Tiger Children in "Old" versus "New" Destination Countries: High versus Low Educational Expectations among Chinese Youth in Spain, Italy, and the United States

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Presented in Session 182: "Immigrant Assimilation in the United States and Europe" at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America in New Orleans, Louisiana on 13 April 2013

INTRODUCTION

The Asian model-minority myth – however much it has been debunked by academic research – remains a powerful figment of the American popular imagination. The latest incarnation of the myth was made popular Amy Chua in her memoir, "Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother" (2011), who argued that Asian parents are superior to American parents because they have honed down a simple yet superior formula for raising Tiger Children by placing an uncompromising value on education that is reinforced with hard work, strict discipline and tireless resistance. Yet, by attributing Chinese-American youth's academic success to parenting styles and strategies that are allegedly intrinsic to Chinese culture, Chua and her proponents ignore the much more consequential characteristics of Chinese immigrant families, including the kinds of social and economic capital that they transmit to their offspring, and more importantly, the uniqueness of the U.S. context in which the opportunities and incentives to attaining higher education are ample.

Elsewhere, there is evidence that Chinese immigrant youth are not following the tried-and-tested academic pathway to success that Chinese-American youth have carved out (e.g. Kao 1995; Louie 2004; Sanchirio 1991; Zhou 1992, 2009). In relatively new immigrant destination countries, such as Spain and Italy, levels of educational ambition and attainment are low among Chinese youth, compared to their U.S. counterparts as well as immigrant youth of other national origins in their respective host societies. (Exact figures are subsequently presented in this paper.) These counterintuitive findings that show the truncated educational careers of Chinese immigrant youth across the Atlantic – at least, from a North American standpoint – seemingly add another layer of complexity to the ongoing puzzle of Chinese Americans and their exceptional educational outcomes.

However, the paradoxical situations of the same group in different host societies can serve to highlight the importance of opportunity structures, how they are perceived in the formulation of mobility strategies and the premium placed on education. Most attempts to explain the exceptionalism of Chinese-American youth's academic success tend to overemphasize group characteristics – whether in terms of their immigrant selectivity, average socioeconomic status, ethno-cultural traits or the availability of group resources that they can mobilize at their disposal – while overlooking the importance of contextual factors. Studies that examine the question of Chinese- and more broadly, Asian-American academic exceptionalism are constrained by their 'single-context' approach, given that studies which intend to highlight the importance of structural factors are still constrained by the fact that their analysis is limited to only the United States (e.g. Louie 2004; Xie and Goyette 2003). The unique contribution of this study is that it examines Chinese immigrant youth in comparative perspective, thereby highlighting the divergent educational experiences and outcomes among this group as well as the crucial role of structural contexts in immigrant adaptation.

By examining the diverse educational trajectories and outcomes among Chinese youth across the three countries, I argue that a partial explanation involves their ethnic communities' different understandings of success and, more importantly, their prescriptions for achieving success based on how they perceive the opportunity structure of their host societies. Moreover, I posit that in situations whereby entrepreneurship offers a viable alternative to education as a vehicle for mobility, immigrant families – such as the Chinese in Spain and Italy – formulate a different strategy for socioeconomic adaptation by forgoing the necessity of higher education in favor of entrepreneurial endeavors. Such a strategy can be motivated by diminished returns to higher education or existing barriers to accessing post-secondary institutions, particularly for

immigrant or ethnic minority youth. Consequently, the educational premium is substituted by the entrepreneurial premium, and the meaning of "success" changes accordingly within the ethnic community as its members achieve upward mobility by bypassing the academic avenue.

In the following analysis, I ask two sets of specific research questions. First, what are the levels of educational expectations of Chinese youth in Spain, Italy and the U.S. and how do they compare to those of immigrant offspring from other nationality groups across the three receiving countries? Second, how do we explain these drastic divergences in educational experiences and outcomes among Chinese youth across the receiving countries? More than variations in immigrant selectivity of the Chinese across the three countries by demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, I predict that the valuation of education and its role in the cultural framings of success substantially account for the divergent educational experiences among Chinese youth across the different host societies.

The organization of the paper is as follows. First, I will provide a brief overview of Chinese immigration in these three countries by describing the characteristics of each Chinese immigrant population in the host societies, highlighting similarities and differences. Then, in providing the theoretical framework for this analysis, I will define the meaning of "success frames," introducing the distinction between educational and entrepreneurial success frames. Then I describe the data and method, followed by the presentation of analytical results. This is a mixed-method study. I present the descriptive and multivariate regression results from a series of analyses that were conducted based on four large-scale datasets. This is followed by the presentation of findings from in-depth interviews conducted with Chinese youth (and, in some cases, their parents) across the three countries. A discussion of the results and its implications concludes this paper.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS OF RECEPTION

The Chinese in Spain and Italy: Preliminary Research

Both Spain and Italy have historically been countries of out-migration, sending millions of workers to the North and Latin Americas and, after World War II, to Northern Europe. Since joining the European Union and experiencing a large economic boom in the 1980s, however, both countries have quickly transitioned from countries of net emigration to immigration. In addition to the return of millions of former emigrants, migrant workers from countries abroad also settled in both countries – first, from nearby countries, such as Romania and Morocco, and then diversifying to countries in Latin America and Asia (Cachon 2009; ISTAT 2012). In 2000, only 2 per cent of the Spanish and Italian populations were foreign-born; a decade later, the foreign-born constituted nearly 12 and 8 per cents of the Spanish and Italian populations, respectively. In major cities which are the magnet destinations for immigrants, these figures increase to approximately 16 per cent in Madrid and Barcelona, Spain, and 20 per cent in Milan (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012; ISTAT 2012). The proportions of the foreign-born in the population of both countries are among the highest in the world, even comparable to countries with much longer histories of immigration, including the United States.

At present, the Chinese represents one of the largest minority groups in both countries. In Spain, the Chinese forms the ninth-largest non-European Union foreign community and represents the most populous Asian nationality group. In Italy, the Chinese forms the fourth-largest ethnic group; Milan has the largest population of Chinese people in all of continental Europe. In 2011, official statistics recorded approximately 171,000 and 209,934 Chinese citizens or nationals residing in Spain and Italy, respectively, although the number is probably substantially higher if people of Chinese ethnicity without Chinese citizenship (e.g. overseas

Chinese or Chinese with Spanish or Italian citizenship) are included (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012; ISTAT 2012). There are sizeable undocumented migrant populations living and working in both countries, the size of which is difficult to ascertain; by the few accounts that exist, it is known that a substantial proportion of Chinese immigrants do not have legal status, many of whom are employed in the informal economy (Laczko 2003).

Facing similar plights as other ethnic minorities, the Chinese have been subjected to prejudice and discrimination in both societies. In Spain, they have been described as a "closed and somewhat mysterious community" in the eyes of the native population (Nieto 2003: 215). In 2007, the Chinese in Milan – who have kept a very low profile and experienced few run-ins with the authorities – took to the streets to protest against the alleged rampant discrimination perpetrated by the locals (Goldsmith 2007). In spite of their growing presence in the countries' cities and suburbs, the Chinese are perceived as a tightknit, inward and self-isolating group. Anxieties about the assimilability of this group by the public, while widespread, are not atypical, given that most immigrant groups elsewhere in Spain, Italy and other parts of Europe have been subjected to similar processes of stereotyping and marginalization. Compared to other groups, the Chinese are generally not perceived in threatening or dangerous terms, in the same way as other groups, such as Algerians and Moroccans, have been targeted as scapegoats for rising crime rates (Alonso-Borrego et al. 2008). That said, they occupy the margins of the Spanish and Italian mainstream.

Chinese immigration to Spain and Italy can be traced back to as early as the mid-nineteenth century, although the number of immigrants was miniscule. By the 1950s, they gradually diversified their economic activities into the restaurant industry and later on, into textiles and trade (Nieto 2003; Pieke 2002; Thunø 1999). For most of the twentieth century,

Chinese migration to Spain and Italy remained sporadic and insignificant. Starting in the 1980s, however, drastic socioeconomic transformations – the economic boom in Southern Europe and the liberalization of the economy in the People's Republic of China (PRC) – attracted sizeable numbers of Chinese immigrants to Southern Europe (Nieto 2003; Pieke 2002). The geographic origins of Chinese migrants to Spain and Italy are highly concentrated, with over 80 percent coming from the PRC province of Zhejiang and the remainder from the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Dongbei (ibid.).

The modes of entry and migratory intentions of the Chinese in Spain and Italy differ from those of other groups in several ways. Unlike their Chinese counterparts who migrate to other E.U. countries (e.g. United Kingdom, Germany, France or the Netherlands) to pursue advanced studies or to seek political asylum, the Chinese predominantly immigrate to the two countries for economic reasons. Furthermore, the Chinese immigrate to Spain and Italy as a family unit. Even when they arrive as individual migrants, they quickly sponsor their family members through reunification policies or they pursue other chain migration processes (Beltrán 2002; Cologna 2005; Nieto 2002; Pieke 2002). Finally, unlike many other migrant groups which temporarily reside in Spain and intend to return to their origin countries, the Chinese tend to permanently settle in Spain and Italy, therefore, they sponsor their children from the PRC and/or bear their children on native soil (Nieto 2003; Pieke 2002).[1]

The Chinese who immigrate to Spain and Italy tend not to be the highly-educated, professional migrants who the United States tends to attract. That said, they are also not drawn from the least educated or least skilled segments of the origin population either (Beltrán 2005; Skeldon 2011). While the skills distribution among Chinese American immigrants is highly bifurcated – with roughly equal proportions who hold advanced degrees versus having less than a

secondary education – the skills distribution of the Chinese in Spain is relatively less extreme (Kasinitz et al. 2008). Given the dearth of census-based data on the educational profiles of specific immigrant groups in Spain and Italy, I provide the relevant statistics on the immigrant parents of Chinese youth according to data from the ILSEG and ITAGEN studies, respectively. In Spain, about ten percent of fathers and mothers have less than a primary school education while about 40 percent have completed high school and less than five percent have a university degree (ILSEG 2008). In Italy, about one-quarter of Chinese parents have a primary school education or less, whereas about ten percent have a university degree (ITAGEN 2006).

In terms of their economic activities, the Chinese in Spain and Italy are disproportionately concentrated in small co-ethnic businesses, either as employees or owners. In Spain, the Chinese have the highest rates of self-employment, at approximately 40 to 45 per cent of all Chinese workers, which is far higher than self-employment rates for Chinese-Americans at approximately 10 to 15 per cent (Beltrán 2005). Initially, the Chinese were concentrated in the catering and restaurant trades, which were expanding largely due to the growing middle Spanish class and booming tourist industry. By the early 2000s, this sector reached a saturation point, and newly arrived Chinese entrepreneurs started to seek new opportunities in less competitive economic niches such as garment workshops, wholesale and retail stores, grocery stores, and imported goods shops that cater to Spanish and Chinese clientele (Nieto 2001). Overall, self-employment rates among the Chinese are high compared to other immigrant groups as well as native Spaniards. Although they account for 3 percent of Spain's 5.7 million immigrants, the Chinese comprise nearly one-quarter of the country's foreign-born entrepreneurs (Ma 2012).

Likewise, rates of self-employment among the Chinese in Italy are high. The first waves of Chinese migrants who arrived in Milan and Prato in the early 1980s purchased faltering small

leather workshops from their Italian owners, recruiting fellow kinsmen from China to work at their factories for low wages and long hours. By the early 1990s, garment and leather workshops in the area employed somewhere between 5,000 to 7,000 Chinese employees, driving much of the migrant inflow from China to Italy (Pieke et al. 2003). Soon after, the more successful entrepreneurs started to branch out into the more capital intensive restaurant business. A 2010 study finds that approximately 70 per cent of Chinese immigrants in Italy work in the restaurant and food industry (CESNUR and University of Turin 2010).

In both countries, Chinese-owned businesses are most aptly characterized as family enterprises. Owners are mostly likely to employ household members and relatives; even when they hire fellow co-ethnics, the employment arrangements are fairly informal and flexible. It is typical for relatives and fellow kinsmen from the same village to pool their capital to open a small business. If the business is successful, the profit is invested into another business, which is also funded by credits received from other relatives, and managed by one of the associates of the original business or another family member. In turn, the owners of the new business sponsor relatives from China to work in the family business. This cycle repeats itself over the course of migrant inflows from China to the destination countries (Nieto 2003; Pieke et al. 2003).

There is a paucity of research about how the children of Chinese immigrants in Spain and Italy are faring in school and adapting to the host societies in general. Preliminary evidence for how they are faring is largely drawn from a few existing studies which describe and compare the general experiences and outcome of immigrant offspring across national origin groups (e.g. Barban and White 2011; Gibson and Carrasco 2009; Portes et al. 2010). These studies repeatedly identify several ‘vulnerable’ ethno-immigrant groups including North Africans (e.g. Moroccans and Algerians), Eastern Europeans (e.g. Romanians), and certain Latin American groups (Gibson

and Carrasco 2009; Teese et al. 2005; Portes et al. 2010). Aside from obvious language barriers experienced by children who come from non-Spanish and non-Italian speaking families, other barriers in school – perceptions and experiences of discrimination and prejudice as well as the lack of preparedness on the part of teachers and administrators to deal with diversity in the classroom – are also matters of concern (Carrasco 2005; Zufiaurre 2006). African and Muslim immigrants, in particular, have become the foci of researchers as the targets of discrimination given their widely reported experiences of marginality in other European countries such as France, the Netherlands, and Scandinavian countries (e.g. Peach and Glebe 1995). Such barriers are compounded by the fact that immigrants tend to come from disproportionately low SES backgrounds which means that their children lack the family resources which facilitate achievement in school (Barban and White 2011; Gibson and Carrasco 2009).

Whereas existing research has focused on the vulnerable situations of the aforementioned groups, scant attention has been paid to the offspring of Chinese immigrants in Spain and Italy. Given the marginalized status of Chinese immigrants, it is likely that their children are also met with similar challenges to integration into the educational systems and host societies at large, as other 'at-risk' groups. That said, the most recent studies which compare educational outcomes among different groups of immigrant offspring have pointed out the relatively low levels of educational attainment among the Chinese, given the very low proportions who have aspirations to pursue post-secondary education (Generalitat de Catalunyan 2010; Minello and Barban 2011). The authors of these studies struggle to make sense of why the Chinese in both Spain and Italy have such low educational ambitions. Speculative explanations for why Chinese youths in both countries have low educational ambitions include their families' lack of Spanish and Italian proficiency and their more recent arrival status (Generalitat de Catalunyan 2010). However, I

argue that these conjectures are unconvincing. Youth from other national origins which have non-Italian or non-Spanish speaking backgrounds as well as equally recent immigration histories – such as South Asians and Filipinos – do not share such low educational ambitions as the Chinese. As researchers in Spain and Italy have come to the realization that the low educational ambitions among Chinese youths in their countries present an anomalous case that cannot be adequately explained by existing propositions, it is important to turn to alternative theories that take more seriously the contexts of opportunity into which these youth are incorporated and how these contexts shape their cultural framings of success.

