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Atrévete a Soñar: An Examination of How Citizenship Status Influences Immigrant's Educational Expectations

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ABSTRACT

The research reported here examines if one's immigration status has an impact on what highest educational degree a student expects to receive. This study uses data from the Children of Longitudinal Study (CILS) with 1,443 respondents attending eighth and ninth grade in public and private schools at Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and San Diego, California. Respondents' parents also participated in this study, in which they were asked about their highest completed educational degree and educational expectations for their child. I hypothesize that students who have a U.S. citizenship status will be more likely to expect higher educational attainment than students with non-U.S. citizenship status. Findings reveal that there is no statistically significant relationship between one's citizenship status and a student's educational expectations. Results also indicate that parent's educational attainment and expectations for their child have a stronger impact on a student's educational expectation than a student's own immigration status.

According to the Migration Policy Institute, there are more than 44.7 million immigrants living in the United States as of 2018 (Batalova, Blizzard, and Bolter 2020). Some of these individuals arrived at a young age, making them eligible for a program known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). This program provided work authorization and temporary relief from deportation upon arrival in the United States for undocumented immigrants. DACA residents and other undocumented individuals decided to enter the United States expecting to improve their lives, especially to increase their economic status (Alulema 2019). However, such policies were created by government officials in order to keep control of migrant families who borders into the country if they intend to work, study, or stay.

As policies became strict and aggressive, it further harmed immigrant families. However, because of immigrant parent's culture and traditions, some chose to remain silent about the impact these policies have against them (Brabeck, Lykes, and Hershberg 2011). Instead, most parents fostered their child's opinion, skills, and decisions by enrolling them in certain vocational programs or schools. They view education as one of the main fundamental foundations to achieve upward mobility. Immigrant families battle language barriers, discrimination, and lack of resources. Therefore, they push their child to achieve a higher level of education in order to have better access to jobs and opportunities. Immigrant families expect their child to go beyond society's expectations and uphold a high socioeconomic status. However, such high expectations can impact immigrant student's experiences in schools.

Through assimilation, some families believe they'll be better equipped to succeed in society (Lee 2009). The government created a path for individuals to obtain a U.S. citizenship status through naturalization or maintaining dual citizenship. According to the Pew Research Center, there are 29 million legal immigrants, which consists of 14.9 million naturalized citizens,

12.4 million permanent residents and 1.7 million legal temporary migrants (Passel and Cohn 2010). On the contrary, most of these families have been forced to adapt and assimilate because Americans refused to accept their foreign culture (Gonzales 2011). Though this process of assimilation was an option, there were still limitations for those who attempted.

Many undocumented immigrants face discrimination, threats, and attacks daily because of their citizenship status alone. However, most of these individuals experience negative treatments because of their race and socioeconomic as well. It results in negatively effects their attitudes about achieving upward mobility. Immigrant students are left in distress and worry because they have been restricted from certain places, limited from ideas, and denied relationships, impacting their social and human capital (Brabeck et al. 2011; Benner, Alaina, and Sydney 2016). With that in mind, I examine how a student's citizenship status can impact what they would expect for their own educational attainment. I hypothesize that students who have a U.S. citizenship status will be more likely to expect higher educational attainment than students with non-U.S. citizenship status.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Classical and Segmented Assimilation Theory

Assimilation is a process by which members of immigrant groups are expected to integrate into American culture. It's assumed that this process would allow immigrants to socially and economically advance in the United States. In order for them to "become an American", they have to adopt a new set of skills and language centered around the dominant American culture. Assimilation involves a process known as acculturation, which consists of adopting American values, norms, and beliefs. This process advances different rates for both first

and second generations of immigrants (Lee 2009). Classical Assimilation theory suggests that as immigrants follow a "straight-line" convergence that aims to follow similar values, beliefs, and behaviors as the dominant group, they'll have better opportunities and skills to succeed in society (Lee 2009). However, the theory lacks acknowledgement of different immigrant groups that are not given the same opportunities to follow the same "straight-line" pathway.

Scholars decided to review and critique traditional assimilation theories and re-defined it with other assimilation models. Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993) proposed a new theory known as Segmented Assimilation theory, which suggested how different immigrant groups assimilate into different segments of society. Depending on one's demographic characteristics and social factors that immigrant individuals hold and experience, those circumstances can lead to a negative or positive impact on their future (Baolian-Qin-Hilliard 2002). Undocumented families can be placed in disadvantaged segments in society and experience poverty, a lack of opportunities and resources, prejudices and racial discrimination from dominant groups, and gang activity (Lee 2002; Baolian-Qin-Hilliard 2002). While considering one's race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and family resources (ex. social and financial), immigrant students tend to hold onto their parent's cultural values, in which can also put them at risk for downward mobility because of the intense expectation to assimilate into Americans cultural values (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Many immigrant families anticipated they'd be welcomed into society after assimilating and achieve upward mobility. However, this is not always the case. This theory recognizes how American society view undocumented immigrants and does not expect for every individual to successfully achieve upward mobility. U.S. American citizens began to stereotype undocumented individuals as aggressive and unintelligent because they believed immigrants

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lacked higher education, while other communities from different ethnic backgrounds (ex. native-born Latinx individuals) also felt intimidated by undocumented immigrants (Knoll 2012; Stringer 2018). This entry to a stigmatized identity from society as a whole allowed many undocumented individuals to question their role in society and made opportunities less accessible. As native-born Americans perceive immigrants as inferior and treated them as so, this social barrier may impact immigrant students' educational pathways and expectations for what they can achieve.

Although the assimilation process is supposed to allow immigrants to integrate into society, society has found ways to block, delay, or prevent individuals from being part of the American culture. Segmented Assimilation Theory suggests that the United States is an unequal society, therefore, has an impact on what different immigrant groups can experience in society. While immigrant groups experience this downward mobility assimilation, it can be the cause of negative expectations for themselves. On the contrary, for U.S. born citizens, they'll have higher expectations because they do not have to worry or struggle about assimilating into the American culture since they have the privilege of many benefits in society. Therefore, assimilation can play a role in what student's expect for their future. This theory will be used to analyze whether undocumented immigrants tend to have higher expectations or lower expectations than their White native peers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Based on certain views towards immigrant families and their education, many children faced backlash because of the negative attitudes held against them. Most students would experience such behavior in schools. Students would witness such mistreatment by their peers

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because of the attitudes built in this country about immigrant and immigration policies. The theme of identity contingences was a result of what society expected and perceived about undocumented immigrants. Foreign born or non-U.S. citizens grew up being pushed around and stereotyped into a label because of their immigration status. We can see this from different angles, including their race and economic status. Scholars also identified how the role of parents' education and expectation play a part in their child's upbringing in schools. Children of immigrants' go through a lot when it trying to live up to other's expectations, even their own. The higher the expectations other's place upon immigrant students may have a drastic effect because these students are aware of the limitations against them that do not allow them to succeed. It is important to consider how this may impact these individuals in order to support them any way possible. Their views about their future can change based on other expectations and attitudes.

