

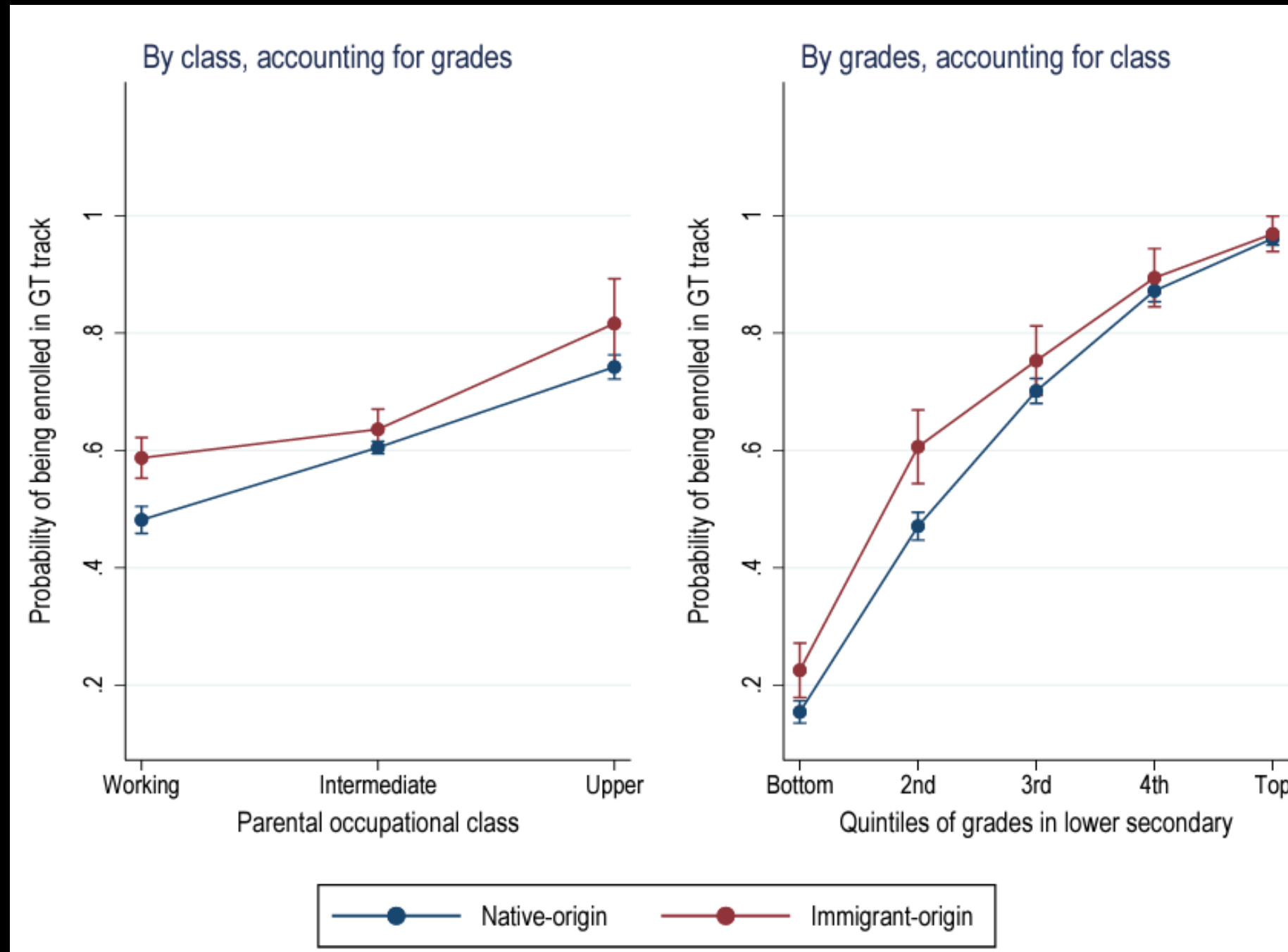
GROWING UP DISILLUSIONED?

Unmet expectations and Perceived Discrimination among Children of Immigrants -
Longitudinal Evidence from Spain

05/11/2024

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Educational Aspirations and Discrimination

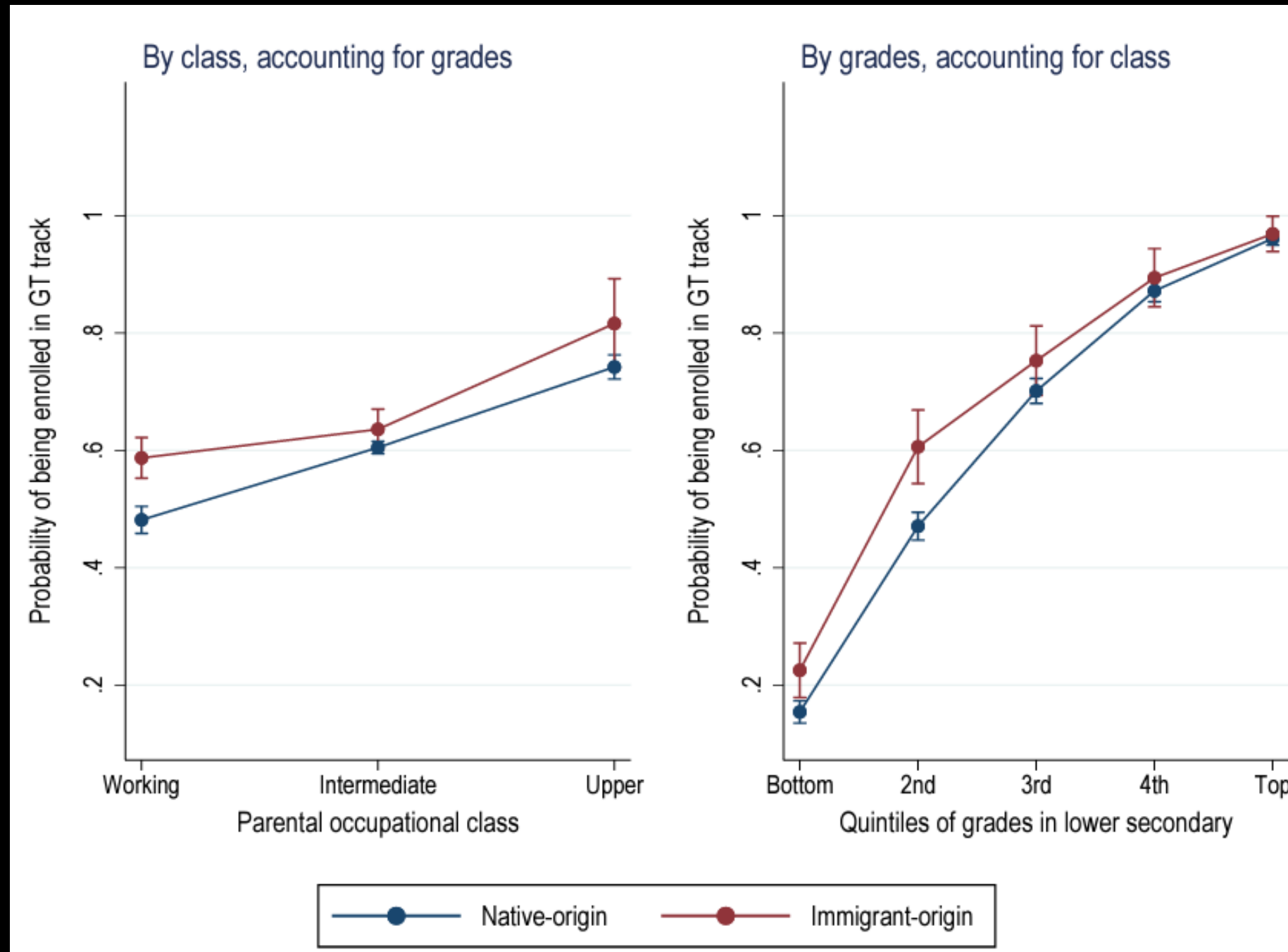


Children of immigrants have higher educational wishes than their native counterparts

- Drive for upward mobility
- Immigrant optimism
- Anticipating discrimination (?)

Ferrara (2023) Aiming too high or scoring too low? Heterogeneous immigrant–native gaps in upper secondary enrollment and outcomes beyond the transition in France
Supplementary Material, Figure C1

