Internal migration and inequalities: The influence of migrant origin on educational attainment in Spain

Joaquín Recaño and Marta Roig

Paper prepared for the IUSSP XXIV General Population Conference (S28), Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, August 2001

Joaquín Recaño, Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 08193 Barcelona, Spain.
Marta Roig, Population Division, United Nations. DC2-1980, 2 UN Plaza. NY, NY 10017

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine the influence of the individual's origin (parents native of a certain region/non-native; individual internal migrant/not migrant) on his/her educational attainment. Using data from the Spanish 1991 Socio-Economic Survey, we have done logistic regression analyses to verify whether being of non-native origin has a negative impact on educational attainment and whether such impact is constant across destination regions and cohorts. Our findings indicate that differences by origin persist once demographic and socioeconomic characteristics are accounted for. In particular, the probability of enrolling in higher education is significantly lower for individuals of non-native origin. However, results vary greatly by region of destination and by cohort. The possible reasons why parents' mobility affects various groups differently are discussed in the paper.

Internal migration and inequalities: the influence of origin on educational attainment in Spain

1. Introduction

Spain has experienced significant internal migration flows during the second half of the twentieth century, particularly between 1950 and 1970. The so-called "rural exodus" sent significant proportions of the population from mainly agrarian to industrial and urban regions such as the Basque Country, Catalonia and Madrid. These flows have resulted in the presence of important groups of non-natives in the mentioned regions. According to the latest population census, undertaken in 1991, 29% of the population living in the Basque Country, 33% of the population in Catalonia and 42% of the population in Madrid was born in other regions of Spain.

Because of the country's cultural diversity and the marked economic specialization of the different regions, internal migrants in Spain have assumed many of the characteristics of international migrants elsewhere. Such characteristics have been studied at the aggregate level only (Pinilla de las Heras, 1973; Recaño, 1995; Solé, 1988). In the past ten years, the proliferation of surveys including retrospective biographical data has facilitated individual-level analysis. However, studies of the influence of migration/origin on various aspects of the individual's life cycle are still scarce. We know little about the influence of origin on demographic and socioeconomic behaviours. Are inequalities due to differences in human capital and other measurable traits only? Are migrants worse off (or better off) because of their migrant status? Does origin have a long-term effect on economic opportunities?

The purpose of this study is to examine the influence of the individual's origin on one of the main indicators of lifetime economic opportunities, educational attainment, net of the effect of various demographic and socio-economic factors. We compare immigrants and native-born children of immigrant parents (the second generation) to native-born children of native parents. The analysis is based on data from the 1991 Socio-Demographic Survey (ESD 1991), conducted during the last quarter of 1991 by the Spanish *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*. The survey contains extensive retrospective biographical socioeconomic and demographic information for a sample of some 160,000 individuals. Our study is based on the 40,832 individuals who lived in

the three main destination regions (18,188 in Catalonia; 14,766 in Madrid and 7,878 in the Basque Country) and were 18 or older in 1991.

This paper presents a preliminary exploration, based on a limited number of cohorts (individuals born between 1951 and 1972). We start by describing internal migration in Spain and outlining differences in education between migrants and non-migrants. We then present a literature review based on which we put forward hypotheses about the expected net effect of origin on educational attainment, and describe the data and methods used for the statistical analysis. The results are presented in three main sections, in which we compare the main regions of destination, contrast the effect of region of origin and birth cohort.

2. Internal migration in Spain

a. Origin and destination regions:

Internal migration flows have experienced geographical and compositional changes over time. Between the end of the Spanish Civil War (1939) and the mid-1970s, Spain experienced strong rural-to-urban migration. Flows were most intense between 1955 and 1970 (Table 1). This was a period of rapid and very polarized industrial growth, that caused massive transfers of employment from agriculture to the industry, construction and services. The "rural exodus" involved primarily young adults and was characterized by a clear regional dichotomy between sending and receiving regions. The three most industrialized and urban regions, namely, Catalonia, Madrid and the Basque Country, received more than 60% of all migrants (Olano rey, 1990). More than three quarters of these migrants came from four regions: Andalusia, Castile, Estremadure and Galicia. By the mid-1970s, new patterns of internal migration emerged (Cabré et al., 1985; Santillana, 1984). Inter-provincial and inter-regional moves declined (Table 2). Traditional industrial provinces with substantial net-migration balances subsequently became areas of net loss (Barcelona, in Catalonia, Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa in the Basque Country) or of only marginal gain (Madrid). Nevertheless, as a result of the migration flows experienced until the mid-1970s, receiving regions have significant stocks of non-natives.

The three receiving regions are rather diverse culturally, politically and economically. Catalans and Basques are two of the three cultural and linguistic minorities of the country (the third being Galicia). The Basque Country joined Spain in the sixteenth century but maintained a

semi-independent regime until the nineteenth century, and Catalonia joined it in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Both regions have maintained their cultural identity and a strong nationalistic sentiment. The economic structures of these regions were also rather different at the peak of the last migration wave, as graph 1 shows. The percentage of the labour force working in services was higher in Madrid, a region covering the capital of Spain and its immediate surroundings, than in the other two regions. Catalonia and the Basque Country were mainly industrial[1].

