

Adolescents' life plans in the city of Madrid. Are immigrant origins of any importance?¹

Planes vitales de los adolescentes en la ciudad de Madrid. ¿Importa el origen del inmigrante?

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Abstract

Identities formed during adolescence are known to be crucial in shaping future life decisions in multiple domains, including not only the educational and work careers but also partnership arrangements, fertility trajectories, residential choices, even civic and political attitudes. In this article we examine in a very simple and mostly descriptive way the main differences and similarities between the daily life of adolescents of immigrant and non-immigrant origin, and their wishes and expectations

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for their future, utilizing data from the Chances Survey, collected in 30 secondary schools in the city of Madrid in 2011. Our methods combine a comparison of means, the ANOVA test, multivariate regressions and factor analysis, in order to identify when adolescents of immigrant origin reveal wishes and expectations significantly different from those of their classmates of native origin; and the extent to which they expect higher frustration of their wishes in their future life, or not. Differences by gender are also explored.

Our findings suggest similarities and differences between both groups depending on the particular aspect examined, and discard a systematic pattern of greater optimism or pessimism among immigrant adolescents compared to their non-immigrant classmates. Differences by origin tend to be larger when respondents are asked about the immediate future instead of the more distant one, and immigrant girls seem to be the most pessimistic about their future.

Key words: adolescents, descendants of immigrants, preferences, expectations, Spain.

Resumen

Las identidades que se fraguan durante la adolescencia resultan cruciales en la configuración de futuras decisiones vitales en múltiples ámbitos, que incluyen no solo la carrera educativo-laboral sino también las decisiones de pareja, las trayectorias reproductivas, la elección de residencia, o incluso los valores cívicos y ciudadanos. En este artículo examinamos, de forma sencilla y principalmente descriptiva, las mayores diferencias y similitudes entre la vida diaria de los adolescentes de origen inmigrante y autóctono, y sus deseos y expectativas respecto al futuro, utilizando datos de la encuesta Chances, recogidos en 30 centros de secundaria de la ciudad de Madrid en 2011.

Nuestros métodos combinan la comparación de medias, los test ANOVA, las regresiones multivariantes y el análisis factorial, para identificar cuándo los adolescentes de origen inmigrante revelan deseos y expectativas significativamente distintas de sus compañeros de clase de origen autóctono; y hasta qué punto anticipan mayor nivel de frustración que ellos respecto al cumplimiento de sus deseos en el futuro. También se exploran las diferencias por género.

Nuestros resultados sugieren similitudes y diferencias entre los dos grupos dependiendo del ámbito concreto que examinamos, y sirven para descartar un patrón de mayor (o menor) optimismo por parte de los adolescentes de origen inmigrante. Las diferencias suelen ser mayores cuando los estudiantes responden respecto de su futuro inmediato que respecto del futuro más lejano, en el que tanto deseos como expectativas se aproximan. Aún así, las chicas de origen inmigrante parecen ser más pesimistas respecto a su futuro.

Palabras clave: adolescentes, descendientes de inmigrantes, preferencias, expectativas, España.

1. INTRODUCTION

Spain has experienced a great immigration boom since the early 2000s. Resident population increased, on average, 720,000 people annually, during the period 2002-2008. The deep employment crisis the country is still going through resulted in a substantial decline in the number of annual entries since 2008. At the same time, the return of immigrants to their countries of origin and re-emigration to other countries has noticeably grown since then and, consequently, the size of the foreign-born population stabilized around 14% of the total population at the beginning of 2011,

and has started to decline slightly since then (INE, Municipal Population Register, 2014). However, the number of children and adolescents belonging to the 1.5 and 2nd generation has steadily increased over the last decade because of two parallel phenomena: 1) the extraordinarily rapid process of family reunification by most immigrants living in Spain -approximately 80% of the immigrants who were married before migrating were already living with their partners in Spain, and approximately 60% of the minor children had been reunified (González-Ferrer, 2011a, González-Ferrer, 2011b); and the formation of new families including at least one immigrant partner (Cortina et al., 2009)².

As can be seen in *Table 1*, the descendants of immigrants to be classified as part of the 1.5 and 2nd generation amounted to approximately 2 million people in 2011. Due to the short history of immigration in Spain, these descendants are still mostly children and adolescents; among the 1.5 generation population (born abroad and immigrated to Spain when younger than 16 years), approximately half had still not turned 18 at the time the Census was gathered in 2011, and for the members of 2nd generation (born in Spain to two immigrant parents) the corresponding percentage was only 18%³.

Table 1: Size and socio-demographic profile of immigrant origin population in Spain.

<i>Own and parents' place of birth</i>	<i>Size (absolute and %)</i>	<i>% over total</i>	<i>% Female</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>% 16 and older</i>	<i>Age at migration</i>	<i>3 first origins</i>
<i>Native</i>	38,947,733	84		43			Sp
<i>Children of two Spanish emigrants born abroad</i>	476,044	1	51	41	51	11	Arg, Fr, Mor
<i>Children of one Spanish emigrant born abroad</i>	275,868	1	49	35	49	17	Fr, Germ, Venez
<i>1st gen</i>	3,830,496	8	50	41	100	32	Rom, Mor, Ecu
<i>1.5 gen</i>	1,066,777	2	45	18	51	7	Mor, Rom, Ecu
<i>2nd gen</i>	797,289	2	46	11	18		Mor, Rom, Ecu
<i>Children of mixed couples in Spain</i>	1,180,519	3	49	24	52		Fr, Mor, Germ
<i>Total</i>	46,574,725	100					

Source: Spanish Census 2011.

² In 1996 only 4.7% out of the total number of marriages celebrated in Spain included one foreign partner; in 2007, the corresponding percentage had grown to 17.4%. In the first half of 2012, the number of mixed marriages in Spain represented 16% of the new marriages celebrated in Spain and 9.8% of the children born in Spain had one foreign parent and one Spanish one.

³ The other large group with an immigrant component is made up of children born in Spain to one foreign-born parent and a native one. They amount to almost 1,2 million people but their origin is more related to past Spanish emigration than recent foreign immigration to Spain, as can be deduced from the large presence of parents of French and German origin.

Such a young age profile implies the impossibility to investigate their outcomes as adults and an overall assessment of the integration process from an intergenerational perspective, since most of them have not experienced yet most of the transitions into adulthood. This fact, along with the scarce tradition of researching children and youth behaviours in Spain, especially from a quantitative perspective⁴, explains how little we know about the descendants of immigrants in Spain, their preferences, wishes, expectations, plans for their future lives, and how they differ, or not, from those of comparable non-immigrant children and teenagers.

Experiences and events in adolescence set in motion identity formation and social labelling. And recent work has found, for instance, that identities formed in youth influence the goals set for future work and careers (Creed et al., 2007; Yeager et al., 2012). Thus, experiences and events in adolescence are relevant by themselves but also because they entail valuable information on future life trajectories.

In this article we intend to contribute to this literature in Spain, by exploiting a new dataset collected in 2011 with immigrant and non-immigrant teenagers living in Madrid and enrolled in 3rd and 4th grades of compulsory secondary education (ESO). In the rest of the article, we first describe the Chances Survey and its methodology. Next, we systematically examine the socio-economic profile of adolescents and their families, by comparing non-immigrant families and immigrant ones. Finally, we describe and analyze the adolescents' preferences and expectations for their educational and professional careers, their future family life, their use of time, their intergenerational relationships, as well as their prejudices and civic attitudes. In all the sections, the main goal is to identify whether there are significant differences between the preferences and expectations of immigrants and non-immigrants, and to explore potential explanations for them.

2. THE CHANCES PROJECT: DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLES

Research on adolescents in Spain, and particularly on the children of immigrant families, has been extremely limited due to the lack of available data. The data collection carried out in the framework of the Project Chances 2011 addressed precisely these data needs by conducting a survey of adolescents in the city of Madrid, including a large sample of immigrant adolescents enrolled in 3rd and 4th grades of secondary school (Cebolla-Boado and González-Ferrer, 2014).

The school sample was constructed in two stages. In the first stage, 24 neighbourhoods were selected from four different strata constructed by combinations of two indicators: 1) The total number of immigrant-origin children aged 10-16 from the 10 largest immigrant groups living in the city in 2011-2012; and 2) The socio-economic profile of the neighbourhood according to the official classification provided by the City Statistical Office.

The 24 selected neighbourhoods included 120 secondary schools from which we randomly selected our 30 schools in the second stage (15 public and 15 private). We interviewed all the students -both of native and immigrant origin- in all the classrooms of 3rd and 4th grade in these 30 schools. The foreign population (of any age) in the residential districts where we sampled our schools represented,

⁴ With only a few exceptions in the area of health (Hidalgo et al., 2000; Pantzer et al., 2006; Sánchez et al., 2010) and education related outcomes (Azzolini et al., 2012; Portes et al., 2010).

on average, 23%; and the percentage of foreign students in the secondary schools of our sample ranges from 4% to 80%, with an average of 35%⁵.

