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WHAT ARE THE BARRIERS FOR HISPANICS'

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT?

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WHAT ARE THE BARRIERS FOR HISPANICS'
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT?

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

This study uses data from the Education Longitudinal Study (ELS) to better understand the factors that are associated with educational expectations and the eventual educational attainment of students, particularly Hispanic youth. Guided by theoretical perspectives on segmented assimilation, by looking at aspects of social capital, human capital, and cultural capital, this study hypothesizes that lower levels of capital can lead to lower educational expectations and educational attainment, first testing for relationships using a national sample and second using a sub-sample of Hispanics. The research findings support two of the three hypotheses and finds that Hispanics have low educational expectations and lower educational attainment when compared to other racial and ethnic groups. Within the Hispanic sample, I find that there are variations; Cuban-Americans have higher educational expectations and educational attainment compared with Mexican-Americans. This research contributes to the literature by acknowledging that Hispanics have barriers, with the implication that these barriers can be overcome with help from educational institutions to empower minorities to seek and attain upward mobility.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Educational achievement has received much interest from the social sciences in the past few decades. This might be because educational achievement is often used as a predictor of adult well-being and economic success in the United States. Prior research has shown that high levels of education are associated with lower odds of divorce, criminal activity, and the rate of incarceration. On the other hand, high levels of education are also associated with improved chances of employment, occupational advancement, higher income, and health and retirement benefits (Everett, Rogers, Hummer & Krueger, 2011). "Because educational attainment plays such a critical role in the life chances of American adults, the social literature could benefit from a more extensive examination of educational trends across cohorts and for detailed subpopulations" (Everett et al., p. 1548).

One such subpopulation is the growing Hispanic population in the United States, which attains notably lower level of education than non-Hispanics (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2015) approximately 66.7 percent of Hispanics graduated from high school, which is a markedly lower rate of high school completion than other racial-ethnic groups. Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 show that Hispanics not only have much lower rates of high school completion, but also have lower rates of college completion.

Table 1.1: Percent Graduated from High School by Race-Ethnicity and Nativity Status

Race	Percent with at Least High School Diploma/GED
White	88.8
Non-Hispanic White	93.3
Hispanic	66.7
Black	87.0
Asian	89.1
Nativity Status	
Native born	91.8
Foreign born	72.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2015). "Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population Aged 25 and Older by Age, Sex, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Other Selected Characteristics"

Table 1.2: Percent Graduated with Bachelor's Degree by Race-Ethnicity and Nativity Status

Race	Graduated with Bachelor's degree or more Percent
White	32.8
Non-Hispanic White	36.2
Hispanic	15.5
Black	22.5
Asian	53.9
Nativity Status	
Native born	32.7
Foreign born	31.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2015). "Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population Aged 25 and Older by Age, Sex, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Other Selected Characteristics"

Table 1.1 shows that Hispanics have the lowest high school completion rates with only 66.7 percent of those who identify as Hispanic graduated from high school by the age of 25. This is in comparison to 88.8 percent of whites, 87.0 percent of blacks, and 89.1 of Asians. Also, foreign-born individuals are less likely to graduate from high school than those born in the U.S, with 91.8 percent of native-born individuals graduating from high school, but only 72 percent of foreign-born individuals graduating from high school (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Many people who immigrate to the U.S. are of Hispanic origins, particularly Mexican-Americans, and may have limited English speaking skills, which might explain why so many foreign-born people have lower rates of high school completion.

In Table 1.2. there is a similar pattern, with Hispanics having the lowest rate of college completion in comparison to all other racial and ethnic groups. Only 15.5 percent of Hispanics graduated from college with a Bachelor's degree or higher by the time they were 25, in comparison to 32.8 percent of whites, 22.5 percent of blacks, and 53.9 percent of Asians. There was not a huge difference between Native and foreign-born people who graduated with a Bachelor's degree or higher, as noted before, with 32.7 percent of native-born individuals and 31.4 percent of foreign-born individuals graduating. This might be because many people who immigrate legally to the U.S. arrive in the country on an education visa, which means that they are coming into the country for the purpose of attaining a Bachelor's degree or higher; or they are arriving in the country on a work visa, which means that they might already have a high level of education (Census Bureau, 2015).

However, there are other issues to consider when looking at Hispanic immigrants. According to de Anda, Franke and Becerra (2009) Hispanic youth in the United States consisted of 14% of the adolescent population in the year 2000. However, this percentage is predicted to grow significantly higher in the coming years; as high as 23% of the adolescent population is predicted to be of Hispanic descent by 2020. We are expected to see such drastic increases in this population, and there is a real need to examine the reasons and barriers which contribute to the low rates of educational attainment among this subpopulation.

One possible reason for such low educational attainment levels among Hispanics may be that many youth from these Hispanic subpopulations have developed what Cornell and Hartmann (2007) refer to as thick racial and ethnic identities, which they define as an identity that affects every day life, because they are associated with the highly stigmatized label of immigration, even when they are second, third or fourth generation Mexican-Americans, or of other Hispanic ethnicity. Many Hispanics face issues with racialization, or seeing Hispanics as inferior, and their daily life is often experienced through their racial-ethnic identity. Indeed, two prominent studies (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007; Telles & Ortiz, 2008) document how Hispanics develop and maintain thick racial and ethnic identities even after the first generation since immigration.

However, it should be noted that there are differences in academic achievement among different Hispanic populations. For example, many students of Cuban descent, who are able to attend private schools that build their curriculum around both English and Spanish, report higher levels of educational attainment (Portes & Rumbault, 2001). According to Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller (2009) this could be attributed to the

context of reception by the host culture, because many Cubans emigrated from Cuba as legal refugees rather than as undocumented immigrants, and were not received by the host culture as illegal immigrants. Furthermore, there are there are other differences in academic achievements between native- and foreign-born Hispanics. All of these differences create problems in trying to understand a subpopulation, there is so much diversity within the pan-ethnic Hispanic category (Everett et al., 2011). These issues, along with other problems, such as lumping all foreign-born Hispanic youth with immigrant populations from different parts of the world, make it important to look at these specific groups of Hispanic youths and examine the differences within the pan-ethnic Hispanic subpopulation. But, aside from differences in educational achievement we must also look at the educational expectations for youths.

There is previous research that has found significant differences in both educational aspirations and expectations by to race/ethnicity as well as nativity (Bohon, Johnson, & Gorman, 2006; Glick & White, 2004; Kao & Tienda, 1995). However, there is a difference between educational aspirations and expectations. When talking about educational aspirations it is in reference to how much education people would want to achieve, or want their children to achieve, if there were no constraints involved in achieving those aspirations. When educational expectations are discussed, it is more about how much education people will realistically be able to achieve taking into consideration personal and financial barriers they must overcome in order to continue their education (Perreira & Spees, 2015).

High school educational aspirations can predict aspects of educational attainment, such as high school completion, entry into post-secondary education and the potential of

upward social mobility (Perreira, Harris, & Lee, 2006; Portes & Rivas, 2011), but there is more research needed to understand the relationship between educational expectations and long-term educational attainment and social mobility among all youth, but especially Hispanics, despite a vast amount of existing literature.

However, according to Perreira and Spees (2015) the context of reception will influence the educational expectations of undocumented immigrants because of several barriers that they face to attain an education that native-born students do not have to face. For example, many undocumented students do not go on to attend any type of post-secondary education because of real financial burdens. These students are not able to apply for any type of federal financial aid, so there are few or no resources to attend school. Also, in most states, public colleges and universities and community colleges do not allow undocumented students to enroll as in-state students; this means that they must pay higher tuition rates when they register as out-of-state or international students. Because of these hindrances to their educational success, much of the research indicates that these undocumented students may have lower educational expectations than their native-born counterparts (Flores & Chapas, 2009; Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Suarez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranish, & Suarez-Orozco, 2011). However, more research is needed to understand the link between educational aspirations and attainment in general terms, and specifically, for Hispanic youth.

Added to this many Hispanic youth and their families have low levels of human capital on average and many live in areas where there are higher levels of deviant social capital, or relationships associated with criminal activities, such as in inner-cities and urban areas. At the same time that they may face constraints due to their or their parents'

human capital, they may live in a poor neighborhood wherein few people experience social mobility and there are high level of criminal and deviant behavior. The youth in those neighborhoods have parents, relatives, and friends with low levels of education and low-wage jobs that lead to fewer opportunities and less knowledge on how to gain status attainment through conventional means. Furthermore, many of these youth face issues with racialization and discrimination that create an air of disillusionment about of upward mobility (Cornell & Hartman, 2007; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2005).

Altogether, there are many factors that could influence Hispanic youth's educational expectations and their ability to enter, or not enter, into post-secondary education. Some of these factors can include the cultural, human and social capital that they and their parents have, and different levels of assimilation, especially when considering segmented and downward assimilation. This research therefore asks the following research questions:

RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

 How does race/ethnicity affect youths' educational expectations?

RESEARCH QUESTION 2:

How does race/ethnicity shape higher levels of educational attainment?

RESEARCH QUESTION 3:

How do Mexicans' educational expectations and educational attainment differ from other Hispanics?

I will provide a review of the literature in chapter two, which will discuss research on cultural capital, human capital and social capital, as well as variations of assimilation theory in the context of Hispanic youth and how they assimilate to the host culture within the U.S. In chapter three, the methods of analysis will be described in detail. This chapter opens with a statement of the research questions and the hypotheses guiding this research. This chapter will go over the dependent variables and independent variables that will be used in the analysis. I will also describe how each of these variables was coded for the analyses. In chapters four, five, and six, I will present statistical findings using quantitative data analysis techniques to address the research questions stated above. These chapters will include tables showing the data used as well as the analytical results. I will then provide a description of what each analysis means. Finally, in chapter seven I will outline the major contributions, key findings and their implications as a conclusion. I will also discuss the limitations of this research project.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this review of the literature, I will first discuss the relevant contributions relating to cultural capital, human capital, and social capital to this research topic focused on educational expectations and educational attainment. Next, I will discuss how the different forms of capital affect the rate by which people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds assimilate. Then, I will introduce the theory of straight-line assimilation developed in the early 1900s, and I later discuss segmented assimilation and downward assimilation in relation to educational attainment.

Cultural Capital

At the core of Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction is that cultural capital is transferred over several generations. "Cultural capital refers to the linguistic and cultural understandings and skills that individuals bring to schools on the basis of their social class location" (Maldonado, Rhoads, & Buenavista, 2005, p. 609). Bourdieu (1977) posits that cultural capital equips an individual with knowledge, skills, and a general sense of how things must be done within the education system that is recognized by both the institutional gatekeepers and peers (Jaeger, 2011). Taking this assumption into consideration, many Hispanics who are first-generation college-bound students, are disadvantaged by a lack of or less knowledge about how to enter and thrive within most education systems than students from more affluent backgrounds.

However, Kraaykamp and van Eijck (2010) argue that the concept of cultural capital is multifaceted and includes the embodied state, the institutional state and the

objectified state. The embodied state involves the cultivation or building of cultural

capital which the individual gains through unconscious socialization over time. It is,

therefore, an "external wealth converted to an integral part of the person, into a habitus"

and "cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles

of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244-245). This

would be when youth gain knowledge and skills from previous generations to maintain

their status within their social class or potentially attain upward mobility. With the

embodied state of cultural capital, many Mexican-American and other Hispanic youth are

not socialized to attain high levels of educational attainment and are less likely to have

high educational expectations because parents often do not possess the capital and cannot

transfer it to their children.

However, beyond the limits placed on the embodied state is the institutionalized

form of cultural capital. This form mostly refers to educational credentials attained over

time. Using this type of capital, the educational system manages to impose recognition of

the individual that allows others to compare, such as diplomas or titles. Therefore, if

Hispanics are unable to attain academic achievement through graduation, the embodied

state is not fully recognized due to a lack of legitimate academic credentials (Kraaykamp

& van Eijck, 2010). In this form of cultural capital, the education system can intervene

and help the students who lack the needed educational socialization in the home. With the

institutional form of cultural capital the implementation of programs and policies that

target a specific at-risk population can help youth with real and perceived barriers.

Finally, the objectified state of cultural capital involves the ownership of cultural

goods, such as books, dictionaries, tools, etc. Unlike the other two forms of cultural

capital, embodied and institutional, the objectified form can be transferred immediately, if one has the means by which to procure cultural goods (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2010). However, this becomes a problem for disadvantaged students who cannot afford these cultural objects, especially with a growing use of technology that leaves many students from lower SES backgrounds lagging behind students with the ability to transfer this type of cultural capital without straining the family budget. On the other hand, public libraries and the availability of free software on the internet have the potential to help many disadvantaged youth. Also, if grants were available for at-risk schools to help with the burden of material possessions it would help create equity in our educational system. With the objectified state of cultural capital concept we can posit that Hispanic students may be both burdened (i.e., by low income) and enabled (i.e., by free public resources like libraries and software).

Regardless of what type of cultural capital is being obtained by students, many empirical studies focused on the general population have shown that cultural capital is positively correlated with educational attainment (Cheadle, 2008; Crook, 1997; De Graff, De Graff, & Kraaykamp; Dimaggio, 1982; Dimaggio & Mohr, 1985; Dumais, 2002; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Robinson & Garnier, 1985; Roscigno & Aimsworth-Darnell, 1999; Sullivan, 2001; van de Werfhorst & Hofstede, 2007). There might be certain forms of cultural capital that are found within Hispanic culture that are not found in mainstream culture that might help students from Hispanic backgrounds succeed within the educational system. For example, California State University-Long Beach received a five-year grant from the U.S. Department of Education in 2006 to attempt to reduce the educational and professional barriers growing within the

Hispanic population over the years. Since California State University-Long Beach is considered a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI), it is a university that currently has a population of Hispanic students that could be tested. The HSI initiative, entitled Mi Casa: Mi Universidad (MCMU) was designed to assist the Hispanic population with additional support during their time at the university (Rios-Ellis, Rascon, Galvez, Inzunza-Franco, Bellamy, & Torres, 2015).

The Rios-Ellis et al. (2015) study was able to identify barriers that contributed to lower educational attainment among Hispanics. Some of these barriers included: lack of academic preparation, lack of English language-proficiency, linguistic and cultural alienation, lack of knowledge of the higher educational systems in the U.S. and the lack of knowledge of financial mechanisms by which students fund their education (Rios-Ellis et. al., 2015). And looking across these barriers, capital to improve educational attainment for Hispanics is again salient.