The main origin regions, Andalusia, Estremadure, Castile and Galicia, have traditionally been agricultural regions. Andalusia and Estremadure were, until recently, characterized by rural poverty and a rigid class structure. The land ownership system prevailing in these regions (*latifundia*) was highly inegalitarian; workers were landless. Rural poverty was also highly present in Galicia, even though land distribution systems were more egalitarian (Vicens-Vives, 1970).

b. Internal migrants and education:

There are sizable differences in education between immigrants and natives (graph 2). According to the 1991 Socio-Demographic Survey, immigrants were clearly less educated than natives in two of the three regions: Catalonia and the Basque Country. In Madrid, where the public administration is an important source of labour, two different types of immigration (highly-skilled and unskilled) coexist: the proportion of immigrants with no or lower education is high, as in the other two regions, but, on the other extreme, immigrants are also those with most university education[2]. In all three regions, immigrants born in Andalusia and Estremadure fare worse than any other group; those born in Castile-Leon and Galicia are relatively more educated (graph 3). Differences among natives (the second generation and native children of native parents) are less evident at first sight. As show in Table 3, though, education depends strongly on age, and the members of the second generation are younger than natives.

[1] Catalonia was among the first regions in Europe to industrialize, during the latter half of the nineteenth century; this favoured the early appearance of an industrial urban class that supported the political autonomy of the region (Vilar, 1967).

[2] In the system that prevailed until the 1950s in Spain, a child completed primary education at the age of 10 (i.e. 4-5 years of education). Since the 1960s and up to the 1990s, primary education ended at age 13 (7-8 years of education). Secondary education ended at age 17/18 (11-12 years). Most university degrees required 5 years of full-time education (16-17 years).

Table 3 shows that the overall native advantage in terms of education has not been a constant through cohorts. In general, for all groups alike, educational attainment remained stagnant for the first half-century or even declined for the cohorts born between 1921 and 1935, which suffered the consequences of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). It is only among the cohorts born in the 1940s that educational attainment started to increase. Several laws approved in the 1960s added impulse to this trend. A Law approved in 1964 made education compulsory up to the age of 14, and established 16 as the minimum legal working age. Several laws approved between 1965 and 1970 strengthened public education. Concurrently, among the cohorts born in the 1950s, more than 30% completed secondary education (as opposed to 22.5% in the cohorts born in 1946-50) and 25% enrolled in university. The increase in university enrollment is also significant for the youngest (1966-1970) cohorts, who lived through the years of transition to democracy (1975 on) but also of recurrent economic crises (1973, 1978, 1983) and high unemployment. Based on Table 3, individuals may have turned more to higher education as unemployment increased.

For the cohorts born before 1930, the differences between groups are small. In fact, migrants born between 1916 and 1925 are more educated than natives. Most of them moved during and after the Spanish Civil War for political reasons. Their origins were socially and economically diverse. Migrants born after 1930 and their children, i.e. natives with non-native parents born after 1950, are significantly less educated than natives. These are economic migrants, i.e. migrants and children of the "rural exodus".

3. Literature review:

Most literature on the integration of the second generation, and specifically on the effects of origin on socioeconomic achievements, has been developed in North America and has focused on international migrants. In Europe, studies on the issue are less abundant[3]. Not surprisingly,

[3] Several factors contribute to this neglect. Immigration is a relatively more recent phenomenon in Europe. Although some countries experienced significant immigration flows before the Second World War, it is mainly in the 1960s that immigration from non-European countries became significant. More importantly, European countries have not considered themselves immigration countries until very recently. Migration has traditionally been based on labour-importing programmes that did not envision permanent settlement as a possibility. Institutional frameworks and policies were established on the basis of immigration as a temporary phenomenon. As a consequence, there is a lack of data to study their integration. Adding to it is the fact that citizenship, rather than ethnical background or place of birth, is the main classifying criterium in most European countries. Once foreigners become nationals, they disappear from observation. Only

analyses on internal migrants are even more uncommon. Culturally diverse countries such as Spain, with significant and sufficiently ancient migration flows as well as good and abundant data are exceptional. Most existing studies on internal migrants examine only the consequences of the move for the migrants themselves focus on less developed countries (Ogena and De Jong, 1999; Shapiro, 1999; Pessino, 1991; Djamba et al., 2000).

The North American economic and sociological literature on the integration of international migrants focuses on how immigrants from different backgrounds adapt to a new environment as well as on the changes that it brings about. Early studies predicted what has been termed "linear assimilation"[4]: that any disadvantages faced by immigrants are progressively overcome by subsequent generations (Gordon, M., 1964; Gans 1973). Linked to this is the more "optimistic" view, that predicts over-achievement for those of non-native origin due mostly to self-selection and to family values playing to the advantage of the second generation. Many of the analyses done in Canada (Richmond, 1986; Boyd and Grieco, 1998) and various case-specific studies done in the United States (Rumbaut, 1997; Zhou and Bankston, 1994) reach this conclusion.

Recent empirical studies contradict these optimistic views. According to Borjas (1999), the perception of over-achievement by children of immigrants in the US is false; it originated in studies that compared earnings of various generations of Americans at a particular point in time, such as the 1970 Census (ibid. p.128). Most studies find what has been defined as "segmented assimilation" (Portes and Zhou, 1993): that socioeconomic integration patterns are ethnically/culturally diverse and that, in some instances, integration entails under-achievement (Perlmann, 1988; Kao and Tienda, 1995; Borjas, 1999). In Europe, the existing literature also portrays a "pessimistic" situation of structural impediments to both the first and second-generation. According to Neels (2000), for young first-generation immigrants, disruption of educational careers and language are two of the factors that hinder their socioeconomic prospects. Widgren (1986) and Wilpert (1988) find that second generation immigrants do inherit their parents' disadvantages. In Germany, according to Wilpert, 50-60% of foreign youth complete secondary education, compared to 90% of their German peers. In their study of second generation foreigners in France, Palidda and Muñoz (1988) find that while for some groups education is

recently has some research been made available to international readers (besides the early descriptive study by Wilpert, 1988, see Lesthaeghe, 2000; or Bengtsson, 1999).