The Chinese in the U.S.: A Focus on Educational Outcomes among the Second-Generation

Compared to the Chinese in 'new' destination countries, such as Italy and Spain, there is extensive research on the Chinese in the United States, given their longer histories of settlement and more sizeable presence. According to government records, the first Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States in the 1820s. In 1885, Chinese immigration came to an abrupt halt when the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed. Even after the Act was repealed in 1943, Chinese immigration continued to be heavily restricted. Inflows from China to the United States reinitiated starting in 1965 when the Immigration and Nationality Act was passed, replacing the national origins quota system with a preference system that focused on immigrants' skills and family reunification. Since then, particularly due to the liberalization of emigration restrictions in the PRC in the 1980s, a steady stream of migrants from mainland China has moved to the United States. In 2010, the size of the Chinese American population is approximately 4 million, constituting just over 1 per cent of the U.S. population (Hoeffel et al. 2012).

In terms of intergenerational adaptation, research shows that Chinese-American youth, on the whole, are a highly academically-oriented group: regardless of actual educational performance, there is generally value consensus between parents and children over the importance of education as a vehicle for social mobility (Kao and Tienda 1995; Louie 2004; Zhou and Bankston 1994). Even among 'low-achieving' Chinese-American youths, higher education remains the idealized goal: those who do not end up at prestigious, four-year universities – the gold standard for the children of Chinese families, as well as those from other Asian nationalities – express feelings of failure and inadequacy by not fulfilling the aspirations and expectations of their families and ethnic communities writ large which they too have internalized (Kibria 2002; Louie 2004). These aspirations are rooted in what I describe as an "educational" success frame.

In explaining the high educational ambitions among Chinese-Americans, scholars have alluded to distinct cultural traits, such as the "traditional mindedness" of Chinese parents and the inextricable linkages between family, honor and education in their expectations for their children (Zhou and Bankston 1994). The socioeconomic composition of Chinese immigrants in the United States also matter: the 'new' waves of Chinese immigration since the 1960s have disproportionately been drawn from the highly-educated and skilled classes. Based on 2010 estimates, 45 per cent of Chinese-born males living in the United States age 25 and older had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 27 per cent among foreign-born adults of other nationalities (McCabe 2012). Chinese immigrants are also disproportionately concentrated in occupations related to science, engineering, business, finance, and information technology. Among those employed in the civilian labor force, nearly one-quarter of Chinese-born men were employed in management, business, finance, and information technology occupations (Terrazas

and Devani 2008). The selectivity of Chinese immigration on these positive characteristics clearly contributes to their children's educational achievement (e.g. Barringer et al. 1990; Glenn and Yap 1994). However, it is important to keep in mind that there are comparable proportions of Chinese immigrants with low levels of educational attainment, given that roughly one-quarter of Chinese immigrant males have no high school diploma or the equivalent credentials (McCabe 2012) That said, the sizeable group of less educated Chinese immigrants seems to produce offspring who have commensurately high levels of educational ambitions and achievement as their highly educated and skilled co-ethnics (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Louie 2004).

Equally, if not more, important than individual socioeconomic profiles are the particular structural factors which have contributed to the success of Chinese Americans, many of whom arrived at an opportune time. After the Civil Rights Movement, explicit racial and ethnic barriers in the educational system were removed, offering immigrant offspring – including those from Chinese families – to benefit from a relatively open and accessible K-12 school system (Alba and Nee 2003). Immigrant parents are particularly optimistic about their children's chances of upward mobility, confident that their children are offered ample opportunities in the host society if they work and study hard; second-generation children thus, inherit their parents' positive attitudes and determinism, translating shared aspirations for higher education into actual attainment (Kao and Tienda 1995; Landale et al. 1998).

Aside from the progressive changes occurring at the host societal level, scholars have also focused on the role of the growing ethnic economy in launching immigrant offspring into the mainstream economy. The ethnic economy, largely formed due to the lack of primary sector labor-market opportunities for Chinese immigrants, allows the first-generation to gain substantial financial footholds in the host society and to create economic opportunities for the next

generation through investments in their education (Hirschmann and Wong 1986; Sanchirico 1991). Yet, unlike their Spanish and Italian counterparts, studies on Chinese-American immigrant entrepreneurship have generally found that it is a first-generation phenomenon (Sanchirico 1991; Zhou 1992). Chinese-American immigrants – like their counterparts from other Asian countries such as Koreans (see: Raijman and Tienda 2000) – perceive business ownership as a way of overcoming labor market disadvantages and to accumulate the requisite resources to provide their children with opportunities to enter the open labor market. By contrast, for other groups (e.g. Hispanics working in the Little Village neighborhood of Chicago, as documented in Raijman and Tienda 2000), self-employment is not merely a transitional pathway to economic mobility but a sustained strategy for creating and transmitting economic resources to their offspring, who are expected to assume ownership of the family business someday. This strategy is aligned with the "entrepreneurial" success frame.

In summary, the Chinese in Spain and Italy versus the United States share similarities as well as have their differences. While they are differentially selected across the destination countries, with Chinese immigrants in the United States generally more educated than their counterparts in Spain and Italy, the more important differences are related to the perceptions of opportunity in the host societies – most notably, the valuation of education versus entrepreneurship as vehicles for intergenerational adaptation and mobility. The valuation of education versus entrepreneurship in the framing of success is discussed in the section below.

EDUCATIONAL VERSUS ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS FRAMES

Traditionally, cultural explanations for the disparate educational outcomes of different racial and ethnic groups tend to focus on their inherent norms and values. Scholars such as Signithia

Fordham and John Ogbu (1986) have argued that youth with low educational ambitions have adopted an 'oppositional culture,' eschewing mainstream norms and values of upward mobility as a form of resistance against racial and ethnic discrimination. Conversely, in the case of Chinese-Americans, conventional wisdom has attributed their high educational ambitions and achievements to the norms and values that are intrinsic to Chinese cultures – namely, the disciplinarian style of childrearing among Asian parents, and their unshakable expectations for their children to strive for academic excellence (Sakamoto et al. 2009). Moreover, as a legacy of Confucianism in many East Asian countries, immigrants from these societies allegedly value hard work more than talent as a means for academic achievement, and compensate academic achievement with stronger rewards than other groups; in turn, these values, attitudes and beliefs are supposedly transmitted to their children, who uphold these intrinsic cultural traits that explain their academic advantage (Chen and Stevenson 1995; Schneider and Lee 1990).

However, these essentialist and reductionist explanations based on culture are logically flawed for obvious reasons, and indeed, contemporary scholars are weary of invoking these outdated versions of cultural arguments. There has been a concerted effort in recent years to "bring culture back in" in better understanding various topics of social stratification, including group differences in educational outcomes (Small et al. 2010). Unlike its previous representations, the new generation of culture research seldom divides explanations into exclusively 'structural' versus 'cultural' because of the increasingly questionable utility of this distinction. Instead, the premise is that structural and cultural factors are intrinsically intertwined.

A particularly useful concept for understanding group differences in educational outcomes is "frames," a concept first introduced by Erving Goffman (1974), which refers to the ways in which people observe, interpret and make sense of their social life (Lee 2012). Based on

prior experiences and understandings, different individuals or groups have distinct perceptions and interpretations of how the social world works, and therefore, adopt different behaviors and make different decisions (Small et al. 2010). In other words, frames consist of cultural repertoires which are used in decision-making processes based upon perceptions of opportunities and constraints within a given society.

In studying group differences in educational outcomes, the value of education is conceived through cultural frames. Even if all groups positively value education (contrary to what essentialist arguments predict), the meaning of what constitutes a 'good education' and the rewards conferred to a getting a good education varies by group and the unique contexts in which groups are situated. Groups construct remarkably different ideas of what a 'good education' means depending on which frames are accessible to them. In turn, frames that are adopted by immigrant offspring are partly shaped by immigrant selectivity, the average socioeconomic profile of an ethnic group, and the group's capacity to mobilize resources (Lee 2012). Most importantly, I argue that cultural framings about the importance of education are shaped by perceptions about the efficacy of education in achieving success in life within a given societal context, as well as the availability of alternative means for upward mobility – most notably, entrepreneurship.

Therefore, I propose that there are two types of success frames utilized by immigrant parents who have passed them down to their offspring: educational and entrepreneurial. *Educational* success frames presume that success in life is predicated upon excelling in one's studies in order to gain admission into an elite university, followed by entry into stable and well-paid professional occupations in the mainstream labor market. As it is well-established in the literature, the success frames adopted by Asian immigrant families in the U.S. tend to be narrow

and specific (e.g. Li and Wang 2008; Louie 2004; Kasinitz et al. 2008). Based on findings from interviews that Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou conducted with their Chinese informants living in the Los Angeles area, one consistent response on what is the definition of success in life is academic success. "Across the board, these kids told us high school is mandatory, college is an expectation, and only an advanced degree will gain kudos." (Lee 2012: 2) Academic success, inasmuch as it takes on utmost symbolic value, is also a pragmatic goal given that Asian immigrant parents perceive education as the only sure path to a better life in the U.S. As Stanley Sue and Sumie Okazaki (1990) argue, based upon their theory of relative functionalism, to the extent that mobility is limited in non-educational avenues (e.g. entertainment, sports, politics) for Asian Americans, education becomes increasingly salient as a means of mobility.

Having achieved higher educational credentials, Chinese-American parents then expect their children to translate their high educational achievements into entering commensurately desirable "top professions" including physicians, lawyers, engineers and pharmacists. Success in life, as defined by Asian immigrant families, often refers not just to the financial compensation of jobs, but the prestige and security conferred to those occupations. Yu Xie and Kimberly Goyette (2003) introduce the concept of "strategic adaptations" to explain the educational choices of Asian Americans, arguing that Chinese and other Asian groups consciously choose occupations in which they can effectively cope with potential discrimination and other disadvantages by achieving marketable credentials. In the United States, where the educational system and labor market are both relatively open and higher education is the prerequisite for upward mobility, it makes rational sense for Asian American youths to aspire for a university education and, likewise, to major in fields that have high financial payoffs.

By comparison, *entrepreneurial* success frames provide an alternative to educational success frames such that getting rich and gaining social status depend not so much on excelling in one's studies and acquiring a college degree but instead, sharpening one's business acumen and becoming your own boss. Anecdotal evidence and preliminary research on Chinese youth in Spain and Italy suggest that educational and occupational ambitions are less narrowly defined by parents and youth, compared to their U.S. counterparts. Rather than banking on higher education as *the* ticket to intergenerational mobility, Chinese families in these new destinations envision alternative pathways for social mobility, whereby management of the family business is a viable career option for the next generation who do not necessarily need a college degree.

There is a vast literature on immigrant entrepreneurship; however, the literature on the role of immigrant entrepreneurship and small business in intergenerational mobility is relatively sparse and has almost focused exclusively on the U.S. context. In theorizing about this link, the functions of immigrant entrepreneurship for second-generation adaptive outcomes appear to be threefold: the springboard, safety net and mobility trap functions (Kim 2006). The "springboard" theory argues that the rapid economic integration of immigrant entrepreneurs, despite having to endure grueling working conditions, accelerates the professionalization of the second-generation via investments into higher education. The children of these successful entrepreneurs are expected to excel at school and to enter into prestigious and remunerative careers, in part because of high parental aspirations as well as having access to important financial and institutional resources embedded within the ethnic community to support their academic achievements (Portes and Zhou 1993; Sanchirio 1991). Certainly, there is empirical evidence for the springboard functions of immigrant entrepreneurship in launching the children of entrepreneurs into mainstream professional occupations. For instance, in Vivian Louie's (2004) study about

Chinese youth in the New York City area, many of her interviewees would recount lessons from their parents, who toiled in the enclave economy, reinforcing the idea that higher education is the only ticket out of the enclave economy and into a better life.

In addition to its potential "springboard" function, immigrant entrepreneurship has alternative and less effectual functions vis-à-vis second generation adaptation. For one, the family business and ethnic economy can merely serve as a "safety net" for the second-generation, particularly those who are downwardly mobile. For children who fell off the academic tracks, parents would leverage their own business to provide their children with alternative means of mobility from professional routes by preparing them to take over the family business or providing them the financial capital to set up new businesses (Kim 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Nevertheless, in these cases, the entrepreneurial pathway of immigrant offspring represents a deviation from the intended course of upward mobility via higher education.

More detrimental to the "safety net" function of immigrant family businesses is their potential to be "mobility traps" when immigrant offspring are obligated to help out in a family business at the expense of time and effort that can be spent on schoolwork. Because small businesses often depend on unpaid family labor for survival, including children's labor, the educational and occupational choices of the children of immigrant entrepreneurs can be severely constrained by their obligations to the family business (Song 1999). This is particularly the case when entrepreneurial families face sudden and unexpected predicaments such as parents' deaths, illness or other financial circumstances which force children to sacrifice their educational and occupational aspirations in order to sustain the family business (Kim 2006).

In this study, I propose that Chinese immigrant parents – specifically, those who are business owners or have intentions to become one – envision alternative pathways for their

children's social mobility. For those who see immigrant entrepreneurship as a springboard into the mainstream economy, they will invest in their children's education in order to facilitate their entry into professional occupations rather than have them stay in the family business. By contrast, for those who see entrepreneurship as a sustained mobility strategy, they will either groom their children to take over the family business and even request that they forego higher education, or among those with less concrete goals for their children, they will conceive of the family business as a safety net for their children given the costs of higher education (i.e. money, time and effort) and its risks (i.e. incommensurate returns to a university degree)

Therefore, I posit that for second-generation Chinese in the United States, the family business is an important stepladder into the mainstream economy, while it is a strategy for sustained mobility strategy inherited from their parents in Spain and Italy. Whereas academic achievement is endorsed as an avenue of social mobility – and quite possibly, as the only available avenue – among Chinese immigrant parents and those of many other immigrant nationalities in the U.S., entrepreneurial endeavors are touted as viable, if not superior, vehicles of social mobility in other countries such as Spain and Italy.