Historically, cultural capital has focused on characteristics defined by a population that is mostly white and middle class. However, cultural capital can be expanded to include cultural attributes that are beneficial beyond those of the white middle-class to those of community cultural capital which refers to an "array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts possessed and utilized by communities of color to survive and resist macro- and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). If we look at cultural capital from this perspective, community cultural capital can come from the following forms of capital: aspirational, linguistic, familial, navigational, and resistant.

Aspirational capital refers to "the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of perceived barriers" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). An important quality among Hispanics is resilience; many Hispanics must make sacrifices not only for family, but for the community as well. Aspirational capital is an important element to examine when looking at issues of retention among Hispanic students. Aspirational capital is similar to the concept of *esperanza*, or hope. Although many Hispanics may not be familiar with the concept of cultural capital, it may help to draw parallels to the concept of hope, since many came to the U.S. out of desperation and with the hopes of building new and better lives (Rios-Ellis et al., 2015). It is important to note that high educational aspirations in high school lead to higher educational attainment (e.g, Perreira & Spees, 2015). In states like California, even more hope is available for Hispanic youth, since the passage of Assembly Bill 540 (AB 540) in 2001. The bill allows undocumented youth who meet certain criteria to enroll in any public university or community college as an in-state student, making their education more affordable (Mendoza, 2008).

Linguistic capital "includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style" (Yosso, 2005, p.78). Among Hispanics, linguistic capital refers to the ability that many have to navigate between their native Spanish and English on a regular basis. For many Hispanic college students linguistic capital is advantageous, because they can navigate among several communities and build on their social/communication skills. Also, Hispanic youth are often relied upon by their families to serve as translators for older family members who are not fluent in English, thus gaining knowledge, navigation skills, and experiencing

communication with professionals, such as teachers, doctors, and lawyers (Rios-Ellis, et al., 2015).

Familial capital refers to "those cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia*, kin, that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). The importance of family is a core part of Hispanic culture. Unlike many white, middle-class families, Hispanic families tend to be larger and consist of extended-family networks. Thus, compared with white students, Hispanic students have more opportunities to form and maintain additional relationships, communicate with a larger variety of people, and build larger social networks. Therefore, familial capital provides students with relational skills that could become helpful along their academic path. If Hispanic youth could use these skills to build connections with faculty and administration, it would benefit the entire community.

Navigational capital refers to "skills of maneuvering through social institutions," such academic institutions that may not have been developed to facilitate academic success of Hispanic students (Yosso, 2005. p.80). Examples of this might include the skills and knowledge necessary to register for classes, apply for financial aid, and buying textbooks. Gaining help in completing these tasks could reduce stress. This kind of stress has been found to negatively affect the retention and completion of higher education among Hispanic students.

Lastly, resistant capital refers to "those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that (challenge) inequality" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Many Hispanic students must use their resistant capital to persevere against institutional and societal

racism and achieve educational success, often in the face of lowered expectations and educational disparities (Rios-Ellis et. al., 2011).

Overall, the discussion on the preceding pages points to the possible importance of cultural capital in shaping educational expectations and educational outcomes. In addition, the concept of cultural capital Kraaykamp and van Eijick (2010) put forward the education system as a buffer that may attenuate the lower level of social class that translates into less cultural capital among Hispanic youth on average. And recent research (i.e., Yosso, 2005; & Spees, 2015; Rios-Ellis et al., 2015) points to other forms of cultural capital embedded within Hispanic culture that may be sources of strength to increase educational expectations and educational outcomes for Hispanic youth. Educational programs could be developed that address barriers that Hispanic students face and at the same time, acknowledge and tap into the cultural capital found within the Hispanic community, might help draw more students into higher education and enjoy higher Hispanic retention rates (Rios-Ellis et al., 2011). This dissertation seeks to uncover some of the potential barriers and sources of strength that Hispanic students might have in developing high levels of educational expectations and their ability to meet those expectations over time.

Human Capital

As people immigrate to the United States they bring with them a variety of skills and talents. "The skills that immigrants bring along in the form of education, job experience, and language knowledge are referred to as their *human capital* and play a decisive role in their economic adaptation" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 46). Parents

with higher levels of human capital are more likely to be able to support their children's adaptation once they immigrate to a new country. One reason for this is that parents with more human capital have greater knowledge of opportunities and difficulties within their new environment. Another reason for this is that most of these parents are able to earn higher incomes than immigrants with lower levels of human capital, which gives their children access to strategic goods and services that might not be available to all new immigrants. Kraaykamp and van Eijck (2010) would call these goods and services "objectified" cultural capital. However, many Hispanics who immigrate to the United States, especially those who immigrate illegally, tend to have very low levels of human capital relative to native-born populations and are usually less able to provide as much help to their children's upward mobility as other immigrant groups.

Behnke, Piercy and Diversi (2004), using a small sample of 10 Hispanic families and doing in-depth interviews about educational aspirations, found that the parents are often unable to help their children with their schoolwork, both monitoring that schoolwork is done and actually sitting down and helping with schoolwork. Most of these parents have very low levels of education and have little understanding of the schoolwork their children must do. Because many Hispanic parents have such low levels of education it makes it harder for them to ensure that their children are doing their school work appropriately, especially when compared to parents who have at least finished high school in this country and are familiar with such schoolwork.

However, not all Hispanic immigrants have low levels of human capital. Many Cuban immigrants who arrived before the 1980s, for example, arrived in the U.S. as refugees and were provided with financial and social assistance by the United States

government during their settlement period. Furthermore, many of these Cuban immigrants were part of the upper class in their home country and were able provide their children with private educations. These private schools were able to provide a bicultural education by teaching youth about both American and Cuban norms. These students appear to have higher levels of educational achievement when compared to other Hispanics, as well as many white students and other immigrant groups. This may be due to their being fluent in two languages and feeling less stigma and structural constraint due to their immigrant status. Therefore, in the case of these Hispanic youths' educational attainment bicultural acculturation seems to have a positive effect (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Another issue is that for many Hispanic parents with low human capital there is a language barrier that prevents them from even trying to help school-aged children. Along with not having linguistic proficiency, and many unable to speak English at all, parents may have little knowledge of U.S. customs and traditions. There is also a language barrier among Hispanic students and the general population. Even for Hispanic youth who are born in the U.S., many do not learn to speak English until they enter school, and most continue to use Spanish at home. This limits their proficiency in English and makes them feel uncomfortable when they are in school. This also means that many second-generation Hispanics are not able to fully acquire the English language and, hence, many third- and fourth-generation Hispanics still are not able to receive as much help as other children whose parents can speak proficient English and those children who have highly educated parents. However, this does not mean that Hispanic parents do not have high academic aspirations for their children (Behnke et al., 2004).

Although most of these Hispanic parents express the importance of doing well in school, there appears to be much less pressure for their children to achieve academically when compared to students from other racial and ethnic groups. These lower levels of pressure to perform academically are most likely due to parents' lack of knowledge and understanding about the pathways to achieve academic aspirations in the U.S. Although many parents want their children to go to college and do well academically, they themselves have very low levels of education and are unfamiliar with the process of applying to college and for financial aid, and they lack a general knowledge about what is required to complete an undergraduate degree or higher. Many of these parents do not even know the difference between a two-year trade school and a 4-year undergraduate degree (Behnke et al., 2004). Because they are so unfamiliar with these processes, there is little push for their children to attempt to do something that might be completely foreign to parents who have never had to go through any of this themselves. In a study about class reproduction, Lareau (2003) found that the replication of social class was common among all social classes, where children are often taught to take jobs similar to those their parents hold, so it probably holds true for children who face even more barriers because of a lack of capital.

For Hispanics who do go on to post-secondary education, many will be the first in their families to attend college. They have very few people with whom they can consult about college, the process that it takes to get there, and how to succeed once they are in college. Additionally, those who are not only first-generation college students, but also first-generation or second-generation since immigration, will usually turn to the culture of origin. However, this culture might not be conducive to academic achievement. The main

focus for many of these youth might be on familialism, which is defined as "a cultural value that encourages family fidelity and closeness" (Fiebig, Braid, Ross, Tom & Prinzo, 2010, p. 858), rather than to the mainstream societal norms.

Along with some very real issues that Hispanic youth have to deal with, there are also several issues with perceived barriers that prevent these youth from trying to achieve their academic aspirations. According to Behnke et al. (2004), more than half of the youth in his sample express experiencing racism as a barrier to achieving academic success. Many of these students feel that teachers express little interest in helping Hispanic students, especially when compared to helping their white counterparts. Also, some students feel that teachers are more prone to believe white students than other studentswhen troublesome situations occur. These situations foster ill feelings and distrust in Hispanic youth when it comes to authority figures. This lack of trust then creates a barrier to academic success for Hispanic youth by putting them at odds with the dominant Anglo culture and making them defensive. Furthermore, it creates an attitude that Hispanic youth should not try because teachers and other people seldom notice their achievements (Behnke et al., 2004; Tatum, 1997). Hispanic youth whose parents have more education and/or higher income have the ability to endow their children with higher educational expectations and more education (i.e, human capital).

Social Capital

Although it is argued that those who arrive in the United States with higher levels of human capital have a better chance of achieving upward mobility, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) propose that human capital is not the only factor that affects economic and

educational attainment among immigrants and their children. The types of communities immigrants join once they arrive in the U.S. will also influence the opportunities that they and their children will have in their new environments. The composition of co-ethnic communities (i.e., an ethnic enclave) often determines the level of social capital available to immigrants and their families. "Social capital, grounded on ethnic networks, provides a key resource in confronting obstacles to successful adaptation" (p. 64). However, these networks can both help and hinder adaptation depending on the type of resources the social networks provide.

Social capital is important because it increases the economic opportunities of immigrants by giving them a better chance to put whatever skills they have to use. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that even if people immigrate to the United States with high levels of education and marketable skills, but do not have access to the labor market, it becomes more difficult to implement their human capital. Usually immigrants who arrive in the United States to communities with high levels of social capital will form ties with co-ethnics who will give them access to job opportunities and other resources.

Another benefit of strong ethnic communities is that they usually enforce norms against divorce and marital disruption. Children who grow up in families with both biological parents have access to more economic benefits and greater adult attention and guidance. Also, networks in strong ethnic communities directly reinforce parental authority (Portes, & Rumbaut, 2001). Telles and Ortiz (2008) argue that for many Hispanics, church attendance is also a vital part for gaining social capital in Hispanic co-ethnic neighborhoods. Not only does religiosity reinforce these familial norms and help maintain family cohesion, but their study shows that families who attend church

frequently have children with more years of schooling. However, moving into dense, co-ethnic neighborhoods does not always facilitate most forms of assimilation because they might have other ways of attaining status that differ from mainstream white middle-class ideals. From the literature in this area, we can expect families with two biological parents to provide different social capital inputs than other family forms for Hispanic youth. We might also expect that first, second, and third or later generations would provide different social capital inputs for Hispanic youth. Those who migrated earlier may have a more extensive network on which to draw, but conversely, those who have just arrived may be more intensely involved with co-ethnics in church and work activities, and might have more useful co-ethnic links that may shape their own aspirations, and their children's educational expectations and attainment. Therefore, it is important to look at the different ways immigrants can experience assimilation.

THEORIES OF IMMIGRANT INCORPORTION

Assimilation

According to Alba and Nee (2003), assimilation theory can be traced to the Chicago School sociologists of the early twentieth century. Most notable are the sociologists Robert E. Park and W. I. Thomas, and several of their students who collaborated in their work. These sociologists gathered most of their information about assimilation by studying the urban environments around Chicago, which at the time consisted of a substantial immigrant population. Over time this immigrant population grew exponentially and by the early 1900's approximately 70% of the city's population

consisted of immigrants and their children. However, the definition of assimilation

according to these early assimilation theorists did not necessarily call for the erasure of

all signs of immigrants' ethnic origins. Rather, it called for the fusion and sharing of

cultures. This definition however changed over time and there was a call for the

Americanization of immigrant groups by many nationalist organizations (Alba & Nee,

2003)

Despite the fact that Parks' definitions involved concepts like sharing cultures and

achieving cultural solidarity, the legacy that he is most often associated with is eventual

assimilation. According to Alba and Nee (2003), Park's legacy includes the notion that

assimilation is progressive and irreversible and stems from a cycle of contact,

competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation. The cycle refers to the process

by which many immigrants from various places come into contact with groups that were

once separated. Once in contact, many of these immigrant groups enter into competition

for resources with one another, before they settle into the more stable stage of

accommodation, where they create an understanding of group positions. No matter how

stable the social structure became, Park argued that ethnic differences would eventually

diminish, and that all immigrants would eventually assimilate.

However, over time the idea of assimilation began to change, and many even

began to challenge the concept that assimilation is progressive and irreversible. In the

mid 1900's, Milton Gordon (1964) contributed a multidimensional concept to

assimilation theory. Gordon's definition of acculturation, which begins with minority

group(s) learning and implementing the cultural patterns of the host culture. He argued

that acculturation typically came first, and that it was for the large part inevitable. In this

definition the desired cultural standard which should be adopted was the middle-class, white Protestant culture, which he described as the "core culture." He believed that acculturation could occur even in the absence of other types of assimilation (Alba & Nee, 2003).

However, these ideas of assimilation did not take into consideration minorities who did not fit into the mold of the white Anglo immigrants who arrived from various European countries. For this reason, many sociologists today question whether assimilation theory is still applicable in modern times, because many immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America are arriving in greater numbers than European immigrants. Some sociologists have even created new ways of looking at assimilation when considering non-European immigrants and their process of assimilation and acculturation, including segmented assimilation (Portes & Rambaut, 2001).

Segmented Assimilation

Most early assimilation theorists tended to be optimistic when they were considering the assimilation of new immigrants from various countries from all over the world. These theorists assumed that most subsequent generations after immigration would become progressively assimilated, and that most would be fully assimilated by the third or fourth generation since immigration. However, it became apparent that most new immigrants were expected to integrate to the new dominant culture and norms, or the core culture. This expectation assumes that foreign minorities will ultimately come to adopt socially desirable goals (Portes & Rambaut, 2001). However, most of these assimilation theories are based on the experiences of European immigrants and seldom

take into account immigrants from other countries and cultures. Another issue that is often ignored by these assimilation theories is that most European immigrants tend to have similar physical features, and that after a few generations most tend to lose the ability to speak the language of their country of origin. They have no discernible accent, and many see themselves as ethnically homogenous. This level of assimilation is often not readily available to many non-European immigrants because they do not look physically similar to what has now become a white dominant culture (Telles & Ortiz, 2008).