[4] Also "regression towards the mean" (see Borjas, 1999).

considered as an important means of social promotion, most reject it and place more value in apprenticeship and hard work from an early age.

In our study, we hypothesize that the paths followed by internal migrants in Spain are similar to those followed by international immigrants in Europe. I.e. that the second generation and the so-called 1.5 generation (individuals migrating as children) perform relatively worse than their native peers, in the sense of dropping out of the education system earlier, even when demographic and socioeconomic factors are controlled for. We anticipate, however, that integration patterns are diverse; some specific groups may even outperform natives, and outcomes may vary greatly by receiving region and cohort.

Although understanding the mechanisms through which origin influences education is beyond the scope of this article, two sets of factors may play a role: cultural capital and social structure. By cultural capital we understand the set of values and beliefs product not only of the regions from which they originate, but also of the specific migration and settlement experiences of groups. Social structures give particular meanings to this cultural capital and influence access to resources and prestige, i.e. the position of the group in society. Since we have little information on behaviours and values we will only be able to anticipate the relative importance of these factors by comparing different groups of migrants in diverse destination regions. If cultural values were fully defined by region of origin and certain origins were consequential barriers to educational attainment, we would observe replication of results across host regions and cohorts. By contrast, if results changed, we would question the relevance of region of origin as the main factor for the observed paths.

4. Data and methods

The study is based on data from the 1991 Socio-Demographic Survey[5]. The statistical analysis presented in this paper focuses on the cohorts born between 1951 and 1972 (older than 18 in 1991). They constitute a sample of 15,020 individuals. There are two main reasons for focusing on the cohorts born after 1951 in this first analysis. The first reason is the chronology

[5] This macro-survey has become a reference source for the study of the Spanish population, both because of its size (158,264 observations) and its quality. Earlier studies show that the migration and migrant data provided by the Survey are highly consistent with the information provided by the 1970, 1981 and 1991 censuses (Recaño, 1997).

and characteristics of internal migration flows. Because of the timing of the flows and the age at migration, the age structure of the second generation is very young: more than 80% of the 1.5 and the second generations in the total sample were born after 1950. These are mostly children of the "rural exodus" [6]. The second is the legal change that took place when these cohorts entered the education system, as described in section 2.b.

The variable selected as representative of educational differences among groups is enrolment in higher education[7]. Our data (table 3) indicate that the end of secondary education is the crucial moment for dropping out of the education system among the selected cohorts. Since primary education is quasi-universal, *completing secondary education* and *enrolling in university* are the two relevant indicators of differences among groups. The reason for choosing university enrolment is that it involves a choice that has a higher opportunity cost - i.e. making an important investment on education at the expense of immediate income[8]. [9]

Table 4 presents frequencies for the individual and household variables included in the models as independent variables. Besides age (measured by year of birth) and sex, individual variables include origin and a number of variables describing place of residence. The effect of origin is measured by a variable that considers three types: Native-born child of natives, native child of at least one immigrant parent (second-generation migrants) and immigrant of immigrant parents. For the latter (generation 1.5), only those that migrated before the age of 10 are considered, and we assume that they did so with their parents. Regarding the second generation, additional models, not shown here, look at native children of immigrant father only and of immigrant mother only separately; some results of these models are mentioned in this paper. The year of arrival for parents of this second generation is not available. As indicated above, though, given the timing of migration flows and the age structure of migrants we assume that a significant number arrived during the rural exodus, i.e. from 1950 on. The effect of place of residence is measured by 3 variables: region of residence, size of the municipality of residence and % of immigrants in the area of residence when the individual was 16. The % of immigrants in the area

[6] As seen, earlier flows, and particularly those that took place before and right after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) were socially and economically more diverse.
[7] The main reason for choosing a discrete rather than a continuous variable, i.e. number of years of education, is that the survey gives information on highest level attained (completed or not completed). The number of years of education can be estimated indirectly but it is not given by the survey.
[8] Additional analyses revealed that results based on completing secondary education and on completing university (5 years) are of the same sign, although less significant, as those presented here.
[9]

of residence is taken as a possible proxy for various social and infrastructural indicators. For instance, a high proportion of migrants may provide a stronger web of support to other migrants and this could affect their education positively. On the other hand, though, migrants constitute a poorer sector of the society; a high prevalence of migrants may be negatively correlated to quality of local education and health services. In addition to these, we have included size of municipality *of birth* to control for the possible effect of coming from rural areas, particularly among migrants. Information on region *of origin* is available only for immigrants (i.e. region of birth). Separate regressions have been done for this subgroup to test the effect of the main regions of origin (namely Andalusia, Estremadure, Castile-La Mancha, Castile-Leon and Galicia).

Among the household variables included are number of siblings, father and mother's education, father's occupation, labour situation and activity sector when the individual was 14. Occupation is divided into 5 categories[10]: highly-skilled non-manual, semi-skilled non-manual, semi-skilled manual, unskilled non-manual and unskilled manual (ranked in this order). Activity branch is divided into 4 categories: agriculture (includes cattle raising, fishing); industry; general services (sales, hotel business, transportation and communication) and specialized services (financial services, public administration, health and education). Differences in father's occupation are not fully explained by father's education. Immigrants are at disadvantage in the labour market; on average, they are more educated than natives in the same occupational category (see graph 4). We expect this variable, which directly affects both social capital and resources in the household, to have a significant direct effect on the education of their children.

Logistic regression has been used to estimate the regression coefficients. The dependent variable takes a value of 1 if the individual ever enrolled in higher education, regardless of whether he/she completed it. What we are interested in is the proportionate change in odds from a unit change in the predictor, i.e. the estimated exponential logit coefficients. If exp(B) is greater than 1, then as the predictor increases, the odds of the outcome occurring increase, and vice versa.