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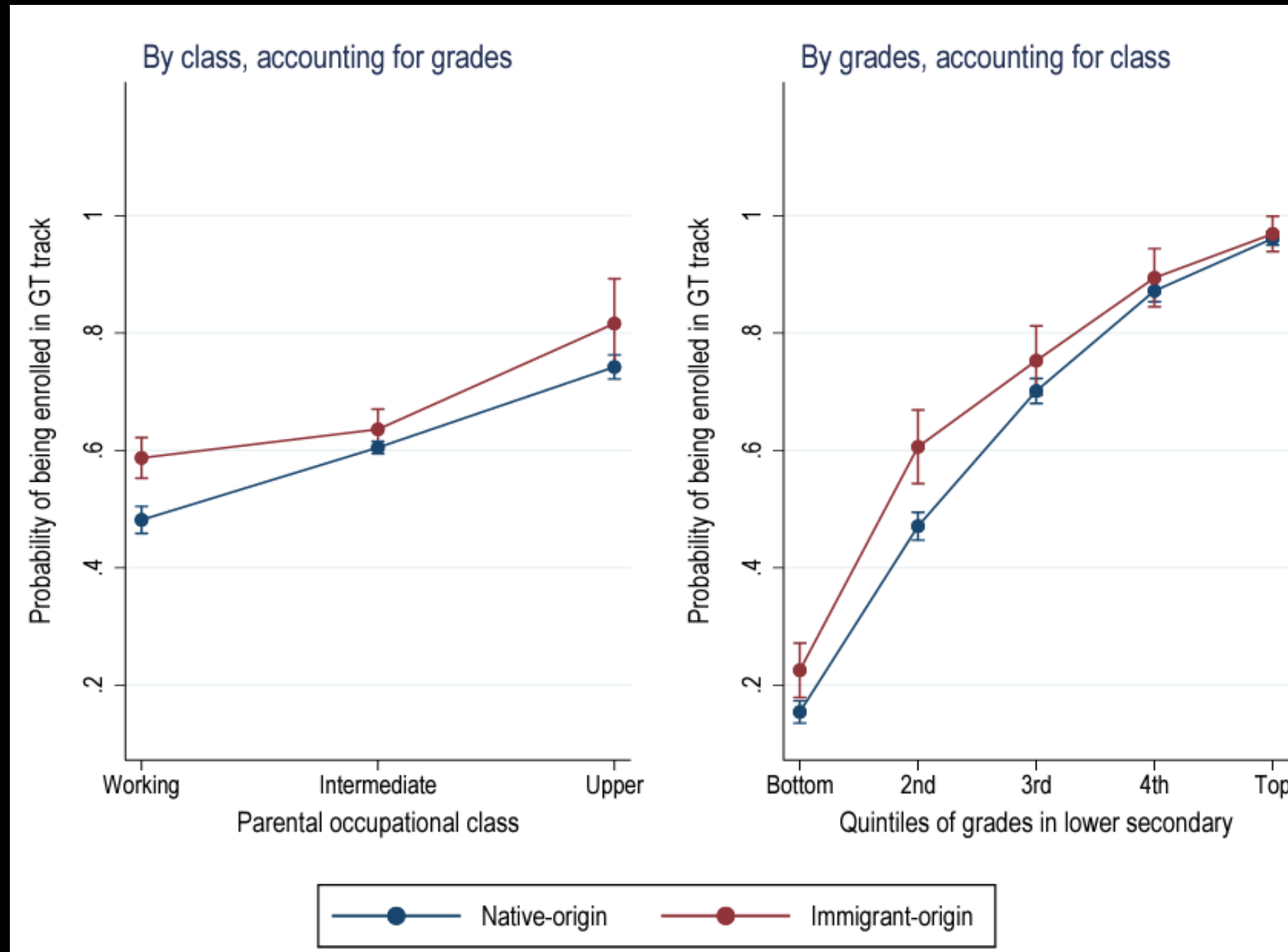


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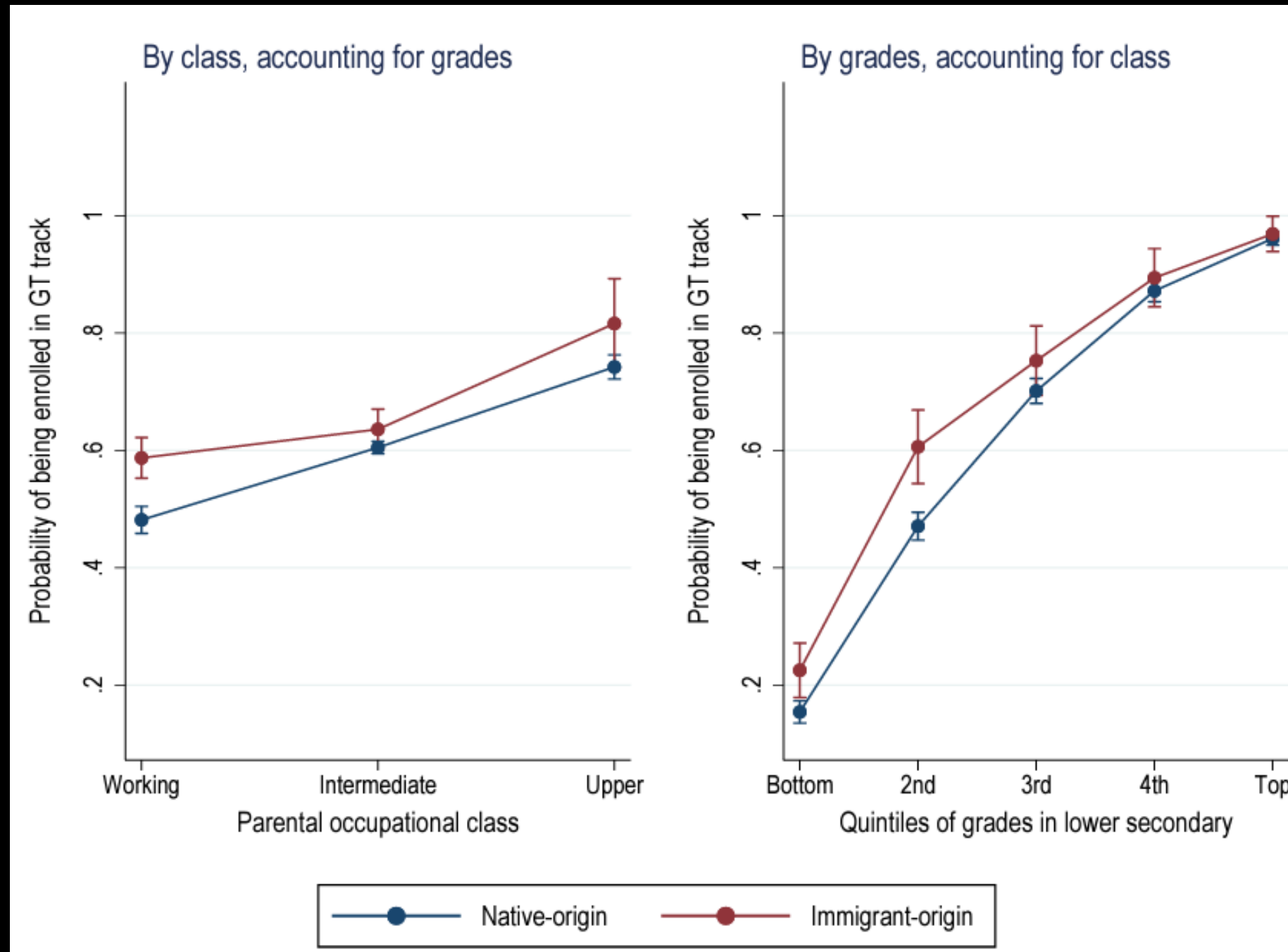
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- Achieve higher education

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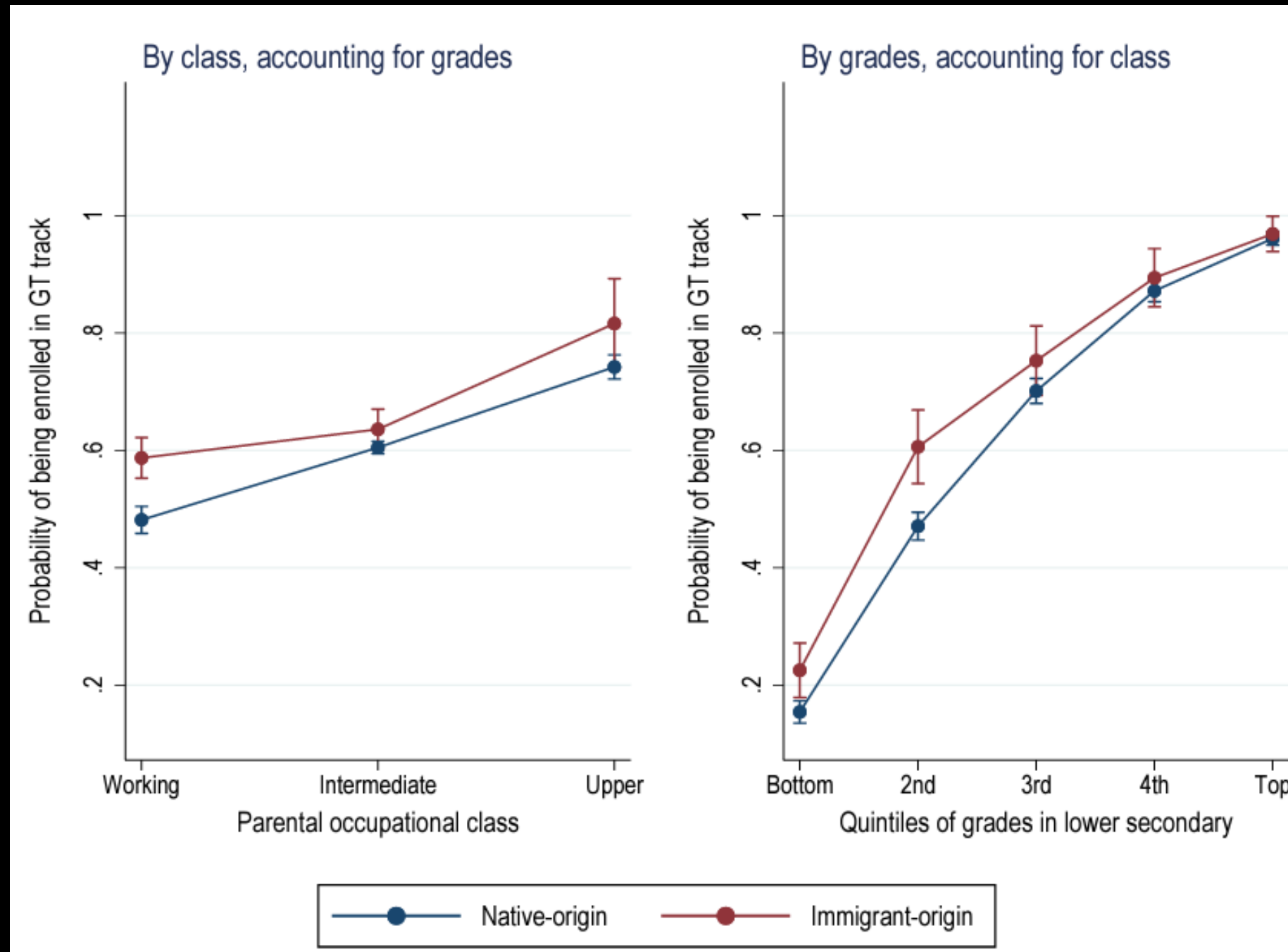
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Educational Aspirations and Discrimination