Many Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans look physically different from their white counterparts and are unable to take advantage of the benefits of white privilege. For Hispanic immigrants, it is not as easily possible to assimilate fully, not only because many have dark skin and distinguishable physical features, but also because many have a language barrier or discernible accent. However, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that many second-generation Mexican Americans are "better defined as undergoing a process of segmented assimilation where outcomes vary across immigrant minorities and where rapid integration and acceptance into the American mainstream represent just one possible alternative" (Portes & Rumbaut, p. 45). The reasons why there are a variety of paths to assimilation can depend on several factors, including: 1) the history of the first generation; 2) how fast parents and children acculturate and its bearing on normative integration; 3) barriers experienced by second-generation youth, both cultural and economic, in their quest for successful adaptation; and 4) the resources available from family and community for confronting these barriers (2001).

Hispanics from different countries immigrate to the United States for myriad reasons and therefore are received differently by the government. For instance, as I discussed earlier, most Cubans have immigrated to the United States as refugees and have received government assistance in that process. Also, many of these refugees tend to be from wealthier families and have higher levels of human capital compared with other Hispanic immigrants. On the other hand, many Mexicans immigrate to the U.S. illegally, tend to have low levels of human capital, and must depend on what little social capital they have upon their arrival to the U.S. because they get very little government assistance due to their illegal status (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

According to de Anda, Franke, and Becerra (2009), Hispanic youth born in the United States must go through a bicultural socialization process that parallels that of their immigrant counterparts. These youth must simultaneously be socialized into the values, customs, norms and mores of mainstream and Hispanic cultures, and these might clash at times. Even for immigrant youth, there are effects of bicultural socialization because of United States born peers' influence. For this reason, Hispanic youth must go through an "in between" position that places them at a further disadvantage than their white counterparts. This means that most Hispanic youth seldom feel that they are fully part of either the mainstream Anglo culture or their parent's native culture, and this creates an identity problem for many young Hispanic people.

Portes et al. (2009) argue that many new immigrants today face obstacles that Europeans did not have to face a century ago. Today's economy has become a bifurcated service industry which requires high levels of human capital to acquire economic and

professional success. Therefore, immigrants must now bridge an educational gap in one generation, while this took many European immigrants several generations to do.

Furthermore, acculturation differs for men and women. Men tend to have higher degrees of acculturation than do females, who tend to have a stronger pull to be close to their family and native culture. However, it is interesting to note that the birth order of siblings, particularly for females, affects the level of acculturation. For example, the eldest daughter in a Hispanic family, regardless of generation, tends to have much lower levels of acculturation than any of the subsequent female siblings. This finding is striking, because if the eldest female in a Hispanic family is specifically targeted and encouraged to enter into some form of post-secondary education, it could create a ripple effect among younger females in the family and increase the rate of Hispanic youth entering college (Fiebig et al., 2010).

Also, a not-so-surprising finding is that for those who are having trouble with acculturation, support from family is found to be more beneficial than support from peers. However, this conflict between the dominant Anglo culture and the Hispanic culture ultimately affects most Hispanic youth's performance in school and the academic and occupational aspirations they tend to have. Thus, acculturation indirectly influences Hispanic youths' educational goals and vocational expectations by influencing levels of family commitment (Fiebig et al., 2010).

For example, many Hispanic youth who do attend college after high school seem to have limited choices for where they will go, because many are culturally expected to live at home. This cultural expectation of Hispanic families stands in contrast to their non-Hispanic White counterparts and even other minority ethnic-racial groups. This

means that those who do not live near a four-year college must attend a local community college regardless of academic competence. As a result, this reduces the number of Hispanic students who even apply to four-year universities across the United States. Although the choice of living at home is often misrepresented as a socioeconomic issue, to reduce the cost of living expenses, there is a need to explore why so many Hispanic students choose to live at home while attending college, especially when compared to their white counterparts or other immigrant groups (Desmond & Lopez Turley, 2009).

The family offers emotional security and a sense of belonging to many Hispanic students, and this might be a major reason why so many choose to live at home during their college years. Along with these feelings, the family also offers support that many of these students feel lacking from other facets of their life, and this might explain their reluctance to live outside of their family home. However, staying at home can be detrimental to their studies because there is such a strong urge to attend traditional ceremonial events, such as births, marriages, deaths etc., that seem to supersede academic events (Mindel, Habenstein & Wright, 1998)

Another problem that may emerge is that many Mexican immigrants have little education and most do not speak English. Many of their children will adapt to their new environment faster than their parents, and a role reversal can sometimes happen. Parents often become dependent on their children in various ways. Children must frequently translate for parents, teenagers have access to better paying jobs than their parents, and these can create problems with parental authority. As many of these children learn the English language and U.S. culture, it creates a dissonant acculturation. For those parents who have enough human capital and can learn at the same rate as their children, they can

experience consonant acculturation. However, selective acculturation can occur if the learning process is embedded in a co-ethnic community that is large enough to slow down the cultural shift and promote the partial retention of the home language and norms (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

For many Mexican immigrants, and their children, selective acculturation is very likely, because many Mexicans choose to move to areas with large Hispanic populations and create enclaves where they can maintain some of their home culture and pass it onto their children. However, this might not benefit the educational attainment of their children, because they tend to move to racially segregated neighborhoods and schools where they might experience high levels of discrimination and downward assimilation (Telles & Ortiz, 2008).

Downward Assimilation and Racialization

One of the most important issues facing Hispanics, and Mexican Americans in particular, in the United States today is that they tend to have some of the lowest educational attainment levels and some of the highest high school drop-out rates across minority ethnic groups (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). In a study by Telles and Ortiz (2008), which included a second wave of interviews of respondents 35 years after the first wave, they find that although educational levels improve from immigrant parents to their children, educational levels drop and stall in the third- and fourth-generations. This becomes rather problematic since in most other immigrant groups, assimilation theory has predicted that with each subsequent generation, educational levels should continue to increase, and that most descendants of immigrants should be fully assimilated by the third

or fourth generation. However, many Mexican Americans and other Hispanic groups seem to be experiencing downward assimilation in terms of educational attainment.

Although their study (Telles & Ortiz, 2008) does show that there has been some improvement since the initial study that was done in 1965, it seems that poor levels of education still persist among Mexican Americans. Further, they argue that immigrant parents might have higher aspirations for their children, and this might explain the increase in educational level of their children, but that racialization and discriminatory practices might disillusion subsequent generations.

Also many of the later generations do have a certain level of language assimilation. For many of the participants who are third and fourth generations, there appears to be a lack of bilingualism. However, language assimilation reduces cognitive abilities and decreases self-esteem in many Mexican Americans. This might have an influence on the downward assimilation of educational attainment of Mexican American youth (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). This is especially poignant when considering that Cuban immigrants, who often are able to provide a private education for their children, which includes bilingual education, seem to have much higher levels of educational attainment than other Hispanic youth who are forced to learn only in English (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Furthermore, many children of immigrants tend to live in segregated neighborhoods where educational institutions may be lacking and where assimilation is slower, since they are insulated from mainstream society. Children who grow up in more integrated neighborhoods tend to have parents who have higher incomes, more knowledge, time to read, and the ability to expose their children to other cultures, all of

which will more than likely help children assimilate to the host society at a faster rate (Telles & Ortiz, 2008).

However, despite issues with acculturation, immigrant adolescents tend to place more importance on their academic achievement and preparation for higher education than their U.S.-born counterparts of Hispanic descent. This is most likely attributed to anxiety felt by many of these youth because of lack of familiarity of a particular area. They have moved from everything they know and feel the need to do their best and make the most of such a drastic change. Therefore, since they have chosen to move to a different place, with a different language, they are more likely to work harder to attain higher levels of success than those who were born in the United States (de Anda et al., 2009).

In conjunction with the lack of social capital and cultural deprivation that many Mexican Americans experience, Telles and Ortiz (2008) argue that racialization, or discrimination, still plays a major role in the assimilation process for many Hispanics. The idea that Mexicans are inferior may lead to tracking them into less challenging curricula on the basis of their race. This may lead to many of these youth becoming disillusioned with a society that systematically discriminates against them, and often does not allow for upward mobility.

In this chapter, I have examined several specific theoretical areas that help frame our understanding of educational expectations in the short term and eventual educational attainment in the long term for Hispanic youth. Overall, this discussion has made clear the need to consider how cultural capital, human capital, and social capital come together

to shape distinctive social integration and educational trajectories for Hispanics vis-à-vis other racial-ethnic groups in the U.S.

In the following chapter I will introduce and describe the panel data to be used in this analysis and the research plan. In doing so, I will operationalize concepts, define variables, and justify my methodological decisions.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will lay out my methodological approach to address the following research questions: 1) How does race/ethnicity affect youths' educational expectations? With research question one, I hypothesize that Hispanics will have the lowest initial educational expectations compared to respondents from all other racial and ethnic groups. 2) How does racial-ethnic status shape higher levels of educational attainment over time? With research question two, I hypothesize that the amount of human capital, compared to social and cultural forms of capital, will have a negative effect on Hispanics' educational attainment since this group may not have as much human capital. 3) How do Hispanics' educational expectations and educational attainment differ from other races? With research question three, I hypothesize low educational expectations can lead to lowered educational attainment among Hispanics.

Data

This study will use quantitative analyses of the restricted access version of Education Longitudinal Study (ELS) dataset; this is a nationally representative data set which asks a variety of questions including ones about educational expectations and respondents' educational attainment over the course of 10 years. Adhering to the restricted-use specifications, all reported sample sizes are rounded to the tens place. The base year of interviews was conducted in 2002 when respondents were in the tenth grade. The sample from the base year came from a nationally representative sample of public, Catholic, and other private high schools in the U.S. From approximately 17,600 eligible

tenth graders selected for the study about 11,080 completed the base-year questionnaire. The first follow-up interview was done in 2004 and the second follow-up was conducted in 2006. The latest follow-up was conducted in 2012, 10 years after the base year and included 9,340. Also in the third follow-up, the sample included a Hispanic sample of 1,140 (Ingels, Pratt, Alexander, Jewell, Lauff, Mattox, &Wilson, 2014).

Plan of Analysis

Chapter 4 addresses research question one, first looking at students of all races and then focusing on students who identify as Hispanic, to examine what factors are associated with educational expectations. Taking data from the base year, when the respondents are in tenth grade, I will run a linear regression to examine how various factors affect educational expectations in the base year for students of all races. The reason I will use a linear regression is because the dependent variable, educational expectations in base year, is a continuous variable with no high school diploma/GED=1 to Ph.D./M.D.=7, which has values ranging from No high school/GED to Phh.D./M.D. As mentioned earlier, I hypothesize that Hispanics will have the lowest educational initial expectations compared to respondents from all other racial and ethnic groups.

The first two variables that I examine are for demographic purposes, which include race/ethnicity and sex. Race is coded as Hispanic=1, white=2, black=3, Asian=4, and more than one race=5, using Hispanics as the reference category. The variable of sex is coded as male=1 and female=2, using males as the reference category.

Then I use two variables as a measure of social capital: family composition and type of school attended. Family composition is coded as two-parent family=1, single

parent family=2, parent/step-parent family=3, and guardian family=4, using two-parent families as the reference category. Type of school attended is coded as public school=1, Catholic=2, and other private=3.

Next, I use one variable as a measure of human capital, socio-economic status (SES) quartiles. SES quartiles are a composite variable created by NCES consisting of father's education, mother's education, family income, father's occupation, and mother's education. SES is an ordinal variable broken into 4 quartiles, highest quartile=1, third quartile=2, second quartile=3, and lowest quartile=4.

Then, I use two variables as measures of cultural capital, specifically academic extracurricular activities and sports. Academic school sponsored extracurricular activities is a continuous variable with no activities=1 and ends in 8 or more activities=9. Sports is a dummy variable constructed based on whether respondents played interscholastic sports or not and was coded as no participation=1 and participation=2, with no participation as the reference category.

I also examine measures of assimilation using the variables of generation status, which is generation since immigration, and parents' aspiration for their children. Generation status is coded as 3rd or more since generation=1, 2nd generation=2, and 1st generation=3, using 3rd generation or more as the reference category. Parents' aspirations for their children is coded as a continuous variable with no high school diploma/GED=1 to Ph.D./M.D.=7.

In Chapter 5, I will address research question two while using the same dependent variables used in Chapter 4 to test for a relationship using data from the third follow-up that looks at actual educational attainment 10 years after the base year interviews. Since

the dependent variable, educational attainment, is a continuous variable with no high school diploma/GED=1 to Ph.D./M.D.=7, I will use a linear regression for these analyses as well. As noted earlier in this chapter, I hypothesize that the amount of human capital, compared to social and cultural forms of capital, will have a positive effect on Hispanics' educational attainment.

In Chapter 6, which includes my final analyses, I will address research question three and include only students who identify as Hispanic. As stated earlier in this chapter, I hypothesize educational expectations begin low and lead to lowered educational attainment. For this analysis, racial and ethnic identity is coded as Mexican=1, Cuban=2, Puerto Rican=3, and other Hispanic=4, using Mexican as the reference category. For this analysis the independent variable of home language, which falls under cultural capital, will be included. This variable is coded as English=1, Spanish=2, and other language spoken in the home=3. For these analyses I will look at educational attainment and a linear regression will be used.

To adjust for the complex ELS sampling design, which involves strata and clustering, I used the Robust procedure in Stata using the Huber-White sandwich estimators. Altogether, there were 11,080 participants spread over 752 schools, which means that respondent students are clustered within these schools (i.e., PSU clusters or primary sampling units). With OLS regression, we assume that all observations are independent, but they are not in the ELS dataset, because children are clustered within 752 school environments across the United States. I use the Robust procedure in Stata to adjust the standard error of each OLS coefficient estimate to account for this complex sample design and the clustering of observations. After adjusting the estimates, the

overall result remains the same and the standard errors changed minimally. From more

reading in this area, I learned that the distortion from the clustering of observations is

minimal in my analysis, because there is a relatively large number of PSUs (i.e., 752

schools) compared with the sample size spread across the United States. Typically, the

Stata Robust standard error estimator converges to the true standard error as the number

of clusters increases (Kezdi, 2004). The 752 PSUs or clusters in the ELS data more than

meet the minimum threshold for use of the Stata Robust standard errors procedure to

correct for the possibility of highly correlated standard error terms due to the clustering of

students within schools.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

PART I

ANALYSES OF BASE YEAR EXPECTATIONS

In this chapter I will address research question one: How does race and ethnicity affect youths' educational expectations? I will use bivariate and multivariate analyses to understand what shapes educational expectations for all young people in the sample. I will examine what the educational expectations of participants are by race/ethnicity, and then I will examine how the independent variables, race/ethnicity, sex, mother's education, parental expectations, generational status, family composition, SES quartile, type of school, student academic extracurricular activities, and sports played affect educational attainment.