[10] The categories have been established based on a list of 432 occupations.
Non-manual, highly-skilled: Professionals with higher education degrees and managers of big and middle-size companies.
Non-manual, semi-skilled: Skilled professionals (3 years of higher education), specialized employees.
Non-manual, unskilled: Non-specialized employees and workers. Examples: non-specialized secretaries and other office clerks, receptionists, ticket clerks, TV and radio station operators, telephone operators.
Manual, semi-skilled: qualified workers (in construction, industry, agriculture).
Manual, unskilled: non-qualified workers.

5. Results

In this set of analyses, we first measure the effect of origin on education for the whole sample. As indicated, we expect non-native origin to have a negative effect on education. We then observe whether results replicate across host regions. If structural factors in the receiving society have an influence on achievements, then we could expect different results for economically and culturally diverse regions. We also measure whether certain origins are systematic barriers to educational attainment, and whether results remain constant through time, by observing different cohorts. If cultural values matter and they are fully determined by region of origin, then differences among groups should persist across destination regions and through different cohorts.

5.a. The effect of origin by destination regions:

The results of the model, presented in Table 5, support our main hypothesis. As predicted, overall, differences in university enrollment persist once demographic and socioeconomic characteristics are accounted for. Being native of non-native origin and, particularly, being non-native, significantly reduce the odds of having enrolled in university. Natives with immigrant parents are 0.81 times as likely to enroll as the *indigenous*, and non-natives are 0.67 times as likely. Additional results showed that having only 1 migrant parent has a lesser but still significant negative effect, that is somewhat stronger for father than for mother's immigrant status. Therefore, the parental migration status *and* the migration status of the youth are *both* influential to determine educational attainment. The fact that length of residence (being born in or outside the region) matters suggests that disruption of educational careers has an effect on attainment and/or that some assimilation takes place.

The influence of nativity and parental migration status is not uniform, however. They are detrimental to education in Catalonia and the Basque Country, the two regions with a stronger cultural identity, and also those that received less qualified migrants during the period under analysis. In Madrid, on the contrary, origin is not significant; if anything, the odds of enrolling in university would actually be higher for the 1.5 and the second generation than for native children of natives. This lack of uniformity in educational outcomes among regions suggests that structural factors, i.e. factors specific to the social and economic contexts of the host regions, matter. It is also possible that expectations and motivations vary depending on region of

destination; that, for instance, those that migrated to Madrid, unlike those that migrated to other regions, did so with the purpose of giving an education to their children. We will study possible selection effects in a second part of this article using indirect measures; we will by now assume that this is not the main cause of the differences. Finally, "cultural factors" may also play a role. It could be that regions of origin determined a certain "propensity to fail" and that those at higher risk of failing were more numerous in the Basque Country and in Catalonia. In the next section, we will measure the effect of specific regions of origin on education in each of the three destination regions.

As for the rest of variables included in the model, there is a certain age effect even within the selected cohorts (1951 to 1972). Residential variables have a small effect on education in all regions but Madrid. We had taken the percentage of migrants in the place of residence as a possible proxy for other social and infrastructural variables, and argued that its effect could either be positive for migrants (social capital), or negative (if it had an impact on infrastructure). The variable is not highly significant. In the global sample, it has a negative effect, but only for individuals that lived in municipalities with more than 50% of migrants; in Madrid and the Basque Country, the effect is actually positive. Quite surprisingly, size of municipality of birth was not significant in any of the regressions, even those that considered only migrants.

Regarding household characteristics, father's educational attainment has the strongest effect in almost all cases: individuals with a highly-educated father are from 2.6 times (Catalonia) to 17.6 times (Basque Country) more likely to enroll in university than individuals with non-educated fathers. Mother's education plays a secondary role as compared to father's education in all cases but that of Catalonia, where this is the most influential factor. Father's occupation plays a lesser but significant role as well, even when education is controlled for. Finally, the predicted probability of enrolling decreases with the number of siblings, but it does not do so monotonically. It increases slightly from 4 to 5 siblings, probably reflecting the effect of public aids to large families (families of more than 4 until the late 1970s in Spain).

5.b. Region of origin:

Even though the overall effect of origin is negative, not all groups perform equally badly. The effect of origin varies considerably depending on which region migrants came from. As shown in Table 6 for non-natives, a few categories determine the overall outcome: being from Andalusia, Estremadure and, to a lesser extent, Galicia, generally means achieving less. In Catalonia, the odds of enrolling in university are 35% those of natives for Andalusians (i.e. individuals born in Andalusia and arrived in Catalonia before the age of 10) and 27% for individuals from Estremadure. Similar results are found in the Basque Country. In Madrid, origin does not play a significant effect on education in any case; however, data show that, if anything, being of Andalusian origin has the most negative effect on education. A few groups, namely, those from Castile-Leon, do as well as natives on the whole.

The uniformity in ranking of these groups across destination regions suggests that specific cultural factors matter[11]. Inherited cultural values may affect educational expectations. Individuals coming from systems with strong inequalities, such as Andalusians, for instance, may perceive educational credentials as less valuable for social status (Swindler, 1986). However, differences among destination regions are too large to suggest that inherited cultural values are the most determinant factor. Specific migration and settlement experiences may matter as well. Andalusian and Estremaduran migration, for instance, was more concentrated around the 1960s. Migrants came from rural areas and, as shown, had in average a lower level of education. In the destination regions, they worked mainly in construction and heavy industry sectors.