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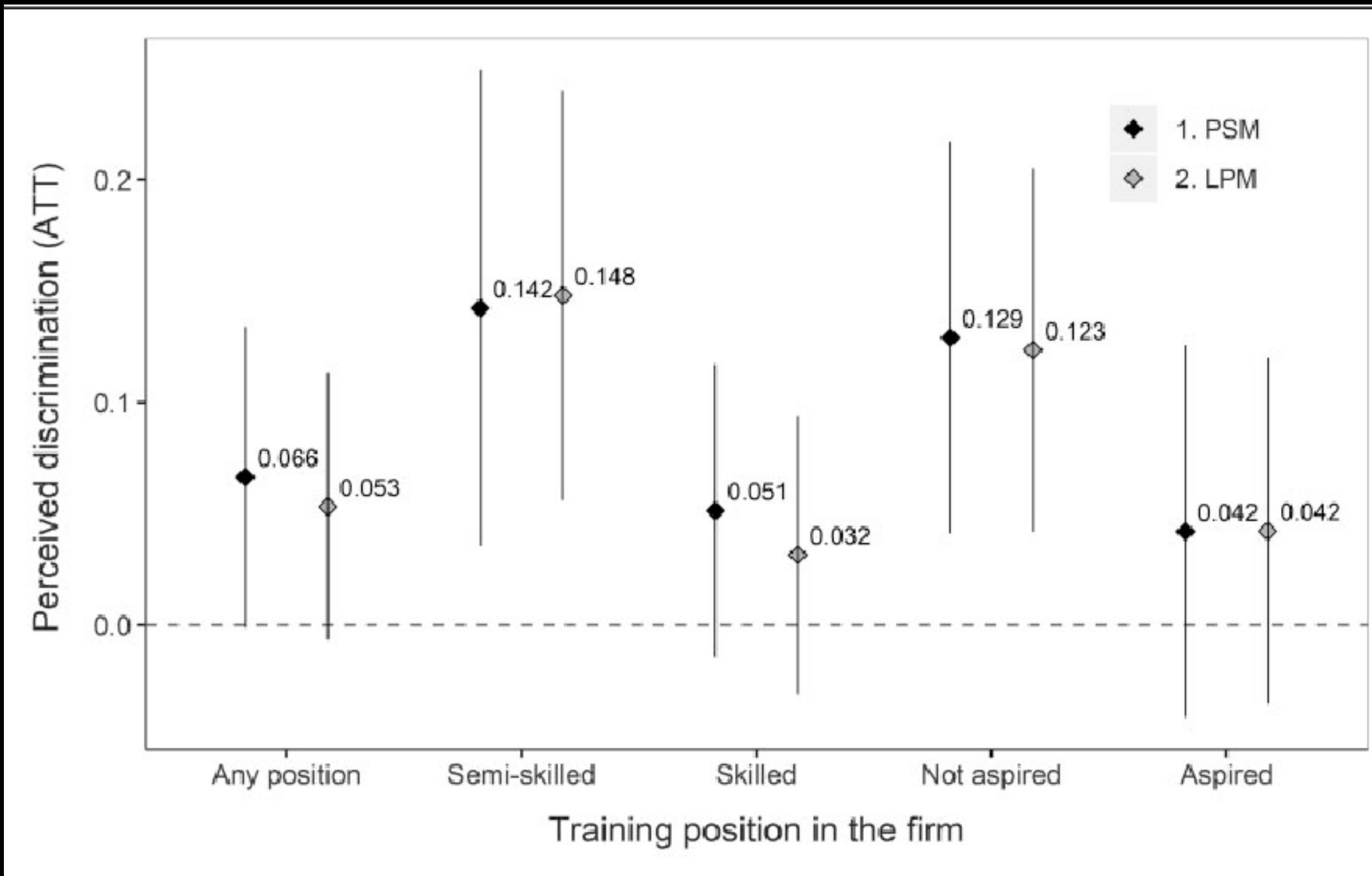
Consequently they...

- Have lower grades/take more time to complete a degree
- Perceive more discrimination?

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How do aspirations influence discrimination?

- Perceive more discrimination?



- Potentially detrimental to long-term belonging and country attachment
- Influences beliefs in meritocracy and social cohesion
- Detrimental consequences on children of immigrants' health and wellbeing

Lindemann (2020) How Labor-Market Integration Affects Perceptions of Discrimination: School-to-Apprenticeship Transitions of Youth with Migration Background in Germany
Figure 1, page 1057

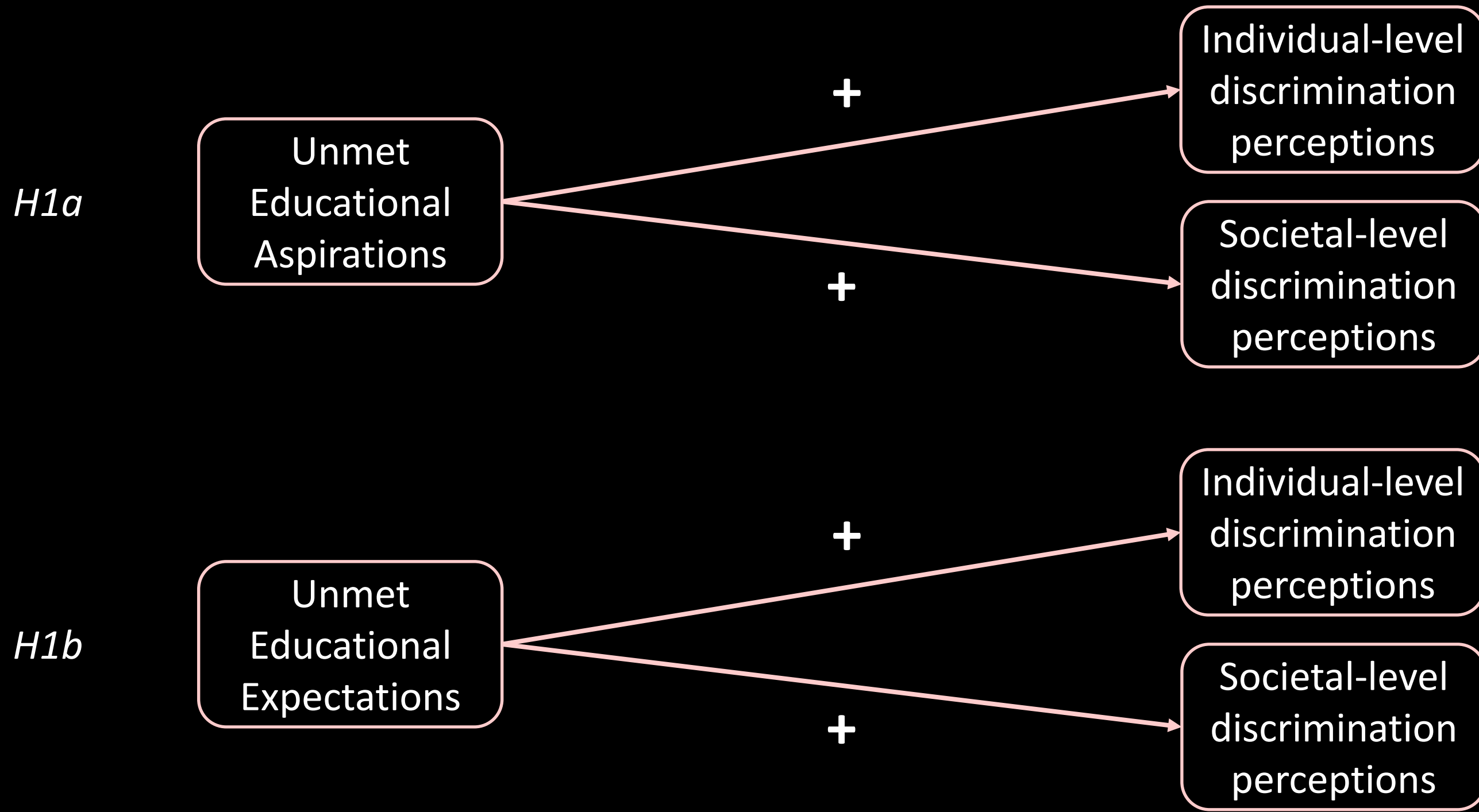
**Do unmet educational aspirations
predict an increase in discrimination
perceptions...**

...And for whom?