It is important to first look at what the participants expect to accomplish prior to starting the process of entering college. Since all of the participants during the base year are in tenth grade, most have not taken the SAT or ACT, filled out college applications, or attempted to access college financial aid. This analysis will demonstrate how high or low educational expectations are for students depending on what racial or ethnic group they identify with.

From the review of the literature I expect to see that variables related to cultural capital, human capital, social capital, and segmented assimilation will affect how low or high educational expectations will be. It is important to note that educational expectation while in high school can affect educational attainment outcomes over time (Bozick, Alexander, Entwisle, Dauber, & Kerr, 2010; Perreira & Spees, 2015). Therefore, it is

important to first examine initial educational expectations within this sample, and what variables positively and negatively affect youths' educational expectations.

In the following table I will describe the demographic characteristics of the sample, by looking at the number of participants. These variables will consist of all independent variables used in the analyses.

Table 4.1 describes the effective sample for the analysis presented in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3. There are 11,080 respondents who completed the interview in the base year of the study. This table shows that nearly 60% of respondents identify as white, while just over 13% of respondents identify as Hispanic, which is important to note for this study. Sex is broken up to nearly half male and half female. Parents' aspiration for their children's educational attainment appear to be high. Most respondents are 3rd generation or more, come from 2-parent households, and attend public schools. Respondents are nearly equally from all four SES quartiles, with slightly more coming from the highest quartile. Most respondents do not participate in academic extracurricular activities or might only participate in just one activity, but over half play some type of school sport.

Table 4.1: Demographics for Base Year

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative
Demographics			
Race			
White	6,590	59.46	59.46
Hispanic	1,480	13.39	72.85
Black	1,360	12.25	85.1
Asian	980	8.88	93.99
More than 1 race	670	6.01	100
Sex			
Male	5,410	48.86	48.86
Female	5,660	51.14	100
Social Capital			
Family Composition			
Mother and Father	6,830	61.64	61.64
Single Parent	2,170	19.61	81.26
Parent/Step-parent	1,650	14.93	96.18
Guardian/s	420	3.82	100
School Type			
Public	8,570	77.38	77.38
Catholic	1,560	14.04	91.42
Private	950	8.58	100
Human Capital			
SES Quartile			
Highest quartile	3,410	30.78	30.78
Third quartile	2,780	25.14	55.92
Second quartile	2,510	22.67	78.59
Lowest quartile	2,370	21.41	100

Table 4.1: Continued

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative
Cultural Capital			
Extracurricular			
0 activities	5,000	45.15	45.15
1 activity	2,980	26.88	72.03
2 activities	1,620	14.6	86.63
3 activities	820	7.39	94.01
4 activities	390	3.48	97.49
5 activities	150	1.39	98.88
6 activities	70	0.66	99.54
7 activities	30	0.214	99.78
8 + activities	20	0.22	100
Sports			
No sports	4,640	41.86	41.86
Sports	6,440	58.14	100
Assimilation			
Generation Status			
3rd gen+	8,630	77.85	77.85
2nd gen	1,340	12.09	89.94
1st gen	1,110	10.06	100
Parent's Aspirations			
No high school	10	0.06	0.06
High school/GED	310	2.77	2.84
2yr/degree	740	6.64	9.47
4yr/no degree	120	1.04	10.51
4yr/degree	4,860	43.91	54.42
Master's	2,430	21.96	76.38
Ph.D./MD	2,620	23.62	100
N	11,080		

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.
Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.

Table 4.2: Percent of Base Year Educational Expectations, by Race and Ethnicity

	Base Year Educational Expectations							
	No HS/GED	HS/GED	Some College	4yr/No Degree	4yr/Degree	Master's	Ph.D./MD	4yr or More
Race								
White	0.44%	5.45%	6.45%	2.73%	40.12%	25.60%	19.20%	84.92%
	(30)	(360)	(430)	(180)	(2,640)	(1,690)	(1,260)	(5,590)
Hispanic	1.48	9.58	5.93	6.27	38.64	20.90	17.19	76.70
	(20)	(140)	(90)	(90)	(570)	(310)	(260)	(1,140)
Black	0.88	6.34	5.23	5.60	39.72	18.64	23.58	81.94
	(10)	(90)	(70)	(80)	(540)	(250)	(320)	(1,110)
Asian	0.81	3.25	3.15	4.47	37.40	23.68	27.24	88.32
	(10)	(30)	(30)	(40)	(370)	(230)	(270)	(870)
More than one race/other	0.75	7.06	5.41	3.90	37.99	24.02	20.87	82.88
	(10)	(50)	(40)	(30)	(250)	(160)	(140)	(550)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.
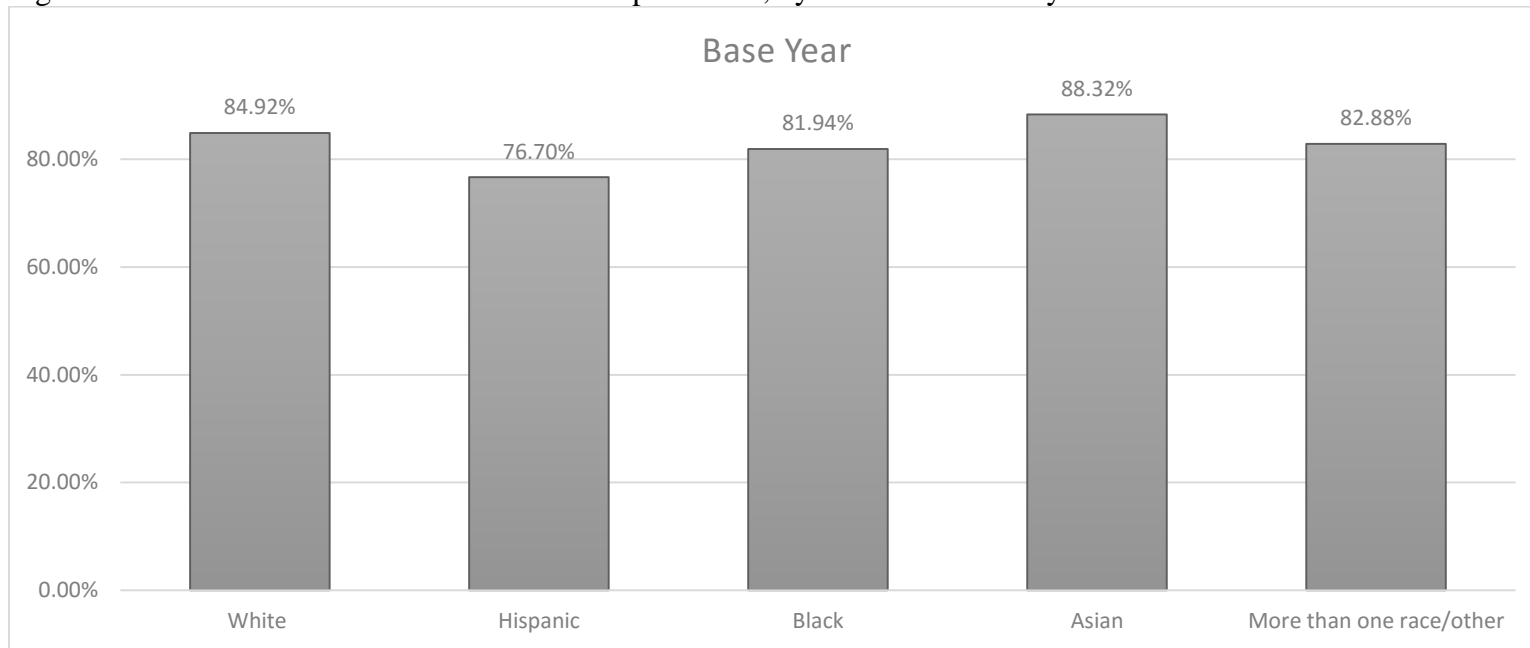
Figure 4.1: Percent of Base Year Educational Expectations, by Race and Ethnicity

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C.

In Table 4.2, I found that Asian and white participants had the highest educational expectations in the base year. However, Hispanic participants had the lowest expectations in the base year, even lower than other minorities. Figure 4.1 illustrates that in the tenth grade, just 76.7 percent of Hispanic youth expect to attain a 4-year degree or more, compared with 84.9 percent of white youth, 81.9 percent of black youth, 88.3 percent of Asian youth, and 82.9 percent of youth reporting more than one race. This is important to note since the research has found that high educational expectations while in high school can predict aspects of educational attainment such as high school completion, entry into post-secondary education, and perhaps upward mobility (Perreira, et al., 2006; Portes & Rivas, 2011).

However, in this research I will try to create some understanding of why Hispanic youth have lower educational expectations, and whether this can actually lead to low levels of educational attainment over the course of time. Since the dataset is longitudinal I will be able to examine variables that may affect both educational expectations and educational attainment over the course of ten years.

This bivariate analysis partially answers my first research question: How does race and ethnicity affect educational expectations? It shows that some racial and ethnic groups generally have higher expectations than other, as previously stated white and Asian participants had the highest expectations in the base year, while Hispanic participants had the lowest educational expectations of all the racial and ethnic groups. However, this analysis only tells us that there is a difference, but it does not tell us what might contribute to these differences between racial and ethnic groups.

In the following analysis I will run different multivariate models examining educational expectations in the base year, introducing new variables in each new model in an attempt to discover what variables that represent cultural capital, human capital, social capital, and segmented assimilation can potentially affect educational expectations among youth within this sample. This will be done to continue to answer the initial research question of how does race/ethnicity affect educational expectations.

Table 4.3: Linear Regressions Predicting Educational Expectations in 10th Grade, Base Year

Base Year Expectations	Model 1 Ь	(SE)	Model 2 Ь	(SE)	Model 3 Ь	(SE)
Demographics						
Race (Hispanic ref)						
White	0.27***	(0.04)	-0.09*	(0.04)	0.11*	(0.04)
Black	0.24***	(0.05)	0.19***	(0.05)	0.15**	(0.05)
Asian	0.52***	(0.06)	0.34***	(0.05)	0.23***	(0.05)
More than 1 race	0.26***	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)	0.17**	(0.06)
Sex (Male ref)						
Female	0.44***	(0.03)	0.41***	(0.02)	0.34***	(0.02)
Social Capital						
Family Composition (2 bio parents ref)						
Single parent			-0.07*	(0.03)	-0.08*	(0.03)
Parent/step-parent			-0.14***	(0.04)	-0.10**	(0.04)
Guardian/s			-0.19**	(0.08)	-0.12	(0.07)
Type of School (Public ref)						
Catholic			0.31***	(0.03)	0.21***	(0.03)
Private			0.20***	(0.04)	0.12**	(0.04)
Human Capital						
SES (Highest quartile ref)						
Third Quartile			-0.28***	(0.03)	-0.18***	(0.03)
Second Quartile			-0.60***	(0.03)	-0.40***	(0.03)
Lowest Quartile			-0.79***	(0.04)	-0.50***	(0.04)
Cultural Capital						
Academic Extracurricular			0.15***	(0.01)	0.12***	(0.01)
Sports (No participation ref)			0.30***	(0.03)	0.26***	(0.02)
Segmented Assimilation						
Generation (3rd or later ref)						
2nd					0.08	(0.04)
1rd					0.08	(0.05)
Parent's Aspirations					0.33***	(0.01)
Constant	4.86***		4.69***		2.46***	
N	11,080		11,080		11,080	
R[2]	0.03		0.15		0.26	

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Standard Error reported are calculated using the Robust procedure in Stata. Using the Huber-White sandwich estimators, the OLS robust command takes into account issues of heterogeneity and lack of normality. There conclusions are the same across the OLS regressions with and without the Robust standard error command.

Table 4.3 reports the results of linear regressions predicting participants'

educational expectations in the base year of the study, which would be their tenth grade

year in high school. The first model tests for relationships between the variables of race

and ethnicity and sex, and the dependent variable, educational expectations. The findings

indicate that all racial and ethnic groups' educational expectations appear to be

significantly different than Hispanics. In comparison to Hispanic participants, students

from all other racial and ethnic groups have statistically higher expectations at

$p<0.001$.As for sex, females appear to have significantly higher expectations at $p<0.001$

than males in this sample.

In the second model of Table 4.3, the results show that when measures of social,

human, and cultural capital are introduced, white students actually have lower

expectations than Hispanics and it loses all significance. While Asian and black

participants maintain statistically higher educational expectations. However, it should be

noted that the change among black participants is minimal, which might indicate that

black and Hispanic students have similar amounts of capital.

In this second model the variables that measure social capital, human capital, and

cultural capital were added. For the variables measuring social capital, not surprisingly,

family formation affects students' educational expectations. Tenth graders who reported

living with both biological parents were much more likely to have statistically significant

higher educational expectations than tenth graders who lived with a parent and a step-

parent at $p<0.001$; those who lived with a single parent and those who lived with a

guardian/s had lower educational expectations at $p<0.05$. This might go along with

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parents' aspirations and having a positive support system, i.e., more social capital (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Model 2 of Table 4.3 also indicates that the type of school a student attends affects student's educational expectations. Compared with students who attend public schools those who attend private and Catholic schools have statistically significant higher educational expectations. One reason may be that private schools offer more resources than public schools can afford. These private and Catholic schools may have a context with relatively more affluence on average than public school and might influence students to feel better prepared to enter post-secondary education. This is also illustrated when Portes and Rumbaut (2001) examined how well Cuban immigrants do when parents are able to provide them with a private bicultural education. Many of these private schools are also feeder schools to some of the most prestigious universities across the country (Karabel, 2005).

Respondents who fall in the highest quartile of SES have the highest educational expectations with each subsequent quartile having statistically lower expectations. This can be attributed to having more resources, better schools, better examples and mentorship, and possibly knowing that they can afford to go through more education without fearing financial burdens. This finding goes along with Behnke et.al.'s (2004) finding on higher levels of human capital, including well-paying jobs, leading to higher rates of assimilation to the host culture, including educational attainment.

Model 2 of Table 4.3 shows that students who participate in academic extra-curricular activities and sports, are more likely to have higher educational expectations. Darling's (2005) study of a large ethnically diverse sample from several cities in

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California also shows that students who participate in sports and extracurricular activities have higher grades and higher educational aspirations. This might be because they are more invested in school than students who just do the bare minimum to graduate from high school. Also, many universities look at what students do outside of their mandatory educational requirements in the admission process; therefore, students who have high educational expectations are more likely to participate in such activities in order to get into certain universities.