Attitudes Towards Immigrants and Immigration Policies

A theory proposed by Herbert Blumer known as *group threat theory* mainly focuses on the relations between groups. Based on Blumer's theory, he explains that the larger the size of outgroups, (ex. immigrant families), the more threatened ingroups (ex. non-immigrant families) feel towards them. U.S. born citizens fear the loss of resources such as jobs, welfare, and housing because of the arrival of immigrants. U.S. born citizens have argued that non-U.S. citizens may have too much access to resources such as Medicaid, food stamps, and other financial benefits. Stereotypes were created against immigrant families. They would refer to undocumented immigrants as lazy, uneducated, violent criminals. Based on these stereotypes, other individuals began to believe in the same and mistreat immigrant parents and children.

Scholars also found that this theory has been used to defend stricter immigration policies (Hjerm 2007). Group threat theory allowed U.S. born citizens to believe that as more immigrants enter the United States, the more negative pressure they'll have to experience. With this in mind, U.S. born citizens wanted to push immigrants out of the United States by imposing negative attitude and views about immigrants. Scholars found that elites in political positions can influence public opinion towards immigrants and immigration policies (Flores 2018; Hood and Irwin 1997). This can be seen when Trump was elected for president. As Trump was determined to construct a border wall, it exposed anti-immigration views amongst government officials. According to the Pew Research Center, there were 851,508 apprehensions in 2019 by Customs and Border Protection (CBP), which included migrants seeking asylum and people traveling with their families. As for the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, they reported 267,258 removals and returns of undocumented immigrants, a 4 percent increase from 2018 (Batalova et al. 2020). Both data show how immigration enforcement has changed under Trump's presidency, in order to follow through his orders and views.

On the other hand, we can also examine attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies through another theory known as *contact hypothesis* or *intergroup contact theory*. This theory suggests a different outlook on the attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies. As proposed by sociologist, Gordon Allport, he theorized that conflict between groups can be reduced if individuals in these groups interact more often. For example, if there is a high level of contact between U.S. born individuals and immigrant groups, the more likely immigrant individuals will tend to feel more welcomed in a social environment (Troop et al. 2018). For example, this can refer to an academic setting.

Individuals who feel more accepted in their schools will show better academic performance. In an academic institution, these theories explain how student's citizenship status can influence attitudes of U.S. born citizens to be re-shaped and perceive immigrant students in a positive or negative way. As scholars examined how attitudes play a role in effecting undocumented students' experiences in school, this can impact their expectation of being able to successfully complete and continue to pursue their education.

Identity Contingences

As explained before, immigrant families imagined higher education as an opportunity for upward social mobility. However, many undocumented individuals have been restricted from these opportunities because of their social identity. Most of these individuals have been discriminated against and stereotyped because of their immigration, racial, and economic status (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Roth 2017; Gonzales 2011).

Scholars found that DACA has played a role in the choices undocumented students have in order to complete their college degree (Hsin & Ortega 2018). The government controls what protections individuals have under the DACA policy, which limiting the access to jobs and educational resources among undocumented students. Undocumented DACA students have been unable to complete their degrees because they would rather drop out of school and take advantage of their temporary work permit. This was a result of being forced to believe they cannot afford, be accommodated for, or be accepted in higher educational institutions (Hsin & Ortega 2018). Researchers found that from a young age, these individuals faced consequences because of their citizenship status. These students were not able to obtain a driver's license, have after-school jobs, register to vote, or apply to college (Gonzales 2011). Although this act was

enacted to help undocumented families receive education and a job, student's still face limitations in society that do not allow them to fully integrate.

These students are forced to believe they are incapable of having the same opportunities as their native peers. Due to the fact that there is a negative stigma attached to one's citizenship status, they are usually considered as the "other" (Losoncz and Marlowe 2020). This influences students' ability to complete their education overall because they became aware of this social stigma. Studies have shown that undocumented families have been questioned before about their citizenship status in educational institutions (Roth 2017). This invoked fear and mistrust among these families which impact their child's ability to ask for help and doubt the support provided in their schools in order to receive higher education (Brabeck et al. 2011; Gonzales et al. 2018).

Researchers found that the closer an individual is closer to an idealized U.S. born, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) position in society, the more likely one is able to be granted higher educational opportunities (Covarrubias & Lara 2014). By assimilating into this culture, undocumented families believe it will result in upward mobility. However, it reveals a negative message to those who can't acquire such a title. Individuals who are not a U.S. citizens underperformance in schools, loose self-confidence in their ability to achieve upward mobility for themselves.

While undocumented children become aware of the restrictions and limitations held against them, it influences their trust and comfort level. Marginalized communities who experience threat identity contingences will have low aspirations for their future and underperformance (Vaughns et al. 2008). These students will be less willing to disclose their status, therefore, they are placed at a disadvantage. Schools will not be able to provide the appropriate resources if they are unaware of their student's immigration status. However,

scholars found that even though some students disclose their status selectively, they still admit to facing the reality where they cannot afford college on their own (Roth 2017). Researchers have found that higher educational attainment by foreign-born individuals is highly correlated with better wages. However, the educational level has declined for Latino immigrants with 44% of foreign-born individuals only graduating with a high school degree (Shobe et al. 2009). While the understanding of having a higher educational degree is important for social mobility, these individuals believe they will have no access to higher education, therefore, they create having lower expectations for themselves.