ANALYTICAL PLAN

Data and Method

For this study, I analyze data from three independent studies that examine the children of immigrants in the United States, Spain and Italy, respectively. Note that the studies in Spain and Italy purposefully replicate the U.S. study in their survey designs which allow for comparability of most of the key variables across the studies. Here are brief descriptions of the three primary data sets analyzed in this study, in addition to a supplementary data set:

- *The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) in the United States:* CILS is a longitudinal study designed to study the adaptation process of the immigrant second-generation which is defined broadly as U.S.-born children with at least one foreign-born parent or children born abroad but moved to the United States at an early age. The original survey was conducted in 1992 with samples of second-generation children attending the 8th and 9th grades in public and private schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Fort Lauderdale in Florida and San Diego, California. The total sample size at Wave I is 5,262 respondents at Wave I. Respondents came from 77 different nationalities, with the Chinese constituting approximately 2 percent of the sample.[2]
- *The Children of Immigrants in Spain Study (ILSEG in its Spanish acronym):* ILSEG is a replication of CILS in its survey design. A stratified random sample of 6,884 immigrant youth, between the ages of 12 and 17, were contacted and interviewed in 176 public and private schools in Madrid and Barcelona in 2008. The stratified sample design maintained the same sampling fraction by school type (i.e. public and private-dependent) and by region within each metropolitan area, thus making the sample self-weighting (Portes et al. 2010). Within each school, all eligible students were included. Over sixty different foreign-born groups were identified in the survey. The Chinese constitutes approximately 5 percent of the analytical sample.[3]
- *The Children of Immigrants in Italy Longitudinal Study (ITAGEN in its Italian acronym):* ITAGEN is the first nationwide survey on the children of immigrants in Italy. The survey also includes a substantial subsample of native Italian youths (i.e. third-plus generations) as a reference group. The first wave of data was collected in the 2005-6 school year when the respondents were attending middle school at approximately ages 13 and 14 years. The

respondents lived in 44 provinces and attended 229 different middle schools. Schools were randomly chosen in five of the Central and Northern regions (i.e. Lombardy, Veneto, Tuscany, Marches, and Lazio), in which there are higher concentrations of immigrants, and four of the Southern regions (i.e. Campania, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily). The first wave sample includes 8,618 immigrant youth and 11,910 "native Italians". The Chinese constitutes approximately 5 percent of the immigrant youth sample.

- *Immigrant Second-Generation in Metropolitan New York Study (ISGMNY):* The study draws its sample from the greater metropolitan area of New York City, including surrounding counties in the inner-part of the New York-New Jersey metropolitan region, sampling the children of immigrants as well as "native" whites and African Americans between the ages of 18 and 32 years old. The older age range of the sample respondent provides information about their experiences in making the school-to-work transition, which supplements information about the U.S. sample drawn from CILS who are still in early adolescence. Moreover, the parental SES characteristics of the Chinese respondents in the ISGMNY study are more comparable to their counterparts' in the ILSEG and ITAGEN studies. Data collection took place in 1999 over telephone interviews. The sample includes 3,417 respondents, 829 of whom were native whites and African Americans. The Chinese constituted the largest ethnic subgroup at 18 percent of the sample.

In addition to conducting multivariate regression analyses of the aforementioned data sets, I will present qualitative data that I collected firsthand based on 29 in-person, in-depth interviews with Chinese immigrant youth (and, in some cases, their parents), mostly living in Madrid, Spain and Milan, Italy. These semi-structured, tape-recorded interviews lasted from twenty minutes to three hours. The interviews covered a range of topics, including the reasons for and circumstances of

the youth's educational and occupational decisions, parental ambitions for their children, and if applicable, the role of their family business on youth's future plans. The interviews were conducted in either Chinese or Italian/Spanish, the latter for which I hired a translator to be present at the interviews. For Chinese immigrant youth living in the United States, I present evidence from transcripts based on in-depth, in-person, follow-up interviews conducted for the ISGMNY study by members of their original team.[4] Although the primary methodology of this study is survey data analysis, the qualitative data serve to illustrate and enrich the conclusions drawn from the quantitative data analysis.

Key Variables

Educational Expectations. The main outcome of interest is educational expectations, which represent the highest level of education that youth respondents realistically expect to attain. The survey instruments for CILS, ILSEG and ITAGEN measure educational expectations in closed ordinal categories.[5] I recoded the ordinal variables into two binary variables: expectations to attend university and expectations to stop schooling after completion of high school in the U.S. or basic secondary schooling in Spain and Italy (which is roughly the equivalent of grade 10 or 11 in the U.S. educational system).

National Origins. The main predictor of interest is the youth's self-reported national origin. Given sufficient numbers of cases, the same set of nationality groups are coded across all the different data sets. For the remainder of the categories, groups with a sizeable number of cases in each country (e.g. Ecuadorans in Spain, Macedonians in Italy, Cubans and Mexicans in the U.S.) and regional categories aggregated from smaller nationality groups are coded. Given that the primary comparison of interest in this study is between Chinese and non-Chinese youth in the

multivariate analyses, the Chinese is the reference category. The degree to which the addition of other covariates changes the coefficients of the origin groups in a series of nested models (e.g. reducing the magnitude of the coefficient and the level of significance) represents the degree to which they account for Chinese-versus-non-Chinese group differences across the key outcomes.

Educational and Entrepreneurial Success Frames. I argue that the expected level of educational attainment is in part, shaped by the kind of success frames – educational versus entrepreneurial – that are inculcated in immigrant youth's mentality about how success in life is achieved.

Those who adopt an "entrepreneurial" success frame are inclined to believe that upward mobility can be achieved through business pursuits which preclude the need for degrees and diplomas. An "entrepreneurial" success frame is measured based on three items in each of the data sets. The first measure is an attitudinal item which asks the respondent to agree with either one of two opposing viewpoints in a hypothetical debate between two friends on whether it is more valuable to stay in school or to take a job that will let them earn money and learn the business.[6] The second measure is whether the respondent's aspired occupation is being an entrepreneur or self-employed.[7] The third measure is whether the respondent's father or mother is self-employed, which would influence their decision to follow in their parents' footsteps and assume ownership of the family business.

By contrast, those who adopt "educational" success frames tend to commit to the notion that education is the key to getting ahead so it is important to do well in school and to acquire higher education. Ultimately, the point of acquiring higher education is to enter into professional occupations in the mainstream economy, which represents the paragon of immigrant intergenerational mobility. An "educational" success frame is measured based on the following items in each survey. The first measure addresses the youth's attitudes towards the valuation of

education. In CILS and ILSEG, the survey question asks how important it is for the respondent to get good grades at school. Similarly, in ITAGEN, the survey question asks how strongly does the respondent agree that success in life depends on getting a good education. The second measure is whether the respondent's aspired occupation requires a professional degree which is a proxy for intentions to acquire higher educational credentials.[8]

Socio-demographic and Economic Variables ("Control" Variables): To account for the compositional variations between different nationality groups, the following variables are included in the analysis as 'controls': the youth's nativity status (i.e. birthplace and, for those not born in the receiving country, their age at arrival); sex; age; their course or grade level[9]; the type of school attended (i.e. private/semi-private versus public)[10]; whether or not they lived with both biological parents[11]; number of siblings; their mother's and father's highest level of schooling attained (i.e. less than secondary, completed secondary or some post-secondary, and completed post-secondary); city or region of residence[12]; and, whether their home language is the official language of the receiving country[13]. (See Tables A, B, C, and D in the Appendix for the descriptive statistics for the analytical sample of the different datasets.)

FINDINGS

I. Cross-national Comparisons of Educational Expectations among Chinese versus Non-Chinese Youth

Table 1a shows the level of educational expectations among immigrant youth across the three countries. Comparing the Chinese to the other groups, relatively small proportions of Chinese youth in Spain and Italy – only 14 and 33 percent, respectively – expect to attend university or to pursue the university preparatory track, compared to the sample averages which are 40 and 50

percent (if the native Italians are not included in calculating the sample averages) in Spain and Italy, respectively. In contrast, high proportions of Chinese-American youth (i.e. 95 percent) expect to attend university to pursue their bachelor's degree or even beyond, even though it is only slightly higher than the sample average which is 90 percent. Table 1b shows the *actual* level of educational attainment among immigrant youth based on the ISGMNY data. In actuality, very high proportions of Chinese young adults in the New York sample do end up attaining a college degree at 87 percent, compared to 72 percent of the total sample who attain a college degree. Note also that 70 percent of Chinese youth attain their bachelor's degree from a four-year university, compared to only 40 percent of the sample average. Conversely, Chinese youth in Spain and Italy – at 40 and 17 percent, respectively – are more likely than youth from other groups to expect to end their educational careers after finishing basic secondary schooling. By comparison, only a small percentage of Chinese-American youth *expectantly* and *actually* attains only their high school diploma without pursuing post-secondary education (i.e. 4 percent of the Chinese sample in CILS expects to only finish high school and 13 percent of the Chinese sample in ISMGNY have attained only their high school diploma or less). Note that there is tremendous variation between the sample averages of each country in their university expectations: only a minority of immigrant youth across all national origins expect to attend university in Spain, whereas exactly half in Italy and a vast majority in the United States expect to do so.

Table 1a and 1b about here

II. Results from the Multivariate Regression Analysis

To examine these drastic divergences in educational expectations among Chinese youth, in comparison to youth from other national origins, across the receiving countries, I run a series of

regression analyses to test which predictors account for the gap in educational expectations between Chinese and non-Chinese youth for each dataset. More than variations in immigrant selectivity by demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, I predict that the kind of framing – entrepreneurial versus educational – through which youth define success in life is a stronger determinant of their expected level of education. Tables 2a, 2b and 2c provide the frequency distributions of the three items used to measure an "entrepreneurial" success frame and the two items used to measure an "educational" success frame by nationalities for Spain, Italy and the U.S., respectively. In Spain and Italy, Chinese youth are generally more likely than most other groups to adopt an "entrepreneurial" success frame – on average, relatively higher percentages of them would drop out of school to take up a business opportunity, aspire to be self-employed or an entrepreneur, and have at least one parent who is self-employed. Conversely, Chinese youth in Spain and Italy are less likely than other groups to adopt an "educational" success frame – on average, they are less likely than other groups to think that it is very important to get good grades (Spain) or that success in life depends on getting a good education (Italy) and they are less likely to aspire for a high-skilled professional occupation.

By comparison, Chinese-American youth tend to adopt a strong "educational" success frame – on average, a high percentage of them think that it is very important to get good grades (although their non-Chinese peers tend to think the same as well) and aspire for high-skilled occupations. However, they are also more likely than other groups to adhere to the measures of an "entrepreneurial" success frame with relatively higher percentages than other groups who agree that it is better to take up a business opportunity rather than stay in school, have aspirations to be self-employed or an entrepreneur, and have at least one parent who is self-employed. That said, relative to their Spanish and Italian counterparts, smaller percentages of the Chinese in the

U.S. conform to these entrepreneurial-oriented measures. In actuality, once they reach working age, fewer Chinese youth in the ISMGNY sample are self-employed (at 6 percent) compared to the sample average (10 percent). (See Table E in the Appendix for the frequency distribution of self-employment by national origins in the ISGMNY sample.)

Tables 2a, 2b, 2c about here

For the multivariate regression, I focus on only one outcome: the expectation to attend university versus not.[14] Standard logistic regression is performed for a series of nested analytical models using the ILSEG, ITAGEN and CILS data. (The results are presented in Tables 3, 4, and 5 respectively.) The first model is the "baseline" model which includes the youth's national origin as the only predictor. The second model is the "controlled" model which adds the socio-demographic and economic variables as predictors in order to account for the variation by group selectivity. The third model is the "full" model which, in addition to the "control" variables, includes the items to measure the success frames.

In Spain, youth from most other groups are significantly more likely than Chinese youth to expect to attend university, as seen from the results from Model 1 in Table 3a. (Exceptions include Filipinos, Dominicans, Romanians and Ecuadorans for whom the coefficients are not statistically significant.) Once socio-demographic and economic variables are accounted for in Model 2, only the difference between the Chinese and Peruvians, Europeans and North Americans are rendered statistically insignificant. In Model 3 (i.e. the full model), the differences in university expectations between the Chinese and all of the other groups are no longer significant, which suggest that the success frames *fully* explain why Chinese youth have, on average, lower university expectations than their non-Chinese peers. The coefficients for the

measures of the two kinds of success frames, except for parental self-employment, are statistically significant and in their expected directions. Those who adopt an "entrepreneurial" success frame are *less* likely to expect to attend university. The odds of having university expectations among respondents who would drop out of school to take up a business opportunity are about 20 percent lower than the odds among those who would prefer to stay in school, while the odds of having university expectations among those who aspire to become self-employed are 65 percent lower than those who do not aspire to be self-employed. Contrary to expectations, however, parental self-employment is not a significant predictor of university expectations for the entire sample. Conversely, those who adopt an "educational" success frame are *more* likely to expect to attend university. The odds of having university expectations among respondents who think that it is very important to get good grades are almost twice the odds among those who think otherwise; similarly, the odds of expecting to attend university among those who aspire for a high-skilled occupation are twice the odds among those who do not share these aspirations.

In a separate analysis conducted on only the subsample of Chinese respondents in ILSEG, two of the measures of the success frames are significant and the magnitude of their effects on university expectations are dramatic. The odds of having university expectations among Chinese youth whose parents are self-employed are about 90 percent lower than the odds among those whose parents are not self-employed. The fact that the coefficient for parental self-employment is significant and sizeable in this subsample analysis, even though it was not significant for the entire sample, suggests that there is an interaction effect between being Chinese and parental self-employment on youth's university expectations This finding aligns with the "Chinese model" of how family businesses in Spain operate, whereby parents expect their children to take over the family business rather than pursue higher education. Conversely,

the odds of having university expectations among Chinese youth who think it is very important to get good grades are 26 times the odds among their counterparts who think otherwise. (See Table 3b.)

Tables 3a and 3b about here

In Italy, Chinese youth are significantly less likely than most other groups to expect to attend university (except South Asians and Macedonians, for whom the coefficients are not statistically significant), as seen in the results for Model 1 in Table 4. The addition of the "control" variables in Model 2 fully explains the difference in university expectations between the Chinese and Colombians and Western Europeans/North Americans. These "control" variables also substantially account for the magnitude of the difference in the likelihood of having university expectations between Chinese youth and the other groups, even though significant differences remain. (For example, between the "baseline" and "control" models, the odds of having university expectations among native Italian youth decrease from four times to twice the odds among Chinese youth.) In the "full" model, the measures of the success frames *fully* explain why some groups – including Filipinos, Dominicans, Moroccans, and youth from the "other Asian" category[15] – are more likely than the Chinese to have university expectations. For the other groups, the measures of the success frames partly explain why they are more likely than the Chinese to expect to attend university, although it seems that the "control" variables account for more of the differences.

In terms of the effects of the measures themselves, predictably for those who adopt an "entrepreneurial" success frame, being willing to drop out of school to take up a business opportunity and having self-employment aspirations are negatively associated with university

expectations. Likewise, as predicted, those who adopt an "educational" success frame by strongly agreeing that success in life depends on getting a good education and having aspirations for a high-skilled profession are also more likely to have university expectations. Contrary to expectations, however, parental self-employment is positively associated with having university expectations among the entire sample. Based on a subsample analysis of the Chinese respondents only, parental self-employment does not significantly predict university expectations, unlike the results of the Chinese subsample analysis of the ILSEG data. On the other hand, aspirations for self-employment and adherence to the idea that success in life depends on getting a good education are negatively and positively associated with university expectations, respectively. (See Table E in Appendix for the complete regression results for this subsample analysis.)