Questionnaires were designed in parallel for both students and their parents; students completed the questionnaire in the classroom, in 55 minutes, and one of their parents (mother or father) completed it at home (with response rate: 45%). The questions included, in addition to basic socio-economic information about the students and their families, different modules on preferences and expectations about educational and labour career, family life, ideal partner and place of residence; the questionnaires also contained questions on the students' and their parents' social networks, on time use, on intergenerational relations, mental health and civic values, feelings and experiences of discrimination and prejudices towards different social groups, among others.

The resulting data are a representative sample of (non-EU15) immigrant adolescents enrolled in 3rd and 4th grade of secondary school in the municipality of Madrid (N=1,214), including a native control group made of all their native classmates (N=1,504) [Table 2]⁶. Students of immigrant origin represent 45% of the total sample. Most of them belong to the so-called *1.5 generation* (arrived in Spain at the age of 5 or older), although the *second generation* (born in Spain to two immigrant parents, or born abroad but arrived under the age of 5) represents approximately 22% of the total number of students of immigrant origin, and adolescents with mixed parents (one born in Spain and one parent from another country) constitute 13%. The rest are *natives* - adolescents who were born in Spain with both parents also born in Spain-, and they represent 55% of the total sample of students.

Table 2: Final sample, by migratory status, grade, and sex.

	3 rd Grade				4 th Grade				Total	
	Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		N*	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Native	348	53	427	56	339	54	384	59	1,504	55
Mixed parents	32	5	45	6	34	5	46	7	159	6
1.5 Generation	198	30	202	27	217	34	172	26	794	29
2nd Generation	81	12	87	11	42	7	50	8	261	10
Total	659	100	761	100	632	100	652	100	2,718	100

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey. *Note that the total numbers are slightly higher than the sum of the columns because of the unknown sex of 12 individuals, and the unknown grade of 2 individuals.

As we can see in Table 3, adolescents of Ecuadorian origin are the largest group in our sample of immigrant students, as they are in Madrid's population, followed by students from other Latin American origins. Each group represents approximately one third of the total sample of adolescents of immigrant origin; the rest is made up of heterogeneous groups of African (mainly Moroccan), Eastern European (mainly Romanian), Asian (mainly Chinese and Philippine) and EU-15 origin⁷.

⁵ This percentage refers to the entire secondary school, from the 1st to the 4th year; however, our survey only covered 3rd and 4th grade students.

⁶ Most EU15 adolescents are enrolled in private schools that were excluded from our study. In the academic year 2009-2010, the total number of secondary private schools for the capital city of Madrid was 99 out of 514 (19%). However, in terms of enrolled students, this type of schools concentrates only 10% of the total number and only 5% of foreign students, most of them (73%) from EU15 countries (Consejería de Educación y Empleo, 2012a).

⁷ According to the Statistical Office of the city of Madrid, at the end of 2009 (the most recent data available at the time of the sampling design) the composition by origin of the foreign-born population between 10 and 16 years old was distributed as follows: Ecuador 33%, rest of Latin America 33%, Romania 7%, China 4%, Morocco 3%, Rest of countries 20%.

Table 3: Final sample, by origin, grade and sex.

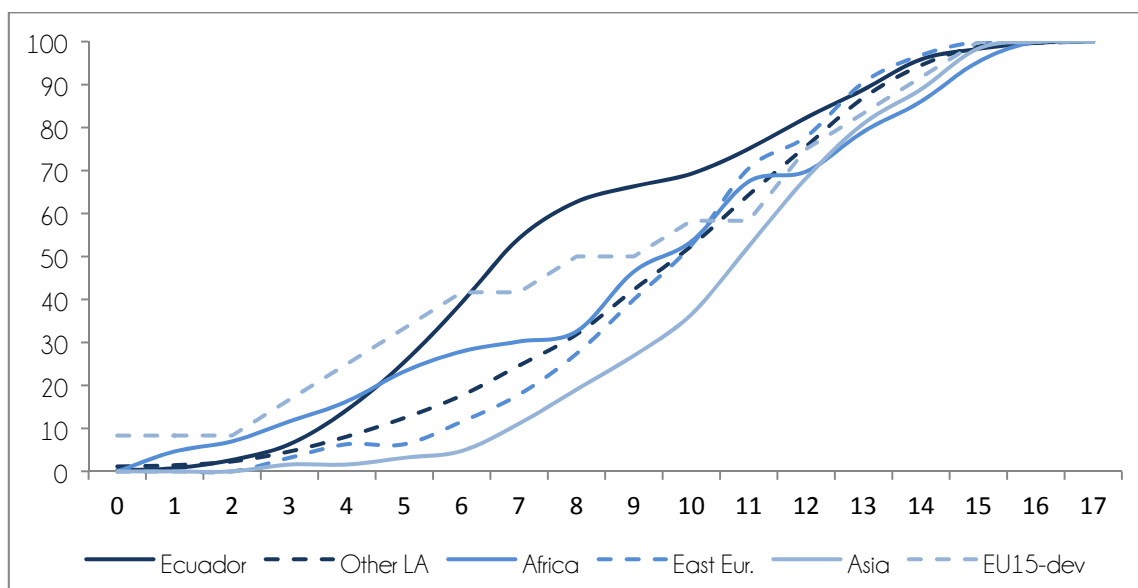
	3 rd Grade				4 th Grade				Total	
	Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		N*	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Native	348	53	427	56	339	54	384	59	1,504	55
Ecuador	110	17	131	17	104	16	73	11	422	16
Other LA	107	16	99	13	107	17	109	17	424	16
Africa	30	5	21	3	17	3	13	2	82	3
Eastern Eur.	25	4	34	4	19	3	24	4	102	4
Asia	22	3	24	3	27	4	20	3	93	3
EU15-developed	17	3	25	3	19	3	29	4	91	3
Total	659	100	761	100	632	100	652	100	2,718	100

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey. See note in Table 2.

3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF ADOLESCENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Figure 1 shows the age distribution of the foreign-born youths at their time of arrival in Spain. On average, the adolescents were nine years old when they migrated, with the Ecuadorians being the ones that migrated at the youngest age (8) and the adolescents of Asian origin the oldest (11). The other origin groups vary between these two extremes.

Figure 1: Age distribution of foreign-born adolescents at the time of arrival in Spain, by origin



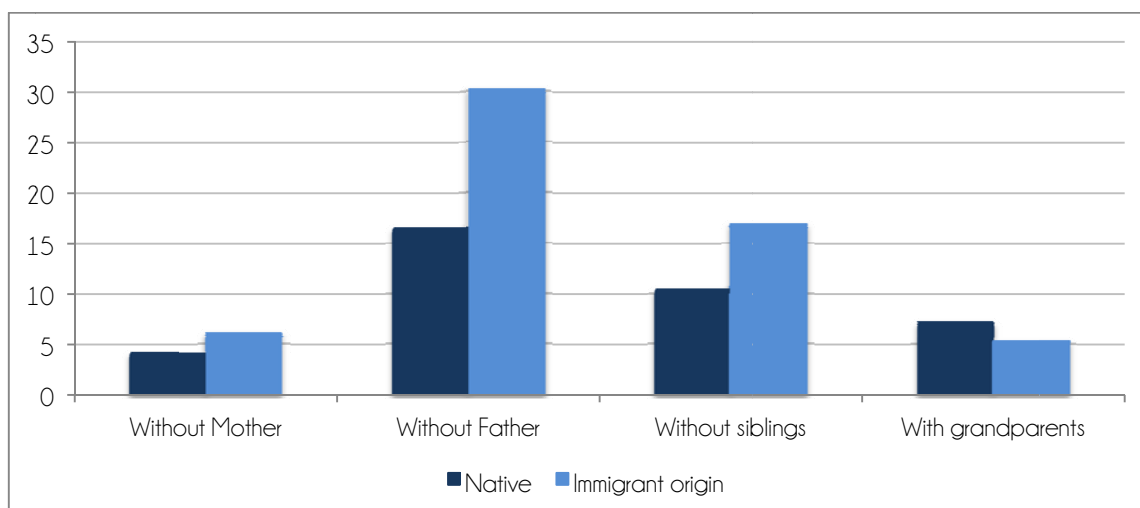
Obviously, the data do not match perfectly the distribution in our sample, among other reasons, because Chances 2011 also included second generation children -for which no official statistical information was available at that time- and was restricted only to children enrolled in 3rd and 4th grade in 2011.

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Obviously, not all of them arrived in Spain with their parents. In fact, 53% of the students of immigrant origin said they had spent more than two months separated from their mother or their father at some point; and in most cases -64%- the reason for that separation was related to their international migration to Spain. In the case of their non-immigrant classmates, the incidence of long separations from parents was much lower (only 16% of total), and the main reason was related to trips in the summer holidays (67%), and to parents' separation or divorce (20%, versus only 6% among the immigrants).