Parental Educational Attainment and Expectations

One of the most influential factors that could impact student's educational expectations is the role of their parent's education attainment and expectations for their child. Researchers have found that Latinx immigrant parents move to the United States to help their child obtain a better education, enhance economic futures, surround them in a safer environment and to reconnect with their family (Perreira et al. 2006). Studies have shown that parents who are more involved in their child's education allows them to be more successful because they have more cultural and social capital (Benner et al. 2016). However, immigrant parents born outside of the United States are not as exposed to social or cultural capital, therefore, hindering their child's educational expectations and success.

Cultural reproduction theory suggests that advantaged students can benefit from their parent's involvement, since their parents have profited from higher educational levels and socioeconomic status in their home country. Due to the fact that Latinx immigrant parents do not have the same opportunities as native-born parents, they are unable to help advise their child

about educational matters. Consequently, immigrant parents are unable to help navigate their

child through the U.S. educational process or provide the appropriate support for them (Perreira

et al. 2006; Gonzalez et al. 2015). However, these parents continue to hold the highest

expectations for their child despite the lack of knowledge on the educational system. Glick and

White (2004) found that immigrant youth's parents have higher expectations than third

generation students who were born in the United States. With such high expectations and

academic involvement coming from immigrant parent's, these immigrant children are more

likely to complete a post-secondary education and continue to higher education (Glick and White

2004; Lara and Nava 2018).

Scholars found that minority immigrant parents tend to hold higher expectations because

they are generally optimistic despite the fact that they face challenges of their own (Raleigh and

Kao 2010). This optimism is explained by the strong connection parents have to their home

country's culture, in which they emphasize "pro-school" values to their child. However, scholars

found that student's parents who had lower educational attainment assumed their parents did not

consider the importance of obtaining a higher degree. Consequently, students would

underperform and have lower expectations of their academic futures. However, Feliciano and

Lanuza (2017) found that when controlling for race and family income, marginalized student's

immigrant parents complete more years of schooling than White children with native-born

parents. This can be explained by contextual attainment (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). Scholars

argue that it is important to consider parents' native countries' standards for education. Some

countries that parents originate from have a different schooling system, which can suggest that

their highest educational level could be high school or more. With this in mind, considering for

parent's contextual attainment helps explain why most children of immigrants have higher

educational attainment than White peers with native-born parents. This captures the importance of parent's involvement in their child's education as it may influence their expectations to do better or worse in schools.

THE CURRENT STUDY

Although society has certain views about immigrants, it is important to consider how this influences these individuals in academic settings. Many immigrant students have faced threats and discrimination because of their immigration status, but many have faced even worse experiences because of their race and economic status. Considering their parents involvement, parental engagement may impact their child's perception of success. With all this in mind, how can immigration status can play a role in a student's educational expectations? Students who experience such negative treatment and attitudes about themselves with expectations from others might impact what they expect for themselves. However, students who are U.S. born citizens may not have to worry about the same struggles non-U.S. born citizens go through. Keeping that in mind, how does one's citizenship status influence their educational expectations? Using the Children of Immigrant's Longitudinal study (CILS), I was able to conduct this study.

METHODS

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) database explores the adaption process of second-generation immigrants, and was conducted in 1992, 1995, and 2006 (Portes and Rumbaut 1992). The first study focused on students in junior high school, in which they were asked about their own demographic characteristics, language use, self-identities, and academic attainment. The second study focused on the same respondents as they were about to

graduate from high school, in which they examined respondent's language knowledge and preferences, ethnic identity, self-esteem, and academic attainment over the adolescent years. A follow-up survey was conducted which focused on parents and was administered in six different languages. They were asked about their outlooks on the future, including expectations and aspirations for their children. The third survey was conducted when respondents were, on average, 24 years old.

Overall, respondents were U.S. born children with at least one foreign-born parent or were born abroad but was brought to the United States at a young age. The sample consisted of children of immigrants who attended 8th and 9th grade, located in Miami/ Ft. Lauderdale, Florida and San Diego, California. Respondents consisted of 7 different nationalities, including Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and West Indians in South Florida: and Mexicans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians in California. The initial sample size of 5,262, in which was evenly divided by sex, year in school, and birth status. After removing missing cases, it resulted in a total of 1,443 valid cases (N=1,443). These missing cases were from respondents who may have not felt comfortable identifying their immigration and income status or their highest educational attainment level. The unit of analysis in the CILS database are students who are second-generation immigrants. For further information on how the data were collected, visit the Children of Longitudinal Study (CILS) dataset website, which is available online at https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/DSDR/studies/20520/summary.

Independent and Dependent Variables

For this study the independent variable is respondent's citizenship status. Respondents were asked "What is your citizenship status?", in which the values are 1= U.S. Citizen by Birth,

2= U.S. Citizen by Naturalization, 3= Not a U.S. Citizen, or 4= Dual Citizen or Nationality. It was recoded into two values where 0= Foreign-Born or Not a U.S. Citizen and 1= U.S. Born Citizen.

This study will analyze one dependent variable: respondent's educational expectations. Respondents were asked, "And realistically speaking, what is the highest level of education that you think you will get?" The values were 1= Less than high school, 2= Finish high school, 3= Finish some college, 4= Finish college, and 5= Finish a graduate degree.

Control Variables

The control variables for this study are parent's educational attainment, educational expectations for their child, the respondent's race, and family income. This study intends to focus on individuals who identify as Latinx or Hispanic. In order to consider what could possibly impact a student's expectations, we should consider their income and own education and expectation that can influence their child's choices and outlooks.

In order to measure how immigrant parents may influence their child's education expectations, I controlled for parent's educational attainment and their own educational expectations for their child. For parent's educational attainment, parents were asked "What is the highest level of education that you completed?" The values were 0=No schooling, 1=Eighth Grade or Less, 2=Beyond Eighth Grade but not HS Graduate, 3=High school Graduate, 4=Less than One year Voc./Trade/Business School, 5=One to Two Years Voc./Trade/Business School, 6=Two Years Plus Voc./Trade/Business School, 7=Less than Two Years of College, 8= Two or More Years of College, 9=Finished Four- or Five-Year College Program, 10=Master's Degree or Equivalent, and 11= Ph.D., M.D., or Other Advanced Degree. For parent's education expectation

for their child, they were asked "How far in school do you expect your child to go?". The values were the same values for parent's education attainment variable.