In Model 3 of Table 4.3, two measures of assimilation are included in this full model predicting educational expectations in grade ten. Some of the variables have lost statistical significance as other variables are introduced. For race and ethnicity, all other races and ethnicities become statistically higher than Hispanics once more. Hispanic students still appear to have the lowest educational expectations, when compared to white students are significantly higher at p<.05, black, and students who identify as other/more than one race have statistically higher expectations than Hispanic students at p<0.05. While Asian tenth graders are statistically significant at a p<0.001 level. These findings points to the lower and different experience with academic expectations for Hispanic youth when controlling not only for capital but for assimilation as well. Further, it highlights the need to focus on Hispanics' educational achievement in a separate analyses, which I intend to do in a later chapter of this dissertation.

Model 3 of Table 4.3 also goes over the variables which measure assimilation such as generational status of the participant is introduced. In comparison to participants who identify as 3rd generation or more since immigration, those who identified as 2nd or 1st generation since immigration are not statistically different in their relationship to the

dependent variable, educational expectations. This may be because they have not yet started the process of applying to college, and all students are hopeful to accomplish high educational attainment. This finding contradicts the findings of Telles and Ortiz (2008); however, this will be explored at a deeper level in a following analysis that looks at educational attainment among students who identify as Hispanic.

When the parent's aspiration measure is included, there is a strong positive association between parent's educational aspirations for their children and student's having higher educational expectations. This may be because parents may be exposing their children to ideas of accomplishing as much or more than themselves. Parents also may be creating a strong support system for their children (Behnke et al., 2004).

This chapter has gone over the expectations that tenth graders had for their own educational attainment in the base year of ELS. This addressed research question one: How does race and ethnicity affect youths' educational expectations? It appears that while youth of different races and ethnicities appear to have different levels of educational expectations, it has more to do with the amounts of cultural capital, human capital, and social capital that one has access to than race ethnicity. The more capital a youth has access to, the higher their educational expectations will be while the youth are still in high school. Access to resources, such as private education, knowledgeable parents, higher household incomes and extracurricular activities provided by the school all contribute to higher educational expectations. Another important factor that contributes to higher educational expectations is having parents who have high educational aspirations for their children. As noted by Behnke et al. (2004) many Hispanic parents might have high aspirations for their children, but are limited by their

knowledge of post-secondary education. Thus, they might not have high educational expectations or aspirations for their children. In summary of the findings, I find ample support for my hypothesis that Hispanics have the lowest educational expectations when compared to other racial and ethnic groups.

In the following chapters, I will examine the actual educational attainment for these students to see what they have been able to accomplish over a ten-year period, as well as how their educational expectations have changed over time. First, I will examine educational attainment among students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, and then I will focus on Hispanic students' educational attainment.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

PART II

ANALYSES OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AT 3RD FOLLOW-UP, ALL

RACIAL-ETHNIC GROUPS

In this chapter, I will address research question number two: How does racial-ethnic status affect the ability to gain higher levels of educational attainment over time? I am going to examine the relationship between the dependent variable, educational attainment, and the independent variables related to social capital, human capital, cultural and assimilation.

Table 5.1 shows the racial-ethnic distribution of the sample is similar to what it was in the base year. The majority of the sample identifies as white-non-Hispanic, this is approximately 61 percent of the sample. Hispanics make up about 13 percent, blacks 12 percent, Asians 9 percent, and people who identify with one or more races consist of about 6 percent. Sex is distributed nearly evenly, with females making up about 53 percent and males making about 47 percent of the sample.

In order to do this, first I will look at how educational expectations of participants have changed over time. I will do this by looking at the educational expectations of the participants in the first follow-up, which was conducted two years after the base year interviews. This means that the first follow-up was conducted in the student senior year of high school for those who are still in school. This might make their expectations more realistic since by this point those who wanted to attend a 4-year university would have had to have taken, or planned to take, entrance exams, and perhaps applied to universities

already. Then I will present the educational expectations in the third follow-up. These interview were conducted ten years after the base year interviews. This means that many should have been able to attain at least a Bachelor's or possibly a Master's degree during that time span.

I then will run a multivariate analysis that examines the relationship between the dependent variable, educational attainment, and the independent variables related to social capital, human capital, cultural capital and assimilation. I will conduct a linear regression for several models, adding to each model. I will do this so that I can see what the actual educational attainment of all participants, including all racial and ethnic groups, and how they differ based on the different independent variables that were used in the previous multivariate analysis that examined educational expectations in the base year of the study. The variables come from the base year and are used here to see how much they affect educational attainment. Once I conduct this analysis, I will then run a similar analysis in the following chapter looking at only participants who identify as Hispanic.

In the next table I will include descriptive statistics for the variables that will be used for the following multivariate analyses.

Table 5.1: Demographics for 3rd Follow-Up

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative
Demographics			
Race			
White	5,690	60.87	60.87
Hispanic	1,180	12.63	73.5
Black	1,100	11.75	85.26
Asian	820	8.79	94.05
More than 1 race	560	5.95	100
Sex			
Male	4,360	46.64	46.64
Female	4,980	53.36	100
Social Capital			
Family Composition			
Mother and Father	5,940	63.56	63.56
Single Parent	1,770	18.97	82.53
Parent/Step-parent	1,310	13.97	96.5
Guardian/s	330	3.5	100
School Type			
Public	7,120	76.27	76.27
Catholic	1,380	14.81	91.07
Private	830	8.93	100
Human Capital			
SES Quartile			
Highest quartile	3,060	32.75	32.75
Third quartile	2,340	25.07	57.82
Second quartile	2,070	22.13	79.95
Lowest quartile	1,870	20.05	100

Table 5.1: Continued

	Frequency	Percentage	Cum
Cultural Capital			
Extracurricular			
0 activities	4,060	43.44	43.44
1 activity	2,530	27.08	70.53
2 activities	1,430	15.34	85.87
3 activities	730	7.82	93.68
4 activities	340	3.65	97.33
5 activities	140	1.5	98.83
6 activities	70	0.72	99.55
7 activities	20	0.26	99.81
8 + activities	20	0.19	100
Sports			
No sports	3,880	41.53	41.53
Sports	5,460	58.47	100
Assimilation			
Generation Status			
3rd gen +	7,350	78.66	78.66
2nd gen	1,100	11.77	90.43
1st gen	890	9.57	100
Parent's Aspirations			
No high school	10	0.06	0.06
High school/GED	310	2.42	2.48
Attend/complete 2yr	740	6.64	9.47
4yr/no degree	120	1.04	10.51
4yr/degree	4,860	43.91	53.33
Master's	2,110	22.6	75.93
Ph.D/MD	2,250	24.07	100
N	9,340		

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.

For this analysis the sample consists of approximately 9,340 participants who were able to continue with the study after a 10-year period. The sample consists of a majority of white participants, and nearly half are male and female.

Nearly 64 percent of the sample lived in a home with both biological parents, with 19 percent living with a single parent, 14 percent living with one biological parent and a step-parent, and about 4 percent of the sample living with a guardian(s). The majority of the sample attended a public high school, about 76 percent of students, with 15 percent of students attending Catholic high school, and about 9 percent attending some other type of private high school.

Students identified falling into one of four SES quartiles. The distribution of students were nearly even with slightly more falling in the highest quartile and the least falling in the lowest quartile.

Nearly half of the students in the sample did not take part in academic extracurricular activities, and nearly 27 percent participated in only one extracurricular activity, with relatively few doing more than that. However, when it comes to sports about 58 percent of students play at least one sport, while nearly 42 percent do not play any sports at all.

Most of the sample, almost 80 percent, are 3rd generation or more since immigration, with 2nd generation since immigration making up about 12 percent and 1st generation making up about 10 percent. Parent's aspirations are high, with less than a quarter wanting their children to attain anything less than a 4-year degree. Nearly half of the parents hoped that their children would be able to attain a 4-year degree, with nearly

another half of parents hoping that their children would be able to accomplish a Master's or higher.

Using these variables I will examine whether issues of social capital, human, capital, cultural capital, and level of assimilation can affect educational attainment using linear regression.

Table 5.2: Educational Expectations of 1st Follow-Up in the 12th Grade, by Race and Ethnicity

1st Follow-Up Expectations

	No HS/GED	HS/GED	Some College	4yr/No Degree	4yr/Degree	Master's	Ph.D./MD	4yr or More
Race								
White	0.13%	4.22%	11.90%	2.67%	35.85%	25.93%	14.07%	75.85%
	(10)	(260)	(750)	(170)	(2,240)	(1,620)	(880)	(4,740)
Hispanic	0.65	6.09	16.75	4.50	28.72	19.72	12.76	61.20%
	(10)	(80)	(230)	(60)	(400)	(270)	(180)	(850)
Black	0.32	4.94	10.51	4.62	30.33	21.58	18.15	70.06%
	(10)	(60)	(130)	(60)	(380)	(270)	(230)	(880)
Asian	0.11	2.07	6.97	2.51	32.03	25.16	24.84	82.03%
	(10)	(20)	(60)	(20)	(290)	(230)	(230)	(750)
More than one race/other	0.33	6.41	12.99	2.80	35.36	19.90	13.49	68.75%
	(10)	(40)	(80)	(20)	(220)	(120)	(80)	(420)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.

Figure 5.1: Percent of Respondents Expecting to Earn a Four Year Degree or More in First Follow-Up, by Race and Ethnicity
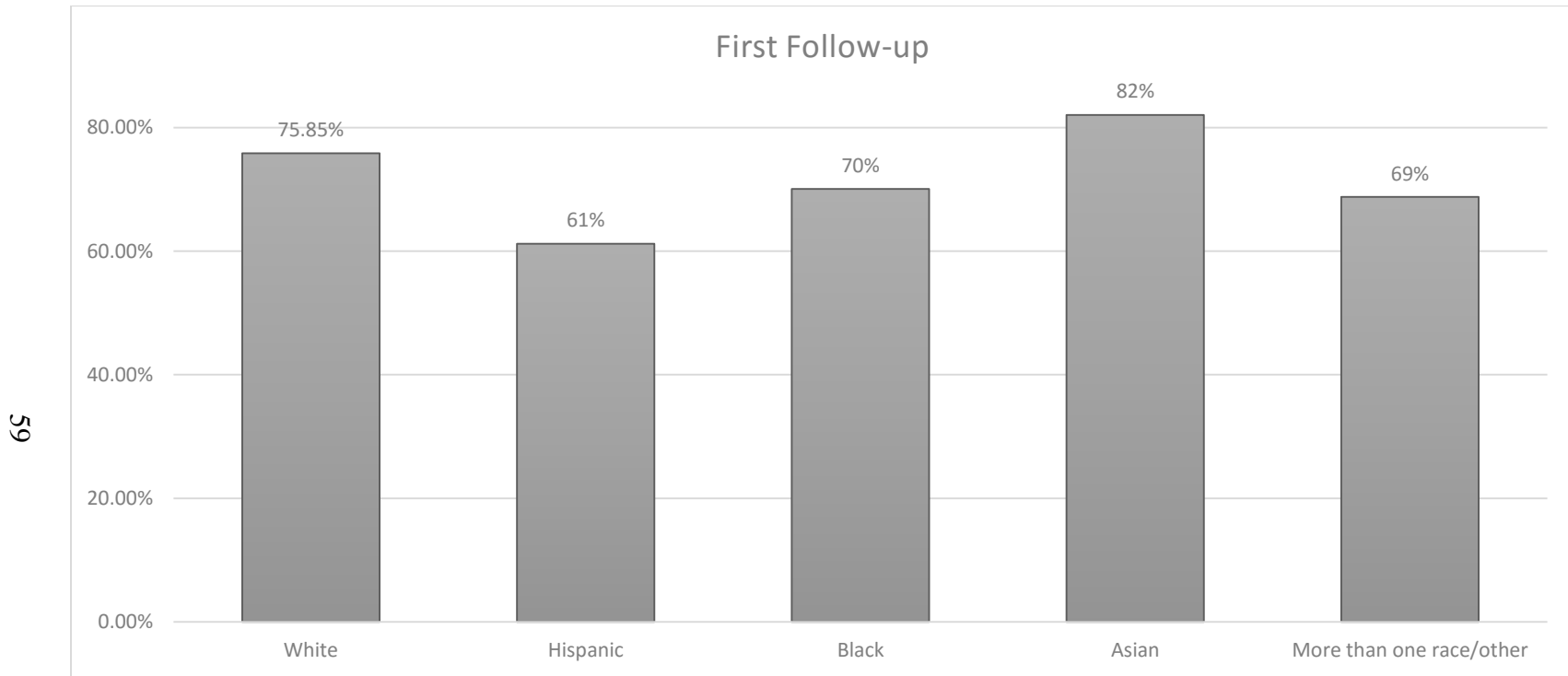
First Follow-up

White	Hispanic	Black	Asian	More than one race/other
75.85%	61%	70%	82%	69%

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Table 5.3: Percent of Educational Expectations of 3rd Follow-Up, 10 Years after Base Year, by Race and Ethnicity

3rd Follow-Up Expectations

	No HS/GED	HS/GED	Some College	4yr/No Degree	4yr/Degree	Master's	Ph.D./MD	4yr or more
Race								
White	0.30%	10.09%	3.88%	9.15%	27.24%	34.22%	15.12%	76.58
	(20)	(510)	(200)	(460)	(1,380)	(1,740)	(770)	(3,890)
Hispanic	1.02	17.19	5.82	9.52	28.56	26.71	11.18	66.45
	(10)	(190)	(60)	(100)	(310)	(290)	(120)	(720)
Black	0.68	13.34	3.80	11.00	26.58	27.65	16.94	71.17
	(10)	(10)	(40)	(110)	(270)	(280)	(170)	(720)
Asian	0.27	6.28	3.14	6.14	25.65	33.02	25.51	84.18
	(10)	(50)	(20)	(50)	(190)	(240)	(190)	(620)
More than one race/other	1.63	14.84	4.67	6.91	27.44	28.25	16.26	71.95
	(10)	(70)	(20)	(30)	(140)	(140)	(80)	(360)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.