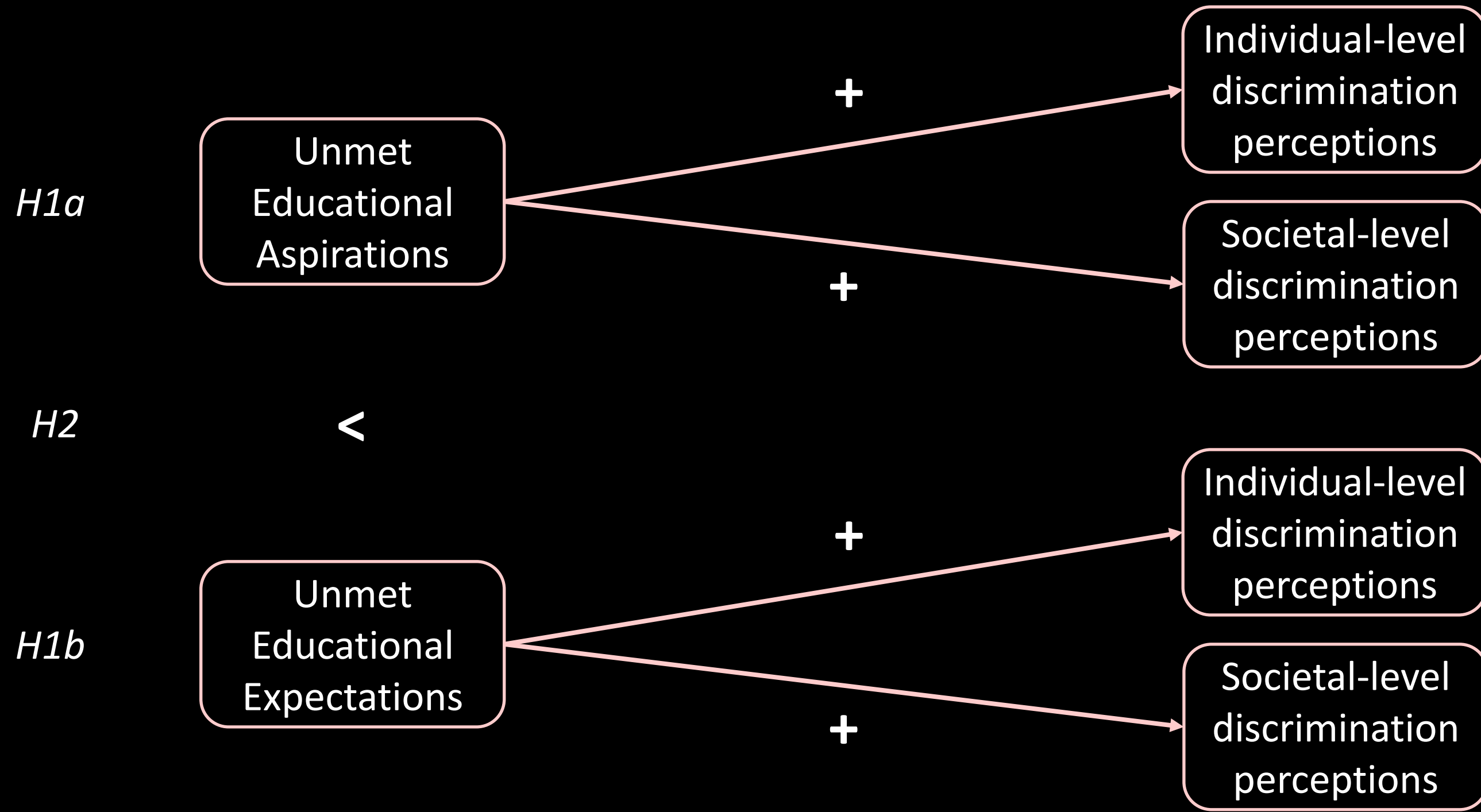
Theory and Hypotheses

- Children of immigrants have high educational aspirations (Jonsson and Rudolphi 2011, Kao and Tienda 1995, Ferrara 2023, Fernandez-Reino 2016)
 - Even at low SES levels (Jonsson and Rudolphi 2011, Ferrara 2023)
 - And with weaker grades
- This can fuel discrimination perceptions
 - Unmet aspirations in adults increase perceptions of discrimination (Diehl et al., 2021; Genoni & Ruedin, 2024; Schaeffer, 2019; Steinmann, 2019; Tuppat & Gerhards, 2021)
 - Discrimination arises in educational systems (in orientation choices (Druez 2016, Ayala et al. 2024) or appreciation of performance (Ayala et al. 2024, Jonsson and Rudolphi 2011))
- Individual-level perceptions of discrimination influence societal-level perceptions
 - School-related discrimination undermines beliefs in meritocracy
 - Personal experiences fuel perceptions at the societal level (Taylor et al. 1990, Van Tubergen 2024)

Theory and Hypotheses



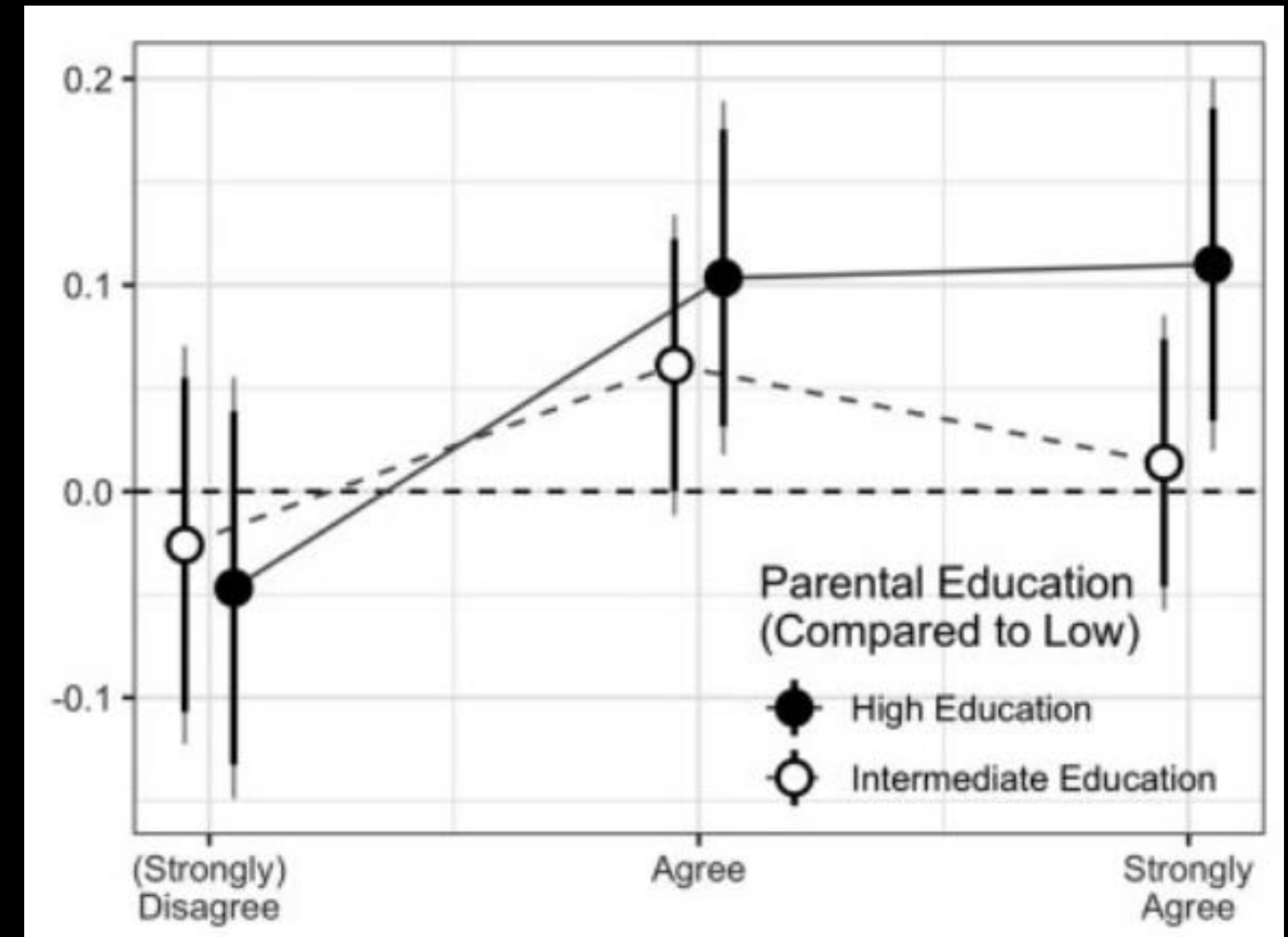
Theory and Hypotheses



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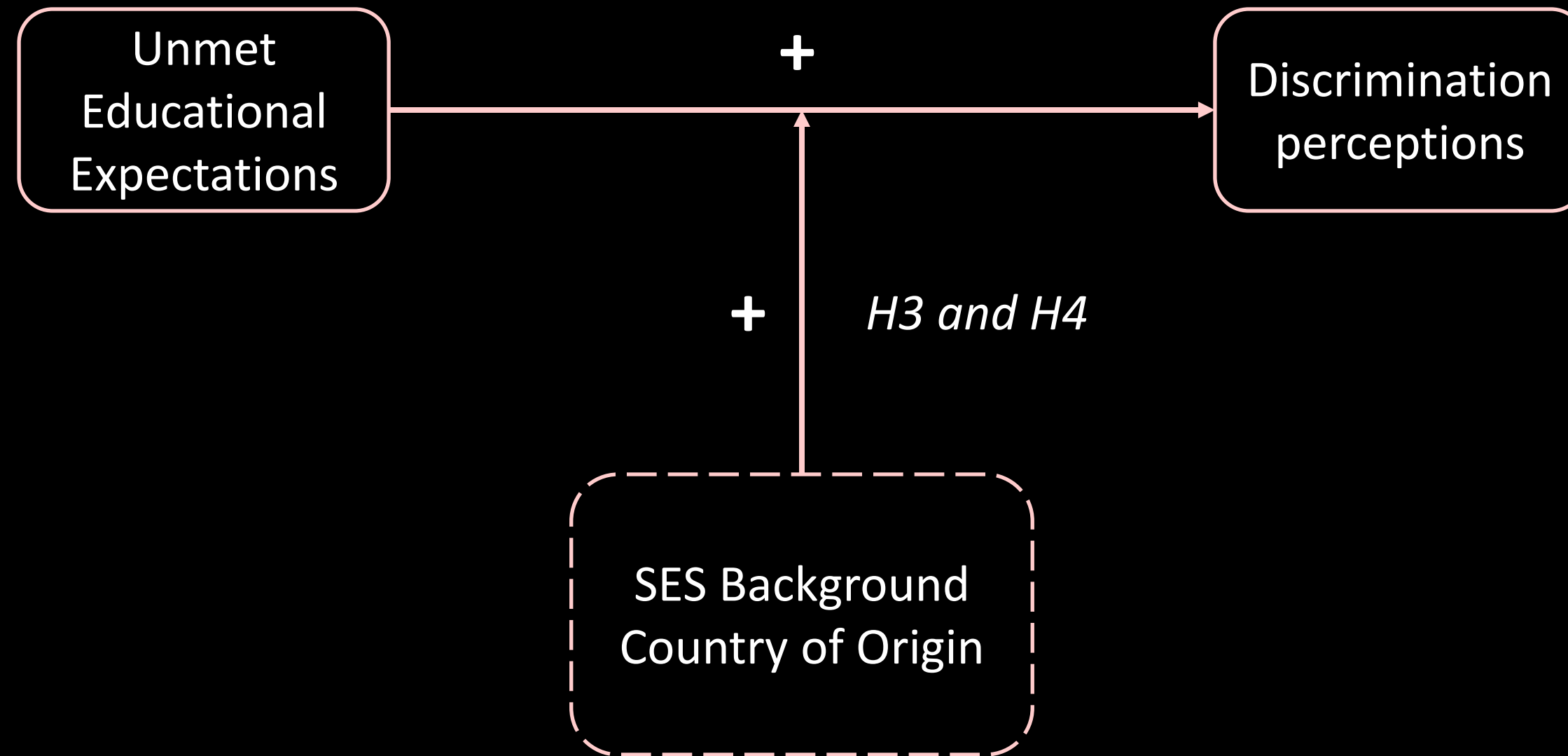
Unmet Expectations should be more detrimental for some individuals