To further explore the effect of specific migrant experiences, we will compare various 5-year cohorts. If inherited cultural traits explained it all, we should expect the effect of origin to change little across cohorts, particularly among those subject to similar economic and social conditions in the destination regions.

5.c. The effect of origin by birth cohort:

Table 7 shows that the influence of parental migrant status and nativity lessens rapidly through cohorts. Both period and cohort effects could explain this change. To a certain extent,

changes could also be due to differences in composition[12]. Table 8 indicates that, among immigrants, the distribution by region of origin is not constant across cohorts; Andalusia lost weight among sending regions by the end of the period. However, in our view, composition by region of origin is not the only cause of the observed change. Natives in the same 5-year cohorts, the largest group of our sample, belong to earlier migration waves and they experience similar or even greater changes.

Regarding period effects, although our sample selection (1951-1972) intended to control for these to a certain extent, each 5-year cohort is subject to relatively different conditions. In this respect, the members of the 1951-55 cohort, for instance, reached university age during the last years of the Franco regime (years of relative economic stability but intense social conflicts and strong social inequality), while the rest lived through the years of democracy and high unemployment. If period effects were relevant, the results would indicate that unemployment helped reduce inequalities in the education system. In other words, all groups may have resorted more to high education as unemployment increased, particularly those at higher risk of being unemployed. Changes could also be the result of a structural, long-term trend of reduction of inequalities. Democracy certainly encouraged social justice and contributed to make education more accessible to all. However, as explained, it also promoted national diversity and strengthened regional identities. Finally, cohort effects could also play a role. Non-natives born between 1955 and 1965 arrived during the peak of rural-to-urban migration and industrial growth (1955 to 1975). The 1.5 and probably a significant part of the second generation are children of the "rural exodus". The 1966-70 cohort arrived at the end of this flow. Each cohort, and particularly this last one, had a different composition[13]. Even after controlling for most individual and family characteristics, *the position of the group* cohorts belong to could affect their life-chances.

Regardless of whether period or cohort effects play the most important role, these results show that the impact of origin is highly dependent on time and place.

---

[11] Although Andalusian and Estremaduran flows are more recent, we are controlling for period of arrival by taking a limited number of cohorts and only those migrants that arrived before the age of 10.

[12] We are not controlling for region of origin in this series of regressions; the number of observations is too small in most cases.

6. Conclusions

The main goal of this study was to test whether origin (parents native from a certain region/not native; individual internal migrant/not migrant) had an influence on educational attainment in Spain's three main destination regions. Our global results provide support for the "pessimistic" perspective, according to which belonging to the second generation and, especially, being non-native are detrimental to higher educational attainment. To some extent, they also indicate that assimilation is segmented, with some groups systematically under-achieving and a few doing as well as natives. These results, however, are not replicated across destination regions or through cohorts. While being of non-native origin significantly reduces the odds of enrolling in higher education in the Basque Country and in Catalonia for almost all groups, it somewhat increases them in Madrid. For the global sample, origin has a strong effect on the cohorts born in the 1950s, but it is not significant for those born in the late 1960s. Differences across destination regions and cohorts are at least as large as differences among groups in one given setting. We therefore question the relevance of region of origin as the main factor for the observed paths.

These results suggest two additional conclusions. First, inequalities are not simply due to differences in human capital and other measurable demographic and socioeconomic traits. We presume that different access to social capital, formal and informal institutional settings and residential locations matter. This has significant political implications, particularly since Spain has become a country of international immigration in the last twenty years (Colectivo IOE, 1999).

Second, although inherited cultural values may matter, they are not the only factors of immigrants' failure or success. Cultures do not exist in vacuums. Cultural values of, for instance, Andalusians in Catalonia, must be the product not only of heritages from which they originate, but also of the specific immigrant and settlement experiences of the group. As Swindler (1986) explains, values manifest themselves differently in particular social structures that change in space and in time. In certain contexts, the second generation may *perceive* that the (few) paths to social mobility available to them do not require educational credentials. This perception may be influenced by the intrinsic value given to education, but also by the position of the group in society. Ogbu (1991) suggests that those in the second generation who are perceived and perceive

[13] Regarding the characteristics we are controlling for in the model: the proportion of highly-skilled fathers was of more than 10% for this cohort (around 6% for the previous 3). The proportion of fathers employed in the industrial sector was of less than 40% (more than 50% in the previous 3).

themselves as members of disadvantaged minorities may adopt a less favourable attitude towards education. As shown above, in average, immigrants in Madrid are more skilled and spread more evenly along the occupational scale than immigrants in the other two regions; particularly among the cohorts that we have studied in this paper. This may contribute to education being instrumentally perceived as more valuable in this than in the other two regions.

However, it is also possible that, in certain contexts or for certain groups, education (in this case, higher education) *actually is* a less valuable asset. It can be argued that, if education were an effective means of mobility in the destination regions, then cultural values would not hinder it. Verifying whether education provides the same opportunities for all requires examining if non-natives receive lower returns to education than do their native peers. Measuring returns to education will be the object of a second part of this study.

References

Bengtsson, T. and K. Scott (1999). Labor demand, education and income assimilation among immigrants- Longitudinal data from Sweden 1970-1994. *Paper presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America*.

Borjas, G. (1999). Heaven's Door. Immigration Policy and the American Economy, *Princeton University Press: Princeton*.

Boyd, M. and E. Grieco (1998). Triumphant transitions: Socio-economic achievements of the second-generation in Canada. *Population and Development Review*, vol.32, no.4, 853-876.

Cabré, A., Moreno, J. and Pujadas, I (1985). Cambio migratorio y reconversión territorial en España, *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 32, 43:56.