However, many of these parent-child separations related to migration ended at some point after their arrival in Spain because of family reunification processes that, as we mentioned in the Introduction, are known to have been extremely rapid in the Spanish case. As can be seen in *Figure 2*, at the time of the survey (2011) adolescents of immigrant origin were still more often separated from their mothers (6%) and especially from their fathers (30%) than those with a full Spanish background (mothers 4%, fathers 16%). Also, among those adolescents who do have siblings, those of immigrant origin live less often in the same household with their brothers and sisters⁸.

Figure 2: Household structure of adolescents at the time of the survey, by migrant status



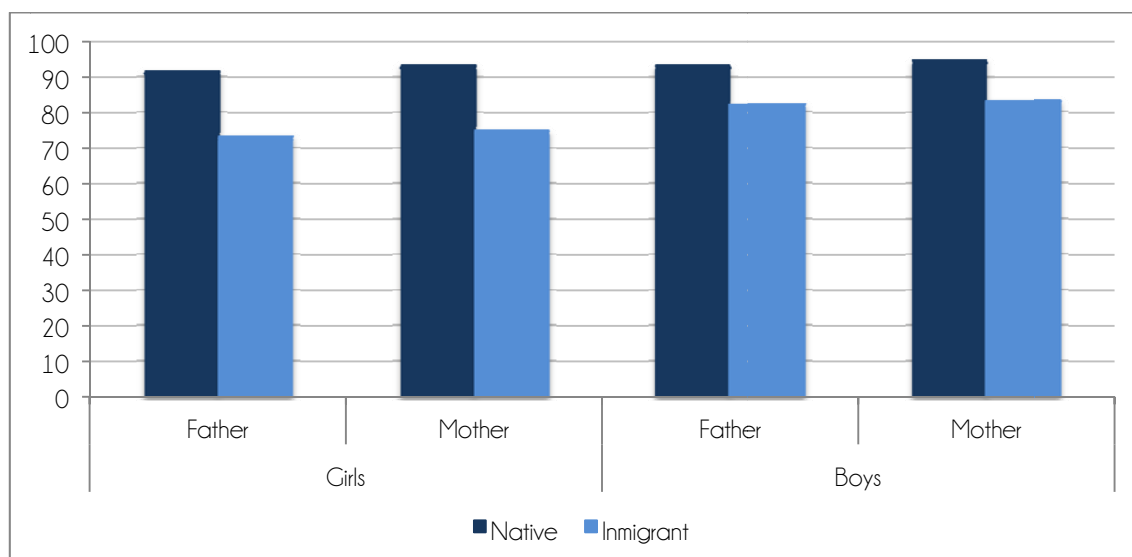
Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

The average size of the households where our immigrant origin students live is larger than that of their non-immigrant counterparts (3.5 versus 2.9 people), which is mainly related to the higher number of children in immigrant families (2.8) than in non-immigrant ones (2.1).

This is not the only difference between households of immigrant and non-immigrant youths in our sample concerning their socio-economic status and living conditions. While 93% of non-immigrant children live in flats or houses owned by their parents, this percentage reaches only 43% among those of immigrant origin. In addition, 45% of immigrant origin students reported that they share their bedroom with someone else, versus only 22% among their classmates with full Spanish background.

⁸ The average number of siblings, including the respondent him- or herself, is two for adolescents of non-immigrant origin, and also for those with origin in Eastern Europe and other EU15/developed countries; in contrast, Ecuadorian families in the sample had, on average, 3 children and those of African origin 3.5. These variations in the number of children reflect well known fertility differentials among first generation immigrant women from different origin groups in Spain (Roig and Castro Martín, 2007; Castro Martín and Rosero-Bixby, 2011).

Figure 3: Adolescents' perceptions on their parents' satisfaction with living in Madrid.



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

The adolescents were also asked if they thought that their father and mother were satisfied with their life in Madrid and, if not, why. This more subjective measure of wellbeing from the perspective of the children shows interesting variations between natives and immigrants. There are only very small differences between the perceived level of satisfaction of fathers and mothers when compared within the same origin group. However, much larger differences emerge when the comparison is between natives and immigrants. Both boys and girls of immigrant origin think that their parents are much less satisfied with their lives in Madrid compared to their native counterparts. For girls, the difference between natives and immigrants is about 20% points, for boys only 10% points. According to the adolescents, the most common reason for being dissatisfied with life in Madrid was the bad economic situation or, more specifically, their parents' labour situation. These types of motives were mentioned by the adolescents for 55% of their fathers and for 47% of their mothers among the students with an immigrant background; while the corresponding percentages among students of non-immigrant origin were 29% and 22%, respectively. In fact, these responses about the motives of parents' dissatisfaction in Madrid are consistent with their unemployment levels reported also by the students: 27% of the students of immigrant background responded that their father was unemployed at the time of the survey (first half of 2011), while the corresponding percentage among the students with full Spanish background was only 13%⁹. And the observed gender differential in the adolescents' perceptions about their parents' satisfaction with life in Madrid is also consistent with a somewhat more fearful view of girls of immigrant origin concerning different aspects of their current and future life, as we will show in the following sections.

⁹ These percentages should be taken with caution since they derive from responses given by the students who, in a non-negligible number of cases, did not know to respond in a consistent manner to the two related questions (current occupation of your father if he is currently employed, last occupation of your father if he is currently unemployed). However, according to the LFS estimations for the last quarter of 2011, foreigners' unemployment rate in the region of Madrid was 29%, versus only 19% among non-foreigners. Data for the municipality are not available, but both rates are expected to be somewhat lower in this case (Consejería de Educación y Empleo, 2012b).

4. PREFERENCES AND EXPECTATIONS FOR THEIR EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CAREERS

Previous studies about the educational performance of immigrant students in countries like the US have systematically found more ambitious expectations among these students than among the native majority (Kao & Tienda, 1995, 1998), after controlling for their socio-economic status and previous academic performance. In other words, according to previous research, immigrant students tend to have higher educational expectations than comparable natives. Several explanations have been suggested for this fact: 1) the positive selection of migration flows; 2) the existence of aspirational cultures in some immigrant minorities; and 3) a lack of knowledge among immigrant families about the costs and potential barriers to continue in education within the school system in their countries of immigration.

With regard to the first explanation, prior research has shown that immigrants are not representative samples of their countries' of origin populations, but they are (self-) selected samples, usually more ambitious and goal oriented than native parents (Feliciano, 2005, 2006; Massey et al., 1993). Given that parents are key actors in their children's socialization process, immigrant parents manage to transmit these high educational expectations to their offspring (Haller and Portes, 1973; Sewell et al., 1969; Sewell and Hauser, 1993). Second, the aspirational cultures hypothesis has been particularly popular among American scholars to explain the upward social mobility of the so-called 'model' minorities, such as the Jews, Chinese or Japanese in the US (Vermeulen, 2000). In these explanations, the positive educational or labour market outcomes of these minorities are attributed to certain values -i.e. strong work ethic- that are interpreted as culture. However, this approach has been criticized for implicitly assuming that the specific traits observed for some immigrant minorities are representative of the culture of their countries of origin or of their ethnic group as a whole, particularly because we already know that migrants are not representative samples of their countries' of origin population. Finally, the high expectations of immigrant families have also been interpreted as an indicator of their lack of information regarding the requirements needed and the cost of accessing and staying in higher education in the host country (Kao and Tienda, 1995, 1998). In this case, their expectations would be regarded as unrealistic due to their misinformation or lack thereof.

As we mentioned in previous sections, a crucial advantage of Chances 2011 compared to other existing surveys is that it has an immigrant and a *native sample*, thus allowing for systematic comparisons between both groups of adolescents. As may be seen in *Table 4*, the percentage of immigrant students considering education to be the most important factor to be successful in Spain is higher than that of natives (93% vs. 88%, respectively). Moreover, immigrant adolescents also tend, on average, to rank education higher than religion, money, leisure and job stability.

Table 4: Importance of education¹⁰

	Natives	Immigrants
'Education is the most important thing to be successful' (% agreement)	88.3	93.4
Average importance of education (1-5)	1.8	1.7
Education is ranked first (compared to religion, leisure and job stability) (%)	59.1	62.2
N	1490	1202

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey. Cells in bold indicate difference with comparable non-immigrants is statistically significant.

Immigrant and native adolescents are also enquired about their aspirations and expectations of going to post-compulsory secondary education (*Bachillerato*) and to university. In this respect, we follow the conceptual distinction between expectations and aspirations that is prevalent in the literature (Hanson, 1994, Beal & Crockett, 2010). Expectations are defined as realistic beliefs or probabilistic judgements about the future, i.e. what individuals think is more likely to happen; in contrast, aspirations have an idealistic and affective component that is absent in expectations and are defined as desires or personal preferences that individuals hold about their future.