- Children from higher SES families
 - More educational and financial resources (Dollman 2016, Ferrara 2023, Schaeffer 2019)
 - Intergenerational Integration Paradox? (Schaeffer 2019)
- Children from different origins
 - Differences in language skills and educational systems (Zimmerman 2024)
 - Large vs Small groups (Della-Posta 2013)

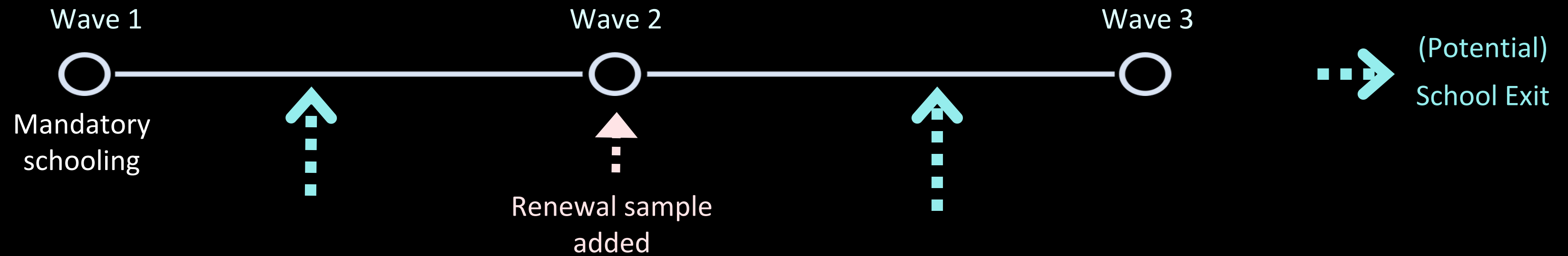


Schaeffer (2019) Social Mobility and Perceived Discrimination: Adding an Intergenerational Perspective
Appendix Figure

Theory and Hypotheses

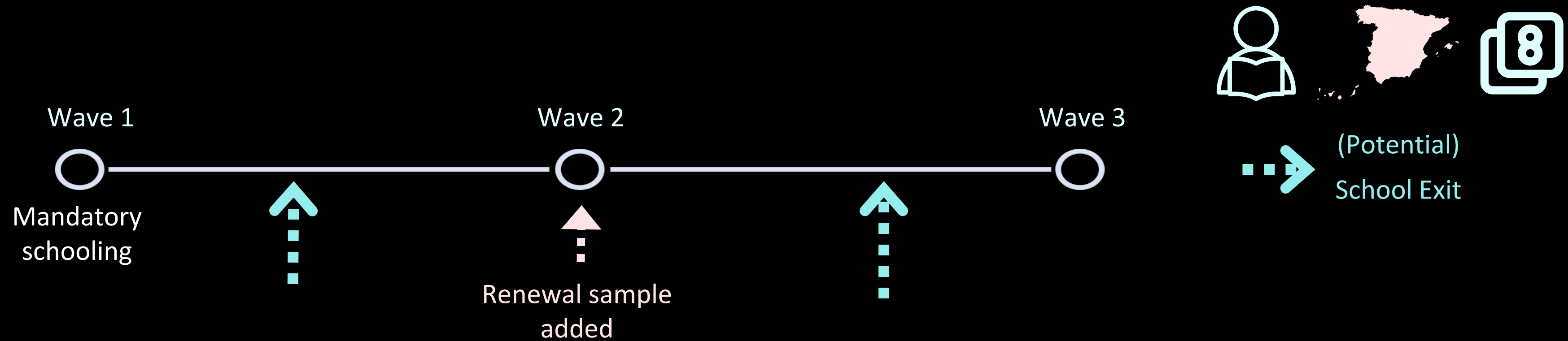


Data



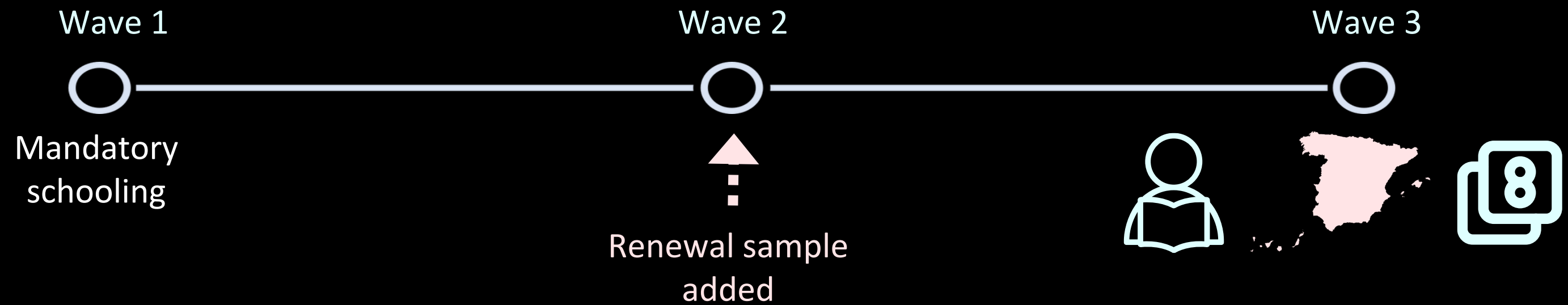
- **Adolescents**/Young adults living in Spain (12-16y to 18-25y)
- **Panel data** (all observations N = 8232, 3-wave observations N = 1604)
- We measure attained education, (aspirations) expectations and perceived discrimination **in each wave**
- All children are **students** in the first wave

Data



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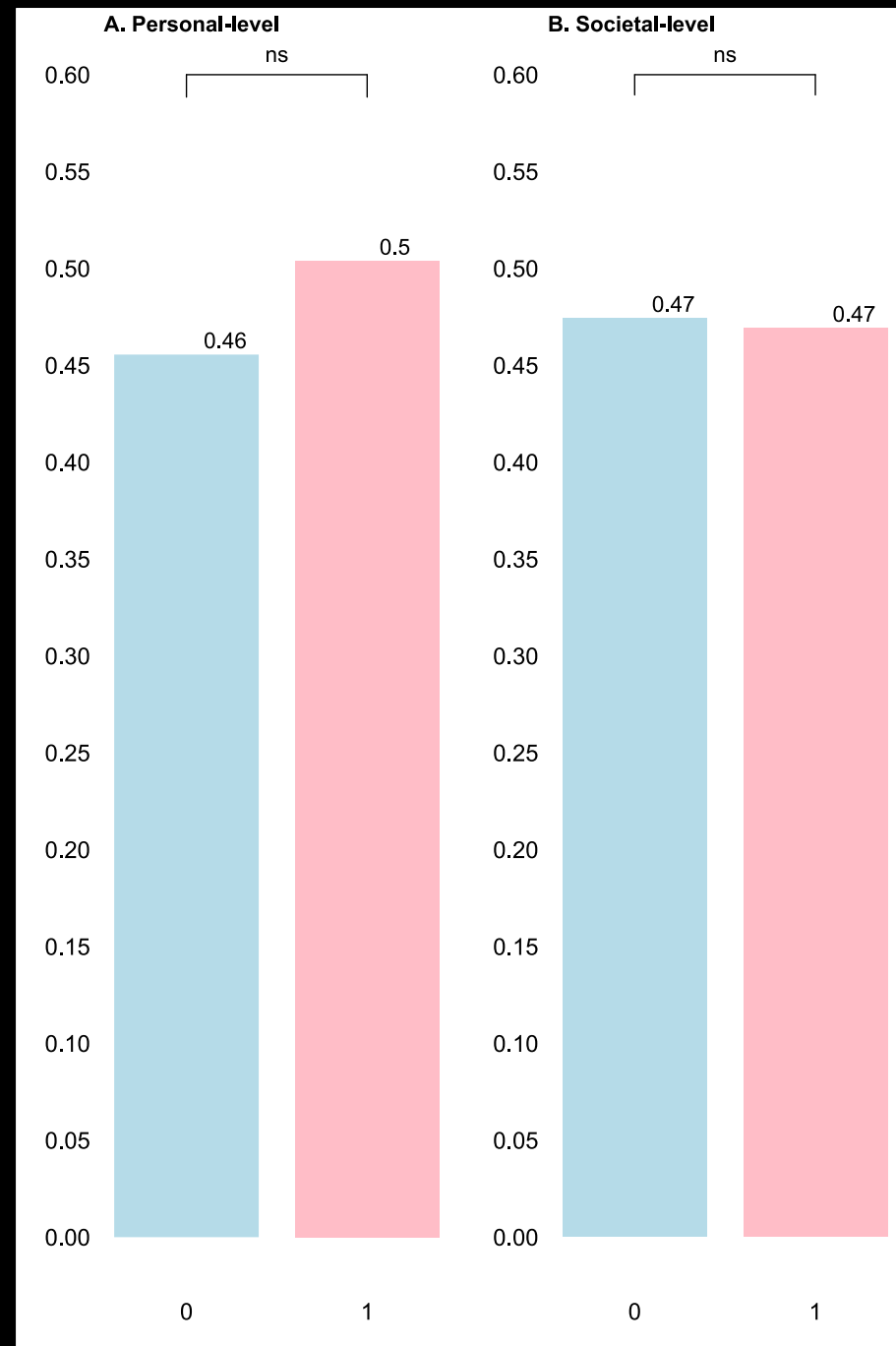
Data