Carabaña Moráles, J (1999). *Dos estudios sobre movilidad intergeneracional*. Fundación Argentaria; Colección Igualdad. Volumen XV.

Colectivo IOE (1999). Inmigrantes, trabajadores, ciudadanos. Una de las migraciones desde España. Universidad de Valencia, Patronato Sur-Norte, Colección Oberta, 49.

Djamba, Y.K., Goldstein, S. and Goldstein, A. (2000). Gender differences in occupational mobility in Ethiopia: The effects of migration and economic and political change, *Paper presented at the 2000 annual meeting of the Population Association of America*, Los Angeles, California, March 23-25 2000.

García Coll, A. and Stillwell, J. (1999). Inter-provincial migration in Spain: Temporal trends and age-specific patterns, *International Journal of Population Geography*, 5, 97-115.

Gans, H. (1973). *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish Community*. Ed. N. Sandberg. New York: Praeger.

Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kao, G. and M. Tienda (1995). Optimism and achievement: The educational performance of immigrant youth, *Social Science Quarterly*, 76(1), 1-18.

Lesthaeghe, R. (ed.) (2000). *Communities and generations: Turkish and Moroccan populations in Belgium*. Brussels, NIDI CBGS Publications.

Neels, K. (2000). Education and the transition to employment: young Turkish and Moroccan adults in Belgium. In Lesthaeghe, R. (ed.) (2000). *Communities and generations: Turkish and Moroccan populations in Belgium*. Brussels, NIDI CBGS Publications.

Ogbu, J. (1991). Minority coping responses and school achievement. *Journal of Psychohistory, 18, 433-456.*

Ogena, N. and G. De Jong (1999). Internal migration and occupational mobility in Thailand, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, vol. 8 no. 4, 419-446.

Palidda, S. and M.C. Muñoz (1988). The condition of young people of foreign origin in France. In *Entering the working world: following the descendants of Europe's immigrant labour force*, edited by C. Wilpert, Aldershot, England: Gower Publishing.

Perlmann, J. (1988). *Ethnic differences: Schooling and Social Structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews and Blacks in an American city, 1880-1935*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pessino, C. (1991). Sequential migration theory and evidence from Peru. *Journal of Development Economics, 36*. 55-87.

Pinilla de las Heras, E. (1973). *Immigració i mobilitat social a Catalunya*, Barcelona, ICESB.

Portes, A. and M. Zhou (1993). The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants among post-1965 immigrant youth. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530, 74:98.

Recaño, J. (1995). La emigración andaluza (1900-1992). Ph. Dissertation. Unedited. UAB

Recaño, J. (1997). Une évaluation des informations sur la mobilité spatiale dans l'Enquête Sociodémographique espagnole de 1991, *Rencontre Internationale L'apport des collectes biographiques pour la connaissance de la mobilité.* INED, Paris, 12-13 juin 1997.

Richmond, H.A. (1986). Ethnogenerational variations in educational attainment, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 18 vol. 3.

Santillana, I. (1984). Las migraciones internas en España: necesidad de ordenación, *Información Comercial Española* 609: 23-35.

Sevilla-Guzmán, E. (1979). *La evolución del campesinado en España*., Madrid, Península.

Shapiro, D. (1999). Family influences on women's educational attainment in Kinshasa. *Population Research Institute Working Paper 99-13*. Pennsylvania State University.

Solé, C. (1988). *Catalunya: Societat receptora d'immigrants. Anàlisi comparativa de dues enquestes*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

Swindler, A. (1986). "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies". *American Sociological Review* 51(2), 273-286.

Vicens-Vives, J. (1970). *Approaches to the History of Spain.* University of California Press.

Widgren, J. (1986). The position of the "second generation" migrants in Western Europe: policy failures and policy prospects, *Studi Emigrazione*, 81.

Wilpert, C. (1988*). Entering the Working World: Following the Descendants of Europe's Immigrant Labour Force*, edited by C. Wilpert, Aldershot, England: Gower Publishing.

Zhou, M. and C.L. Bankston, III (1994). Social capital and the adaptation of the second generation: the case of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans. *International Migration Review* 28(4), 775-799.

Table 1

Net migration: main origin and destination regions 1901-1980

Region	1901-30	1931-50	1951-80
Basque Country	42,603	37,088	437,253
Catalonia	580,508	366,541	1,420,949
Madrid	449,493	37,088	1,393,030
Andalusia	-95,563	-124,648	-1,726,339
Castile-La Mancha	-99,994	-183,486	-918,074
Castile-Leon	-514,137	-166,091	-1,009,187
Estremadure	-41,547	-50,366	-694,342
Galicia	-241,325	-35,292	-328,169

Sources: INE, Movimiento Natural de Población; Census 1900, 1930, 1950 and 1981

Table 2

Net migration: 1961-1990

Region	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90
Basque Country	163,801	14,349	-79,001
Catalonia	558,029	196,371	-75,247
Madrid	499,030	218,472	27,045
Andalusia	-474,377	-185,536	57,199
Castile-La Mancha	-309,900	-123,661	-9,477
Castile-Leon	-296,052	-133,159	-24,340
Estremadure	-232,312	-102,037	-5,238
Galicia	-71,927	-27,520	3,808

Sources: INE, Census 1970, 1981 and 1991.