Table 4 about here

In contrast to the relatively low university expectations among Chinese youth in Spain and Italy, the proportion of Chinese youth in the United States who have university expectations are on par or even higher than the proportions of their non-Chinese peers. Based on the results from Model 1 in Table 5, Chinese youth are significantly more likely than Dominicans, Mexicans and youth from the "other Asian"[16] category to have university expectations – on average, the odds of expecting to attend university among the other groups are approximately three-quarters lower than the odds among Chinese youth. Variations by socio-demographic and economic composition across the groups partially account for the gap in university expectations between the Chinese and these three national origin categories, as seen in the results for Model 2.

When measures of the success frames are included into the analysis, the gap in university expectations between the Chinese and these three groups are further explained but not entirely.

Even accounting for group selectivity and differences in success frames, the odds of expecting to attend university among Dominicans, Mexicans and "other Asians" are about 60 percent lower than the odds among the Chinese. In terms of the measures of the success frames, only two out of the five measures are significant. As an indicator of adopting an "entrepreneurial" success frame, the odds of having university expectations among those who would quit school to take up a business opportunity are half of the odds among those who prefer to stay in school. By comparison, as an indicator of adopting an "educational" success frame, the odds of expecting to attend university among those who aspire for a high-skilled profession are over twice the odds among those who do not have these aspirations. (The number of respondents in the Chinese sample of CILS is too small to permit a subsample analysis.)

Table 5 about here

Unlike the stark contrasts in university expectations between the Chinese and the other groups in Spain and Italy, university expectations are generally high across all groups of immigrant youth in the United States based on the CILS data. That said, once actual educational outcomes are examined, there are substantial differences in levels of university attainment between Chinese and non-Chinese youth. As presented in Table 6a, based on results from the analysis of the ISGMNY data, all of the groups (except Russians) are significantly less likely than the Chinese to have a bachelor's degree or higher in Model 1, when there are no other predictors in the model. In the "control" model, the gaps in university attainment between the Chinese and other groups widen substantially, particularly for the Russians and native Whites. Given the relatively humble origins of the Chinese immigrant population in New York, as indicated by the relatively lower levels of educational attainment among first-generation parents,

the high levels of university attainment among their offspring in comparison to other groups is particularly extraordinary.

In the "full" model, which includes variables for whether the respondent is currently self-employed, has at least one parent who had been or is currently self-employed, is currently working in a professional occupation, the Chinese are still significantly more likely than any other group to have a bachelor's degree. That said, these measures which correspond with the different kinds of success frames – that is, respondent and parental self-employment are proxies for an "entrepreneurial" success frame whereas working in a professional occupation implies an "educational" success frame – partially account for the Chinese's higher-than-average levels of university attainment. As expected, the odds of having a bachelor's degree among those who are currently self-employed are about 25 percent lower than the odds among those who are not self-employed. Conversely, the odds of having a bachelor's degree among those who are working in a professional occupation are four times the odds among those who are not working a professional occupation. Parental self-employment, however, is not a significant predictor. In a separate analysis for the subsample of Chinese respondents only, the negative association between self-employment and university attainment is even greater than for the whole sample – the odds of having a bachelor's degree among the self-employed Chinese is over 60 percent lower than the odds among those who are not self-employed. (See Table 6b for the subsample analysis of the Chinese respondents.)

Tables 6a and 6b about here

In brief, results from the multivariate analysis show that Chinese youth in Spain and Italy are relatively less likely than other groups to expect to attend university, whereas Chinese youth

in the United States are equally – if not, *more* likely – to expect to and to actually attend university than their non-Chinese peers. These patterns generally hold true even after group variations in terms of socio-demographic and economic characteristics are held constant. Moreover, the adoption of different kinds of success frames at least, partially explains these differences between the Chinese and other groups. In the next section, I present qualitative evidence for the role of success frames in shaping youth's educational plans. In-depth interviews illustrate how Chinese youth growing up in Spain and Italy versus those in the United States express divergent ideas of how to get ahead in their respective host societies and, in so doing, have adopted different kinds of success frames.

EXPLORING SUCCESS FRAMES: CHINESE YOUTH IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Entrepreneurial Success Frames in Spain and Italy

In my interviews with Chinese youth and their parents living in Madrid, Spain and Milan, Italy, it became apparent that the "entrepreneurial" success frame was strongly implanted in their mindsets. For instance, Mario[17], a 21-year-old waiter who arrived in Italy when he was 8-years-old, had plans to help his parents open up their store. He started working as a full-time waiter after finishing secondary school at age 17. When asked whether he would prefer to pursue post-secondary schooling or to help for his parents after their shop is open, he responded without hesitation that he would prefer to help his parents. When pressed for a reason, he explained that he wanted to help his parents out of filial duty since it took them a long time to save money to invest into the business, as well as for better opportunities for himself. In his own words: "I do it *[i.e. help his parents]* for my future – a better future – and for my parents." Part of the reason for his optimism for entrepreneurship as a vehicle for upward mobility for himself and for his family

was due to his incredulity about the utility of education in achieving the same thing. When asked whether it is important to get a good education in Italy, he said: "Right now, even if you get a college degree, it's still hard to find a job. Even the native Italians are poor right now, even if they have college degrees." When I pointed out the poor state of the Italian economy, suggesting that it is a risky time to start a business, his rebuttal was that as long as the store opened up in prime location, business should be good too, just like the restaurant that he worked at.

Mario's colleague, Dai Yi, aged 30 and having arrived in Italy 5 years ago, provided further insight about the mentality of immigrant youth such as Mario. He argued that for youth who grew up in Italy, they do not think it is important to get a good education in order to get ahead in Italian society, which is a jarring difference in mentality from those who grew up in China, like himself, where getting a good education is believed to be vitally important given how competitive the school system and labor market are. When I asked him why he thinks many Chinese youth in Italy quit school while they are still so young, he explained:

> A lot of Chinese parents here don't require their kids to get top grades or get into the best schools. To them, getting an education means learning Italian, which is important for doing business in Italy. They don't need the kids to become professionals or PhD holders…. Know enough Italian to do business with Italians. They can use their own abilities rather than what they learn in school to open up a shop and make a living. No need to go to school.

Indeed, Dai Yi's explanation was echoed in the sentiments of my other respondents. Many of the Chinese youth who were interviewed expressed a lack of concrete educational plans because of their parents' strong expectations for them help out – and perhaps, eventually take over – the family business. Luigi, age 20 and born in Italy, was working full-time in his parents' Chinese restaurant when I interviewed him, despite having attended *liceo*, which is the university preparatory track. While he was in the midst of his studies in Milan, his parents pulled him out of

school so that he can go to China to learn Chinese in order to help with the daily operation of the restaurant, such as taking orders from Chinese-speaking customers and picking up ingredients from the Chinese market. When I asked him whether he thinks his education has gone to waste since he dropped out in order to work at the restaurant, his reply was: "When I went to *liceo*, I learned many things that I never use. So slowly, I've forgotten what I've learned because I don't use it." Despite his relatively good grades and ability to enter into *liceo*, his belief about the lack of utility of a university education in the Italian labor market, in addition to his parents' investment into improving his Chinese proficiency, led him to forego the pursuit of university.

The sentiment that a university degree has minimal payoff in the real labor market was reverberated in many of the interviews. Xiao Yao, age 18 and having arrived in Italy when she was 5-years-old, was attending *liceo* at the time of the interview and had dreams of going to design school after graduation. However, even though her parents were proud of her good grades and her scholarship granted by *Associna* (i.e. the Chinese-Italian Association), her parents had discouraged from attending design school because they believed that such education credentials serve minimal practical purpose in the labor market. Xiao Yao, herself, held similar reservations. Her father expected that after graduation, she would work as a waitress at a Chinese restaurant. Given his connections with the owners of Chinese restaurants, he was confident that she would easily get a job working as a waitress and earning a steady paycheck. As for her prospects of entering university, her parents were not supportive of that decision because according to her, they thought getting a university degree would be a "big risk": "We are not such a confident family. We try to take the safer path. We don't like to take risks. I've heard that many students with a university degree still don't have a job that corresponds with their level of education."

Likewise, Rosario, aged 22, born in Italy and having immigrated to Madrid during adolescence, shared similar sentiments. Working full-time at her parents' bakery after graduating from vocational school for clerical studies, she justified her decision to work at her parents' bakery by citing how difficult it had been to find work in Spain, even with a university degree, given the poor economy: "Well, nowadays, even if you have a university degree, you may still not be able to find a job because the economy is so bad. For people who don't have a university degree, you can still make money by becoming a business owner." Since her parents discussed the prospect of having her take over the bakery someday, she was prepared to do so despite having her degree in clerical studies.

Youth who were less educated than Luigi and Xiao Yao were even more inclined to rely on their family business as their permanent mode of livelihood. Dino, aged 18 who arrived in Milan when he was 9-years-old, was a part-time secondary school student on the vocational track who spent more time working at his parents' accessories store than attending classes and doing schoolwork. When asked about his plans for the future, he told me that he had no plans to pursue further education after he finished high school and even so, at his current pace, he did not anticipate completing his requirements for another two years, which meant his plans to finish high school were also tenuous. He expressed no concrete career plans and when I asked him whether he thought he would be working at his parents' shop full-time, he replied, "It depends. If the store needs me, then yes. I haven't really thought about it too much." Likewise, Pietro, aged 17 and born in Italy, who was a part-time secondary school student on the vocational track at the time of the interview, expressed a lack of concrete plans for his future. He also worked at his parents' accessories store. When asked whether his parents wanted him to work at their store permanently after graduation, he said that they would prefer he become a boss for his own

business but that in the meanwhile, he should help out at the store. As for himself, becoming a boss was not his own aspiration although he admitted that he had put little thought into his career plans. In the cases of both Dino and Pietro, working many hours at their parents' shops appears to have stunted any career aspriations, which remain ambiguous.

Even among the rare cases of Chinese youth who pursued a university degree, dreams of owning a business and becoming your own boss remained salient. Liu Xia, a 22-year-old student who arrived in Spain at the age of 13, was in his last year of studies at one of the most prestigious universities in Madrid when I interviewed him. After graduation, he planned to open up a business – perhaps a restaurant that he intended to eventually turn into a franchise – with his friends. When asked about his entrepreneurial ambitions, he said that although he was not completely dismissing the idea of finding work at a company, he wanted to pursue his business plans before taking the employment route. Given the bad economy, he thought it would be difficult to find work in the first place, despite having a degree from a prestigious university. Moreover, he thought that the time was ripe for entrepreneurial opportunities because start-up costs, including rent, had decreased and the government had been offering incentives for first-time business owners (e.g. tax credits) in the hopes of spurring the economy. His father, Mr. Quan, shared similar ambitions for his son, even though Liu Xia has not yet discussed his post-graduation plans with his parents. In my interview with his parents, they expressed tremendous pride regarding Liu Xia's academic achievements, attributing them entirely to his own dedication and hard work; they insisted that they played no role at all, neither helping him with schoolwork nor setting expectations for him to attend university. Despite their moral support for his university goal, which set them apart from many Chinese parents in Spain and Italy, his father

still expressed some reservations about Liu Xia's career options after graduation. When asked whether they wanted him to take over their grocery store someday, Mr. Quan replied:

> How should I say this? I think doing well in school is good. But, realistically speaking, the ultimate point of coming to another country is to make money. An education should be good for one's future. That I understand. But, if you're working for someone else, let's say you're making a thousand dollars. That's it. But if you're your own boss, that money will multiple. That said, owning your own business is tough. It's hard work. Especially for Chinese bosses. You have to do a lot of things yourself and work long hours.

When probed on whether he felt conflicted about whether his son should work for himself or someone else, Mr. Quan said:

> Yes, I feel conflicted. I don't want him to have a hard life like us because owning your own business is a lot of hard work. But, working for someone else, you probably won't make that much. What is he going to do after he's married and has a family? You need money to support your family. And to make that money, you should become your own boss. That's just what I think.

For some youth, the prospect of taking over the family business someday was entirely their parents' ambitions for them, rather than their own. In some cases, their own dreams were deferred or at risk of being deferred given their parents' expectations. Lorena, aged 20 and born in Italy, was working full-time at her parents' travel agency at the time of interview. She went to vocational school for fashion design. Even though she had no plans to become a designer, since she thought it was too competitive, she would like to work as a shop assistant at one of the designer boutiques in the Quadrilatero d'Oro area ("The Golden Rectangle" in English) in Milan where all the high fashion houses are located. Despite her own ambitions, her parents expected her to eventually take over their other family business, a bar (i.e. a kind of convenience store that also serves breakfast which is a mainstay in the Italian cityscape). As to how she felt about working at her parents' bar:

> I don't think I'd make a very good businesswoman. I don't want to keep working at my parents' bar even though they've talked about giving it to me eventually. It also depends on who my future husband is, and whether he can take over the bar. I don't really know about my future because right now, I'll just take whatever job I can take as long as I don't have to work at the bar. I don't want to open a business because it's just not in my character.

Although the majority of Chinese youth who were interviewed had adopted an entrepreneurial success frame and/or had depressed their educational ambitions, there were a few exceptional cases whereby Chinese youth had entered into white-collar work in the mainstream labor market. (One of the interviewees was a 29-year-old female who, according to herself, was the first Chinese person to have graduated from her nursing program in Milan. Another one of the interviewees was a 34-year-old Ph.D. candidate in educational studies.) Gianna, aged 28 and born in Italy, worked as a cultural mediator and interpreter for the Milan school board. Her personal history was paradoxically, typical and atypical vis-à-vis the personal histories of her Chinese peers. Like many of her peers, her parents owned a restaurant, where she worked long hours after school and on weekends. Unlike the vast majority of her peers, however, she was adamant about pursuing higher education, attending *liceo* and then university. After attaining her university degree, she pursued neither an entrepreneurial path (like Liu Xia) nor a high-paying job at an Italian corporation. Instead, she was committed to using her unique skills set – being fluently bilingual in Italian and Chinese, as well as having firsthand experience with both cultures – to act as a bridge between the Chinese immigrant community and the Italian mainstream society. Given the meaningfulness of her job, I asked her what her parents thought of her job. She replied:

> Oh, my mom thinks that I don't have a real job. I was one of the first second-generation Chinese here who went to university. My Chinese is okay and my Italian is very good because I grew up here. So, my relatives' expectations for me were very high; they thought with my education I can become a big boss.

When I asked her to compare her experience with the typical experiences of her Chinese peers, she offered her own explanation based on her counseling work with Chinese families. According to Gianna, for many Chinese parents, their primary aspiration for their children is for them to become rich and in pursuing this goal, they view higher education as not a particularly effective instrument:

> You have to know that the Chinese parents here want and hope that their kids will become rich. If the restaurants, massage parlors, import/export business is the way to become rich, then school? Forget about it. The expectation of the parents for the kids is to not do the same kind of hard work that they did.