- DV: Individual and Societal-level Ethno-Racial Discrimination Perceptions
- IV: Unmet Educational Expectations (UE)
 - Contrasting Expectations in wave t-1 and Reality in wave t
 - 0 before school exit, 1 after if UE and still 0 if no UE
- Model: Logistic Individual-level fixed effects
- Controls: Time-constant individual-level variables, age, achieved education, wave, time spent in Spain
- Results are presented as predicted probabilities (of reporting discrimination)

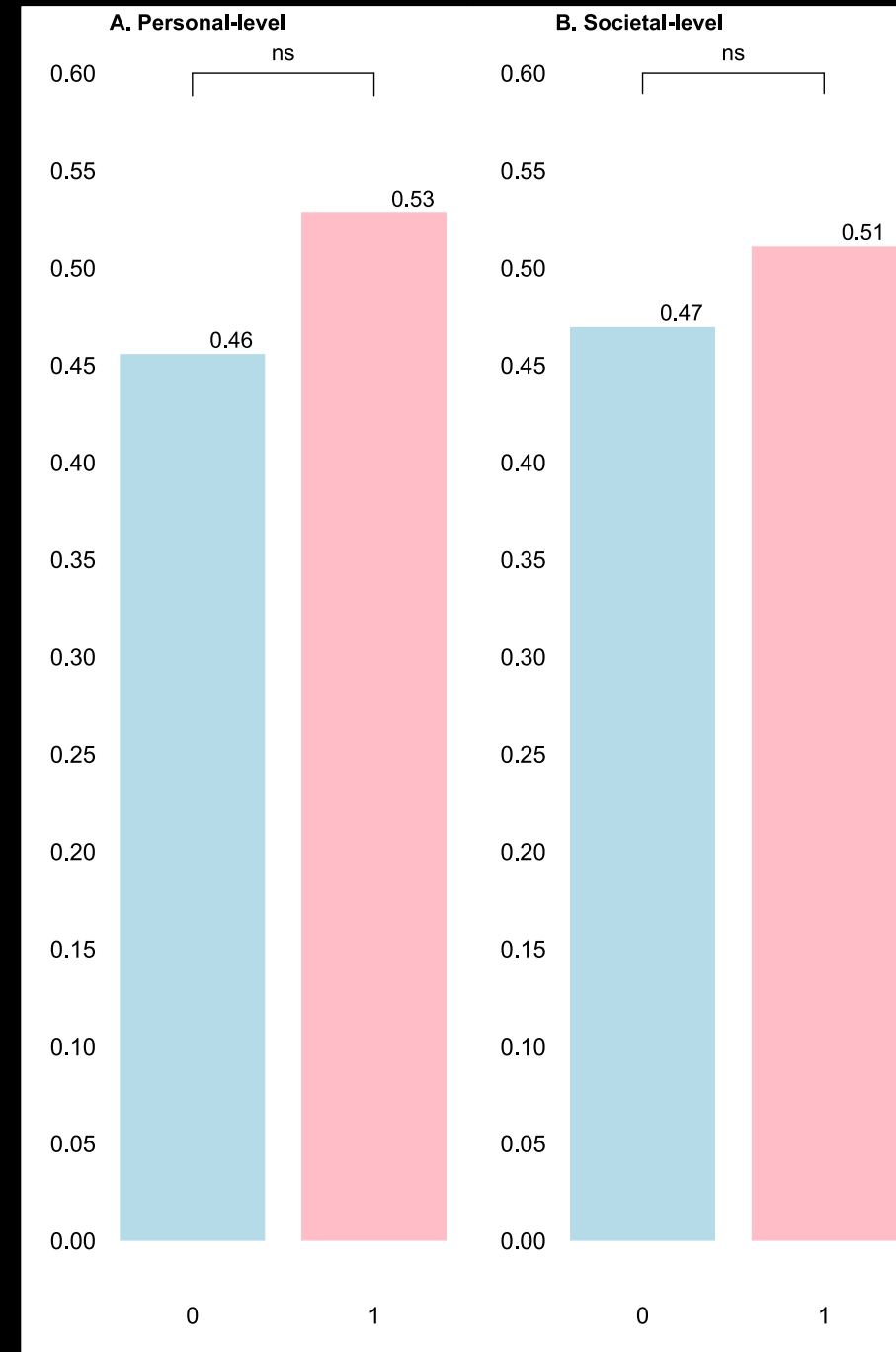
Main effect on Discrimination

Unmet Aspirations



H1a

Unmet Expectations

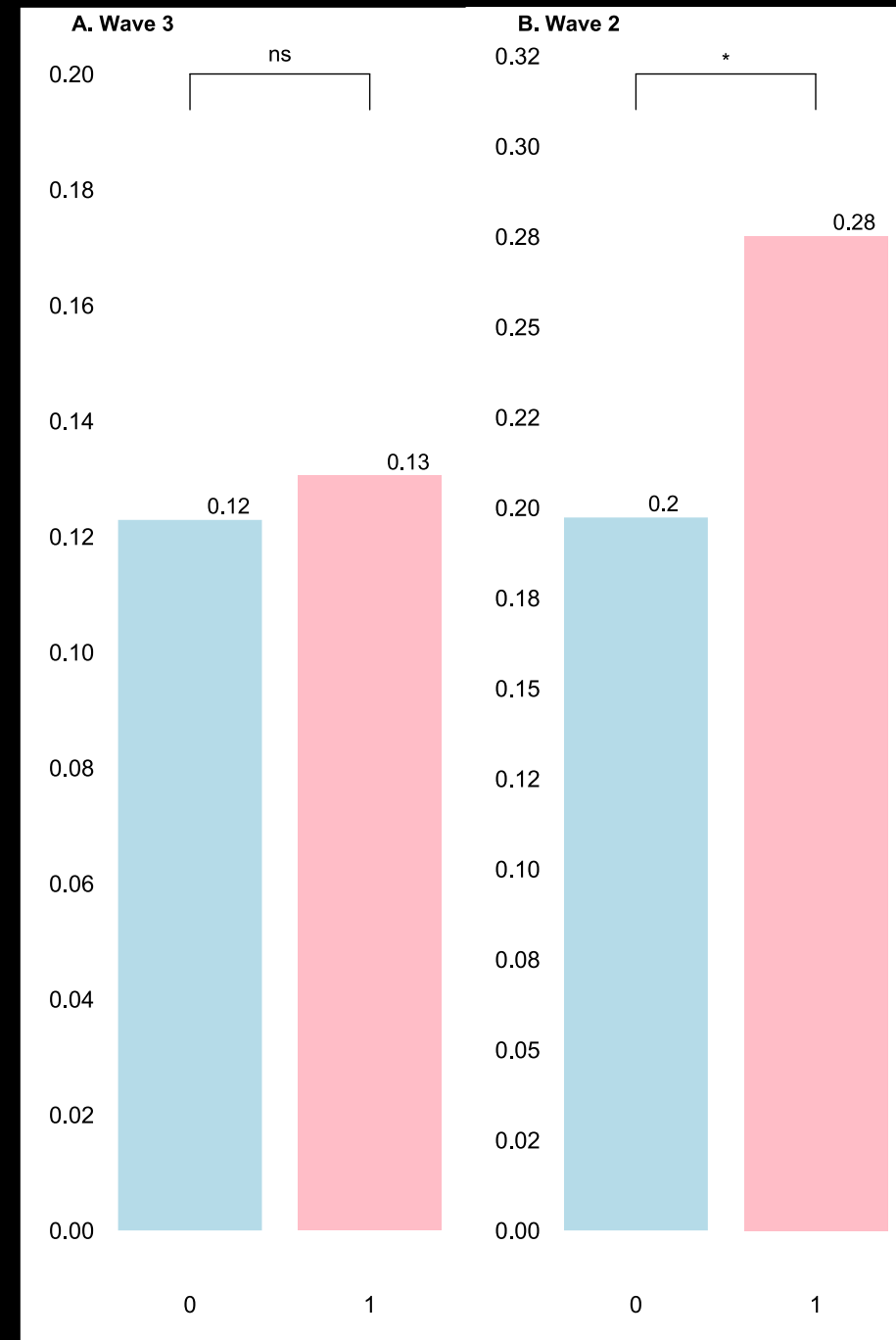


H1b

- Overall positive non-significant effect of disappointed aspirations/expectations on discrimination
- Similar for individual and societal-level perceptions
- No support for H1a or H1b
- No heterogeneity

Timing Effects?