I also controlled for respondent's race and family income. Respondents were able to self-report how they identify, which had a total of 7 values. These values were 1= White, 2= Black, 3= Asian, 4= Multiracial, 5= Hispanic, 6= Nationality, and 8= Other. This variable was recoded so that it would focus on Hispanic individuals and their expectations compared to others. Therefore, values were coded as 0= Non-Hispanic and 1= Hispanic. For family income, respondents were asked "And what was the total income of your family from all sources last year? (Include the sum of all earned and unearned incomes from yourself, your spouse or partner, and other family who live in your household). The minimum range starts at less than $5,000 up to $200,000 or more. The exact values were 1= Less than $5,000, 2= $5,000- $9,999, 3= $10,000- $14,999, 4= $15,000- $19,999, 5= $20,000- $24,999, 6= $25,000- $29,999, 7= $30,000- $34,999, 8= $35,000- $49,999, 9= $50,000- $74,999, 10= $75,000- $99,999, 11= $100,000- $199,999, and 12= $200,000 or More.

FINDINGS

Univariate Analysis

Table 1 displays the means, medians, and standard deviations for all variables.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

As shown in Figure 1, the frequency distribution of the independent variable, respondent's citizenship status, shows there is 51 percent of respondents who are U.S. Born citizens. Table 1 reflects these findings the median was 1, indicating that most respondents are U.S. born citizens as compared to how many respondents are foreign born or not a U.S. born

citizen combined in this dataset. Table 1 also reports the univariate findings of the dependent variable, respondents' educational expectations. It discloses that the median was 4. With the mean and median holding the same value, it implies that the average educational expectation for respondents to complete is college or a graduate degree.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

In Figure 2, the dependent variable, respondents' educational expectations, is left skewed, meaning that majority of the respondents have higher educational expectations. Figure 2 shows that 45 percent of the respondents expect to Finish a Graduate Degree, while 37.1 percent of respondents expect to Finish College. Interestingly, less than 10% percent of respondents who expect to finish Less than High School or High School.

INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

In Table 1, for the control variable, respondent's race, the mean was .23, the median was 0, and the standard deviation was .42. Figure 3 reports the frequency of responses for the race variable, indicating only 22.6 percent of respondents identify as Hispanic.

INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the second control variable, respondent's total family income. The highest frequencies fall between 8 or 9. This implies that about 17.7 percent of respondents earn about $35,000- $49,999 and another 18.9 percent of respondents earn $50,000-$74,999. According to Table 1, the median for respondent's family income was $35,000-$49,999. The mean was 7.21, which suggests that the average family income for respondents is about $35,000. In Figure 4, there is a slight right skew with a standard deviation of 2.74, meaning that compared to the mean of 7.21 there is a small amount of variance across respondents perceived family income. Although Figure 3 shows a range of income between less

than $5,000 and $200,000, Table 1 shows that respondents generally earn between $35,000-$49,999.

INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

The third control variable – the parent's highest level of education attained – is shown in Figure 5, ranging from Eight Grade or Less to Ph.D. M.D., or Other Advanced Degree. In Table 1, the mean was 5.3, the median is 6, and the standard deviation is 3.17. Given the findings in Table 1, Figure 5 reveals the average number of parents graduated with and experienced one to two years of a vocational program, trade and/or business school. The median response of parent's highest education achieved is two years of vocational programs, trade and/or business school, earning the equivalent of an associate degree. Although the mean and median indicate some years in vocational program, trade and/or business school, the standard deviation of 3.17 suggests there is some variation in the dataset of the average degree parents have completed. The standard deviation indicates a range from high school degrees to less than 2 years of college as parents' highest educational attainment degree.

INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE

Figure 6 shows frequencies of the last control variable which is parent's educational expectations for their child. On average, most parents reported high expectations. In Table 1, the mean was 9.01, which implies that 40.1 percent of parents expect their child to finish a four- or five-year degree program. Table 1 reports the median was 9, which implies that parents expect their child to complete a four- or five-year degree program. In addition, the standard deviation is 1.87. It suggests that 67 percent of the parent's responses to their educational expectation for their child to attain range from two or more years of college to the completion of a master's degree or equivalent.

INSERT FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE

Bivariate Analysis

Table 2 shows a correlation table between one's citizenship status and all variables. It presents no signs of multicollinear results because the strength of the relationships for all variables is under .7 This bivariate analysis reveals no significant correlation between my independent and dependent variable, which is one's immigration status and educational expectations. However, as shown in Table 2, there are many statistically significant relationships between several control variables and dependent variable, as well as my independent variable.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

All significant correlations presented in Table 2 fall between a weak (.1) to moderate (.3) relationship. As for my control variables, there are only three statically significant relationships. Table 2 shows a very weak and positive relationship between student's education expectations and family income (*r*= .073) This means students who have higher expectations for their education attainment are more likely to have higher incomes. Furthermore, there is a weak and positive relationship between students' expectations and parent's educational attainment, indicating that students who have higher educational expectations, the more likely their parents are to have a higher education degree (*r*= .233). Finally, Table 2 presents a weak and positive association between students and parents' educational expectations (*r*= .219). This indicates that students who have higher educational expectations for themselves are more likely to have parents who have higher educational expectation for their child.

The following relationships are between my independent variables and control variables. There is a very weak and negative relationship between a respondent's immigration status and their race, family income, and parent's educational attainment at the .01 level. As for control

variables, all the significant correlations are positive. There is a positive but very weak correlation between race and income ($r = .095$). Family income is positively but weak to moderate correlated with parent's educational attainment and educational expectations for their child at the .01 level. Finally, as for the last control variables, there is a positively weak to moderate relationship between parent' educational attainment and educational expectation for their child ($r = .287$).

Multivariate Analysis

Table 3 illustrates the unstandardized (b) and standardized (β) regression coefficients of all student's educational expectations on citizenship status, race, family income, parent's educational attainment, and parent's educational expectation for their child.

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

According to the table, the results show that 8.2 percent of the variability in respondent's educational expectation variable can be explained by all other variables ($R^2 = .082$). The regression equation is statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level ($F = 25.613$). My independent variable, respondent's citizenship status, was not significant associated with educational expectations. It suggests that whether respondent's who are U.S. born citizens, foreign born, or not a U.S. citizen, one's immigration status has no effect on student's educational expectations. Looking at the unstandardized regression coefficients (b), the only significant variables on the dependent variable were two control variables, parent's educational attainment and expectations for their child. For each one unit increase in parent's educational attainment, student's educational expectations will score .051 higher on a 5-point scale ($b = .051$). For each one unit

increase of parent's educational expectations, a student's educational expectations increases by .079 on a 5-point scale ($b = .079$).