When I followed-up by asking her why taking over the family business would not be considered the same kind of "hard" work that their parents had to endure, she replied:

> Not exactly. The kids would know Italian, which the parents don't know. Also, they're not doing hard labor like the parents. They're going to be bosses. All the profits will be theirs to keep. So to the parents, it's an ideal occupation to become a business owner. It's not such a good thing to just be an employee.

In a moment of introspection, I asked her to reflect on why she turned out so exceptionally, even though she also had to endure the pressures of helping out at her parents' restaurant. She explained that, first of all, her parents were supportive of her desires to continue her studies by entering *liceo*, something which eluded her Chinese peers because of their parents' disapproval. Second, while she juggled between her schoolwork and helping out at the restaurant, she realized that between the two, she somehow knew that school offered an opportunity to escape from the drudgery of working at the restaurant and the prospect of having to take over it someday. Although many of her Chinese peers chose to forego education to help out and eventually, inherit the family business, Gianna made an executive decision early on during adolescence to not follow in their same footsteps. Ultimately, her decision was prompted by this reason: "Perhaps it's because I'm selfish. I wanted to seek an alternative future."

In brief, my interviews with Chinese youth in Milan and Madrid (and in some cases, their parents) revealed several patterns in how they formulated their educational and occupational plans. In many instances, the "entrepreneurial" success frame had already been firmly implanted into their mentalities; among those who aspire to be business owners, even those with a university education, entrepreneurship was perceived as a pathway to mobility or a sustained mode of livelihood in the Spanish and Italian economies, particularly given their recent downturns. For youth who already worked long hours on a regular basis at their family business while they were still in school, the transition into full-time work at the family business after – or *if* – they graduate was the next logical step, especially for those who lacked concrete career plans. Other respondents clearly deferred their own dreams to continue assisting their parents, justifying their decision by arguing that higher education is not an effective means for mobility in Italian and Spanish society anyway. Finally, there were a few exceptional cases whereby, against all odds, Chinese youth pursued higher education and entered into "mainstream" occupations which have been considered unconventional by the Chinese community.

Educational Success Frames in the United States

Based on the interview transcriptions from the ISMGNY study, the majority of Chinese interviewees mentioned the importance of higher education for achieving success in life. For these Chinese-American youth, an "educational" success frame had been firmly implanted into their mindsets. When asked about the advice that her parents gave her regarding how to be successful in life, Miranda, a second-generation, 32-year-old attorney, said that although her parents never dispensed any words of wisdom to her and her siblings, they did emphasize that "… if you did well in school and obeyed the rules of society, nothing can go wrong in your life". In fact, she also equated getting a good education, along with a strong sense of familism, as

quintessentially Chinese values. As she explained, these two Chinese values are "… like a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it is really the two most positive things of being Chinese but it turns out to be bad because then some kids puts too much on that or the other, and nothing else to round out your life". In this way, the inextricable link between academic performance and filial duty has become synonymous with the experience of growing up in Chinese-American families.

In comparing the Chinese youth in the United States versus those in Spain and Italy, what is interesting is that while Chinese parents on both sides of the Atlantic often state high aspirations for their children to become rich, their ideas about the most effective means to making money are different. In Spain and Italy, parents stressed that self-employment – being your own boss – is the most effective, whereas those in the United States emphasized getting a university education and majoring in a discipline that would lead to entry into a high-paying profession. Irene, aged 22 and born in the U.S., was in her senior year at Columbia University, majoring in computer science, at the time of her interview. When asked whether her parents ever gave her advice about how to be successful, she responded that given her parents defined success as "being rich", her parents wanted her to get at least, a Master's degree so she could go into day trading, where her parents believed the money is at. Likewise, Ruby, aged 27 with a Master's degree, said that in terms of how her parents defined success, her mother was "very much a 'making money' type of successful, [meaning] you go to school so you can get a good job so you can buy things and, you know, not have to struggle".

For children with less educated parents, even though they had little concrete and practical advice for their children on how to get through school and make it to college, they still set strong expectations for them to attain a university education. John, aged 25 and U.S.-born, was a college graduate who worked as an analyst at one of the big finance firms on Wall Street. Even

though his parents had only a middle school education and low-skilled occupations – his father co-owned a Chinese takeout place and his mother was a seamstress – the majority of his siblings, seven brothers and sisters, attained university degrees, including himself. Growing up, John remembered that his parents rarely gave life advice and instead, deflected responsibility on his teachers: "Their famous quotes would be, if I did something wrong, 'Didn't the school teach you that? Didn't your teachers tell you that?' It was just ridiculous." As long as John and his siblings were still in college, passed and graduated, his parents were generally satisfied, although they definitely expected them to attend college which they provided financial support for.

Many of the ISGMNY respondents reported that their parents had very strong opinions about which disciplines to major in. Namely, these disciplines would correspond with occupations that were generally high-paying and considered "steady" occupations with lower rates of unemployment. The strong preference among Chinese students to enter into occupations that are related to the sciences and engineering, a phenomenon that has been examined by Xie and Goyette (2003), was documented in many cases in the ISGMNY study. Both Irene and her brother majored in computer science in college. Her parents actively encouraged both of them to major in computer science in order to pursue day trading as an occupation. She explained that the relatives who sponsored her parents for immigration to the United States were all in computer science. Her parents have made them into role models for Irene and her brother because they clearly "made it" in the U.S. with their high salaries and their ownership of multiple homes in New Jersey. Even though Irene was doing well in her studies because she described herself as "academically inclined," she admitted that she would prefer to major in something else other than computer science: "If I weren't studying computer science, I would do something more liberal artsy, like math or physics. That's the real arts. (Laughs.)" When asked why she did not

major in math or physics instead, she explained that her family could not afford to have her "major in something and be a researcher and make very little money. And be a postdoc slave." For Irene's parents, they expected financial payoff from investing in their daughter's education, which was why Irene was inclined to be realistic about the practicalities of what she chose to major in rather than just consider where her interests laid.

Similarly, Miranda's sister, who had wanted to become a writer, was dissuaded by their parents to choose a more practical career. As she explained:

> … My sister had a mind of her own from when she was young. She wanted to be a writer so instead of trying to persuade my sister to go into a particular career, my parents did try to dissuade her from being a writer, because they think that that's not something that's gonna make enough money for her to, you know, have a good living. And I think that's a very primary concern of theirs, that whatever you're gonna do in your life, is that going to give you a good lifestyle so that you don't have to worry about where your next meal's gonna be. And I don't know, that's always a priority with them.

It was not uncommon for the respondents' parents to recommend certain "safe" career pathways for their children. Even if the stated goal was not to become obscenely wealthy, parents hoped that their children would take the route that they have charted so that they could make a good living and not have to worry about their next meal. Heidi, aged 24, graduated from an Ivy League college with a degree in computer programming. Her father, a medical doctor with his own clinic, and her mother, a stay-at-home mom, encouraged her to enter the sciences because they perceived the sciences as a "safer" career choice offering greater "job security". Once she was in college, she was given a certain degree of leeway in terms of what to major in but her parents would still dispense advice on what kind of courses to take that were considered "useful" and what courses to avoid taking: "[They] try to scare me about things, like 'Oh, so many millions of people got laid off at IBM, so you've got to be really good. Horror stories like that which don't apply to me because I'm not in those fields."

Likewise, Ruby's parents dissuaded her from becoming a teacher because her mother, in particular, saw minimal opportunity in upward mobility in the teaching profession. Aged 27 with bachelor's and Master's degrees, Ruby worked as branch manager at a bank. While she was in college, her parents did not specify which discipline to major in, but they did push for a career that was business-oriented. When she had expressed an interest in becoming a teacher to her parents, her mother immediately opposed. When asked why, she replied: "They felt the potential for earnings was limited and they felt that just the risks associated with the New York Public Schools are there."

Even though a substantial number of interviewees mentioned that their ideal career plans had been deferred in following their parents' advice about entering a "safer" or "more practical" career, the interviewees themselves acknowledged the instrumentality of getting a good education. For instance, Heidi agreed that a college education, preferably from a highly-ranked institution, played a very important role in getting a good job: "I think it's [i.e. a college education] important, especially in a place like New York, where you go by your resume, and it's tough to get people to look at you without even the sign of a B.A., so it's helpful – I mean besides the ways in which it exercises your mind." Many of the interviewees also echoed their parents' beliefs about the importance of money in defining success in life. Irene, a college student, agreed with her parents' belief that without money, other things in life would be much harder to attain as well. According to her, "even if you have a lot of friends but you don't have money, once they find out they'll all leave". Other interviewees took a more nuanced perspective on the role of money in defining life success. Miranda, the attorney in her early 30s, said that it was important for her to remember what it was like to not have much while she was growing up to remind herself to not become too comfortable so that she could keep the embers of her

ambition glowing. As the eldest out of three siblings, she recalled living in "not-so-nice" places with her parents and then having their quality of life increase over time as their business grew. She explained why being successful is motivated, in part, by ensuring that you know where your next meal is going to come from:

> [M]y brother and sister, I think they're too comfortable even now. I think they take a lot of things for granted so I do think you do need to know where your next meal is – you've got to keep that in perspective. Not as much as my parents have, because I think that's all they had to look to, but I think there should be some hunger there, because otherwise…. Which is why we worry about our kids. We're gonna deprive them of things. (Laughs.)

John, the financial analyst in his mid-20s, echoed this sentiment by replying that his definition of success for someone at his age involved making enough money to be self-sufficient: "I'm not struggling. I'm not that ambitious with my career but as long as I know that I get that check every two weeks and financially stable that I can save money, that to me that's being successful." What is interesting about the way that the majority of Chinese respondents answered the question about how they would define success for someone at their age was their emphasis on having a career and making a good living. When this same question was posed to respondents from other ethnic and national backgrounds in the ISGMNY study, they were much more inclined to provide more heterogeneous and all-encompassing responses, describing success in life in terms of getting married, having children, making an impact on society, being happy, being a boss, and so forth (Kasinitz et al. 2009).

In addition to having parents who expected their children to become rich and defining success in similarly materialistic terms, the Chinese respondents in the ISGMNY study were similar to the Chinese youth in Madrid and Milan, who I interviewed, in terms of the high proportions whose parents were business owners. However, their experiences of growing up in the family business were quite divergent. Recall that in Spain and Italy, Chinese youth were

mostly expected to work long hours after school and during weekends, leaving minimal time for school work. As a result of this time commitment, academics tended to fall off the wayside. By contrast, their U.S. counterparts did not work nearly as much in their family business because parents explicitly made their children's education a priority so that schoolwork came before work shifts at the family business. The parents of Miranda, the attorney, owned a wholesale restaurant supply store. She would help out with office work but mostly just in the summertime so it did not get in the way of her studies. She looked back at those days when she helped out at the store with fond memories:

> I didn't mind that much. You know, growing up, I watched the Brady Bunch and it was always wonderful to hear about oh, you know, you have to save up your allowance money in order to buy this one toy you'd want, and my family wasn't like that. My parents never gave me an allowance, but they never deprived me of anything. "Mommy, I want that Barbie doll." If I'd been good, if I'd gotten like good grades, then they'll get it for me, so I never had to save up money. So working for my parents… I was glad to help out. I didn't mind that much. Plus, it made me feel like useful.

Her parents also never expected her to take over the business, mostly because she is female. They had contemplated giving the business to her younger brother, although since he has college and career plans of his own, their transferal plan was indeterminate.

Not all of the respondents whose parents were self-employed had such positive experiences. John, the financial analyst, worked at his father's takeout place, which he co-owned with an uncle. He would work there on weekends and when asked to sum up his experiences, all he had to say was: "I hated it. I really hated it. It was just terrible. I just hated it." When asked why he said, "I just didn't like working there. It was just sitting there and you had to deal with customers. Being in the kitchen all day is not something I like." John expressed no plans to become self-employed, and was particularly perturbed by the possibility of ever becoming a restaurant owner.

Based on their interviews, compared to their Chinese counterparts in Spain and Italy, Chinese immigrant offspring in the U.S. – specifically, those who live in New York City – adopted a strong "educational" success frame, which was in large part instilled into them by their parents. There are some points of similarities across all three countries. First, many of the respondents had parents who owned a business, where they helped out – although the degree to which they helped out varied widely with Chinese youth in Spain and Italy working, on average, much longer hours than their U.S. counterparts. Second, for many of the respondents' parents and to some extent, the respondents themselves, success in life was largely defined in financial terms – for some, this might be the explicit goal of becoming wealthy, while for others, it was a more nuanced goal of making enough money to ensure a certain quality of life. Regardless of these variations, a unifying theme which tied together all of these cases of Chinese-American youth is the widespread belief in the importance of education in achieving upward mobility.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

To reiterate, this study asks two main questions. First, what are the levels of educational expectations of Chinese youth in Spain, Italy and the U.S. and how do they compare to those of immigrant offspring from other nationality groups across the three receiving countries? As the descriptive results clearly show, compared to immigrant offspring from other nationality groups, Chinese youth in Spain and Italy have much lower levels of educational expectations, with only a minority who expect to attend university and sizeable proportions who are prepared to drop out of the educational system after completion of basic secondary schooling. By comparison, the vast majority of Chinese youth in the U.S. expect to attend university and, in actuality, do.

Second, given these dissimilar levels of educational expectations among Chinese youth across the three host countries, what are some possible explanations? Results from the multivariate regression analyses show that, for the most part, variations in immigrant selectivity of the Chinese across the three countries by demographic and socioeconomic characteristics partially – and, for the most part, minimally – explain the Chinese youth's lower levels of university expectations in Spain and Italy and conversely, higher levels of university expectations and attainment in the U.S. Instead, how success is framed and the valuation of education versus entrepreneurship as the most effective means to achieve upward mobility are more significant and stronger predictors of Chinese youth's divergent educational expectations across the three contexts. Generally, Chinese youth in Spain and Italy are more likely to conform to an "entrepreneurial" success frame than an "educational" one, whereas Chinese youth in the U.S, similar to immigrant youth from other nationalities, are more likely to adopt an "educational" success frame. Indeed, the power of higher education in achieving the American Dream has a stronghold on the imagination of almost all immigrant youth.

Findings from the in-depth interviews largely confirm these quantitative results, in addition to elucidating how different success frames are adopted based on immigrant youth's and their families' perceptions of opportunity in their respective host societies. Generally, the Chinese interviewees in Spain and Italy have minimal regard for the value of higher education in facilitating their upward mobility; as a result, the "entrepreneurial" success frame is firmly implanted in their mindsets given that those who have achieved success – defined in largely financial terms – within the Chinese community are business owners, who in turn, become role models for immigrants and their offspring. Likewise, Chinese respondents in New York City tend to adopt a strong "educational" success frame, mentioning that both they and their parents

place much faith in a university education in getting them a secure and well-paid job. Few mentioned aspirations to become self-employed, and in fact, based on analysis of the ISGMNY data, there was a significant negative association between the respondent's university attainment and self-employment.