Table 5: Desire and probability of going to post-compulsory secondary education (PCE) and to the university (0-10 scale), by immigrant origin

		Mean (0-10 scale)			Mean (0-10 scale)
Desire to go to PCE (asp.)	Natives	7.7	Desire to go to university (asp.)	Natives	7.1
	Immigrants	7.5		Immigrants	7.1
Probability of going PCE (exp.)	Natives	7.0	Probability of going to university (exp.)	Natives	5.7
	Immigrants	6.4		Immigrants	5.2

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey. Cells in bold indicate difference with comparable non-immigrants is statistically significant.

Educational aspirations are usually higher than expectations, as the latter have a realistic component that is absent in the former. In addition, girls report on average significantly higher aspirations and expectations than boys (Wood, Kaplan & McLoyd, 2007; Rampino & Taylor, 2013). Both patterns are also confirmed for both immigrant and native groups in our study, as can be seen in Table 5. However, gross differences reveal that natives and immigrants do not differ in their aspirations or desires to go to post-compulsory education, and to university. Moreover, the chances of doing so estimated by immigrant students are significantly lower than those estimated by natives. At first sight, the results shown in Table 5 may seem inconsistent with the previous findings in other contexts that we mentioned at the beginning of this section; however, it is important to remember that here we have not controlled yet the two basic characteristics –socio-economic background and previous school

¹⁰ Students first had to choose the statement that best represents their beliefs:

- Education is the most important thing to be successful in Spain
- Education is not that important

And later in the questionnaire, they are required to order the following things from the most to the least important (1 to 5): religion, money, education, leisure, and job stability.

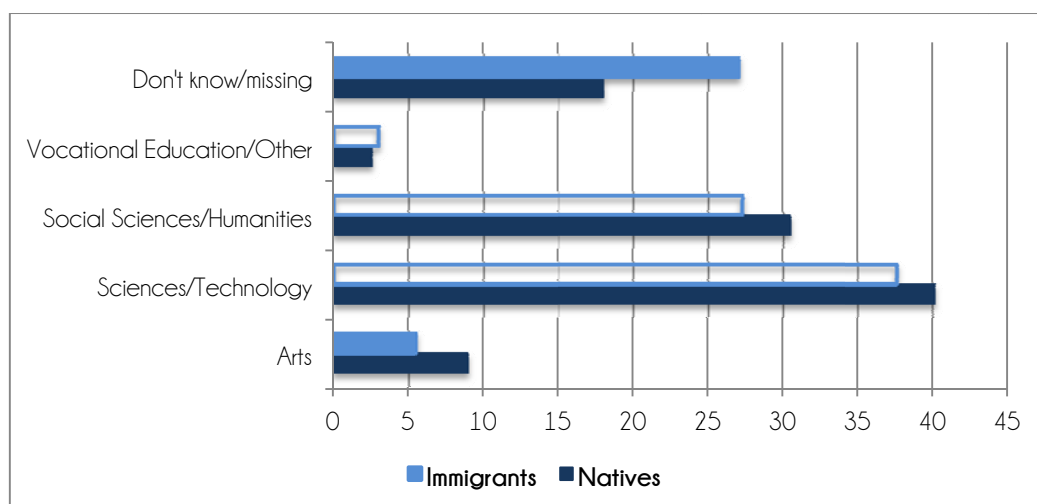
Two indicators have been constructed with this information: 1) the percentage of students that consider education to be the most important thing among the five options; and 2) the average position of education (1st to 5th).

performance-, as the aforementioned studies did. In fact, controlling only grade retention among the students included in our sample, results change considerably (see below).

Immigrant students who would like to go to post-compulsory education reported a higher level of indecision (i.e. answering 'don't know') regarding the specific field of study to pursue in that stage compared to those with full Spanish background (27 versus 18%). However, the percentage of adolescents that still do not have a preference for a specific university degree is similar for both groups (23%). In other words, students of immigrant origin report more indecision than their non-immigrant classmates regarding their immediate school transitions, but not with regard to those occurring in a more distant future.

Among those who stated a clear preference for going to post-compulsory education, there are not very large differences in terms of the specific field of studies they prefer, with the only exception that adolescents of immigrant origin show a lower inclination for artistic studies than natives (5 versus 9%), as can be seen in *Figure 4*. However, this differential is fully driven by girls (not shown here, available upon request).

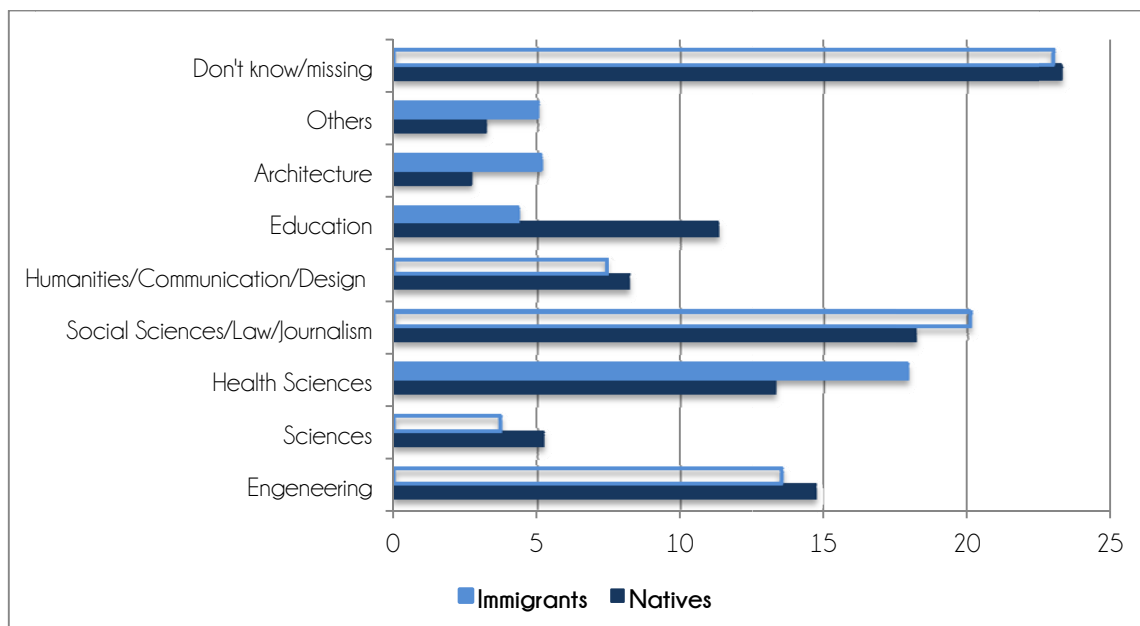
Figure 4: Preferences for field of study in post-compulsory secondary education, by immigrant origin



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

As regards the university level, native students mention degrees in Sciences and Education more frequently than immigrants, while the latter tend to choose Health Sciences degrees and Architecture more often (*Figure 5*), although part of these differentials are also related to gender. Immigrant girls are less likely than boys to mention Science degrees, and much more likely to show predilection for a degree in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences, and immigrant boys choose Architecture more frequently than girls; but none of these gender differences are present among natives (not shown here, available upon request).

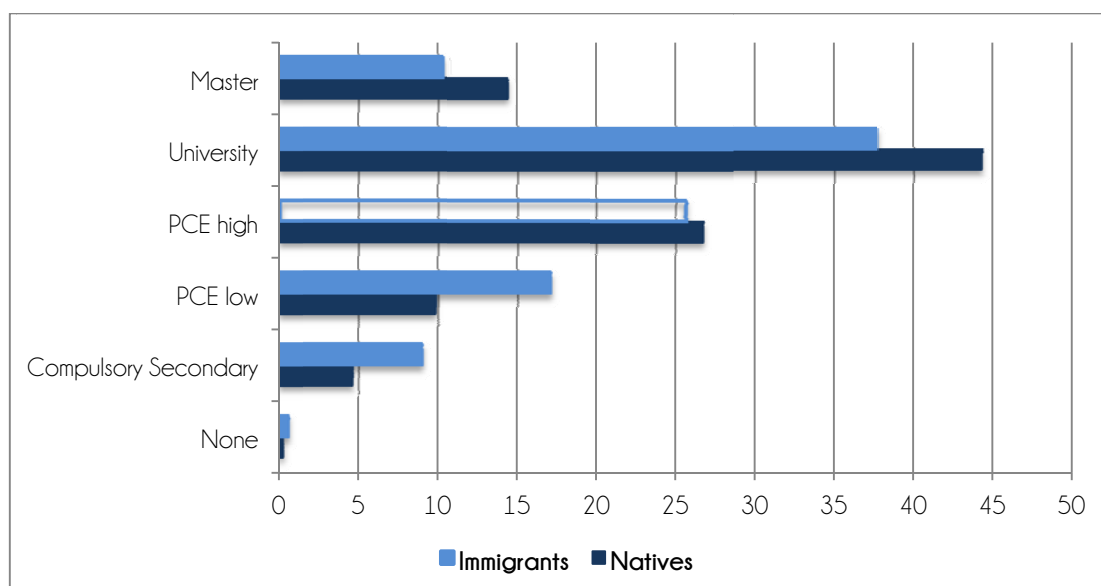
Figure 5: Preferences for fields of study in university education, by immigrant origin



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

When students are enquired about the level of education that they think they will achieve in the future, those of immigrant origin report lower expectations than natives (Figure 6). The percentages of immigrants saying that they expect to finish a Bachelor's degree (38%) or a Master's degree (10%) are significantly lower than those of natives, among which 44% expect to finish a BA and 14% expect to finish an MA. These differentials do not seem to vary by gender, since both immigrant boys and girls have lower expectations than natives of the same gender.