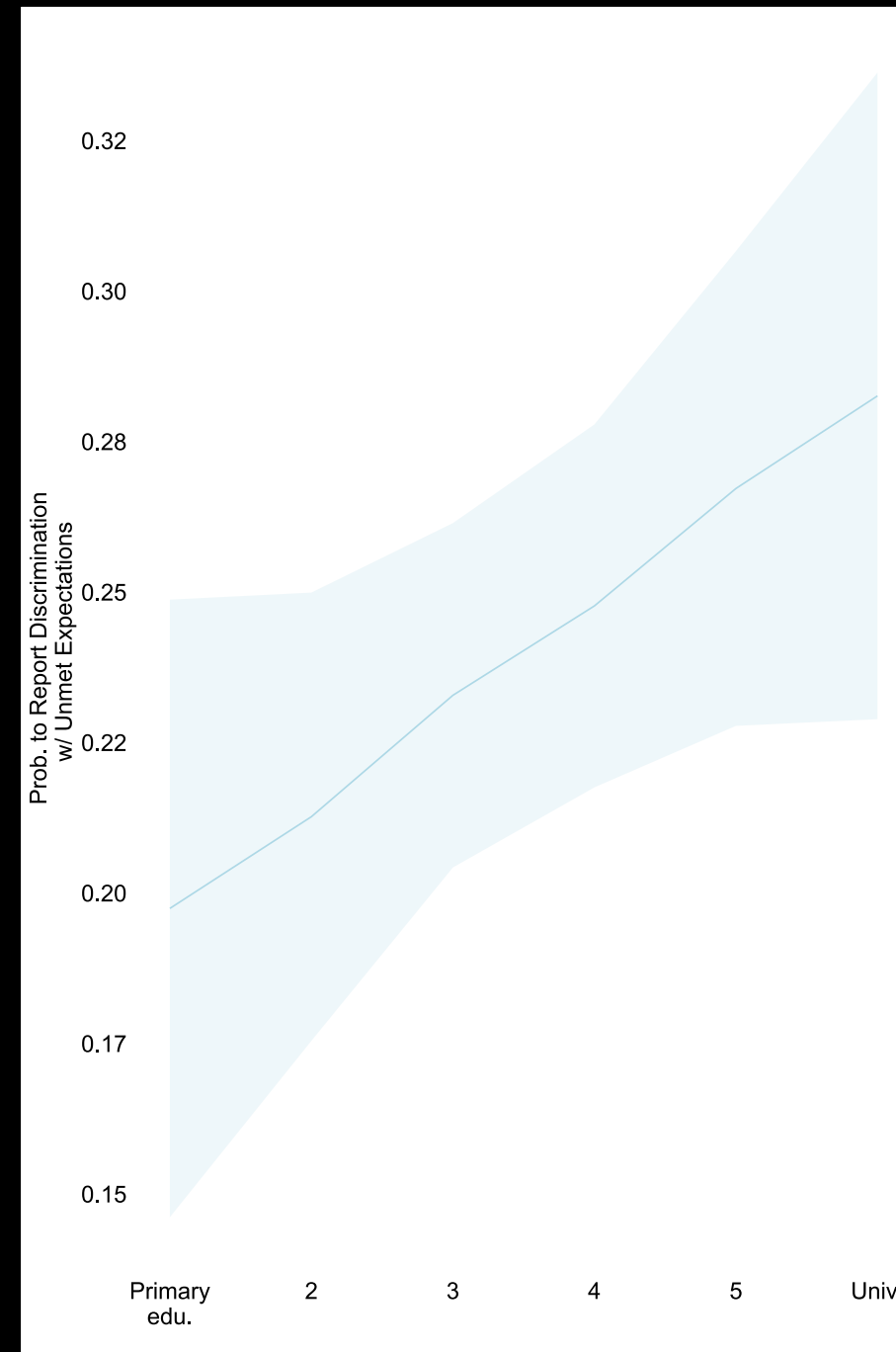
Unmet Expectations



Wave 3

Wave 2

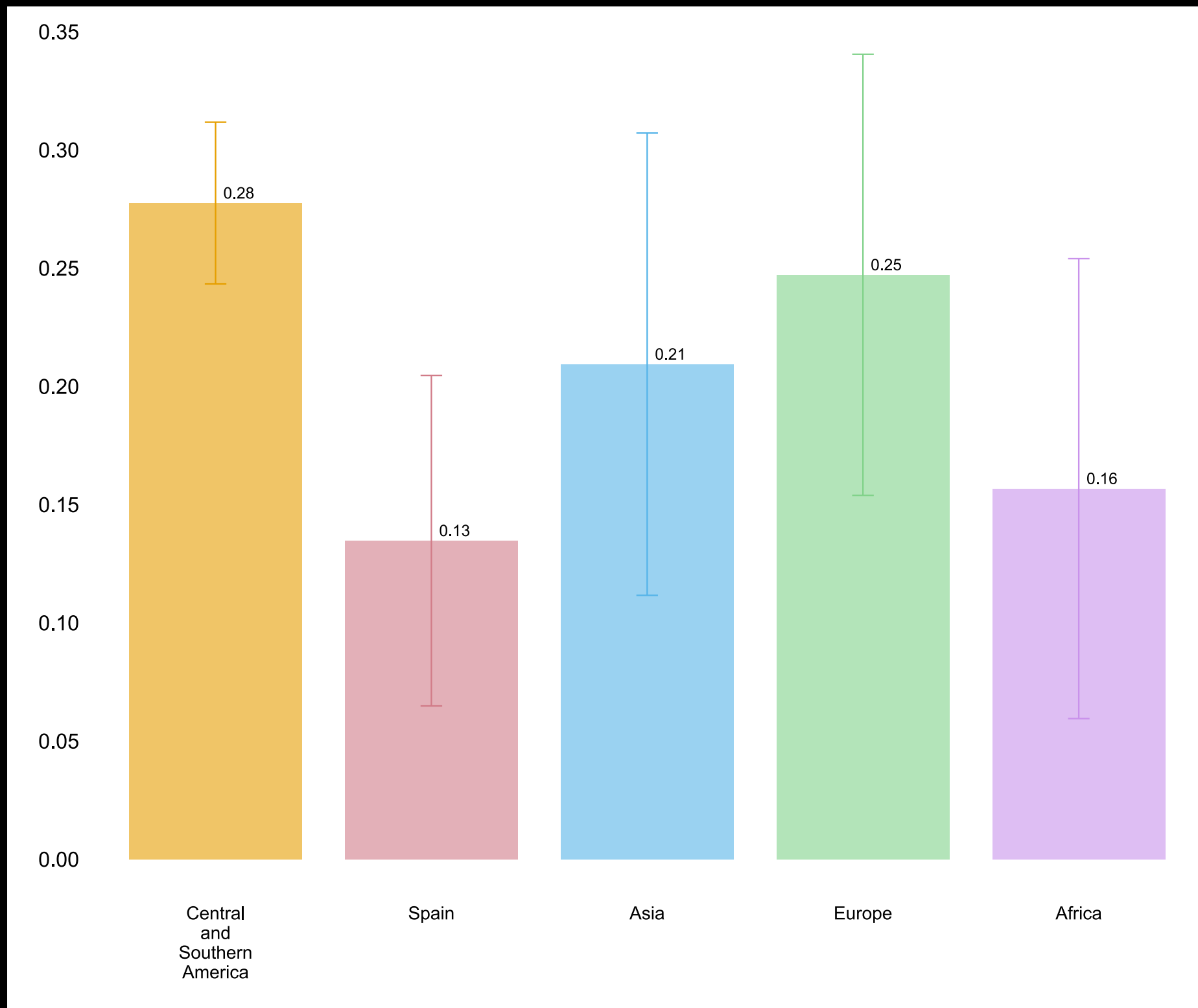
Effect of Parent Edu



Wave 2

- Individual-level discrimination perceptions here
- Same result but non-significant for aspirations
- Heterogeneity based on Parental Education significant in Wave 2

Origin-based Heterogeneity



- Only visible in Wave 2
- Unclear patterns:
 - Unprecise estimates due to small numbers
 - Children from Hispanic countries perceive more discrimination when they show unmet expectations

Discussion and Conclusion

- Unsuccessful investments in education do not always matter to understand students' perceptions of discrimination

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- Only for children exiting school before the second wave do unmet expectations predict increased discrimination perceptions
- Unmet expectations are not predictive of discrimination perceptions later on
 - Because the effect does not exist for those who exit later
 - And because the effect disappears for early exiters

Discussion and Conclusion

- Unsuccessful investments in education do not always matter to understand students' perceptions of discrimination
- Only for children exiting school before the second wave do unmet expectations predict increased discrimination perceptions
- Unmet expectations are not predictive of discrimination perceptions later on
 - Because the effect does not exist for those who exit later
 - And because the effect disappears for early exiters
- Potential explanations
 - Children with the largest discrepancies between expectations and achievement
 - And small perceived barriers to achievement
 - But potential period-effect!

THANK YOU!

Send your questions and remarks to: c.lavest@uu.nl


APPENDIX


Descriptive statistics

	Missings	Mean/Prop.	SD	Range
Unmet Aspirations	264	0.12	0.32	0-1
Unmet Expectations	281	0.1	0.3	0-1
Ethnic or Racial Discrimination	0	0.2	0.4	0-1
Education	232	2.96	2.01	0-9
Educational Background	111	3.84	1.58	1-6
Aspirations	591	4.43	1.06	1-5
Expectations	490	4.11	1.27	1-5
Region of Birth	0			
Africa		0.06		
Asia		0.04		
Central and Southern America		0.59		
Europe		0.12		
Spain		0.19		
Male	0	0.46	0.5	0-1
Length Residency in Spain	99	7.83	5.02	0-21
Age	14	17.87	3.48	12-26

Example Trajectories

Luca and Lola think they **will be able** to get a High school degree.