The strong "entrepreneurial" success frame that is fostered within the Chinese community in Spain and Italy expands our current understanding about the role of immigrant entrepreneurship in intergenerational mobility. Previous theories, which were mostly developed from the experiences of immigrants in the U.S., distinguished between three functions of immigrant entrepreneurship for intergenerational mobility: springboard, safety net and mobility trap (Kim 2006). However, given the widespread conviction among Chinese immigrant parents and youth about the instrumentality of entrepreneurship, rather than education, as the primary vehicle for socioeconomic adaptation in Spain and Italy, immigrant entrepreneurship can potentially serve a fourth type of function: "mobility elevator". Beyond the role of a "safety net" for immigrant offspring who fall of the academic tracks, the family business or the goal of having their own business becomes the primary vehicle for upward mobility for the second-generation who can bypass higher education. Rather than rely on the family business to accrue the requisite resources for immigrant parents to invest in their children's university education – that is, the family business as a "springboard" that launches the second-generation into the mainstream labor market – immigrant families devise an alternative strategy that is centered on the family business. In large part, this happens in receiving societies, such as Spain and Italy, where higher education is perceived to be less instrumental in their opportunity structures and indeed, this is affirmed by the reality of large swaths of university-educated youth who are currently unemployed in these countries. A recent headline for an article in the New York Times

– "Spain's Chinese Immigrants Thrive in Tough Economy" – is telling about the stark difference in experience between native Spaniards and the Chinese community since the recession hit the Spanish economy (Bilefsky 2013). The article describes how Chinese immigrants have managed not only to weather a tough economy but even to thrive, as they are taking advantage of the cheap prices of Spain's distressed properties after its housing bubble to start their own businesses. According to the most recent estimates from the National Federation of Self-Employed Workers, of the almost 9,000 foreigners who started businesses in 2012, over 30 percent were Chinese. These recent trends certainly attest to the growing and sustained economic success of the Chinese community's long-term entrepreneurial strategy in economically depressed countries, such as Spain and Italy. To test whether the family business serves as a "mobility elevator," however, data on immigrant youth who have reached working age are necessary in order to compare labor market outcomes (e.g. incomes) between those who are self-employed or working for their family business and those who are employed in a non-family-related business. This is a potential avenue for future research.

Another area of future research is the broader structural factors which shape the formation of success frames. In adopting an "entrepreneurial" versus "educational" success frame, how do perceptions about the opportunity structures – including the persistence of blocked mobility against immigrant and ethnic minorities – contribute to the decision to adopt one kind of frame over another? What about the perceived instrumentality of higher education in overcoming anticipated discrimination in the labor market? Returning to theories about the disproportionately high levels of educational attainment among Asian Americans, including Sue and Okazaki's theory of "relative functionalism" (1990) and Xie and Goyette's theory of "strategic adaptation" (2003), Asian American students are supposedly motivated to seek higher

educational credentials to protect themselves against anticipated discrimination in the labor market. If discrimination supposedly motivates Chinese youth to pursue higher educational credentials in the U.S., what role does discrimination play in the formulation of educational and occupational plans among Chinese youth in Spain and Italy? Do Chinese youth in these countries have lower levels of educational expectations because they do not perceive discrimination from their host societies, unlike their U.S. counterparts? Or, are they equally likely to perceive discrimination but rather than providing an impetus for them to pursue higher education, discrimination veers them towards alternative channels of mobility, such as entrepreneurship? These questions merit further study.

Even though this study has unique strengths in its mixed-methods approach and in analyzing datasets that are purposefully similar in design and has nearly identical batteries of variables, it is not without its limitations. Contrary to expectations, there were sizeable differences in the results from analyses of the Spanish and Italian data (ILSEG and ITAGEN, respectively) even though I had predicted that the descriptive and multivariate regression results would be very similar between the two countries. For one, immigrant youth across all nationalities in Spain generally had lower levels of educational expectations than their counterparts in Italy. Moreover, whereas the inclusion of the indicators of the success frames *fully* explained the difference in levels of university expectations between Chinese and non-Chinese youth in Spain, the indicators only partially explained the Chinese and some nationality groups in Italy. In some instances, the 'control' variables accounted for more of the variation between the Chinese and some groups in Italy than the indicators of the success frames. Why the success frames appear to be more powerful predictors of educational expectations in Spain than in Italy could be due to actual differences in the perceptions of opportunity and the utility of

higher education among Chinese youth versus non-Chinese youth, or it could be the result of differences in the design of the studies (for example, ILSEG includes only respondents from Barcelona and Madrid, whereas ITAGEN is nationally-representative). Given the high degree of similarity in the interview responses between Chinese youth living in Madrid and Milan regarding their levels of educational expectations and the pervasiveness of the "entrepreneurial" success frame, it appears that national differences in the quantitative results are perhaps due more to survey design than starks contrasts in the contexts of reception.

Finally, an anomalous finding in the quantitative results is the lack of significance of parental self-employment as a negative predictor of university expectations based on the subsample analysis of Chinese respondents in the ITAGEN data, although it was a strong predictor among the Chinese respondents in the ILSEG data. I predicted that parental self-employment would depress youth's educational expectations, and given the high rates of parental self-employment among the Chinese in Spain and Italy, it would explain much of the variation in university expectations between Chinese and non-Chinese youth. Why do Chinese youth in Italy whose parents own a business not have significantly different levels of educational expectations than their peers whose parents are not business owners, as expected? Interviews with Chinese youth in Italy (as well as, in Spain, for that matter) seem to suggest that regardless of whether their parents are currently business owners, the vast majority have aspirations to own a business eventually (see, for example, the case of Mario). In turn, this self-employment mentality among parents, whether or not they are actually business owners, is transferred to their children. In other words, *aspired* self-employment among Chinese immigrant parents appears to be an equally strong determinant of their children's educational expectations as their *actual* self-employment status, as the interview findings suggest.

Ultimately, the goal of this study is to show that culture matters in explaining ethno-national variations in educational experiences and outcomes but not in the form of outdated explanations about the alleged values that are intrinsic to a particular group. As this study's findings imply, if shared norms about the utmost value of education that are supposedly inherent in Chinese culture explain the educational success of Chinese-Americans, then why are their counterparts in Spain and Italy – who, in theory, would also possess the same cultural orientations – not equally driven in their academic pursuits? Clearly, such essentialist and reductionist arguments are wholly inadequate. Instead, concepts – such as success frames – which capture the interaction between structural contexts and cultural proclivities provide more robust accounts in understanding intra- and inter-group differences in educational outcomes.

ENDNOTES

1. Over the past decade, there has been a steady rise in the number of Chinese migrants applying for family reunification, which has contributed significantly to the growth of the Chinese community (Nieto 2003). To qualify for family sponsorship to immigrate, the claimant has to have lived legally in Spain for at least, one year and must hold a residence permit valid for at least another year. Moreover, the claimant has to provide evidence of sufficient financial means and accommodation upon arrival. Given the extensive family networks of the Chinese community in Spain and its strong tradition of mutual assistance, the latter condition is typically not difficult to fulfill (Li 1999). Many Chinese immigrants also arrive in Spain without proper documentation or legal status. In Spain, in 1996, the Chinese were the third most important nationality in terms of the regularization programs, and in 2000, China was the fourth most important country of origin of undocumented migrants benefiting from amnesty (Laczko 2003).

2. Follow-up surveys were conducted in 1995-6 and 2002-3.

3. A follow-up survey was conducted in 2012-3.

4. Interview transcripts from the ISGMNY study were analyzed in-house at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The author was given permission to access and to analyze the interview transcripts by the principal investigators of the ISGMNY study.

5. The questions regarding educational expectations are phrased in the following manner with the possible set of response in each questionnaire. For ILSEG, the question is, "What is the highest level of education that you think you can realistically expect to attain?" with the following categories of response: complete ESO (i.e. compulsory secondary education); complete baccalaureate; middle-grade training cycles (vocational training); superior-level training cycles (vocational training); college certificate; university degree; and, post-graduate degree. For ITAGEN, the question is, "Which kind of high school would you like to attend?" which is a proxy for the type of academic track (i.e. university versus technical or vocational) that the respondent expects to pursue. Those who expect to attend university would expect to attend *licei* or secondary school focusing on the humanities, sciences, languages or the arts. Those who do not expect to attend university would respond to the question by choosing one of the following categories: none, polytechnic or vocational school, or do not know. For CILS, the question is, "What is the highest level of education that you think you will get, realistically speaking?" with the following categories of response: less than high school; finish high school; finish some college; finish college; and, finish a graduate degree.

6. The exact wording of the item is as follows in the CILS and ILSEG questionnaires, which are nearly identical with the exception of different first names being used: "Juan/Luis and Pedro are students. An older friend asks them to work for him because they will earn money and learn the business. Luis says: 'I agree. It is better than going to school and I'll learn about the real world.' Pedro says: 'I disagree. I will stay in school because in the long run, it is better for me.' Who do you think is right, Juan/Luis or Pedro?" In the ITAGEN questionnaire, the question is worded slightly differently: "Hassan and Mohammed are 18 years old and go to school together. A friend offers to give them a good job, saying that it's better quit school in order to earn money and learn a profession right away. Hassan says: 'I want the job, because it's better to learn right away how the real world works, rather than sitting around in school.' Mohammed says: 'I don't want the job, because it's better to study in order to find better employment later.' Who do you agree with more, Hassan or Mohammed?"

7. The dummy variables for self-employment aspirations are constructed based on an open-ended question that asks the respondents about their aspired occupation in all three questionnaires. Individual responses including "entrepreneur," business owner," "self-employed," etc. were coded as 1, whereas all other responses were coded as 0.

8. The dummy variables for professional occupational aspirations constructed based on open-ended question that asks the respondents about their aspired occupation in all three questionnaires. For the sake of consistency in the coding across the datasets, occupations that are considered as "professional" (i.e. entry into the profession requires at least a university degree) were limited to the following kinds of occupations: physicians, lawyers/attorneys, engineers/architect, professors, and executives. Given that other kinds of occupations also require university degrees, the results generated based on this constructed variable are thus, conservative estimates.

9. For ILSEG, the course level is coded as the first, second and third year of ESO or basic compulsory schooling. For ITAGEN, the grade level is coded as the first, second, and third year of lower secondary schooling. For CILS, the grade level is coded as eighth or ninth grade.

10. The type of school attended is not available in the ITAGEN data.

11. For ISGMNY, the relevant question asks the respondent retrospectively whether he/she grew up living with his/her biological parents during childhood and adolescence given that this is an older cohort of respondents (i.e. 18 to 32 years old).

12. For ILSEG, the city of residence is Barcelona or Madrid. For ITAGEN, the region of residence is classified in North, Central or Southern Italy. For CILS, the city of residence is San Diego or Miami/Fort Lauderdale.

13. For ILSEG, the language in reference to the home language is Spanish. For ITAGEN, it is Italian, whereas for CILS and ISGMNY, it is English.

14. I do not present the results for expectations to only complete compulsory secondary schooling (i.e. Spain and Italy) or high school (i.e. U.S.) without pursuing further education given the similarity of results between the two binary outcomes across the analytical models.

15. The most populous nationalities represented in the "Other Asia" category in ITAGEN are Sri Lanka and Thailand.

16. The most populous nationalities represented in the "Other Asia" category in CILS are Laos, Hmong, and Cambodia.

17. Pseudonyms are used for all of the respondents.

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Table 1a. Levels of Educational Expectations across National Origins in Spain (ILSEG), Italy (ITAGEN) and the U.S. (CILS)

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS								
Spain (ILSEG)			**Italy (ITAGEN)**			**U.S. (CILS)**		
National Origin	ESO	University or higher	National Origin	Lower Secondary	University or higher	National Origin	H.S. degree	B.A. or higher
China	**39.3**	**13.5**	**China**	**17.3**	**33.2**	**China**	**4.2**	**95.8**
Philippines	14.8	23.9	Philippines	0.0	60.9	Philippines	5.6	94.4
Colombia	22.8	24.9	Colombia	0.0	45.0	Colombia	7.9	92.1
Dominican Republic	29.2	15.8	Dominican Republic	2.9	51.4	Dominican Republic	11.4	88.6
South or Other Asia	22.2	27.5	South or Other Asia	8.7	33.6	Vietnamese	9.9	90.1
Morocco	28.0	22.4	Morocco	6.4	41.4	Cuban	6.7	93.3
Romania	24.0	17.3	Romania	3.5	53.3	Mexican	19.9	80.1
Ecuador	14.1	36.3	Albania	4.8	49.9	Asia	19.4	80.6
Peru	11.9	41.1	Macedonia	13.8	31.3	South and Central America	8.1	91.9
Bolivia	11.3	48.3	Europe, U.S., Canada	3.8	56.2	West Indies	5.8	94.2
South or Central America	9.2	50.2	Africa and Middle East	1.2	54.0	Other countries	3.2	96.8
Africa and Middle East	11.1	39.8	Asia	3.2	62.9	*Sample Average*	*9.8*	*90.3*
Europe and North America	11.1	47.1	South or Central America	3.1	58.1			
Sample Average	*15.1*	*39.2*	Native Italian	3.4	62.8			
			Sample Average	*4.1*	*57.6*			

Table 1b. Actual Levels of Educational Attainment across National Origins in the U.S. (ISGMNY) (%)

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		
U.S. (ISGMNY)		
National Origin	H.S. degree or less	B.A. or higher
China	**13.2**	**69.5**
Puerto Rico	49.0	20.3
Dominican Republic	35.3	27.6
West Indies	30.5	28.5
Colombia, Ecuador, Peru	25.4	36.3
Russia	13.6	68.9
Native Blacks	40.1	23.5
Native Whites	18.1	63.7
Sample Average	*27.9*	*42.8*

Table 2a. Frequency Distribution of Indicators of Entrepreneurial versus Educational Success Frames across National Origins in Spain (ILSEG) (%)

	"ENTREPRENEURIAL" SUCCESS FRAME			"EDUCATIONAL" SUCCESS FRAME	
National Origins	Take job over staying in school	Aspires to be self-employed or entrepreneur	At least one parent is self-employed	Very important to get good grades	Aspires for occupation req. at least BA
China	**31.5**	**10.0**	**23.1**	**37.9**	**14.5**
Philippines	23.7	2.4	2.4	65.2	31.5
Colombia	7.4	2.6	4.1	46.6	37.6
Dominican Republic	11.3	2.6	3.7	55.9	33.3
South or Other Asia	17.6	1.3	10.4	67.6	33.8
Morocco	19.1	2.5	3.7	65.6	37.1
Romania	12.7	3.0	3.7	49.5	35.0
Ecuador	10.5	3.3	3.2	45.9	36.6
Peru	9.8	2.1	3.0	52.2	45.0
Bolivia	10.9	3.2	3.6	48.8	44.0
South or Central America	9.2	4.0	5.6	49.3	39.0
Africa and Middle East	16.6	1.1	6.0	60.8	37.9
Europe and North America	9.0	2.5	5.3	48.6	37.5
Sample Average	*12.3*	*3.2*	*5.0*	*50.9*	*36.6*