Figure 6: Highest level of education that students expect to achieve in the future, by immigrant origin



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Immigrants' lower expectations could be related to their previous academic performance and how they evaluate it. In fact, adolescents of immigrant origin in our sample experienced grade retention (had to repeat a school year) at some point during their school career in a significantly higher proportion than those of non-immigrant origin: while one third of the natives reported to have repeated a school year at least once (31% of the girls and 36% of the boys)¹¹, more than half of the students of immigrant origin did so (55%)¹². Accordingly, when students of immigrant origin report lower educational expectations they might be just anticipating the potential effects of their lower academic performance. However, it is also possible that immigrants' higher grade retention only reflects the temporary disruptive effect of international migration; if this is the case, students of immigrant origin are expected to catch up with their non-immigrant classmates shortly after arrival, once the initial migration-shock is over, and previous performance should be less relevant in explaining their lower expectations concerning their future academic career.

In other words, it is difficult to advance how previous performance will affect adolescents' expectations and actual results. We have explored this a bit further in *Table 6* and *Figures 7 to 10*. As *Table 6* shows, the percentage of grade retention among students who assessed their previous performance as not enough to go to university, hardly differed by immigrant/non-immigrant origin; in contrast, among those who assessed their performance as 'enough', the percentage of repeaters was 46 among students of immigrant origin compared to only 16 for the non-immigrant ones.

Table 6: Percentage of students experiencing grade retention at least once, by academic performance and immigrant origin

Self-evaluation of current performance		Grade retention (%)
<u>Not enough</u> to go to university	Natives	63.4
	Immigrants	66.3
<u>Enough</u> to go to university	Natives	16.0
	Immigrants	46.4
<u>Not sure</u> if enough to go to university	Natives	33.7
	Immigrants	54.6

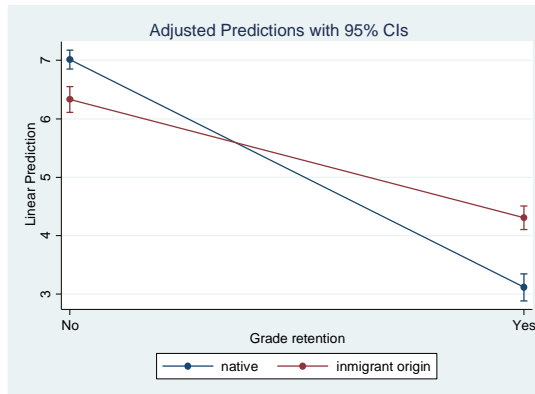
Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey. Cells in bold indicate difference with comparable non-immigrants is statistically significant.

Similarly, students of immigrant origin report higher expectations of going to University than natives even when they evaluate negatively their previous academic performance (36% versus 13%, respectively). *Figures 7 to 10* provide further evidence about the more optimistic views of immigrant repeaters compared to their native counterparts, by plotting the predicted probability of the students' expectations of their likelihood of going to university (in a scale from 0 to 10) and of attaining a BA/MA degree. As seen in *Figures 7 and 8*, immigrant repeaters are significantly more optimistic than their native counterparts; the differences in the expectations to achieve a BA/MA degree also reproduce the same pattern, although the difference between immigrants and natives is not statistically significant in this case (confidence intervals overlap in *Figure 10*).

¹¹ According to PISA2012, 33% of the students in Spain had repeated at least once before the age of 15 (OECD, 2014).

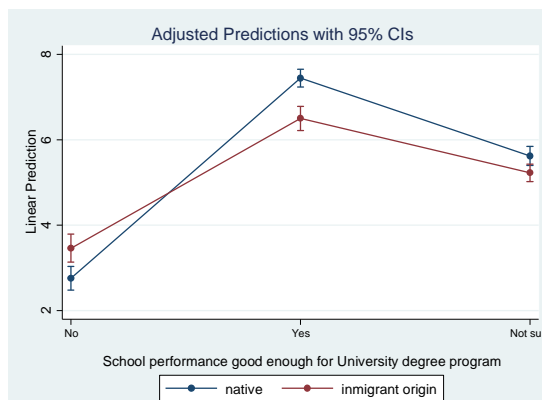
¹² Moreover, having spent part of childhood in a different country is also associated with lower attendance to pre-school institutions, which is also expected to negatively affect their future academic performance. Pre-school attendance was especially low among those of Asian and Ecuadorian origin (44% and 51%, respectively), but not for those born in Eastern European countries, who displayed the highest pre-school attendance reported (76%), versus almost 60% among non-immigrant children.

Figure 7. Predicted probability of going to university (0-10), by grade retention and immigrant origin



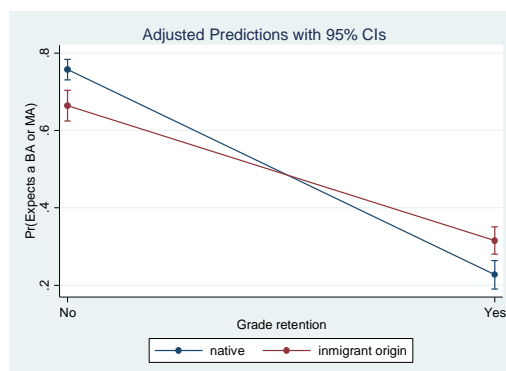
Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Figure 8. Predicted probability of going to university (0-10), by subjective evaluation of academic performance and immigrant origin



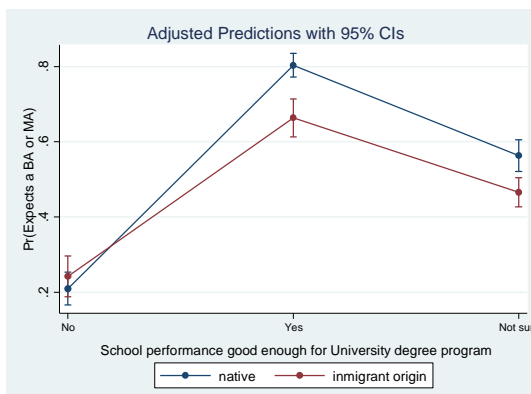
Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Figure 9. Predicted expectation of achieving BAVMA, by grade retention and immigrant origin



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Figure 10. Predicted expectation of achieving BA/MA, by grade retention and immigrant origin



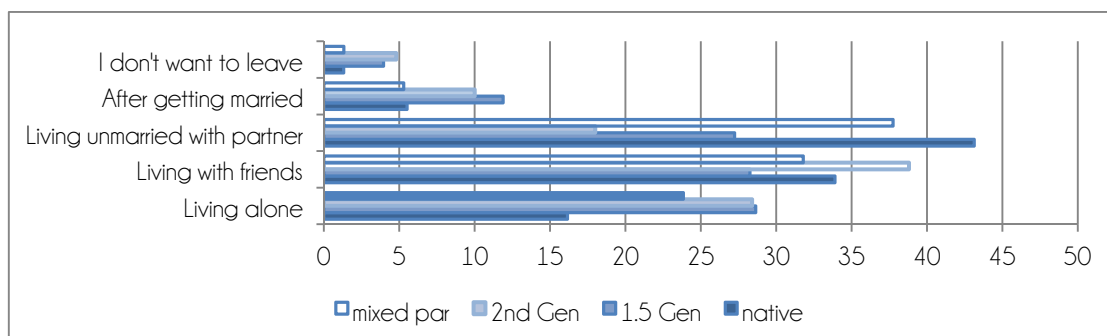
Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey

It is thus obvious that, for some reason, immigrant students do not evaluate grade retention the same way as their non-immigrant classmates, but attribute to their bad previous performance less dramatic consequences for their future academic trajectories. In the following sections we will explore to what extent such immigrant optimism also appears in other life domains such as living and partnership arrangements, fertility, residential choices, etc.

5. PREFERENCES AND EXPECTATIONS FOR THEIR FUTURE FAMILY LIFE

Living with their partners without getting married was the response most frequently chosen by non-immigrant origin students when they were asked about the way they wished to live once they left their parental home (more than 40% of total). In contrast, among the 1.5 generation students 'living alone', 'living with friends' and 'living with partner without getting married' were equally frequent responses (approximately 27% each). The difference between immigrant students and their non-immigrant counterparts is especially large among those who answered that they wanted to live alone (28 versus 16%, respectively) and to live with their partner without getting married (27 versus 43%, respectively). As can be seen, members of the second generation are not very different from the 1.5 in this regard. However, this fact should not be immediately interpreted as a lack of convergence over generations, since the composition by origin in second generation and 1.5 is not equivalent, with adolescents of Moroccan origin overrepresented among the former in comparison to the latter due to the longer history of migration of this group to Spain (see more below).