Figure 5.2: Percent of Respondents Expecting to Earn a Four Year Degree or More in Third Follow-Up, by Race and Ethnicity

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC
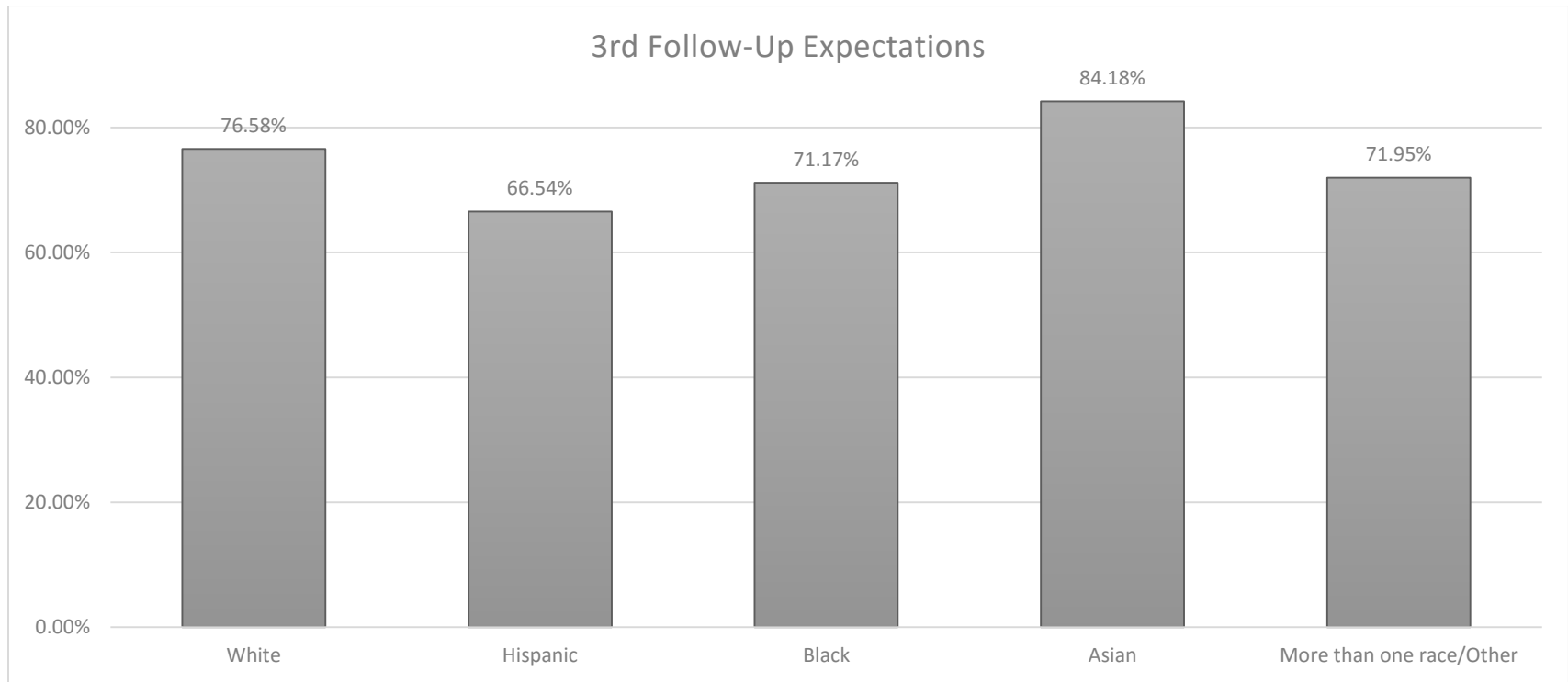
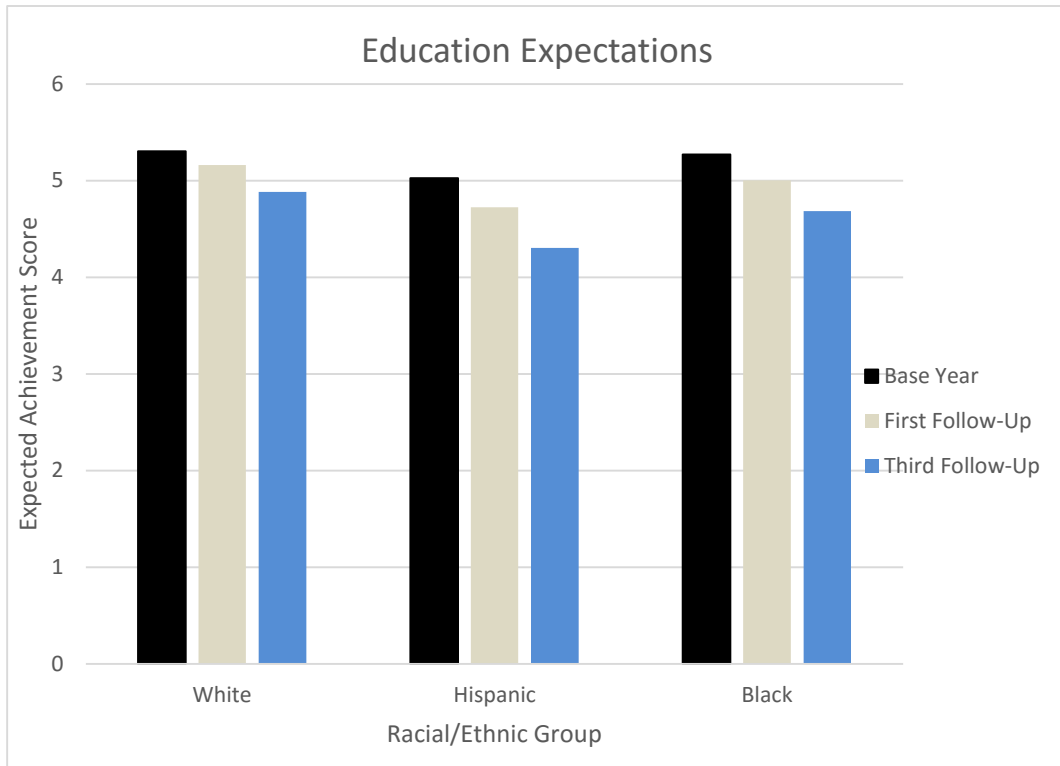Figure 5.3: Percent of Educational Expectations of Base Year, 1st, and 3rd Follow-Up, By Race and Ethnicity

In Table 5.2, I conducted a bivariate analysis looking at race and educational expectations in the first follow-up. These data were gathered two years after the base year. The students should have been in their senior year of high school when these data were collected. Overall, the educational expectations of all participants, regardless of race and ethnicity have dropped, but the trends remain similar to the base year expectations. White and Asian participants continue to have the highest educational expectations, and Hispanics still have the lowest educational expectations.

When looking at the base year educational expectations in Table 4.2, 39.5 percent of all students expected to achieve a Bachelor's degree, 23.86 percent expected to get a Master's degree, and 20.28 percent expected to get a doctorate of some kind. By the time these students got to their senior year of high school, we can see in Table 5.2 that the number of participants who expected to attain a Bachelor's degree dropped to 33. 87 percent, with 24.16 percent who wanted to get a Master's degree, a slight increase from the base year, but another drop in participants who expected to get a doctorate with 15.31 percent. Figure 5.1 illustrates that compared to the base year expectations for Hispanics, when 76.7 percent expected to complete a four-year degree or more, by the first follow-up only 61 percent of Hispanic respondents expected to do so, there is already a big drop in educational expectations 2 years later.

However, in the third follow-up as shown in Table 5.3 we can see that there have been shifts in the educational expectations for all races and ethnicities. White and Asian participants continue to have the highest educational expectations ten years after the base year educational expectations were reported, but even their expectations have dropped dramatically. Over 40 percent of white participants expected to attain a Bachelor's in the

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base year, but by the third follow-up only 27.24 percent of white participants report that a Bachelor's degree is the highest level of education they will achieve. However, it should be noted that there were increases in the percentage of participants who reported lower levels of attainment, but there was also an increase in white participants who hoped to achieve higher levels of attainment. In the base year 25.6 percent of white participants expected to attain a Master's degree and in the third follow-up 34.22 percent of white participants expected to attain a Master's degree. There was however, a decrease in white participants who expected to attain a doctorate, this means that the increase in white participants who expected to get a Master's degree can be attributed to both raised expectations and lowered expectations. There was a similar trend among all the races.

However, Hispanics overall had the lowest expectations throughout the study. Figure 5.2 shows that by the third follow-up, ten years after the base year educational expectations were recorded, their educational expectations had gone up since the first follow-up, but remained the lowest. To illustrate this point further, Figure 5.3 includes a bar graph representing educational expectations for white, Hispanic, and black participants over the base year, first follow-up, and third follow-up. This shows visually that Hispanics start with the lowest educational expectations, but also have the steepest decline, ending with much lower expectations than any of their racial and ethnic counter parts.

Based on previous analyses, we know that educational expectations are affected by race and ethnicity and other factors, but in these following analyses I will try to uncover what variables can affect actual attainment of all races by using a multivariate analysis. The multivariate analysis will use all of the previous independent variables from

the base year including, race, sex, mothers' education, SES quartile, family composition, school type, academic extracurricular activities, and sports, generation status, parents' aspirations, and base year expectations; however, the dependent variable will be the actual educational attainment that participants have completed by the third follow-up. This will allow me to see if the issues of cultural capital, human capital, social capital, and assimilation that I tested for in the previous analyses continue to have the same effect as they did for educational expectations in the base year.

  However, presenting the multivariate analyses results I first present bivariate analysis results that examine whether participants were able to meet or exceed their base year educational expectations ten years later in the third follow-up or not.

Table 5.4: Base Year Educational Expectations Met or Exceeded Ten Years Later

Race	Met/Exceeded Base Year Expectation	Did Not Meet Base Year Expectations	Total
White	30.61%	69.39%	100%
	(1,650)	(3,740)	(5,380)
Hispanic	23.03	76.97	100
	(250)	(840)	(1,090)
Black	19.90	80.10	100
	(200)	(820)	(1,020)
Asian	32.49	67.51	100
	(260)	(540)	(800)
More than one/other	22.92	77.08	100
	(120)	(410)	(530)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.

In Table 5.4, I show bivariate analysis results for how many people were able meet or not meet their base year expectations by the third follow-up. A surprising finding is that Hispanics were able to meet or exceed their base year expectations by the third follow-up at a higher rate, 23 percent, than participants who identified as black or as more than one race and other. However, this might be because Hispanics had much lower expectations than all other racial and ethnic groups in the base year and that it may not have been as hard to meet those expectations.

Table 5.5: Linear Regression Models of Educational Attainment in 3rd Follow-up, All Racial-Ethnic Groups

Educational Attainment, 3rd Follow-Up	Model 1 ь	(SE)	Model 2 ь	(SE)	Model 3 ь	(SE)	Model 4 ь	(SE)
Demographics								
Race (Hispanic ref)								
White	0.38***	(0.03)	0.10***	(0.02)	0.21***	(0.03)	0.20***	(0.03)
Black	0.07*	(0.03)	0.06	(0.03)	0.08***	(0.03)	0.07***	(0.03)
Asian	0.55***	(0.04)	0.40***	(0.03)	0.34***	(0.04)	0.31***	(0.03)
More than 1 race	0.10*	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)	0.03	(0.04)	0.01***	(0.04)
Sex (Male reference)								
Female	0.17***	(0.02)	0.17***	(0.02)	0.15***	(0.02)	0.11***	(0.02)
Social Capital								
Family Composition (2 bio parents ref)								
Single parent			-0.11***	(0.02)	-0.11***	(0.02)	-0.10***	(0.02)
Parent/step-parent			-0.25***	(0.02)	-0.23***	(0.02)	-0.22***	(0.02)
Guardian/s			-0.27***	(0.05)	-0.23***	(0.04)	-0.21***	(0.04)
Type of School (Public ref)								
Catholic			0.28***	(0.02)	0.25***	(0.02)	0.22***	(0.02)
Private			0.15***	(0.03)	0.14***	(0.03)	0.12***	(0.03)
Human Capital								
SES (Highest quartile ref)								
Third Quartile			-0.26***	(0.02)	-0.22***	(0.02)	-0.20***	(0.02)
Second Quartile			-0.49***	(0.02)	-0.41***	(0.02)	-0.36***	(0.02)
Lowest Quartile			-0.64***	(0.03)	-0.54***	(0.03)	-0.48***	(0.03)
Cultural Capital								
Academic Extracurricular (No participation ref)			0.08***	(0.01)	0.07***	(0.01)	0.06***	(0.01)
Sports (No participation ref)			0.19***	(0.02)	0.18***	(0.02)	0.15***	(0.02)
Assimilation								
Generation (3rd or later reference)								
2nd					0.14***	(0.03)	0.14***	(0.03)
1rd					0.07*	(0.03)	0.05	(0.03)
Parent's Aspirations					0.19***	(0.01)	0.09***	(0.01)
Base Year Expectations							0.46***	(0.02)
Constant	3.02***		3.05***		2.22***		2.21***	
N	9,340		9,340		9,340		9,340	
R²	0.05		0.25		0.28		0.31	

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Standard Error reported are calculated using the Robust procedure in Stata. Using the Huber-White sandwich estimators, the OLS robust command takes into account issues of heterogeneity and lack of normality. There conclusions are the same across the OLS regressions with and without the Robust standard error command.

In addressing research question number two: How does racial-ethnic status affect the ability to gain higher levels of educational attainment? We can see that after examining educational attainment for students of all racial and ethnic groups that cultural capital, human capital, social capital and assimilation have very strong effects on educational expectations as well as on educational attainment.

In Table 5.5, Model 1 of the linear regression tests relationships between educational attainment and the independent variables of racial-ethnicity group and sex. Racial-ethnic and sex are statistically significant at a $p<0.001$ level. In comparison to white participants, all racial and ethnic groups except Asians attain lower levels of educational attainment. This could be explained by my findings in Table 4.2; other races, aside from Asians, have lower initial expectations at grade 10 than white respondents. Hispanics, for example have the lowest expectations at the base year, and these expectations decrease with each follow-up. Females attain higher levels of education than males. Similar to race and ethnicity, this could be attributed to males having lower expectations when younger.

Model 2 of Table 5.5 shows similar results when examining racial-ethnic group and controlling for measures of social capital, human capital, and cultural capital. We see that while black participants show little change in their educational attainment when compared to Hispanics, but whites' and Asians' educational attainment has gone down. As for participants who identify as other/more than one race, they now have a negative association when compared to Hispanics when we control for capital.

In terms of social capital, family composition is statistically significant at $p<0.001$, with students living in a family structure other than the nuclear family having a

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statistically negative relationship to educational attainment. The type of school participants attended for high school does appear to affect educational attainment among participants. Participants who attended Catholic or private schools have higher levels of educational attainment than those who attended public schools at a $p<0.001$ level. This could be because students whose parents can afford to send them to private schools have higher expectations in the base year, but it could also be because students who attend private schools are better prepared and tend to apply to and attend more competitive universities (Karabel, 2005).

