds Ratios from the Logistic Regressions of Expectations of Graduating from College on Selected Independent Variables, Using the CILS Parent File (N = 1,801)

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Age (T1)	.900+	.899+	.875*	.976	.969	.969
Female (T1)	1.368*	1.373*	1.323+	1.104	1.047	1.051
Parents' SES (T1)	2.075***	2.041***	1.956***	1.617**	1.515**	2.051**
U.S. Born (T1)	.824	.832	.954	1.044	1.002	.998
Fluent Bilingual (T1)	1.473*	1.492*	1.404+	1.349*	1.317+	1.298+
Grade Point Average (T1)	2.402***	2.386***	2.460***	2.395***	2.180***	2.190***
Believes Will Face Discrimination (T1)	.902	.898	.924	1.023	.952	.962
Inner-City School (T1)	.798	.806	.791	.797	.840	.844
Immigrant Group Postmigration SES		1.146	.245*	.267*	.207*	.219**
Immigrant Group Premigration Educational Status (ND)			12.206***	11.055***	8.369***	5.841**
Perceives that Parent Wants Respondent to Attain (T2)						
College Degree				4.595***	4.659***	4.722***
Graduate Degree				12.981***	12.380***	12.562***
(reference = less than a college degree)						
Parent Actually Expects (T2)						
College Degree					2.623***	2.621***
Graduate Degree					3.371***	3.377***
(reference = less than a college degree)						
Interaction: Parents' SES (T1) and Group Premigration Educational Status						.524
Pseudo R^2	.155	.155	.164	.252	.278	.279

Note: Robust standard errors, adjusted for clustering at the national-origin group level: $+p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. T1 denotes that the variable is from the first wave of the CILS survey; T2 denotes that it is from the second wave.

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I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Ford Foundation and the Social Science Research Council. I thank Tiffani Chin, Meredith Phillips, Katy Pinto, and Karl Alexander for their helpful comments on previous drafts of this article. Direct all correspondence to Cynthia Feliciano, Department of Sociology, University of California, Irvine, 2265 Social Science Plaza, Irvine, CA 92697-5100; e-mail: felician@uci.edu.