Table 3- Education (highest level attained) by cohort

(percentage)

Cohort	Primary (completed)				Secondary (completed)				Enrolled in university[a]			
	Total	Natives (native parents)	Natives (non-nat. parents)	Immigrants	**Total**	Natives (native parents)	Natives (non-nat. parents)	Immigrants	**Total**	Natives (native parents)	Natives (non-nat. parents)	Immigrants
1901-05	**26.6**	25.3	26.8	27.6	**4.6**	6.4	0.0	3.7	**4.0**	2.6	9.8	4.4
1906-10	**26.4**	29.3	23.3	24.7	**4.3**	5.0	6.0	3.3	**4.0**	4.5	4.3	3.5
1911-15	**26.4**	26.4	19.4	28.1	**5.0**	5.4	7.9	3.9	**3.8**	3.9	4.7	3.6
1916-20	**26.0**	24.8	22.5	27.8	**6.2**	6.2	10.3	5.4	**4.5**	4.9	6.3	3.8
1921-25	**27.2**	24.2	26.3	29.9	**5.0**	6.2	7.8	3.2	**4.5**	3.9	6.6	4.4
1926-30	**28.5**	24.6	30.0	30.6	**7.1**	9.2	11.7	4.3	**4.8**	4.5	4.7	5.0
1931-35	**30.3**	36.9	20.9	28.0	**6.9**	8.4	11.8	4.3	**5.6**	5.5	8.5	4.7
1936-40	**20.6**	13.3	21.0	23.9	**11.3**	15.1	18.2	7.8	**8.2**	8.4	8.8	8.0
1941-45	**15.7**	8.4	8.8	21.3	**17.5**	21.4	22.8	14.1	**13.2**	13.7	22.0	10.7
1946-50	**12.6**	5.9	6.3	17.8	**22.5**	28.6	34.6	16.0	**17.0**	17.5	22.5	15.1
1951-55	**6.8**	3.3	4.3	10.2	**32.4**	41.4	35.7	24.6	**20.5**	23.9	23.4	16.9
1956-60	**5.5**	2.4	4.9	8.5	**32.8**	35.7	36.6	27.8	**24.5**	30.4	23.7	20.2
1961-65	**7.9**	4.6	7.3	12.2	**30.0**	31.8	32.5	24.9	**24.7**	28.9	24.3	20.7
1966-70	**6.4**	4.1	6.3	10.9	**29.9**	31.6	31.2	22.6	**31.1**	34.8	29.8	28.3
1971-75	**6.4**	4.7	7.2	6.3	**24.9**	28.6	24.5	16.3	**19.8**	24.0	16.8	25.4
1976-80	**64.5**	65.0	64.3	62.7	**0.0**	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: 1991 Socio-demographic Survey; own calculations.

Table 4
Characteristics of the sample
(percentages)

Variable	Percentage	% Enrolled in univ[a]
Origin		
Native, native parents*	44.0	30.5
Native, immigrant mother, father or both	43.1	26.3
Non-native (immigrant parents)	12.9	17.6
Cohort		
1951-55*	16.7	20.5
1956-60	24.8	24.5
1961-65	26.4	24.7
1966-70	22.9	31.1
1971-72	9.2	31.1
Sex		
Male*	50.1	25.1
Female	49.9	27.4
Number of siblings		
0*	6.4	35.0
1	28.9	31.8
2	26.8	26.2
3	16.6	23.1
4	9.2	20.6
5+	12.1	16.8
Region of residence		
Basque Country	21.7	28.2
Catalonia*	42.9	21.3
Madrid	35.4	31.0
Size of municipality of residence (when 16)		
<5,000*	8.7	15.6
5,001 – 20,000	15.5	19.2
20,001- 100,000	33.2	24.9
>100,000	42.6	32.0
% migrants in municipality of residence		
<20%*	5.6	15.6
20-29%	13.2	21.7
30-39%	30.9	29.3
40-49%	41.7	28.5
>50%	8.6	18.4
Father's education		
No education*	4.0	6.9
Primary education	58.8	22.2
Secondary education	14.0	50.8
University degree	23.3	72.7
Mother's education		
No education*	5.4	7.5
Primary education	75.6	15.6
Secondary education	9.9	40.3
University degree	9.1	62.4
Father's occupation		
Unskilled, manual*	19.2	15.2
Semi-skilled, manual	23.4	17.3
Unskilled, non-manual	21.5	35.7
Semi-skilled, non-manual	20.6	44.4
Highly skilled, non-manual	15.2	64.6
Father's activity branch		
Agriculture*	7.4	13.1
Industry and construction	51.8	22.0
Services1 (sales, transportation and communication..)	20.7	29.0
Services2 (financial services, health, education…)	17.8	42.1
Father's labour market situation		
Wage-earner	71.1	23.1
Civil servant	7.8	43.8
Self-employed or in family business	15.2	23.8
Employer/owner of company with employees	5.9	46.9