Table 2b. Frequency Distribution of Indicators of Entrepreneurial versus Educational Success Frames across National Origins in Italy (ITAGEN) (%)

	"ENTREPRENEURIAL" SUCCESS FRAME			"EDUCATIONAL" SUCCESS FRAME	
National Origins	Take job over staying in school	Aspires to be self-employed or entrepreneur	At least one parent is self-employed	Success in life depends on getting a good education	Aspires for occupation req. at least BA
China	**21.7**	**9.8**	**31.0**	**58.2**	**5.6**
Philippines	5.6	0.7	0.0	62.2	30.4
Colombia	12.7	0.0	4.6	67.3	36.4
Dominican Republic	18.4	2.0	0.0	67.4	28.6
South or Other Asia	22.9	1.8	5.7	60.9	17.4
Morocco	16.5	1.1	18.7	72.9	25.0
Romania	11.4	1.0	3.0	74.2	19.7
Albania	15.0	0.0	2.1	72.7	21.9
Macedonia	22.3	4.3	4.1	67.0	13.5
Europe, U.S., Canada	14.5	1.0	7.1	68.5	19.5
Africa and Middle East	14.8	0.6	3.6	74.7	25.0
Asia	14.4	2.2	5.6	82.2	24.4
South or Central America	14.5	0.9	4.6	70.4	23.7
Native Italian	13.7	1.5	8.3	79.9	20.7
Sample Average	*14.6*	*1.7*	*8.2*	*75.3*	*20.6*

Table 2c. Frequency Distribution of Indicators of Entrepreneurial versus Educational Success Frames across National Origins in the U.S. (CILS) (%)

	"ENTREPRENEURIAL" SUCCESS FRAME			"EDUCATIONAL" SUCCESS FRAME	
National Origins	Take job over staying in school	Aspires to be self-employed or entrepreneur	At least one parent is self-employed	Success in life depends on getting a good education	Aspires for occupation req. at least BA
China	**21.7**	**9.8**	**31.0**	**58.2**	**5.6**
Philippines	5.6	0.7	0.0	62.2	30.4
Colombia	12.7	0.0	4.6	67.3	36.4
Dominican Republic	18.4	2.0	0.0	67.4	28.6
South or Other Asia	22.9	1.8	5.7	60.9	17.4
Morocco	16.5	1.1	18.7	72.9	25.0
Romania	11.4	1.0	3.0	74.2	19.7
Albania	15.0	0.0	2.1	72.7	21.9
Macedonia	22.3	4.3	4.1	67.0	13.5
Europe, U.S., Canada	14.5	1.0	7.1	68.5	19.5
Africa and Middle East	14.8	0.6	3.6	74.7	25.0
Asia	14.4	2.2	5.6	82.2	24.4
South or Central America	14.5	0.9	4.6	70.4	23.7
Native Italian	13.7	1.5	8.3	79.9	20.7
Sample Average	*14.6*	*1.7*	*8.2*	*75.3*	*20.6*

Table 3a. Logistic regression of having university expectations by "educational" versus "entrepreneurial" success frames in Spain (ILSEG)

	OUTCOME: HAS UNIVERSITY EXPECTATIONS								
	M1: National Origins			M2: Control Variables[a]			M3: Full Model		
	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]
National Origins (ref: China)									
Philippines	.490	.324	--	-.129	.340	--	-.444	.352	--
Colombia	.727**	.257	2.068	.755**	.272	2.128	.420	.285	--
Dominican Republic	.184	.289	--	.179	.305	--	-.216	.318	--
South or Other Asia	.941**	.304	2.564	.866**	.319	2.378	.398	.329	--
Morocco	.586*	.260	1.796	.585*	.273	1.796	.107	.286	--
Romania	.070	.293	--	-.166	.310	--	-.518	.321	--
Ecuador	.173	.242	--	.173	.255	--	-.146	.267	--
Peru	.604*	.266	1.830	.290	.281	--	-.130	.294	--
Bolivia	.918***	.274	2.504	.859**	.290	2.360	.530	.302	--
South or Central America	.942***	.251	2.566	.712**	.263	2.037	.421	.275	--
Africa and Middle East	.763**	.301	2.145	.696*	.319	2.005	.220	.332	--
Europe and North America	.884***	.257	2.420	.452	.271	--	.121	.283	--
"Entrepreneurial" Success Frame									
Take job rather than stay in school							-.255*	.133	.775
Aspires to be self-employed							-1.023***	.290	.359
Has at least one self-employed parent							-.114	.172	--
"Educational" Success Frame									
Thinks that it is very important to get good grades							.674***	.081	1.962
Aspires for occupation that requires at least a B.A. degree							.626***	.078	1.869
"Control" variables included in the model?	No			Yes			Yes		
Constant	-1.737			6.001			4.254		
Nagelkerke R2	.029			.144			.196		
-2 Log Likelihood Chi-Sq	-2398.323			-2214.75			-2151.243		
N	4524								

Table 3b. Logistic regression of having university expectations by “educational” versus “entrepreneurial” success frames among Chinese respondents only in Spain (ILSEG)

OUTCOME: HAS UNIVERSITY EXPECTATIONS			
	Full Model		
Predictors	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[a]
"Entrepreneurial" Success Frame			
Take job rather than stay in school	-.669	.815	--
Aspires to be self-employed	-.794	1.135	--
Has at least one self-employed parent	-2.440*	1.000	.087
"Educational" Success Frame			
Thinks it is very important to get good grades	3.272***	0.897	26.371
Aspires for occupation that requires at least a B.A. degree	.572	0.827	--
"Control" variables included in the model?	Yes		
Constant	3.235		
Nagelkerke R2	.517		
-2 Log Likelihood Chi-Sq	-35.685		
N	269		

Table 4a. Logistic regression of having university expectations by "educational" versus "entrepreneurial" success frames in Italy (ITAGEN)

	OUTCOME: HAS UNIVERSITY EXPECTATIONS								
	M1: National Origins			M2: Control Variables[a]			M3: Full Model		
	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]
National Origins (ref: China)									
Philippines	1.076***	.160	2.932	.500**	.173	1.650	.340	.178	--
Colombia	.745**	.305	2.107	.280	.327	--	.061	.335	--
Dominican Republic	.922**	.313	2.515	.654*	.334	1.924	.508	.340	--
South Asia	-.064	.151	--	-.103	.161	--	-.171	.170	--
Morocco	.478***	.134	1.614	.334*	.146	1.397	.134	.150	--
Romania	.951***	.131	2.589	.695***	.141	2.004	.553***	.145	1.739
Albania	.870***	.119	2.387	.450***	.129	1.568	.357**	.134	1.429
Macedonia	-.069	.186	--	-.188	.195	--	-.218	.200	--
Europe and North America	1.033***	.117	2.809	.549	.126	--	.493	.130	--
Africa and Middle East	.983***	.124	2.674	.565***	.136	1.759	.438**	.141	1.549
Other Asia	1.197***	.235	3.312	.580*	.252	1.786	.466	.255	--
South and Central America	1.094***	.124	2.987	.745***	.136	2.107	.653***	.140	1.921
Native Italians	1.422***	.103	4.145	.753***	.160	2.124	.719***	.164	2.052
"Entrepreneurial" Success Frame									
Take job rather than stay in school							-.695***	.057	0.499
Aspires to be self-employed							-.281*	.145	0.755
Has at least one self-employed parent							.206**	.067	1.230
"Educational" Success Frame									
Thinks success in life depends on getting a good education							.322***	.043	1.38
Aspires for occupation that requires at least a B.A. degree							.800***	.044	2.225
"Control" variables included in the model?	No			Yes			Yes		
Constant	-1.466			2.064			1.241		
Nagelkerke R2	.040			.248			.288		
-2 Log Likelihood Chi-Sq	-10759.501			-9771.801			-9445.572		
N	16293								

Table 4b. Logistic regression of having university expectations by “educational” versus “entrepreneurial” success frames among Chinese respondents only in Italy (ITAGEN)

OUTCOME: HAS UNIVERSITY EXPECTATIONS			
	Full Model		
Predictors	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[a]
"Entrepreneurial" Success Frame			
Take job rather than stay in school	-.269	.306	--
Aspires to be self-employed	-.939*	.476	.391
Has at least one self-employed parent	-.116	.256	--
"Educational" Success Frame			
Thinks success in life depends on getting a good education	1.046***	.259	2.845
Aspires for occupation that requires at least a B.A. degree	0.685	.417	--
"Control" variables included in the model?	Yes		
Constant	-.079		
Nagelkerke R2	.348		
-2 Log Likelihood Chi-Sq	-260.497		
N	646		

Table 5. Logistic regression of having university expectations by "educational" versus "entrepreneurial" success frames in the U.S. (CILS)

	OUTCOME: HAS UNIVERSITY EXPECTATIONS								
	M1: National Origins			M2: Control Variables[a]			M3: Full Model		
	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]
National Origins (ref: China)									
Philippines	-.525	.412	--	-.704	.428	--	-.557	.432	--
Colombia	-.356	.445	--	-.377	.477	--	-.220	.484	--
Dominican Republic	-1.242**	.459	.289	-1.205**	.492	.300	-1.070*	.498	.343
Vietnam	-.756	.424	--	-.401	.442	--	-.273	.446	--
Cuba	-.338	.409	--	-.437	.444	--	-.308	.450	--
Mexico	-1.518***	.408	.219	-1.150**	.424	.317	-.983*	.428	.374
Other Asia	-1.439***	.416	.237	-1.124**	.434	.325	-1.001*	.438	.367
Other South and Central America	-.581	.413	--	-.577	.443	--	-.469	.449	--
West Indies	-.323	.423	--	-.198	.458	--	-.087	.463	--
Other Countries	.179	.510	--	.022	.541	--	.158	.549	--
"Entrepreneurial" Success Frame									
Take job rather than stay in school							-.711***	.187	.491
Aspires to be self-employed							-.612	.339	--
Has at least one self-employed parent							.226	.142	--
"Educational" Success Frame									
Thinks it is very important to get good grades							-.188	.486	--
Aspires for occupation that requires at least a B.A. degree							.812***	.079	2.252
"Control" variables included in the model?	No			Yes			Yes		
Constant	2.115			6.222			5.668		
Nagelkerke R2	.059			.136			.173		
-2 Log Likelihood Chi-Sq	-2335.543			-2210.941			-2147.2662		
N	4844								

Table 6a. Logistic regression of having attained a bachelor's degree or higher by occupational indicators in the U.S. (ISGMNY)

	OUTCOME: HAS ATTAINED BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER								
	M1: National Origins			M2: Control Variables[a]			M3: Full Model		
	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[b]
National Origins (ref: Chinese)									
Puerto Rico	-1.857***	.203	.156	-2.318***	.246	.098	-2.166***	.257	.115
Dominican Republic	-1.544***	.185	.213	-1.830***	.216	.160	-1.706***	.227	.182
West Indies	-1.272***	.181	.280	-1.978***	.278	.139	-1.868***	.289	.154
Colombia, Ecuador, Peru	-1.286***	.178	.276	-1.870***	.210	.154	-1.711***	.219	.181
Russia	-0.483**	.173	.617	-2.273***	.458	.103	-1.957***	.476	.141
Native Blacks	-1.402***	.179	.246	-2.401***	.288	.091	-2.114***	.299	.121
Native Whites	0.457**	.146	1.579	-.755**	.262	.470	-.589*	.274	.555
Occupational indicators									
Respondent is currently self-employed							-.293	.197	.746
At least one parent is self-employed or has family business							.037	.121	1.037
Respondent is a professional							1.534***	.133	4.636
"Control" variables included in the model?	No			Yes			Yes		
Constant	-.230			-6.593			-6.517		
Nagelkerke R2	.167			.374			.431		
-2 Log Likelihood Chi-Sq	-1349.900			-1122.978			-1052.831		
N	2579.000								

Table 6b. Logistic regression of having attained a bachelor's degree or higher by occupational indicators among Chinese respondents only in the U.S. (ISGMNY)

OUTCOME: HAS ATTAINED BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER			
	Full Model		
Predictors	Coeff.	S.D.	OR[a]
Occupational indicators			
Respondent is currently self-employed	-1.481**	.602	.227
At least one parent is self-employed or has family business	-.005	.277	--
Respondent is a professional	1.087***	.302	2.966
"Control" variables included in the model?	Yes		
Constant	-9.613		
Nagelkerke R2	.484		
-2 Log Likelihood Chi-Sq	-190.14537		
N	607		

Table A. Descriptive Statistics of ILSEG Analytical Sample by Socio-demographic and Economic Characteristics (i.e. "Control" Variables)