Also, students in the highest SES quartile have statistically higher educational attainment than students in all other SES quartiles at $p<0.001$; each subsequent quartile has lower levels of educational attainment than the quartile preceding it. This in all likelihood is associated with having fewer resources available to help in the process of applying and being able to attend college. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found students in lower SES quartiles were more likely to attend poorly funded public schools, had fewer community resources, had parents with lower amounts of human capital, and were more likely to worry about how they would pay for school if they were accepted to a post-secondary educational institution. These students were more likely to have lower educational expectations and were less likely to attend prestigious (often expensive) universities than students in the upper SES quartiles.

With both extra-curricular activities and sports, it appears that the more activities participants are in the higher their levels of educational attainment at $p<0.001$. This could be explained by the fact that these are invested students, so it is likely that they have

higher educational expectations than students who do very little outside of mandatory schooling (Darling, 2005).

Cultural capital in terms of academic extracurricular activities and sports have a statistically positive relationship with educational attainment. When looking at the measure for human capital, SES quartile, each lower quartile is associated with a lower level of educational attainment. Or conversely, the more human capital you have, the higher the educational attainment you will achieve.

Model 3 of Table 5.5 adds measures of assimilation, including generational status and parents' educational aspirations to explain educational attainment. When these variables are added, Hispanics continue to have lower educational attainment compared with whites and Asians. The relationship between blacks higher educational attainment is once again significant. This suggests that there is an underlying relationship across black, Hispanic and the assimilation measures: generational status and parent's aspirations. When I controlled for measures of social, human, and cultural capital in Model 2, the differences between Hispanics and all other races and ethnicities, except black, became lower. However when measures of assimilation were added in Model 3, educational attainment became higher, but not as high as in the first model. This further shows, that social, human, and cultural capital has a significant effect on educational expectations and educational attainment.

Generational status compares respondents who are first and second generation since immigration to participants who identify as third generation or more since immigration. Both second-generation and first-generation respondents appear to have significantly higher levels of educational attainment at $p<0.001$ than those who identify

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as third generation or more. This finding might have to do with segmented assimilation wherein the later generations assimilate to the social educational norms of the poor neighborhoods that they live in.

This finding agrees with Telles and Ortiz's (2008) finding that there is a downward assimilation when it comes to education, since Hispanic students, mostly Mexican Americans, who identify as first and second generation or more since immigration do not appear to have higher levels of educational attainment as those who identify as 2nd generation since immigration. Telles and Ortiz's (2008) found that those who still might have ties to the home culture because they were born in a different country or have parents who were born in a different country understand the sacrifice that was made to be in the U.S. and try to accomplish as much as possible. However, for many youth who are 3rd generation or more since immigration, they usually do not have strong ties, but continue to feel the stigmatization of being associated with illegal immigration (Cornell & Hartman, 2007) and the relative poverty and lower quality schools in their neighborhoods.

In Model 4 of Table 5.5, I include the respondent's base-year educational expectations. When this variable is added there appears to be no change in racial-ethnic differences in educational attainment.

Base-year expectations are statistically significant at the $p<0.001$ level. This finding agrees with Perreira and Spees' (2015) study that educational expectations in high school can affect educational attainment. However, the variable for generational status loses significance for participants who identify as first generation since immigration. This might be because those in the first generation may have high base-year expectations

Overall, my research findings in this chapter underscore the importance of race and ethnic status as shaping not only expectations but educational attainment as well. Furthermore, it shows some support for my hypothesis presented in an earlier chapter that human capital, when compared to social and cultural capital, did seem to buffer Hispanic students from low educational expectations and low educational attainment as it did for those respondents with higher levels of human capital. Overall, the racial-ethnic group coefficients remain stable I terms of magnitude across Model 3 and Model 4, and base-ear expectations shares an independent relationship with educational attainment. In the next chapter I will look at only students who identify as Hispanic.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

PART III

ANALYSES OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AT 3RD FOLLOW-UP, FOR

HISPANICS

In previous chapters I have examined educational expectations and actual educational attainment 10 years after the base year interviews for students of all racial and ethnic groups. These analyses have shown that students who identify as Hispanic have a statistically significant pattern of having the lowest educational expectations and educational attainment. Therefore, in this chapter I will address research question three: How do Hispanics' educational attainment differ from other racial and ethnic groups over time? I examine Mexicans' educational attainment and compare them to other Hispanics' educational attainment.

It is important to look at this Hispanics because they appear to be at greater risk of lower educational attainment than participants who identify as other races and ethnicities and this could be detrimental to a population that is growing in number within the U.S. In chapter 4 of this dissertation it became evident that Hispanic youth had the lowest educational expectations while in high school and, as other research indicates (Bohon et al., 2006; Perreira et al, 2006; Perreira & Spees, 2015; Portes & Rivas, 2011), low educational expectations in high school can lead to low educational attainment in later life. In chapter 5 of this dissertation it showed that while educational expectations lowered over time for all races and ethnicities, despite having the lowest expectation in the base year, Hispanics' expectations lowered at a higher rate than all other races and

ethnicities. And while Hispanics were able to meet or exceed base year educational expectations more than black participants, it may just have been because while both racial and ethnic groups might face racial and ethnic discrimination and lower amounts of social, human, and cultural capital along their educational paths, Hispanics simply did not expect to attain higher levels of education.

Table 6.1 describes the demographics for the sample from the Hispanic population. It should be noted that for these analyses a new variable was added as an indicator of assimilation. The language spoken in the home can serve as an additional indicator of how assimilated parents might be, since not all immigrant parents can speak English, or speak fluently enough to want to speak it in the home.

Table 6.1: Demographics for 3rd Follow-Up, Hispanics

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative
Demographics			
Ethnicity			
Mexican	760	66.73	66.73
Cuban	40	3.34	70.06
Puerto Rican	150	12.73	82.79
Other Hispanic	200	17.21	100
Sex			
Male	530	46.27	46.27
Female	610	53.79	100
Social Capital			
Family Composition			
Mother and Father	660	58.21	58.21
Single Parent	240	20.98	79.9
Parent/Step-parent	190	16.51	95.7
Guardian/s	50	4.3	100
School Type			
Public	940	82.35	82.35
Catholic	170	14.66	97.01
Private	30	2.99	100
Human Capital			
SES Quartile			
Highest quartile	190	16.33	16.33
Third quartile	220	19.58	35.91
Second quartile	260	23.09	59
Lowest quartile	470	41	100

Table 6.1: Continued

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative
Cultural Capital			
Extracurricular			
0 activities	650	56.80	56.80
Activity	270	23.79	80.60
2 activities	110	10.01	90.61
3 activities	60	5.09	95.70
4 activities	20	2.02	97.72
5 activities	10	0.97	98.68
6 activities	10	0.79	99.47
7 activities	10	0.26	99.74
8 + activities	10	0.26	100.00
Sports			
No sports	590	52.06	52.06
Sports	550	47.94	100.00
Assimilation			
Generation Status			
3rd gen+	500	43.2	43.20
2nd gen	360	31.96	75.15
1st gen	280	24.85	100.00
Parent's Aspirations			
No high school	10	0.09	0.09
High school/GED	40	3.78	3.86
Attend/complete2yr	60	5.44	9.31
4yr/no degree	10	1.05	10.36
4yr/degree	50	41.62	51.98
Master's	200	17.56	69.53
Ph.D./MD	350	30.47	100.00
Home Language			
English	570	50.22	50.22
Spanish	550	47.94	98.16
Other	20	1.84	100.00
N	1,140		

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.

Table 6.2: Percent of Hispanics' Base Year Educational Expectations

	Base Year Expectations							
	No HS/GED	HS/GED	Some College	4yr/No Degree	4yr/Degree	Master's	Ph.D./MD	4yr or More
Ethnicity								
Mexican	2.11%	9.34%	6.05%	7.24%	36.05%	22.11%	17.11%	75.27%
	(20)	(70)	(50)	(60)	(270)	(170)	(130)	(570)
Cuban	0	5.26	10.53	0	31.58	15.79	36.84	84.21
	(0)	(10)	(10)	(0)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(30)
Puerto Rican	0	8.28	7.59	4.83	41.38	16.55	21.38	79.31
	(0)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(60)	(20)	(30)	(110)
Other-Hispanic	1.02	6.63	2.55	2.55	40.82	26.02	20.41	87.25
	(10)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(80)	(50)	(40)	(170)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study data, 2002, National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent actual number counts. Sample numbers have been rounded to the tens place in accordance to NCES restricted-use data procedures.
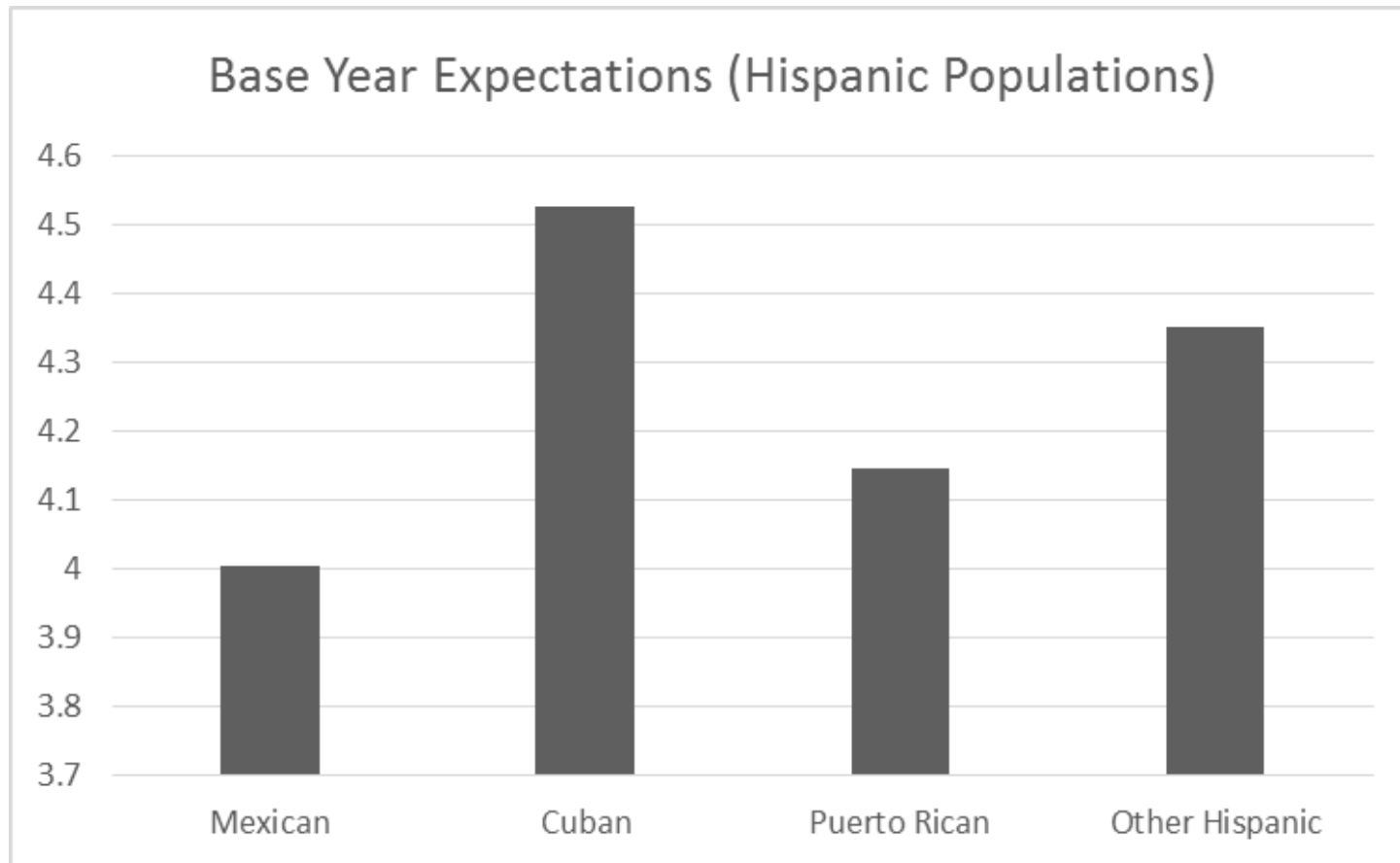
Figure 6.1: Percent of Hispanics' Educational Expectations

Base Year Expectations (Hispanic Populations)

For the purposes of this chapter I have created a variable to examine the differences between Hispanics who identify as Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other Hispanics I did this because more than half of students who identified as Hispanic, about 67 percent, identified as Mexican with other Hispanics who identified as Cuban, Puerto Rican, Central American, South American, and from the Caribbean. Slightly more than half, nearly 54 percent, of the sample also were female, and with about 46 percent being male.

Most of the participants, about 68 percent, lived with both biological parents, about 21 percent lived with a single parent, about 17 percent lived with a parent and step-parent, and about 4 percent lived with (a) guardian(s). Almost 83 percent attended public high school, with only about 3 percent who attended a private high school, and about 15 percent who attended a Catholic high school.

In this sample only about 16 percent of participants fall in the highest SES quartile, with 20 percent in the third quartile, 23 percent in the second quartile, and 41 percent in the lowest SES quartile.

Most of these participants do not participate in academic extracurricular activities, nearly 57 percent, and if they do participate, nearly 24 percent participate in just one academic extracurricular activity. However, more than half of this sample, about 52 percent, participate in sports.

Unlike the previous sample, nearly half of Hispanic students identify as 1st and 2nd generation since immigration, with about 43 percent of students identifying as 3rd generation or more since immigration. For this reason I also included the variable of home language to these analyses. Fifty percent of participants spoke English at home, 48

percent spoke Spanish, and 2 percent spoke some other language at home. However, parent's aspirations for their children are very high. Most parents want their children to get a 4-year degree or higher. This goes along with Behnke et. al.'s (2004) finding that parents have high aspirations for their children's educational future, but because of low levels of human capital are unable to help with the process, or even have the knowledge with which to help them reach those aspirations.

In Table 6.2, I look at the base year educational expectations for respondents who identify as Hispanic. It shows that students who identify as Mexican have overall lower expectations than those who identify as some other type of Hispanic. Figure 6.1 illustrates this point visually using a bar graph of educational expectations for Hispanics. This goes along with research findings by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) that there are differences between immigrants that are often lumped into a pan-ethnic label.