When turning to the standardized regression coefficients (β), it helps determine which of the two significant control variables is the best predictor of whether student's have greater expectations of themselves. In Table 3, both parent's educational attainment ($\beta = .008$) and educational expectation for their child ($\beta = .013$), are close in significance. However, the standardized beta coefficient for parent's educational expectations indicates a stronger and bigger effect on student's educational expectations than parent's highest degree completed.

DISCUSSION

This study attempts to better understand how citizenship status impacts immigrant's educational expectations. I hypothesized that students who have a U.S. citizenship status will be more likely to expect higher educational attainment than students with non-U.S. citizenship status. The bivariate and regression results suggest that there was no statistically significant relationship between one's citizenship status and their educational expectations.

In this study, Classical Assimilation theory was used to better understand the process in which immigrant families have been given the opportunity to better integrate in American society. Due to the fact that classical assimilation theory does not capture the experience of all immigrants in the United States, Segmented Assimilation theory argues that some immigrant families are left in poverty, with the lack of resources and opportunities to achieve upward mobility. Therefore, given the context of the current literature, it is surprising there is no correlation. Immigrants who experience into these poorer segments of society may have lesser expectations for their education because there are limitations for their future. Many scholars have

identified different ways immigrant students face negative attitudes from society. Considering group threat theory and intergroup contact theory, immigrant students are left to think they will not have the resources available to them because of how others perceive them (Hjerm 2007; Flores 2018; Hood and Irwin 1997; Troop et al. 2018).

Most of these individuals have an understanding that their identity impacts how other's will assist to their needs. Such stereotypes, judgments, restrictions, and negative treatment that are held against immigrant groups will leave them with no choice but to accept and deal with the consequences. However, scholars find that these students who become more aware of social identity contingences face negative consequences as their performance and behaviors in schools tend to decrease (Hsin & Ortega 2018; Gonzales 2011, Losoncz and Marlowe 2020; Roth 2017; Brabeck et al. 2011; Gonzales et al. 2018, Covarrubias & Lara 2014, Vaughns et al. 2008, Shobe et al. 2009).

However, the findings show statistically significant relationships between student's education expectations with family income and parent's education and expectation. Despite no statistically significant relationship that supports my hypothesis, this finding shows how parent's involvement weights on students' educational expectations for themselves. Based on past literature, scholars have found that immigrant parent's educational expectations and attainment influences their child's expectations (Benner et al. 2016; Perreira et al. 2006; Gonzalez et al. 2015; Glick and White 2004; Lara and Nava 2018; Raleigh and Kao 2010; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017). Although my hypothesis was not supported by my study, these findings are still important because society should take into consideration the experiences immigrant students must go through daily. This should include the consideration of all U.S. immigrant individuals that

experience different assimilation processes. Although one's citizenship status does not directly affect their educational expectations, many other societal factors can.

Limitations and Future Research

Without a doubt, there are some weaknesses in this research that I hope to further invest myself in for future research. For starters, the CILS data only surveyed children of immigrants who resided in Florida and California. Within this group, they only had a sample of five ethnic background, including Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and West Indians. This does represent the entire U.S. immigrant population.

Another limitation concentrates on conducting a quantitative study. By measuring individual's immigration status quantitatively, it can result in a very low response rate. Many families are hesitant to give out their information out of fear for their safety and security. This is reflected in my independent variable, where 51 percent of respondents who are U.S. born citizens, while the three groups (citizens by naturalization, not a U.S. citizen, dual citizenship or nationality) combined only consists of 49 percent overall. By leading a qualitative study, respondents are given the opportunity to discuss what they feel open to discussing. This can explore more barriers immigrant groups face in terms of what they experience in the United States. We can also expand on different experiences in terms of how different immigrant groups have experienced different processes of assimilation. Since this study only focused on these groups as a whole, it lacked understanding of how these individuals face the education system knowing they have to go through different processes in the United States (ex. being naturalized, expired work or student visa).

CONCLUSION

To conclude, this study was conducted to measure if students with a U.S. citizenship status would expect to receive higher educational attainment than students with a non-U.S. citizenship status. I utilized the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal study (CILS), in which collected responses from immigrant second generation families to test this hypothesis. Results show that there is no correlation in this relationship, therefore, I must reject my hypothesis. Instead, the findings show that the control variables of family income, parent's educational attainment, and expectations have a significant impact on student's educational expectations than their own citizenship status. This aligns with the literature review suggesting that parent's socioeconomic background, educational degree and expectations influences their child's views and performance in schools.

So, what does it mean for students to dream? Are they given the same opportunities based on their immigration status? Families have encouraged these students to enter the United States with expectations to achieve upward mobility. However, this is not the case according to Segmented Assimilation theory. As student's experience these poorer segments in society, in impacts what they believe could be their future. Although this study does not suggest otherwise, it is important to consider what other factors may influence for such students. With the support of immigrant students' parents, these individuals are able to hope and dream higher. As parent's are able to provide and be there for their child every step of the way, students are mostly likely to hold an optimistic view of their future. While this study suggests that one's citizenship status does not have an impact on their educational expectations, we dare parents to dream for their child so they can have bigger dreams themselves.

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    Groups." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 81(1):23-47.

Table 1. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Variables (*N*= 1443)

Variables	Mean	Median	SD
U.S. Born Citizens	.51	1	.50
R's Education Expectation	4.21	4	.9
Hispanic	.23	0	.42
Income	7.21	8	2.74
R's Parents Educational Attainment	5.3	6	3.17
R's Parents Educational Expectation	9.01	9	1.87

Table 2. Correlations (*r*) between Citizenship Status and Five Variables (listwise deletion, two-tailed test, *N*=1443)

Variable	U.S. Born Citizens	Hispanic	Income	Parent's Educational Attainment	Parent's Educational Expectation
Students Education Expectations	.050	-.034	.073*	.233*	.219*
U.S.-Born Citizens		-.079*	.086*	.171*	.047
Hispanic			.095*	.042	-.002
Income				.228*	.089*
Parent's Educational Attainment					.287*

*p<.01

Table 3. Regression of Students Educational Expectation on All Variables ($N= 1443$)