	Ethno-national origin group													
	China	Philippines	Colombia	Dominican Republic	South & Other Asia	Morocco	Romania	Ecuador	Peru	Bolivia	South & Central America	Africa & Middle East	Europe & North America	**Sample Average**
% by ethno-national origin group	4.2	2.6	8.5	5.5	3.8	9.3	5.2	28.3	6.7	4.8	10.7	2.9	7.7	100.0
Ns by ethno-national origin group	269	165	543	348	240	593	329	1,803	429	309	682	182	488	6,380
Socio-demographic & Economic Characteristics														
Nativity and age at arrival														
Born in Spain	16.7	42.1	0.6	6.9	13.4	28.1	1.5	0.5	8.9	0.3	6.5	26.9	20.9	9.2
Foreign-born and arrived before age 6	2.6	5.5	19.2	6.9	9.2	22.7	7.0	12.4	8.2	7.4	12.3	14.3	16.4	12.5
Foreign-born and arrived between ages 6 and 10	42.8	25.6	49.6	41.6	48.5	30.7	45.1	64.2	44.2	43.7	44.2	35.2	38.2	47.9
Foreign-born and arrived after age 10	37.9	26.8	30.6	44.5	28.9	18.5	46.3	22.9	38.8	48.5	37.0	23.6	24.4	30.5
Male	53.9	46.7	54.3	42.5	60.0	50.1	45.0	54.1	49.7	40.5	52.9	51.1	49.4	51.1
Mean age in years (S.D.)	14.0	13.5	13.9	14.1	13.5	13.8	14.1	14.0	13.8	13.8	13.8	14.2	14.0	13.9
	(1.2)	(1.3)	(1.2)	(1.3)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.1)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.4)	(1.2)	(1.2)
Basic Secondary Education (ESO) Academic Year														
Year 1	23.6	24.7	19.4	20.6	38.1	28.8	16.1	20.3	19.7	22.4	23.2	23.4	13.4	21.7
Year 2	44.9	41.4	49.6	41.5	35.6	40.8	47.8	46.3	40.8	45.7	41.2	45.7	45.4	44.2
Year 3	31.6	34.0	31.0	37.9	26.4	30.5	36.1	33.4	39.6	31.9	35.6	30.9	41.2	34.1
Lives with both parents	92.6	85.2	49.1	48.5	85.0	86.8	81.3	66.6	68.0	58.1	61.6	65.3	69.8	68.4
Mother's highest level of schooling														
Secondary school incomplete or less	53.4	14.6	29.5	37.8	47.0	57.3	10.0	29.3	20.5	30.6	23.7	31.7	14.7	29.6
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	36.1	26.0	36.6	30.3	25.8	27.7	40.9	34.8	33.2	31.1	30.5	32.5	20.0	32.0
Post-secondary schooling completed	10.5	59.4	34.0	31.9	27.3	15.0	49.1	35.9	46.3	38.4	45.8	35.8	65.3	38.4
Father's highest level of schooling														
Secondary school incomplete or less	50.8	24.2	35.0	37.8	43.8	57.2	15.8	36.3	20.4	34.0	25.4	28.6	19.5	33.3
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	35.6	26.4	31.6	28.3	28.1	22.3	32.7	32.1	34.8	31.6	29.6	25.9	24.6	30.1
Post-secondary schooling completed	13.6	49.5	33.4	33.9	28.1	20.5	51.5	31.6	44.7	34.5	45.0	45.5	56.0	36.6
Number of siblings														
None	12.7	7.3	14.6	6.1	3.3	3.4	29.7	9.1	12.2	11.3	12.7	5.7	23.5	11.5
One	39.8	31.3	24.9	14.8	17.9	9.2	42.0	25.7	27.3	22.9	30.6	20.0	40.5	26.2
Two	26.6	32.7	30.9	27.0	17.5	20.8	12.2	28.6	29.4	21.8	28.5	26.9	15.0	25.4
Three or more	20.9	28.7	29.6	52.1	61.3	66.7	16.1	36.7	31.0	44.0	28.3	47.4	21.0	36.9
Attends private school	63.9	31.5	42.4	55.8	76.3	57.3	20.1	45.3	50.6	57.9	55.7	37.9	39.1	48.4
City of residence														
Madrid	33.5	24.9	58.4	47.4	7.9	40.1	84.8	55.7	49.4	40.1	39.2	61.5	58.4	49.4
Barcelona	66.5	75.2	41.6	52.6	92.1	59.9	15.2	44.3	50.6	59.9	60.9	38.5	41.6	50.6
Non-Spanish language spoken at home	14.5	16.4	33.2	23.3	12.1	21.3	39.2	26.6	33.8	33.3	25.2	15.9	36.3	26.9

[a] Cell values are % unless otherwise stated

Table B. Descriptive Statistics of ITAGEN Analytical Sample by Socio-demographic and Economic Characteristics (i.e. "Control" Variables)

	Ethno-national origin group														
	China	Philippines	Colombia	Dominican Republic	South Asia	Morocco	Romania	Albania	Macedonia	Europe & North America	Africa & Middle East	Other Asia	South & Central America	Native Italian	**Sample Average**
% by ethno-national origin group	4.0	1.7	0.3	0.3	3.3	3.9	3.7	6.8	1.7	7.3	4.9	0.6	4.8	56.7	100.0
Ns by ethno-national origin group	646	270	55	49	545	641	604	1106	282	1192	799	90	780	9236	16295
Socio-demographic & Economic Characteristics															
Nativity and age at arrival															
Born in Italy	19.4	58.9	18.2	28.6	9.7	31.2	4.6	9.4	18.8	33.1	52.2	38.9	18.2	100.0	65.3
Foreign-born and arrived before age 6	12.1	5.6	34.6	12.2	26.8	33.4	16.1	45.1	44.3	21.2	18.0	23.3	24.5	0.0	12.0
Foreign-born and arrived between ages 6 and 10	30.3	21.5	36.4	28.6	33.4	21.2	42.6	32.4	25.5	23.7	15.9	17.8	36.1	0.0	13.0
Foreign-born and arrived after age 10	38.2	14.1	10.9	30.6	30.1	14.2	36.8	13.1	11.4	22.0	13.9	20.0	21.2	0.0	9.8
Male	51.4	48.2	54.6	53.1	62.6	51.6	56.3	54.4	58.2	52.1	52.7	36.7	53.1	50.9	52.1
Mean age in years (S.D.)	13.2	12.5	12.3	12.4	12.7	12.6	13.0	12.5	12.7	12.5	12.4	12.4	12.4	12.1	12.3
	(1.5)	(1.2)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.2)	(1.3)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.2)	(1.1)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.1)	(0.9)	(1.1)
Lower Secondary School - Academic Year															
Year 1	35.8	34.8	38.2	36.7	31.4	35.9	31.8	32.3	34.8	34.6	32.3	36.7	35.8	31.9	32.8
Year 2	32.4	35.6	36.4	28.6	36.0	35.9	33.8	35.9	33.7	33.1	36.6	30.0	33.3	34.0	34.2
Year 3	31.9	29.6	25.5	34.7	32.7	28.2	34.4	31.8	31.6	32.4	31.2	33.3	30.9	34.1	33.0
Lives with both parents	95.8	91.1	72.7	59.2	98.0	91.6	84.3	96.1	98.2	85.0	93.0	95.6	76.8	94.9	92.7
Mother's highest level of schooling															
Secondary school incomplete or less	62.5	12.4	24.4	22.6	44.5	63.5	12.4	32.1	67.1	23.7	41.6	22.4	22.7	39.5	37.9
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	28.6	44.1	34.2	45.2	35.6	20.3	61.0	46.0	26.2	48.9	31.2	53.7	41.8	36.5	38.0
Post-secondary schooling completed	8.9	43.5	41.5	32.3	19.9	16.3	26.6	22.0	6.7	27.5	27.3	23.9	35.5	24.1	24.1
Father's highest level of schooling															
Secondary school incomplete or less	57.3	20.3	31.4	16.7	39.7	59.2	15.2	34.4	48.0	30.2	34.9	26.2	23.5	40.5	38.6
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	30.6	38.6	34.3	41.7	30.6	22.2	57.5	43.1	42.5	42.1	29.0	42.6	39.0	35.6	36.5
Post-secondary schooling completed	12.1	41.2	34.3	41.7	29.7	18.6	27.4	22.5	9.5	27.8	36.1	31.2	37.5	23.9	25.0
Number of siblings															
None	10.8	20.0	20.0	8.2	2.9	2.7	31.0	5.9	1.8	19.8	6.9	13.3	14.5	14.1	13.2
One	52.2	41.9	40.0	24.5	31.9	17.6	44.7	55.6	39.0	46.6	24.2	48.9	34.2	53.7	47.8
Two	27.7	24.1	20.0	32.7	30.3	26.8	13.6	26.9	35.8	18.1	31.0	26.7	27.3	21.9	23.4
Three or more	9.3	14.1	20.0	34.7	34.9	52.9	10.8	11.7	23.4	15.5	37.9	11.1	24.0	10.3	15.7
Region of residence															
Northern	37.8	63.3	76.4	69.4	81.5	61.9	51.7	45.9	42.9	57.7	59.8	63.3	76.0	49.5	53.2
Central	34.7	27.8	16.4	26.5	13.2	19.0	44.2	23.7	47.9	25.7	15.9	17.8	19.1	25.8	25.5
Southern	27.6	8.9	7.3	4.1	5.3	19.0	4.1	30.4	9.2	16.6	24.3	18.9	4.9	24.7	21.3
Non-Italian language spoken at home	95.4	98.9	96.4	95.9	99.3	98.3	97.0	97.5	96.8	94.0	94.9	100.0	98.6	1.5	42.8

[a] Cell values are % unless otherwise stated

Table C. Descriptive Statistics of CILS Analytical Sample by Socio-demographic and Economic Characteristics (i.e. "Control" Variables)

	Ethno-national origin group											Sample Average
	China	Philippines	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Vietnam	Cuba	Mexico	Other Asia	South & Central America	West Indies	Other countries	
% by ethno-national origin group	1.4	15.6	4.3	2.0	7.0	23.3	14.4	7.7	13.5	8.6	2.4	100.0
Ns by ethno-national origin group	72	819	227	105	370	1226	755	403	709	450	126	5262
Socio-demographic & Economic Characteristics												
Nativity and age at arrival												
Born in the U.S.	50.0	54.8	53.7	66.7	15.7	70.9	60.4	16.6	27.1	48.3	73.8	50.0
Foreign-born and arrived before age 6	12.5	18.9	22.0	20.0	42.7	21.6	16.7	45.9	30.5	24.7	8.7	24.9
Foreign-born and arrived between ages 6 and 10	26.4	16.2	24.2	12.4	25.4	7.4	14.0	27.3	40.3	25.4	17.5	19.8
Foreign-born and arrived after age 10	11.1	10.0	0.0	1.0	16.2	0.0	8.9	10.2	2.1	1.6	0.0	5.3
Male	54.2	49.7	48.0	40.0	51.9	52.6	51.5	47.2	47.5	36.0	50.0	48.9
Mean age in years (S.D.)	14.2	14.1	14.2	14.3	14.3	14.1	14.2	14.4	14.4	14.3	14.2	14.2
	(0.7)	(0.8)	(0.8)	(0.9)	(1.0)	(0.8)	(0.9)	(0.9)	(0.9)	(0.9)	(0.8)	(0.9)
Grade level												
8th grade	54.2	45.8	58.6	52.4	48.9	57.4	62.3	51.4	50.8	56.4	44.4	53.9
9th grade	45.8	54.2	41.4	47.6	51.1	42.6	37.8	48.6	49.2	43.6	55.6	46.1
Lives with both parents	76.4	79.4	58.6	45.7	73.5	58.8	59.5	73.2	61.4	44.0	65.9	63.5
Mother's highest level of schooling												
Secondary school incomplete or less	35.4	20.7	30.3	47.4	68.1	28.8	72.6	66.1	29.3	35.3	19.2	39.7
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	35.4	41.0	50.2	32.6	23.1	50.2	22.9	26.0	45.3	43.1	49.2	39.6
Post-secondary schooling completed	29.2	38.4	19.4	20.0	8.8	21.1	4.4	8.0	25.4	21.6	31.7	20.7
Father's highest level of schooling												
Secondary school incomplete or less	35.4	15.2	34.1	46.3	59.7	38.4	65.1	54.6	28.4	47.5	26.7	40.1
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	27.7	55.0	41.2	31.6	24.7	35.9	28.0	28.0	37.1	34.9	33.3	36.6
Post-secondary schooling completed	36.9	29.8	24.6	22.1	15.6	25.7	7.0	17.4	34.5	17.7	40.0	23.4
Number of siblings												
None	23.6	11.1	23.8	18.1	11.9	24.2	14.0	14.1	15.0	15.6	17.5	16.8
One	40.3	32.4	37.0	29.5	19.2	45.2	21.2	19.1	39.1	27.3	43.7	32.8
Two	20.8	35.8	27.8	38.1	20.5	23.8	26.5	23.8	27.2	27.6	23.8	27.0
Three or more	15.3	20.8	11.5	14.3	48.4	6.8	38.3	42.9	18.8	29.6	15.1	23.4
City of residence												
Miami/Fort Lauderdale	31.9	1.3	98.2	95.2	2.2	99.8	3.7	6.0	91.8	95.6	95.2	54.0
San Diego	68.1	98.7	1.8	4.8	97.8	0.2	96.3	94.0	8.2	4.4	4.8	46.0
Non-English language spoken at home	9.7	17.5	1.3	2.9	1.4	0.8	2.4	6.7	2.0	32.9	32.5	8.0

[a] Cell values are % unless otherwise stated

Table D. Descriptive Statistics of ISGMNY Analytical Sample by Socio-demographic and Economic Characteristics (i.e. "Control" Variables)

	Ethno-national origin group								Sample Average
	China	Puerto Rico	Dominican Republic	West Indies	Colombia, Ecuador, Peru	Russia	Native Blacks	Native Whites	
% by ethno-national origin group	17.8	12.7	12.5	11.9	11.8	9.1	12.3	12.0	100.0
Ns by ethno-national origin group	607	433	428	407	402	309	421	408	3415
Socio-demographic & Economic Characteristics									
Nativity and age at arrival									
Born in the U.S.	42.2	100.0	62.5	54.6	58.6	12.3	100.0	100.0	66.9
Foreign-born and arrived before age 6	20.1	0.0	14.5	14.8	18.5	13.0	0.0	0.0	10.5
Foreign-born and arrived between ages 7 and 12	37.6	0.0	23.0	30.6	22.9	47.7	0.0	0.0	20.2
Foreign-born and arrived after age 12	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Male	54.4	40.2	41.1	47.7	50.8	51.8	39.4	43.9	46.4
Mean age in years (S.D.)	22.5	24.1	23.7	23.4	24.0	22.4	25.5	25.7	23.9
	(3.9)	(4.4)	(3.9)	(4.2)	(3.9)	(3.9)	(4.4)	(4.1)	(4.2)
Attended private high school	17.8	27.5	33.4	29.5	34.1	1.9	24.7	47.8	27.3
Lives with both parents	87.8	54.3	59.6	52.7	68.8	82.2	42.5	72.7	65.7
Mother's highest level of schooling									
Secondary school incomplete or less	36.2	27.0	39.7	19.9	25.1	6.8	13.1	3.4	22.8
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	49.3	63.7	54.0	58.0	62.7	30.4	67.9	56.4	55.8
Post-secondary schooling completed	14.5	9.2	6.3	22.1	12.2	62.8	19.0	40.2	21.4
Father's highest level of schooling									
Secondary school incomplete or less	39.4	36.7	47.9	41.3	32.1	15.5	39.7	13.7	34.3
Secondary school completed and/or some post-secondary schooling	42.2	55.9	41.6	43.3	53.0	33.0	47.7	41.9	45.1
Post-secondary schooling completed	18.5	7.4	10.5	15.5	14.9	51.5	12.6	44.4	20.6
Number of siblings									
None	15.5	12.5	6.6	11.7	10.3	31.8	15.7	10.8	13.9
One	39.7	25.7	24.2	26.6	36.5	53.6	23.6	46.1	34.1
Two	30.2	29.6	31.2	25.9	25.3	9.1	22.1	23.5	25.5
Three or more	14.7	32.2	38.0	35.8	28.0	5.5	38.6	19.6	26.6
Non-English language spoken at home	3.0	18.5	1.9	84.0	2.0	3.2	86.0	88.2	34.8

[a] Cell values are % unless otherwise stated

Table E. Frequency distribution of self-employment status of second-generation immigrants by national origins in the ISGMNY study

National Origin	Respondent has ever been self-employed
China	**6.1**
Puerto Rico	9.0
Dominican Republic	11.4
West Indies	10.2
Colombia, Ecuador, Peru	10.4
Russia	15.0
Native Blacks	12.8
Native Whites	10.1
Sample Average	*10.3*