Next, I will run a linear regression examining educational attainment during the third follow-up with the demographic variables as well as the variables that measure for social capital, human capital, cultural capital, and assimilation; however, for the purposes of these analyses I will also include the variable of language spoken in the home as a measure of assimilation.

Table 6.3: Linear Regression Models of Educational Attainment at 3rd Follow-Up for Hispanics

Base Year Expectations	Model 1 b	(SE)	Model 2 b	(SE)	Model 3 b	(SE)	Model 4 b	(SE)
Demographics								
Ethnicity (Mexican ref)								
Cuban	0.62***	(0.14)	0.40**	(0.13)	0.38**	(0.13)	0.38**	(0.12)
Puerto Rican	0.14*	(0.07)	0.04	(0.06)	0.03	(0.06)	0.04	(0.06)
Other Hispanic	0.24***	(0.06)	0.12*	(0.06)	0.12*	(0.06)	0.11	(0.06)
Sex (Male reference)								
Female	0.16***	(0.05)	0.20***	(0.04)	0.18***	(0.04)	0.15***	(0.04)
Social Capital								
Family Composition (2 bio parents ref)								
Single parent			-0.01	(0.06)	0.01	(0.06)	-0.01	(0.05)
Parent/step-parent			-0.21***	(0.06)	-0.19**	(0.06)	-0.17**	(0.06)
Guardian/s			-0.08	(0.10)	-0.05	(0.11)	-0.03	(0.10)
Type of School (Public ref)								
Catholic			0.30***	(0.07)	0.27***	(0.07)	0.24***	(0.07)
Private			0.23*	(0.12)	0.25*	(0.12)	0.22	(0.13)
Human Capital								
SES (Highest quartile ref)								
Third Quartile			-0.20**	(0.07)	-0.19**	(0.07)	-0.18*	(0.07)
Second Quartile			-0.48***	(0.08)	-0.43***	(0.07)	-0.38***	(0.07)
Lowest Quartile			-0.57***	(0.08)	-0.50***	(0.08)	-0.45***	(0.07)
Cultural Capital								
Academic Extracurricular (No participation ref)			0.05**	(0.02)	0.04*	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)
Sports (No participation reference)			0.18***	(0.05)	0.18***	(0.04)	0.15***	(0.04)
Assimilation								
Generation (3rd or later ref)								
2nd					0.10	(0.06)	0.09	(0.06)
1rd					-0.04	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.07)
Parent's Aspirations					0.08***	(0.02)	0.06**	(0.02)
Home language (English reference)								
Spanish					-0.07	(0.06)	-0.07	(0.06)
Other					-0.25	(0.15)	-0.20	(0.14)
Base Year Expectations							0.34***	
Cons	2.96***		3.00***		2.54***		2.49***	
N	1,140		1,140		1,140		1,140	
R²	0.04		0.21		0.23		0.26	

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Standard Error reported are calculated using the Robust procedure in Stata. Using the Huber-White sandwich estimators, the OLS robust command takes into account issues of heterogeneity and lack of normality. There conclusions are the same across the OLS regressions with and without the Robust standard error command.

In Table 6.3 Model 1 the linear regression results show the relationships between Hispanic participants' educational attainment and ethnic identity and sex. Previous findings have shown that non-Mexican Hispanics tend to have higher educational attainment than Hispanics who identify as Mexican (Portes & Rambaut, 2001) and this holds true in the first model. Cubans and other Hispanics have significantly higher educational attainment at the $p<0.001$ level and Puerto Ricans have significantly higher educational attainment at the $p<0.05$ level when compared to Mexican Americans. Hispanic women are also significantly more likely to attain higher levels of education than Hispanic males at a $p<0.001$ level. This might be because females tend to be monitored more than males, and school is a place to continue the monitoring of young women, it could lead them to complete schooling at a higher rate than their male counterparts, regardless of how low expectations might be for females.

In Model 2 of Table 6.3 measures for social, human, and cultural capital were added. While Cubans and other Hispanics remain significant, $p<0.01$ and $p<0.05$ levels respectively, Puerto Ricans appear to have very little difference from Mexicans when we control for capital. This finding differs from Portes and Rumbaut (2001) discussion on negative and positive reception upon immigrating to the U.S. Despite being able to enter the country legally, Puerto Ricans do not have the same level of capital as Cubans and other Hispanics, aside from Mexicans. Indeed, there appears to be an underlying relationship across level of social, human, and cultural capital and being of Mexican or Puerto Rican descent

When looking at measures of social capital the results find that family composition is not as statistically significant as it was in the analyses for respondents of

all races and ethnicities. The only family composition that was statistically significant at a p<0.001 level was for families that consisted of a parent and step-parent relative to a two parent family. This may be in part because Hispanics tend to have larger families and extended kinship networks than other racial and ethnic groups (Yosso, 2005).

Also, the vast majority of this sample attended a public high school, but unlike the analysis done with all racial and ethnic groups, Hispanic respondents who attended private high schools did not do significantly better than those who attended public high schools. However, Hispanic students who attended Catholic high schools did significantly better at a p<0.001 level. This might be because for a large portion of people who come from Latin countries, Catholicism is part of the culture. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) note in their research, immigrants who were able to integrate part of the home and host culture in their children's education, such as Cubans, were able to assimilate at a faster rate.

Similar to the analyses run for respondents of all races and ethnicities, Hispanic respondents had significantly higher educational attainment at a p<0.001 level the higher they fell on the SES quartiles.

In terms of measures for cultural capital, having academic extracurricular activities is not a significant predictor of educational attainment for Hispanics in Model 2 of the table. Playing sports also is positively associated with educational attainment (statistical significance at a p<0.001 level).

In Model 3 of Table 6.3 when other variables are introduced we see that there continues to be some statistical significance when comparing Mexicans and respondents who do not identify as Mexican, but there is little change across the other Hispanic

identities. This might be because the amount of capital that students have contributes the most to their educational attainment.

Model 3 of Table 6.2 shows that there is no statistical significance for first or second generation immigrants when compared to Hispanics who are third or later generation since immigration. This finding contradicts Telles and Ortiz's (2008) theory of downward assimilation of education among Hispanics, which argues that each subsequent generation after first generation since immigration does worse educationally, until it stalls around the fourth or fifth generation. However, parents' aspirations for their children's educational attainment remains significant at p<0.001 level. This coincides with Behnke et al.'s (2004) finding that for some Hispanic parents it is difficult to help their children reach their expectations due to a lack of human and cultural capital that is needed to reach post-secondary education and succeed within the educational system. While speaking a non-English language in the home had some negative effects, it was not found to be statistically significant.

Lastly, in Model 4 of Table 6.2, base-year educational expectations are included. The associations between Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanics remain similar to the results in Models 2 and 3 of this table.

For participants who identify as Hispanic the base-year expectations are positive and statistically significant at a p<0.001 level. Despite having a much smaller sample for these analyses, base-year expectations remains significant when looking at its relation to educational attainment.

In chapter 4 of this dissertation, I looked at high school students' educational expectations in the tenth grade and had the following research question: How does race

and ethnicity affect youths' educational expectations? I hypothesized that Hispanics would have the lowest initial educational expectations compared to respondents from all other racial and ethnic groups. The findings bivariate showed that Hispanics did indeed have the lowest educational expectations; not only in the base year, but throughout the ten-year period in which this longitudinal study was conducted.

Previous research indicated that low educational aspirations or expectations while in high school could lead to lower educational attainment later in life (Bohon et al., 2006; Perreira & Spees, 2015; Perreira et al., 2006; Portes & Rivas, 2011). In chapter 5, I looked at continuing educational expectations over time as well as actual educational attainment in the third follow-up of the study. I found that Hispanics maintained lower educational expectations when compared to all other racial and ethnic groups over time. My second research question was: How does racial-ethnic status shape higher levels of educational attainment? I hypothesized that the amount of human capital, compared to social and cultural forms of capital, would have positive effects on Hispanics' educational attainment. I find some support that students with more social, human, and cultural capital had the higher educational attainment.

Lastly, my third research question was: How do Hispanics' educational expectations and educational attainment differ from those of other races and ethnicities? I hypothesized that low educational expectations can lead to lowered educational attainment for Hispanics. My findings show ample support for this hypothesis, because Hispanics consistently had the lowest educational expectations throughout the study and had the lowest educational attainment. However, it should be noted that in chapter 6 of this dissertation, I find in the bivariate results that respondents who identify as Mexican

have even lower educational attainment than other Hispanics. However, in the multivariate results of the Full Model in Table 6.3, respondents identifying as Mexican are found to attain significantly lower education in 10 year the third follow-up than the Cuban ethnic group all else being equal. The lowered educational attainment for respondents identifying as Mexican in the bivariate results is no longer significantly different then Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics once measures for social, human, and cultural capital, for assimilation, and for base-year expectations are included.

Overall, these findings show that there are differences when looking at the Hispanic population when compared to the general population in terms of educational attainment. These differences need to be acknowledged and addressed if we want a large sub-section of our population to succeed and attain any form of upward mobility. In the following chapter, I describe my conclusions as well as some suggestions for policy change.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Inequality, particularly in the educational sphere, continues to create several disadvantages for many racial and ethnic minorities to this day and influences these populations' everyday lives. Therefore, we can argue that systematic discriminatory practices limit the life chances of Hispanic youth in the U.S. through racialization. This racialization, or seeing Hispanics as inferior, creates difficulty for Hispanics, especially Mexican Americans, to attain upward mobility and fully assimilate (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Many Hispanic immigrants and their subsequent generations have little human capital to help themselves and their children advance in their academic and occupational careers. While the social capital of most Hispanics confers some benefits, these networks do not seem to have the knowledge to help adolescent students attain high levels of academic achievement (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Regardless of the amount or level of human and social capital, there are differences in how immigrants and their children assimilate to their new environment. Various factors must be examined to understand how individuals with different resources and barriers, and further, of different generations, will assimilate. Moreover, many Hispanic immigrants and descendants of Hispanics continue to face issues with racialization that seem to impede the entrance into post-secondary education to a vast number of this subpopulation (Telles & Ortiz, 2008).This research therefore seeks to disentangle the relative effects of social capital, human capital, cultural capital and assimilation.

Research question one examined the relationship between race and educational expectations in the base year of this study. This meant that the participants were all in the tenth grade when they were first asked what they expected the highest level of education they would complete would be. A bivariate analysis showed that Hispanics started with the lowest educational expectations of all racial and ethnic groups in the study, even when compared to other minorities, which shows support for my initial hypothesis that Hispanics would have the lowest educational expectations. As Perreira and Spees (2015) indicated, this can be a predictor of low educational attainment in the future. In the multivariate analyses Hispanics had lower educational expectations across nearly all the models when compare to participants of other racial and ethnic groups. This indicates that holding all other factors steady, Hispanics expect less from themselves than the white middle-class model that they are constantly being compared to.

As more data are introduced from other waves of the study the results are not any better for Hispanic participants. Research question two asked about educational attainment. The results from the first research question found that Hispanics had the lowest educational expectations, and the literature indicated that this might result in lower educational attainment. Using the longitudinal dataset, I was able to look at both high school educational expectation at tenth grade, twelve grade, and educational expectations ten years after the base year. At all of these waves Hispanics continued to have the lowest educational expectations. The results of the analyses on educational attainment produced what the literature also showed. Hispanics had the lowest educational attainment of all the racial and ethnic groups.

So, because Hispanics have the lowest educational expectations and have the lowest levels of educational attainment, it becomes pertinent to look at this group by itself. Research question three asked about how Hispanic educational attainment differs from other Hispanics. To answer this question I ran multivariate analyses just looking at participants who identified as Hispanic. I differentiated between Hispanics who identify as Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and those who identify as some other sort of Hispanic. What I found is that unlike in the analyses involving all races and educational attainment, many of the variables have lower significance and that some lose all significance. This means, that like Yosso (2005) describes, we may want to look at cultural capital, and perhaps other capital that is found within the Hispanic community to help this sub-population thrive under conditions that support them. Most programs and policies that help at-risk youth enter post-secondary education are built around white middle-class ideologies and culture.

These results also showed that there was a lot of variation between people from different areas of Latin America in terms of educational attainment. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue, that differences in social and human capital, as well as the type of reception different groups get upon immigrated will affect the rate of assimilation. This is demonstrated when Cubans had the highest levels of educational attainment while Puerto Ricans have much lower levels of educational attainment, despite both being able to immigrate legally to the U.S. This is most likely because Puerto Ricans probably have much lower amounts of human and cultural capital.

These findings show that developing policies and programs that are geared towards helping Hispanic youth overcome barriers would be beneficial. One policy that

could be developed is that parents who have high aspirations for their children should be

offered programs, classes, or seminars on what is required to attend college. These types

of programs would be better if parents were introduced to them when their children first

enter high school. They should be taught what classes their children need to take, what

colleges are available to their children in their region, the requirements for each type of

institution (public v. private), recommendations for gaining acceptance into each

institution (extracurricular, volunteering, etc.), as well as the importance of maintaining a

certain GPA, not only for acceptance into universities, but also for availability of

financial aid.

For parents who have higher levels of human capital, such as having attended

post-secondary institutions, they do not need to know most, or any of this information,

but for parents who have no knowledge of the requirements to get into college and thrive

at college it would be a beneficial program so that they have realistic expectations of

what their children need to do in order to succeed and attain higher levels of educational

attainment.

Also, as Rios-Ellis et al. (2015) indicated, we need to develop more mentorship

for Hispanic students. Many students thrive from knowing peers or mentors who have

gone through higher levels of education. More programs like Mi Casa: Mi Universidad

(MCMU), would be beneficial for Hispanic students who may feel lost in the educational

system that is set up to help those who identify as white and middle class. While the

authors understand that mentorship from faculty to help students is crucial, they also

explain that not enough Hispanics are able to attain such high levels of education.

Therefore, programs like MCMU can start by introducing incoming freshmen to upper-

classmen who have gone through the process, thus producing higher retention and possibly higher rates of graduation. Hopefully this will lead to higher educational attainment in the next generation, because parents will be able to transmit cultural capital, and offer more human and social capital.

In the end it will benefit a country that has a growing Hispanic population to make sure that the youth are being prepared and helped to succeed in an economy which is increasingly global and competitive. Policies and programs that help at-risk youth will be valuable to us all.

In the future, I plan to conduct qualitative in-depth interviews of Hispanic youth on educational expectations to gain a deeper understanding of the rationales people have explaining why they want to attend, or not attend, post-secondary institutions. While the data provided by ELS were very rich, I was limited by the questions that others posed. I also believe that having open-ended questions would offer more information about this topic.

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