Variable	b	β
U.S. Born Citizen	.011	.046
Hispanic	-.092	.055
Income	.007	.009
Parent's Educational Attainment	.051*	.008*
Parent's Educational Expectation	.079*	.013*
Constant	3.195	

$R^2 = .082$; $F(5,1437) = 25.613*$
*$p < .01$
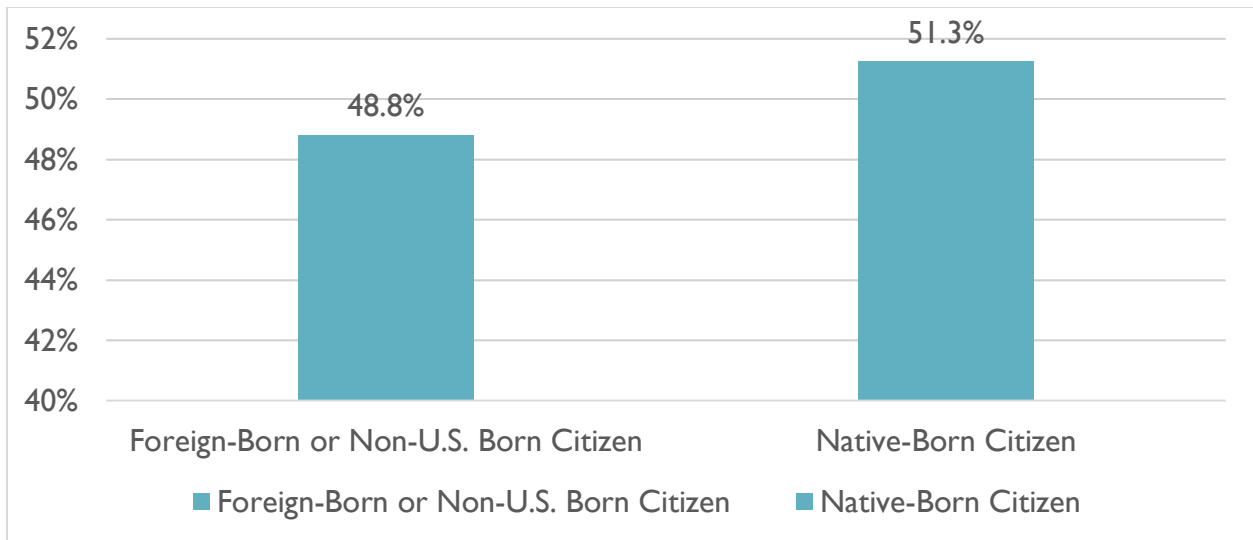
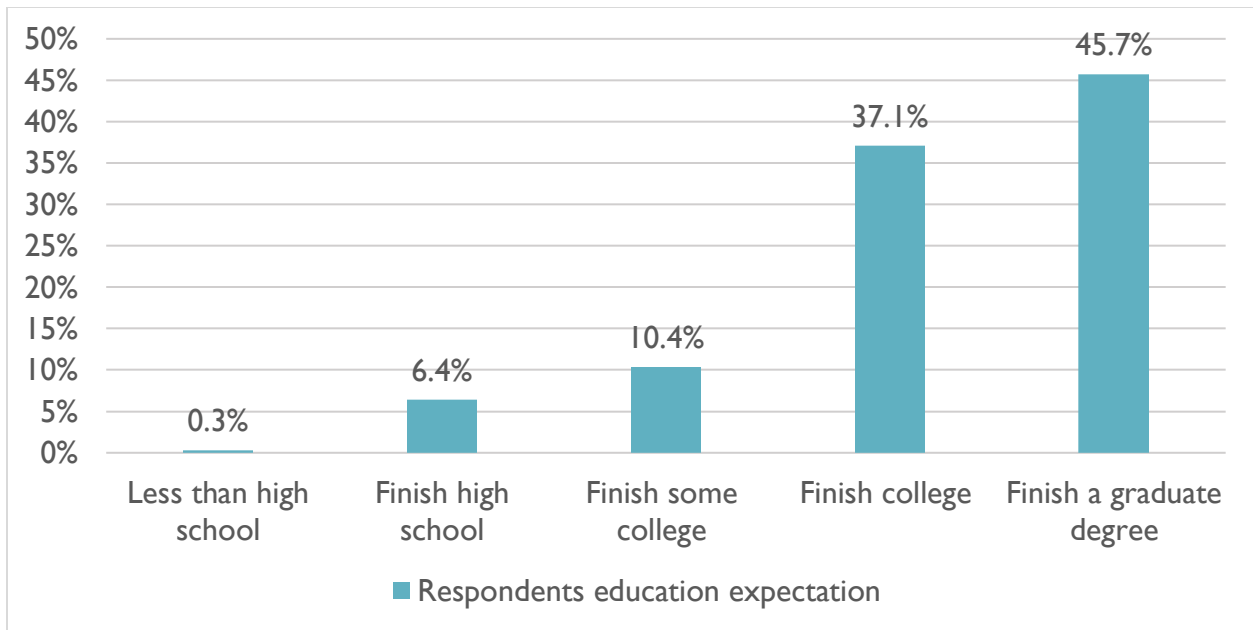Figure 1. Bar Graph of Respondents who are U.S. citizens (*N*= 1,443)