Luca 
Mandatory
Education

Lola 
Mandatory
Education

Example Trajectories

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UE = 0

Luca



Mandatory
Education

UE = 0

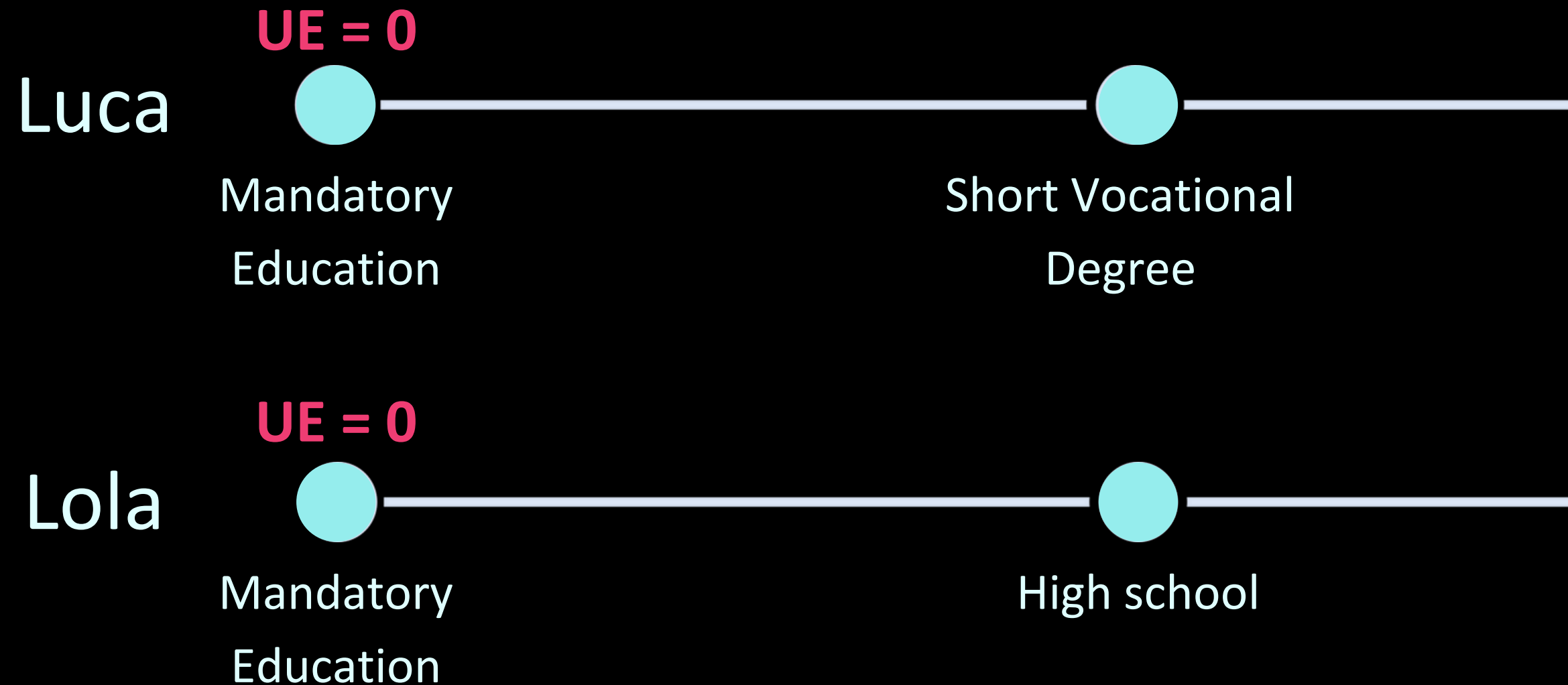
Lola



Mandatory
Education

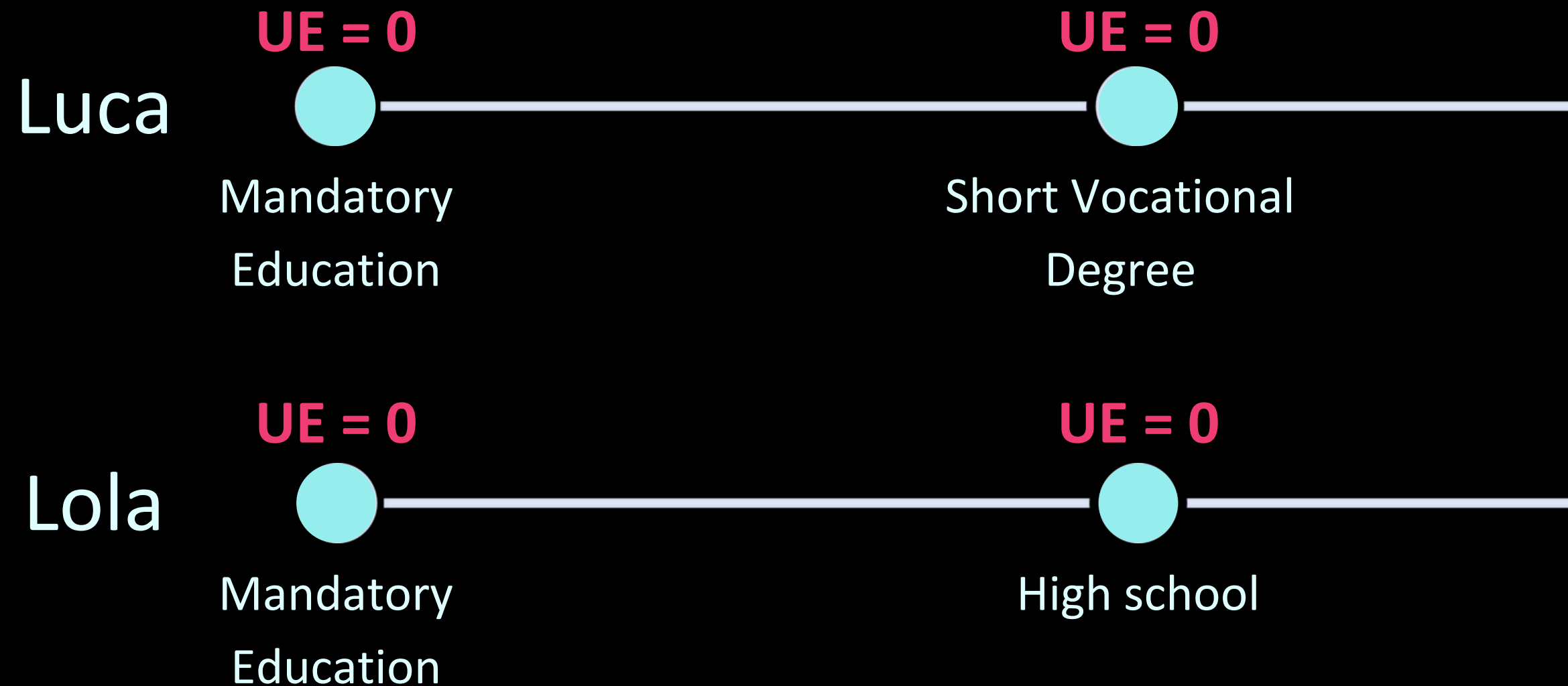
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Luca thinks he **will be able** to get a High school degree. Lola thinks she **will be able** to get a Bachelor degree.



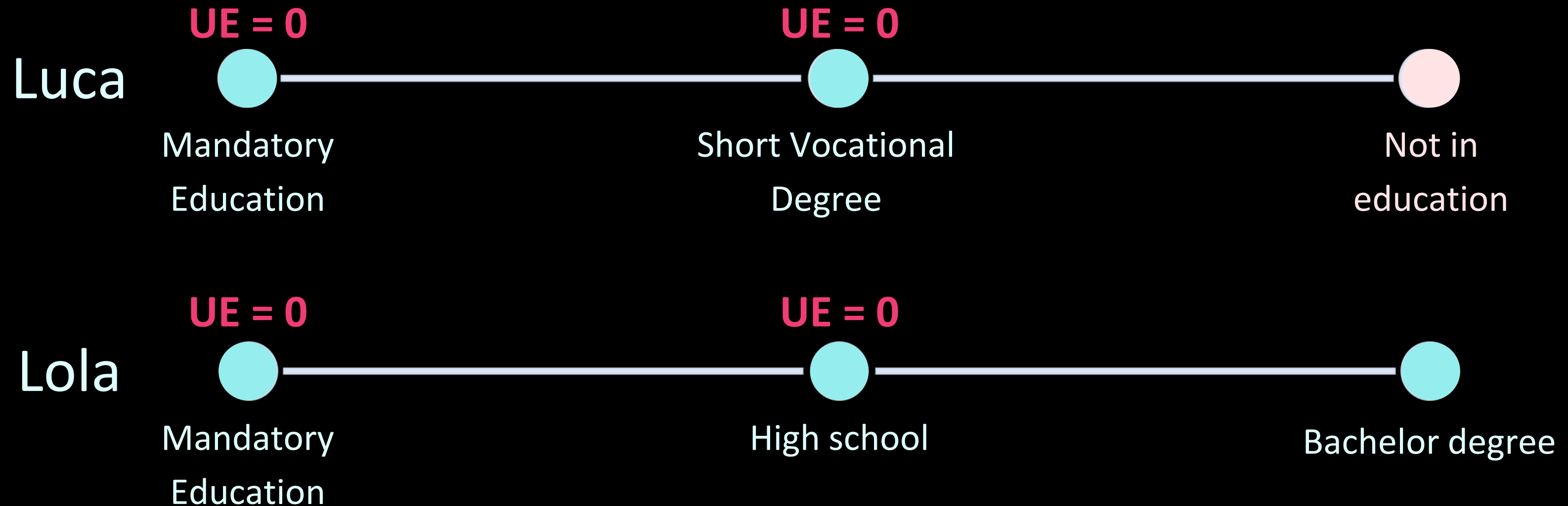
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