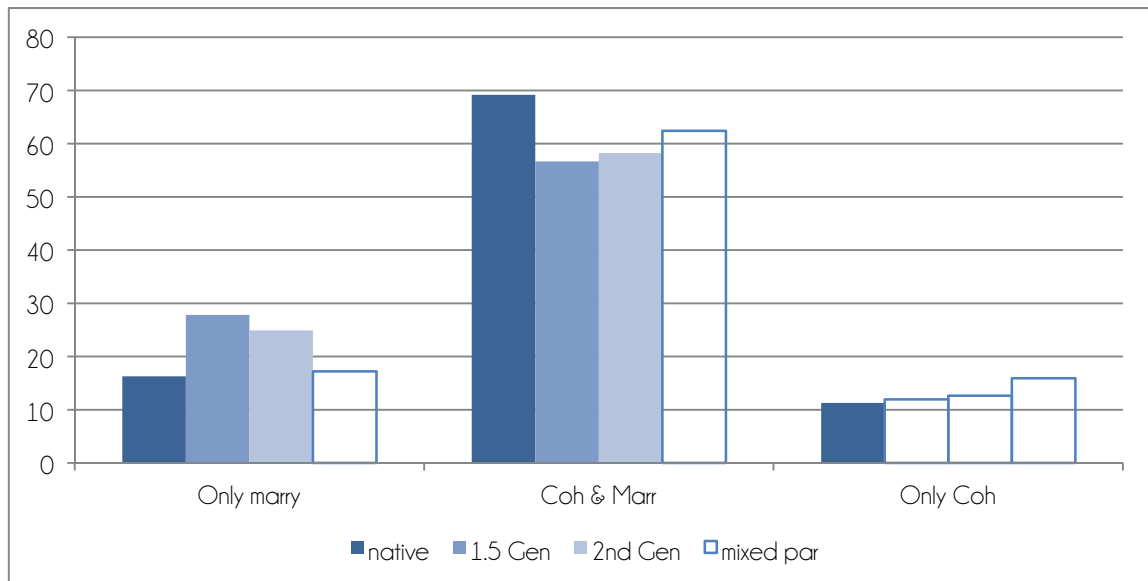
Figure 11. "How would you like to leave your parents' house?"



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

In contrast to their educational expectations, students of immigrant origin seem to be a little less optimistic than their non-immigrant counterparts concerning their actual possibilities to leave the parental home the way they wish: 84% of non-immigrant students believe they will be able to live as they want to when they leave their parents' house, while only 80% of 1.5 generation youths think so, and 77% of second generation adolescents. Both differences are statistically significant, whereas there is no relevant difference with children of mixed couples. Living alone and living with friends are the choices which they expect will lead them to face more constraints in reality; these constraints were perceived to relate mainly to economic reasons among non-immigrant students, and mostly to emotional reasons and parental opposition among the immigrant ones. These differences are largely due to the higher levels of anticipated frustration reported by girls of immigrant origin when their first preference was to live with friends, or not to leave the parental home at all.

Figure 12. Partnership preferences, by immigrant status



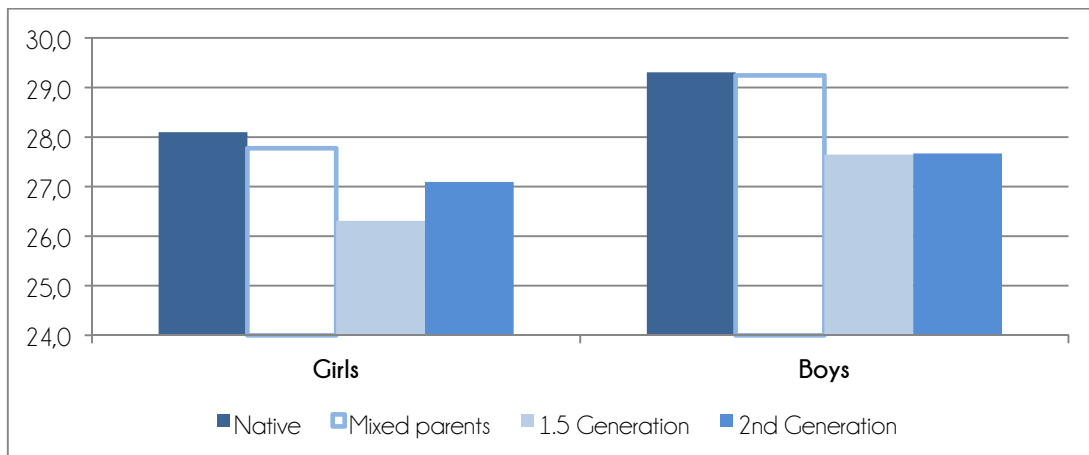
Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Although only 49% of non-immigrants and 37% of immigrant origin youths wanted to live with their partners (married or not) right after leaving the parental home, most adolescents in both groups said they wished to live with a partner at some point in their future life. Less than 5% of students reported that they did not wish to either marry or cohabit with a partner ever in their life. Cohabitation seems to enjoy a high degree of acceptance for both immigrant and non-immigrant students, mostly as a transitory stage towards marriage. In fact, only 11% of non-immigrant students said they only wanted to cohabit without ever marrying in the future, with similar percentages for the rest of the groups and non-significant differences. In contrast, both 1.5 and 2nd generation adolescents remain more likely to wish direct marriage (approximately 25% of total, versus 16% among non-immigrants) instead of cohabitating first, and marrying later on.

Interestingly, there is no significant difference between the expectations of immigrant and non-immigrant origin students concerning their perceived possibilities to live according to their partnership arrangements' preferences. The overall level of anticipated frustration in this domain (percentage of individuals who do not expect to be able to live as they wish) is 36% among those who prefer direct marriage, 28% among those who prefer cohabitation as a transitory period eventually leading to marriage, and 15% among those who only want to cohabit. Variations by immigrant status oscillate

one or two percentage points and, as we said, are never statistically significant, not even if we control for sex.

Figure X. Expected age at first child, by sex and immigrant status



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Overall, almost everybody in our sample wants and expects to have children in the future, with a very small but significant difference in favour of adolescents of native origin (94.4% versus 92.5%). Moreover, concerning the total number of children our adolescents would like to have in the future, there are no significant differences by origin, with the exception of the 1.5 generation boys, who want to have fewer children than their native counterparts (1.8 children versus 1.9, respectively). By gender, girls systematically wish and expect to have more children than their male counterparts, with the only exception of adolescents with mixed parents. In any case, the mismatch between wishes and expectations regarding the number of children is huge for all the adolescents: 90% do not expect to realize their wishes (they expect to have on average one child less than the number they desire). No significant differences by origin appear, only by gender within each origin group.

Regarding the age at first birth, which is likely to ultimately affect total fertility –higher the earlier first birth occurs–, boys expect to have their first child at older ages than their female counterparts, and adolescents of immigrant origin expect to have it earlier than their native classmates (age differential is 1.8 years between native and 1.5 generation girls, and 1.7 between boys). Interestingly, second generation girls seem to adapt to the prevalent pattern of the host society with a slightly higher expected age at first birth than the 1.5 generation, while for the boys there is no difference. On average, 36% of the adolescents anticipated not being able to have their children at their preferred age. This anticipated frustration of their wishes is significantly higher among immigrants, especially among girls (10 percentage points higher), who anticipate having their children at a younger age than they wish, whereas girls of native origin anticipate exactly the opposite.