Figure 2. Bar Graph of Respondents Expectation of their Education Attainment (*N*= 1,443)
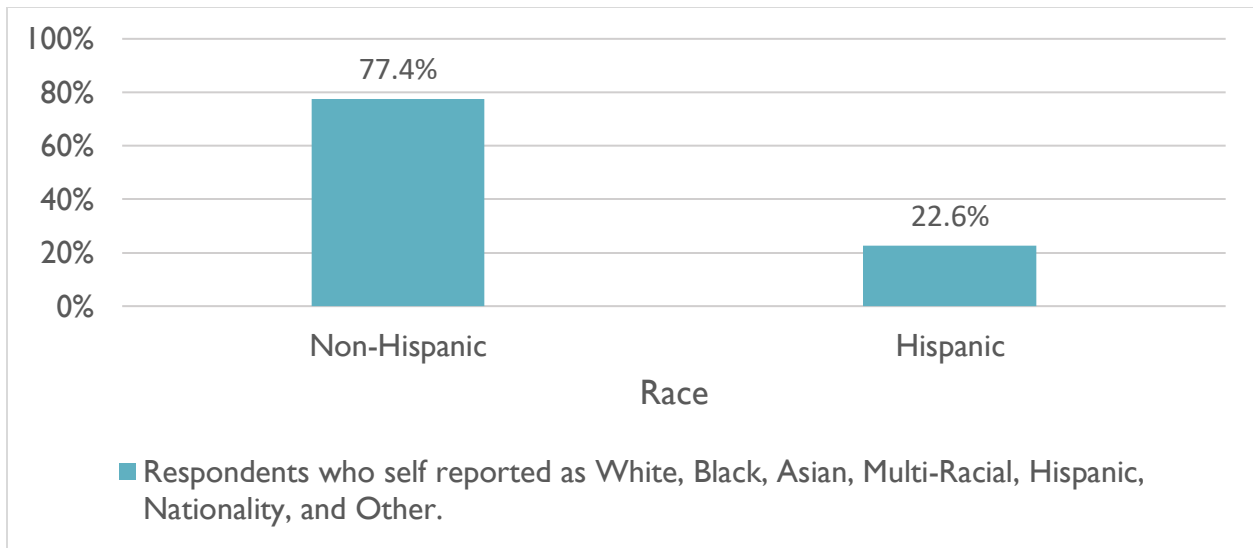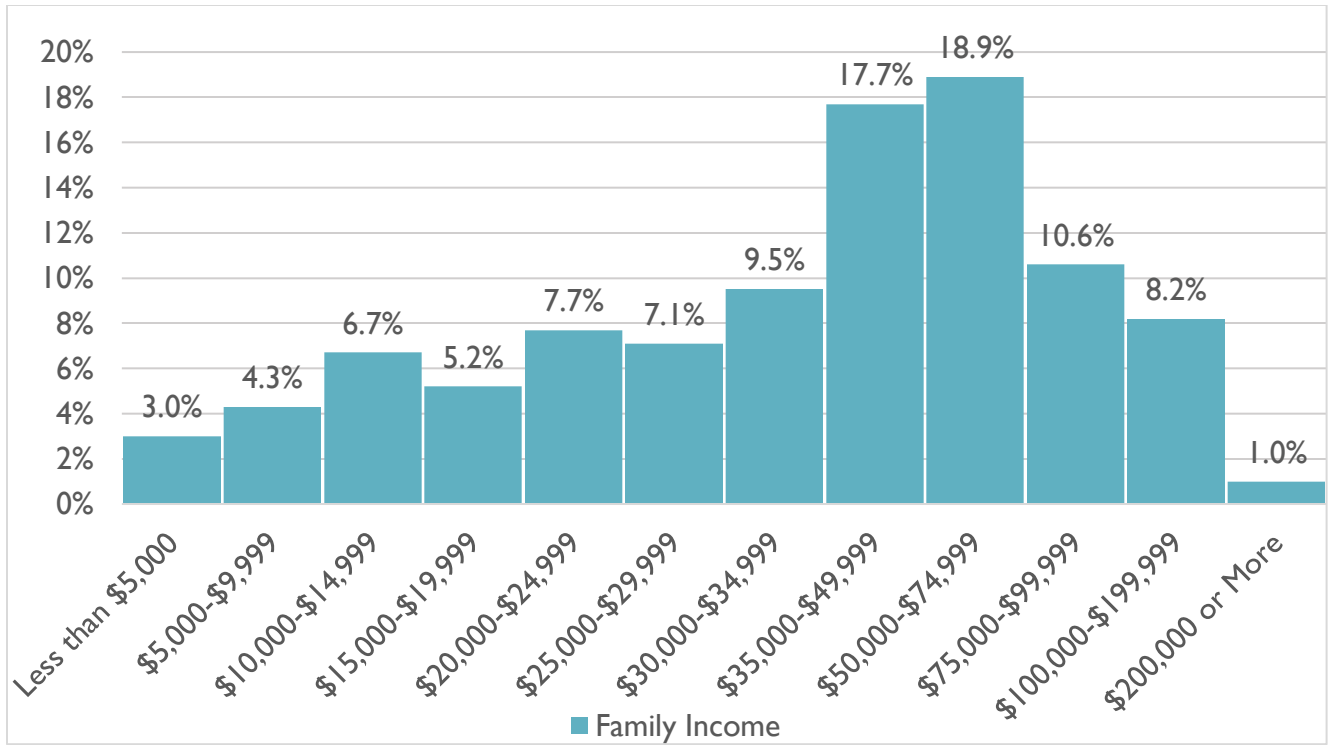
Figure 3. Bar Graph of Respondents Race (*N*= 1,443)

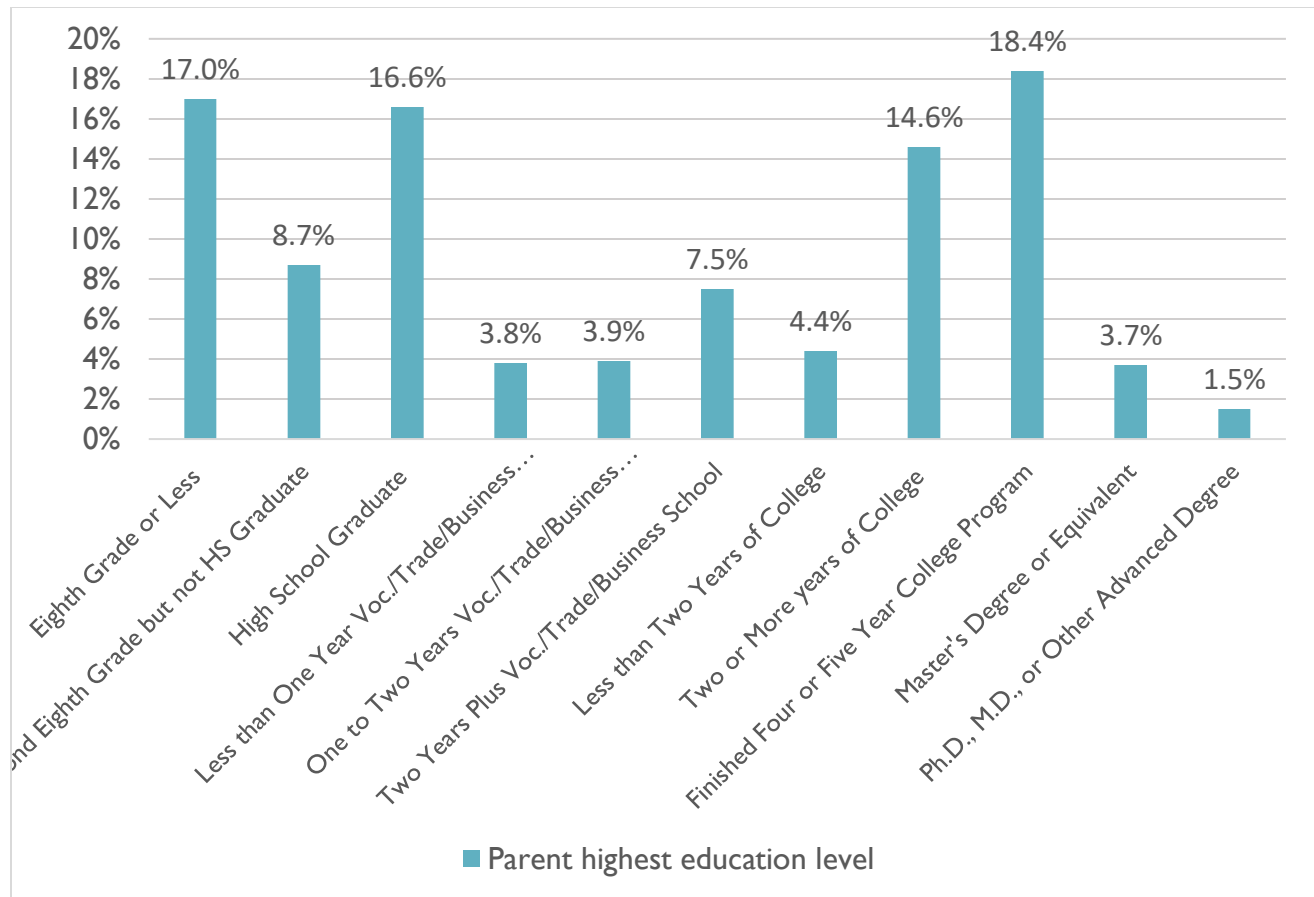Figure 4. Histogram of Family Income (*N*= 1,443)

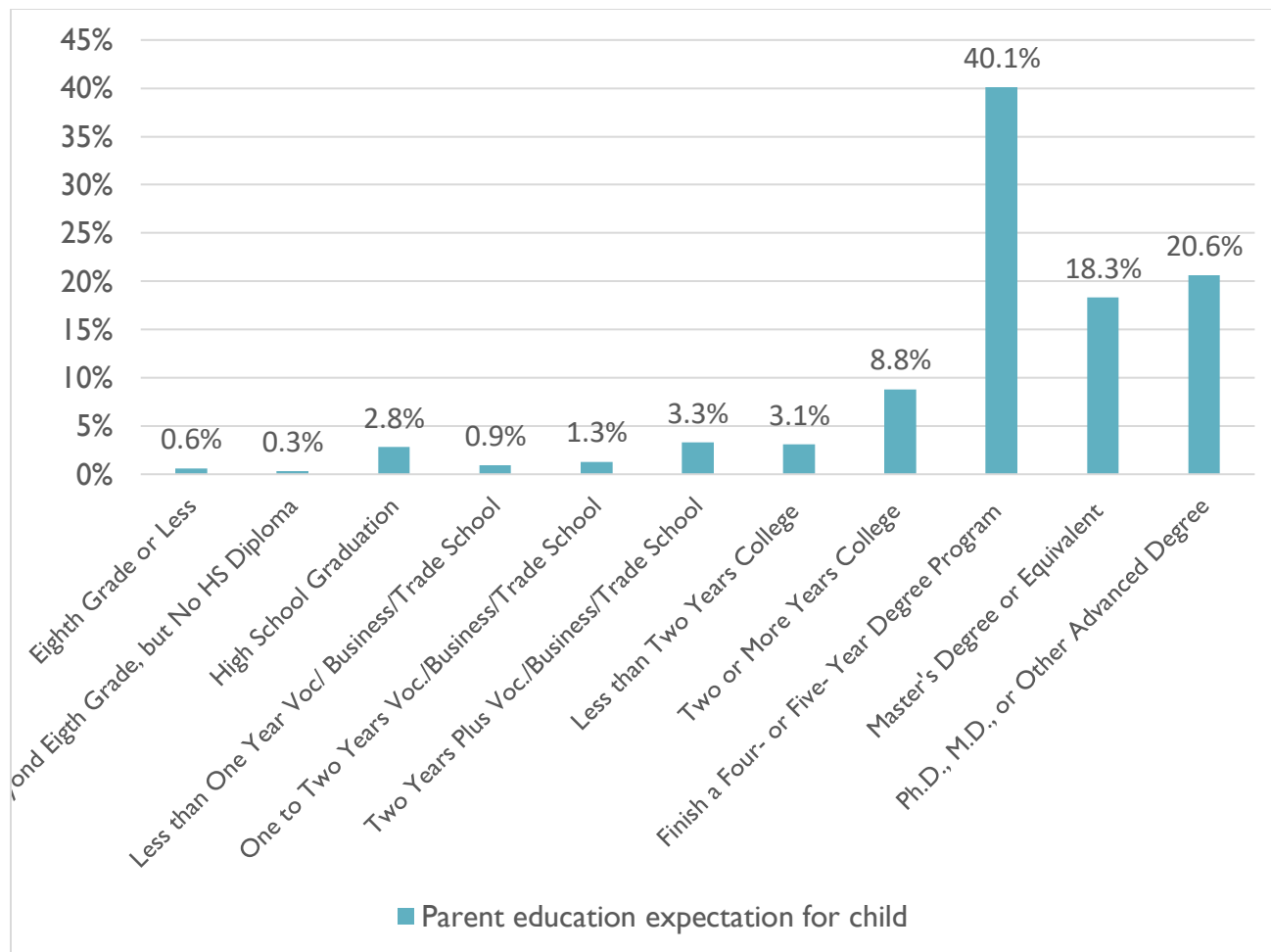Figure 5. Bar Graph of Highest Level of Parent's Educational Attainment (*N*= 1,443)

Figure 8. Bar Graph of Highest Level of Parent's Educational Expectations for Child (*N*= 1,443)