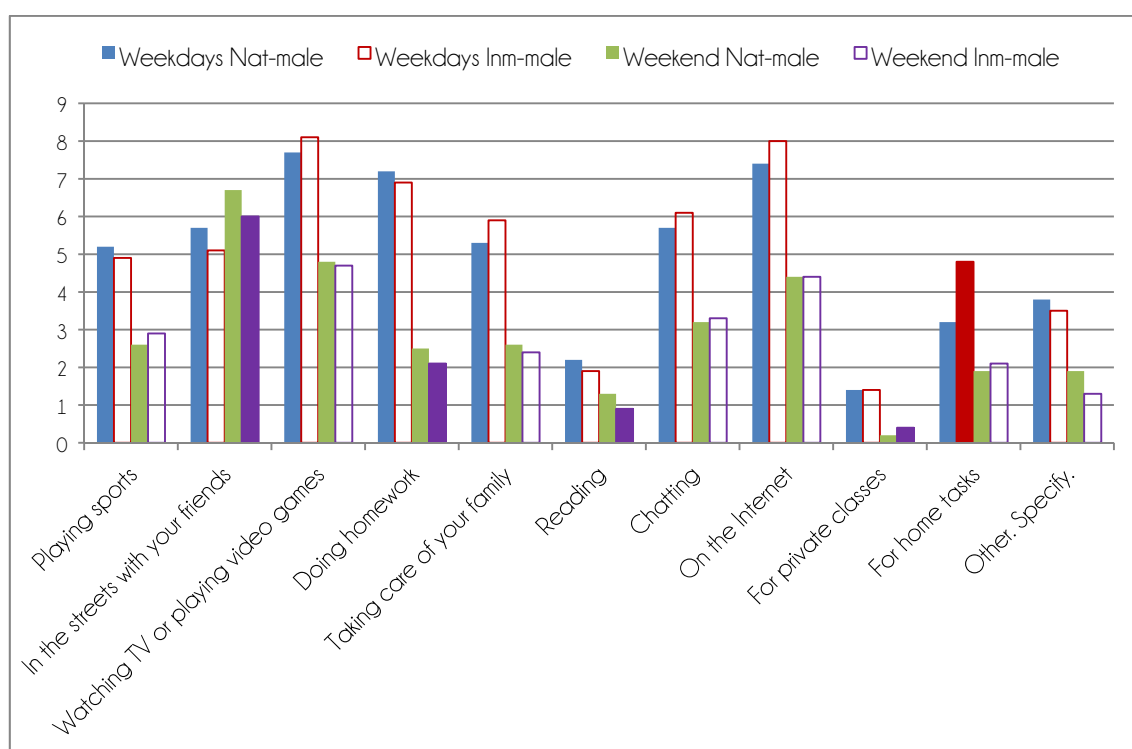
Thus, adolescents of immigrant origin (mainly girls) are slightly more pessimistic than their non-immigrant classmates when they evaluate their actual probability of leaving their parents' home the way they wish; in contrast, they are neither more nor less optimistic than non-immigrants when asked about their perceived possibilities of having the preferred partnership arrangements for their future life, or the total number of children they will have in relation to their fertility preferences. However, concerning age at first birth differences are significant and relatively large among girls, who expect postponed maternity if they are of native origin and a little too premature motherhood if they are of immigrant origin.

In sum, we do not detect a systematic pattern of immigrant optimism (or lack of it): they seem to be more optimistic than non-immigrants with regard to their academic careers, less optimistic concerning their most immediate transition into adulthood (i.e. way of leaving the parental home) and non-different with regard to their future partnership arrangements. One possible explanation for all these differences is differential parental influence for immigrant and non-immigrant children. In fact, our preliminary results on the causes underlying educational immigrants' optimism strongly support this explanation (Cebolla-Boado et al., 2014).

6. TIME-USE AND INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

As can be seen in *Figure 13*, male students of immigrant and non-immigrant origin are not very different in terms of the activities they participate in during weekdays. The only significant difference relates to 'home tasks', to which immigrant boys devote more time than their non-immigrant classmates (five versus three hours in total during the five days of the week, respectively). At weekends, in contrast, immigrant origin students reported to spend less time both reading and doing homework, but also fewer hours in the streets with their friends.

Figure 13. Time use by male students, by immigrant origin and week/weekend days.

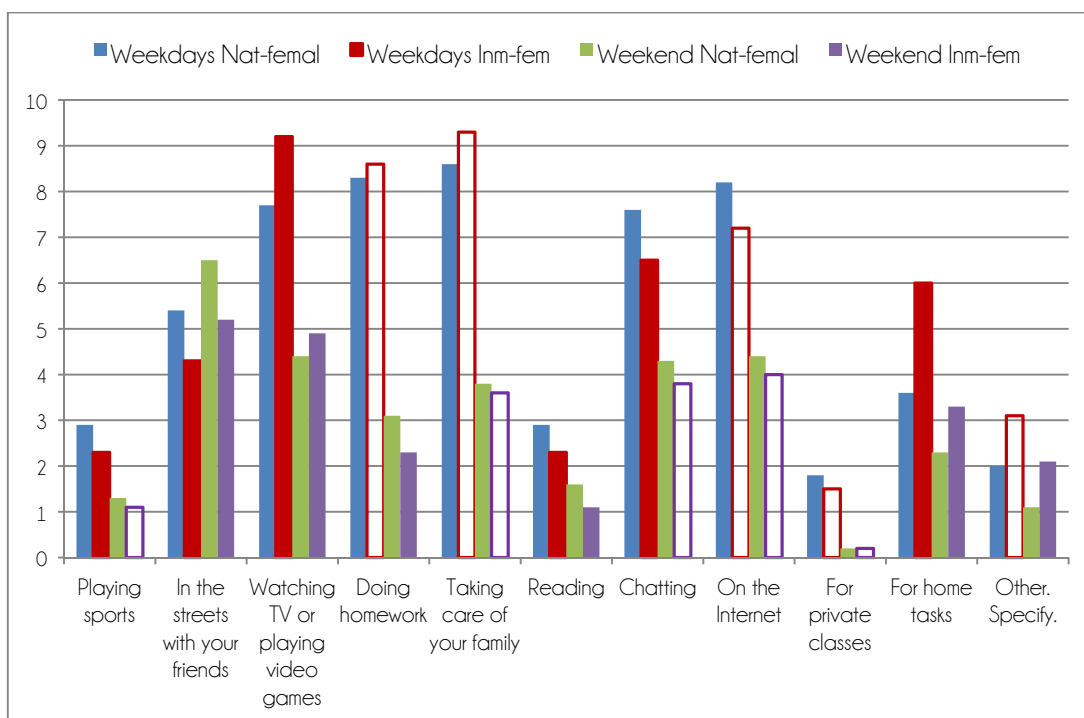


Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

Differences are much larger among girls, as can be seen in *Figure 13*. During weekdays, immigrant origin girls spend more time doing home tasks and watching TV or playing video games than their non-immigrant counterparts; in turn, they spend less time playing sports, reading, chatting and in the

streets with their friends. During the weekends, they reproduce the same differential pattern as of the weekdays but, in addition, devote almost one hour less to do their homework than their female non-immigrant classmates.

Figure 14. Time use by female students, by immigrant origin and week/weekend days.



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

According to these results, the much-extended idea that immigrant children spend more time in the streets because of a lack of parental surveillance does not seem to be accurate. However, when adolescents were asked about how often they do activities with their parents, clear differences emerged: on average, immigrant origin students systematically spend less time doing activities jointly with their parents, both boys and girls, and with both their mother and father, according to their own responses. Interestingly, doing homework and visiting relatives with their mother is the only category for which there are no significant differences between immigrant and non-immigrant students; in contrast, immigrant origin students systematically report less time doing these two activities with their fathers.

Table 7. Activities with mother/father (0=never, 10=always)

	Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
	Nat-male	Imm-male	Nat-male	Imm-male	Nat-fem	Imm-fem	Nat-fem	Imm-fem
Lunch or dinner together	8.4	7.9	5.6	5.3	8.4	7.9	6.2	5.9
Going on holidays	7.4	6.5	5.6	4.5	7.1	6.1	5.5	4.7
Going shopping	8.6	7.0	2.0	1.9	8.8	6.9	2.0	2.0
Watching TV	8.3	6.1	1.8	1.6	8.3	5.8	1.6	1.5
Doing homework	5.8	5.9	7.5	5.9	7.3	7.1	7.5	6.0
Visiting relatives	4.3	4.3	7.2	5.1	4.0	3.9	7.0	4.8

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey. Cells in bold indicate difference with comparable non-immigrants is statistically significant.

In order to engage with the debate about quantity vs. quality of time in child-parent relationships, and the extent to which the disruptive effect of migration and difficulties in acculturation of immigrant families lead to more conflictive child-parent relationships or not, we also asked our adolescents about the type of relationships they had with their parents. Results from factor analysis based on the responses to the battery of items listed in *Table 8*, and multivariate regressions of the resulting factor including immigrant status and gender covariates, indicate that immigrant origin students tend to report worse quality relationships with both their mother and their father than their non-immigrant counterparts.

Table 8. Battery of items about adolescents' intergenerational relationships

Respecting my father/mother is something difficult to me	0 1 9 10
I think my father/mother should give me more support	0 1 9 10
I often argue or fight with my father/mother	0 1 9 10
The atmosphere is tense when I am with my father/mother	0 1 9 10
I can share my worries with my father/mother	0 1 9 10
I trust my father/mother	0 1 9 10
Whenever I need help I can count on my father/mother	0 1 9 10

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

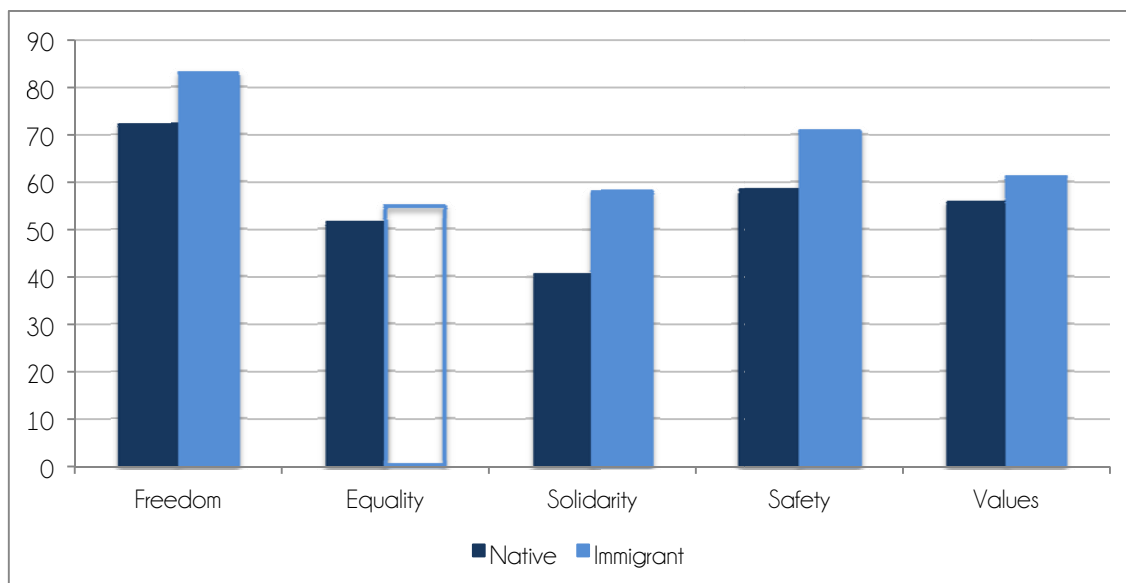
However, there are no significant differences by gender within the group of immigrant origin adolescents, while non-immigrant girls reveal worse relationships with their fathers and better relationships with their mothers than non-immigrant boys. As a result, in relative terms, the relationship of immigrant origin girls with their mothers tends to be the worst of all.

7. CIVIC VALUES AND PREJUDICES

Approximately two thirds of the students of immigrant origin surveyed by Chances in the municipality of Madrid expressed their wish to live in Spain when grown up (71% among boys and 55% among girls). Obviously, not of all them will be able to realize their wishes concerning their residential preferences but, in any case, it is very likely that a very high proportion of them will become permanent citizens in our country. For this reason, and because identities formed during the adolescence are known to leave some print on future behaviours, it seems important to us to explore which are the civic values and conceptions of 'good' citizenship among the youth of immigrant origin and how they compare to their non-immigrant classmates.

Our students were asked about their feelings with regard to life in Spain and Spanish society. Students of immigrant origin have, on average, a more positive perception of the Spanish society than their non-immigrant classmates. They think more often that there is freedom in Spain, meaning that people can live the life they want to (83% against 72%), solidarity (58% against 41%), and safety (71% against 59%). These differences might indicate that those of foreign origin, when giving an answer to this question, automatically compare the level of these characteristics present in Spain with the one present in their country of origin.

Figure 15. "Do you think in Spain there is...?"



Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey.

However, it seems important to highlight that immigrant origin adolescents do not support a more positive view than their non-immigrant classmates in relation to the level of equality in Spain (the difference is only four percentage points and not statistically significant), especially if one takes into account that both immigrant and non-immigrant origin students considered equality to be the most important societal goal to pursue (32% of natives, 44% of immigrants), out of the five previously mentioned. Moreover, when asked about the importance of different human rights, students of immigrant origin attributed more value to the right to not being discriminated because of race, sex or beliefs, and to the right to live in accordance with one's own culture, beliefs and religion than their non-immigrant counterparts, while no significant differences emerged with regard to the right to education or the right to have a job, among others.

Finally, and despite ranking in a similar way the values they consider important for society as we have shown above, immigrant origin adolescents seem to have quite different views on what defines a good citizen from their non-immigrant classmates. On average, the former give more importance to knowing the history of one's country, to being patriotic and loyal to it, and to be informed about the news, but value as less important to obey the law, to pay taxes and to work hard.

Table 9. Importance of affirmations defining bad and good citizens (0=bad citizen; 10= good citizen)

	Girls		Boys	
	Natives	Immigrants	Natives	Immigrants
obey law	8.2	7.9	7.7	7.5
vote in elections	5.8	6.0	5.6	5.3
work hard	7.4	7.4	7.6	7.2

know history of one's own country	6.0	6.6	6.1	6.5
informed about news	5.6	5.9	5.5	5.7
volunteer	6.4	6.5	5.8	5.8
show respect to authorities	7.9	7.8	7.4	7.3
recycle	7.5	7.7	7.0	7.2
Patriotic & loyal to own country	5.9	6.6	6.4	6.4
pay taxes	7.4	6.9	7.1	6.6

Source: Chances 2011, Students Survey. Cells in bold indicate difference with comparable non-immigrants is statistically significant.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Identities formed during adolescence are known to be crucial in shaping future life decisions in multiple domains, including not only the educational and work careers but also partnership arrangements, fertility trajectories, residential choices, even their civic and political attitudes. In this article we have examined in a very simple and mostly descriptive way the main differences and similarities between the daily life of adolescents of immigrant and non-immigrant origin, and their wishes and expectations for their future, utilizing data from the Chances Students Survey, collected in 30 secondary schools in the city of Madrid in 2011.

Our results suggest similarities and differences between both groups depending on the particular aspect examined, and discard a systematic pattern of greater optimism or pessimism among immigrant adolescents compared to their non-immigrant classmates. First of all, as expected, there are more immigrant families facing more challenging socio-economic conditions in terms of parents' unemployment, housing conditions (size, number of occupants, tenancy), separations and divorce. Moreover, adolescents of immigrant origin substantially differed in their daily and weekend activities, in the time spent with their parents, and the quality of their relationship with them; on average, adolescents of immigrant origin report worse relationships with their parents, especially girls with their mothers. Immigrant girls also present quite a different use of their time compared to their non-immigrant classmates, a difference that virtually does not exist among boys.

However, these differences do not necessarily translate into significant differences in adolescents' preferences with regard to their future life. Adolescents of immigrant and native origin reported similar wishes regarding their future educational careers, even when they were asked about their preferred field of study in post-compulsory education. In contrast, their expectations once previous school performance is controlled, seemed systematically more optimistic than those of comparable natives. These results suggest that their educational disadvantage does not derive from a lack of focus -they are very aware of the importance of making it through the educational system- but is rather something constraining their school results. In other words, it seems that their attainment blocks their enthusiasm, and not the other way round. This finding, which may surprise some of our readers, is starting to be accepted as a well documented regularity in several European countries.

Leaving aside their educational careers, migrants and their families are frequently depicted as socially conservative, mostly clustered in their ethnic traditions. Are immigrant adolescents in Madrid really that conservative? When we look at their family formation preferences, for instance, it is true that

adolescents of native origin are more likely to prefer cohabitation (followed by marriage) than their immigrant counterparts. However, the level of acceptance of this type of arrangement is also very high among the latter. In addition, immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents are not too different as regards their desired number of children, although they report a preference for having them at a younger age, which is likely to imply higher fertility among them.

It is crucial to make adolescents self-confident about their capacity to mould and shape their future in such a way that their ambitions can be realized to avoid frustration, feelings of discrimination, anomie, etc. Children from more deprived families are over-represented among those at risk of frustration. Yet, on average, there are not remarkable differences between both groups concerning the degree of success they anticipate in achieving their wishes in the future, although girls tend to be more pessimistic than their comparable natives, which is likely to be related to their more difficult relationships with their mothers. Moreover, uncertainty and anticipated frustration seem to be more common among adolescents of immigrant origin in the short-term (i.e. going to post-compulsory education, way of leaving parental home) than in the more distant future (i.e. going to university, type of partnership arrangement), which might be viewed as a consistent result with the disruptive effect of migration, and an additional reason for cautious optimism about the future of integration.

Finally, one domain often mentioned by the conservative and anti-immigrant groups as one of the most problematic for integration as a whole is that of civic and citizenship attitudes. It is true that, according to our results, this appeared as the area where the largest differences by origin emerge. Yet, we must note as well that adolescents of immigrant origin reveal a rather positive view of Spanish society in comparison to those of native origin, although both share a rather similar and negative perception regarding the level of equality achieved in Spain.

In sum, the image drawn by our analyses is rather positive and offers some reasons for optimism about the current state and possible future developments of the descendants of immigrants. Adolescents of immigrant and non-immigrant origin in Spain are quite similar in how they view their lives and their position in society, and advance similar difficulties in realizing their wishes because they share similar structural constraints in the labour and housing market, which will condition their transition to adulthood in multiple ways. However, the particular situation of girls of immigrant origin, and their tendency to anticipate larger frustration compared to both their male and native counterparts, deserve some additional attention.

Spain has suffered from a remarkable lack of empirical evidence, periodically updated, on the wellbeing of children and adolescents. The effort that the Chances Project represents in this regard is just a small step ahead in the way to ending this major drawback for the adequate planning of public policies and social interventions. Significant investments should be made in order to improve our understanding and capacity to improve the living experience of future Spaniards of all origins.

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