* Omitted categories
[a] Percentage over total in each category

TABLE 5 – Logistic Regression Coefficients Predicting Enrollment in University

Variables[a]	All Regions	Catalonia	Madrid	Basque Country
Origin	**Exp(B) [b]**	**Exp(B)[b]**	**Exp(B)[b]**	**Exp(B) Signif[b]**
Native, native parents*				
Native, immigrant father, mother or both	***0.814******	***0.700******	***1.105***	***0.692 ******
Non-native (immigrant parents)	***0.673******	***0.515******	***1.006***	***0.506******
Cohorts				
1971-72	1.205*	1.155	1.314	1.201
1966-70	1.401***	1.246	1.395**	1.758***
1961-65	1.148*	1.028	1.139	1.473**
1956-60	1.193*	1.156	1.265*	1.199
1951-55*				
Sex				
Male*				
Female	1.156***	1.153*	1.222**	1.078
Number of siblings				
0*				
1	0.887	0.750*	1.146	0.900
2	0.681***	0.657**	0.782	0.695
3	0.573***	0.590***	0.602**	0.620*
4	0.482***	0.520***	0.483***	0.575*
5	0.506***	0.500**	0.516**	0.590
6+	0.336***	0.370***	0.385***	0.299***
Region of residence				
Basque Country	1.395***			
Catalonia*				
Madrid	1.252***			
Size of municipaplity of residence				
<5,000*				
5,001 – 20,000	1.319	0.813	2.133*	0.778
20,001- 100,000	1.624**	1.050	1.251	1.023
>100,000	2.266***	1.078	2.165**	1.420
% migrants in municip. residence				
<20%*				
20-29%	0.944	1.221		
30-39%	0.956	1.676		
40-49%	0.701	1.240	0.652	1.805*
>50%	0.565*	1.088	1.395**	1.699*
Father's education				
No education*				
Primary education	1.638***	0.988	2.224***	2.637**
Secondary education	3.525***	2.088***	4.367***	6.285***
University degree	6.689***	2.581***	10.515***	17.631***
Mother's education				
No education*				
Primary education	1.970***	2.568***	1.615**	1.515
Secondary education	2.905***	4.354***	2.155***	2.150*
University degree	4.877***	5.814***	4.058***	4.294***
Father's occupation				
Unskilled, manual*				
Semi-skilled, manual	1.073	1.059	0.958	1.179
Unskilled, non-manual	2.014***	1.946***	2.010***	1.895***
Semi-skilled, non-manual	1.923***	1.813***	1.999***	1.710**
Highly skilled, non-manual	2.653***	2.838***	2.503***	2.032**
Labour situation				
Wage-earner				
Civil servant	1.246*	1.222	1.361*	0.873
Self-employed or family business	1.039	1.199	0.847	1.063
Employer/owner company w. employees	1.398***	1.252	1.410	1.925**
Constant (not exp)	-2.9502***	-2.6221***	-3.2673***	-3. 348***
$\mathbf{R^2_L}$	0.273	0.237	0.322	0.269
-2 Log likelihood	13454.05	5336.17	4928.13	3031.01
Chi Squared stat.	3106.95 (43 df)	1064.24 (41 df)	1377.56 (39 df)	678.51 (39 df)
No. cases	15019	6449	5331	3238

(a) Size of municipality of birth and activity branch were not significant for any of the regions
(b) Signif.: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

TABLE 6 – Logistic Regression Coefficients Predicting Enrollment in University (including region of birth)

Variables	**All Regions**	**Catalonia**	**Madrid**	**Basque Country**
Origin	**Exp(B)**	**Exp(B)**	**Exp(B)**	**Exp(B)**
*Native, native parents**				
Native, 1 migrant parent	0.816***	0.729**	1.014	0.742*
Native, immigrant parents	0.829***	0.669***	1.172	0.655***
Non-native (born in Andalusia)	*0.463****	*0.353****	0.862	*0.395**
Non-native (born in Castile –La Mancha)	0.667*	0.441	0.864	
Non-native (born in Castile-Leon)	1.006	1.112[a]	1.488	0.636
Non-native (born in Estremadure)	*0.544****	*0.268****	0.956	*0.262*** [a]
Non-native (born in Galicia)	0.622*	0.555[a]	0.827[a]	0.357*[a]
Non-nat. (born in Cat., Madrid or Basque.)	0.856	0.653	0.994[a]	
Non-native (born in all other regions)	0.790*	0.801	1.173	0.409*
(REST OF VARIABLES: SAME AS IN PREVIOUS MODEL)				
$\mathbf{R^2_L}$	0.275	0.240	0.333	0.270
-2 Log likelihood	13462.93	5318.79	4917.77	3019.73
Chi Squared stat.	3099.06 (48 df)	1081.72 (48 df)	1387.92 (46 df)	689.80 (46 df)

a. Less than 100 observations

Signif.: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

TABLE 7- Period and cohort effects. Logistic Regression Coefficients predicting University Enrollment by Cohort.

Cohorts	Group	Logistic Regression coefficients	Period of arrival into destination regions	Period of enrollment in university[a]
1951-55	*Native, native parents* *Native, immigrant parents* *Non-native*	- 0.657** 0.755	- - 1951-1965	**1968-1975**: last years of Franco regime. Economic stability. Low unemployment. Social unrest. University at center of anti-Franco protests.
1956-60	*Native, native parents* *Native, immigrant parents* *Non-native*	- 0.727** 0.638***	- - 1956-1970	**1973-1980**: transition to democracy. First energy crisis. Unemployment on the rise (from 5.3% in 1975 to 11% in 1980). Creation of Autonomous Communities.
1961-65	*Native, native parents* *Native, immigrant parents* *Non-native*	- 0.838* 0.716*	- - 1961-1975	**1978-1985**: transition to democracy. Second energy crisis. Unemployment on the rise. Strengthened institutional capacity of Autonomous Com.
1966-70	*Native, native parents* *Native, immigrant parents* *Non-native*	- 0.896 0.776	- - 1966-1980	**1983-1990**: Highest unemployment. Spain joins EU (EEC).

a. Assuming enrollment occurs between ages of 17 and 20.
*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

TABLE 8 - Non-natives (*) of selected cohorts by region of origin (percentages)

Region of origin	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-72
Andalusia	34.4	34.3	32.2	23.4	18.5
Castile-La Mancha	14.6	14.3	13.2	11.8	5.8
Castile-Leon	17.1	15.6	11.2	11.8	10.7
Estremadure	12.8	15.8	16.7	11.0	11.6
Galicia	6.1	4.9	5.3	8.6	8.7
Catalonia, Madrid, the Basque C.	3.0	3.0	3.8	7.8	14.6
Other regions	12.0	12.1	17.6	25.6	30.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

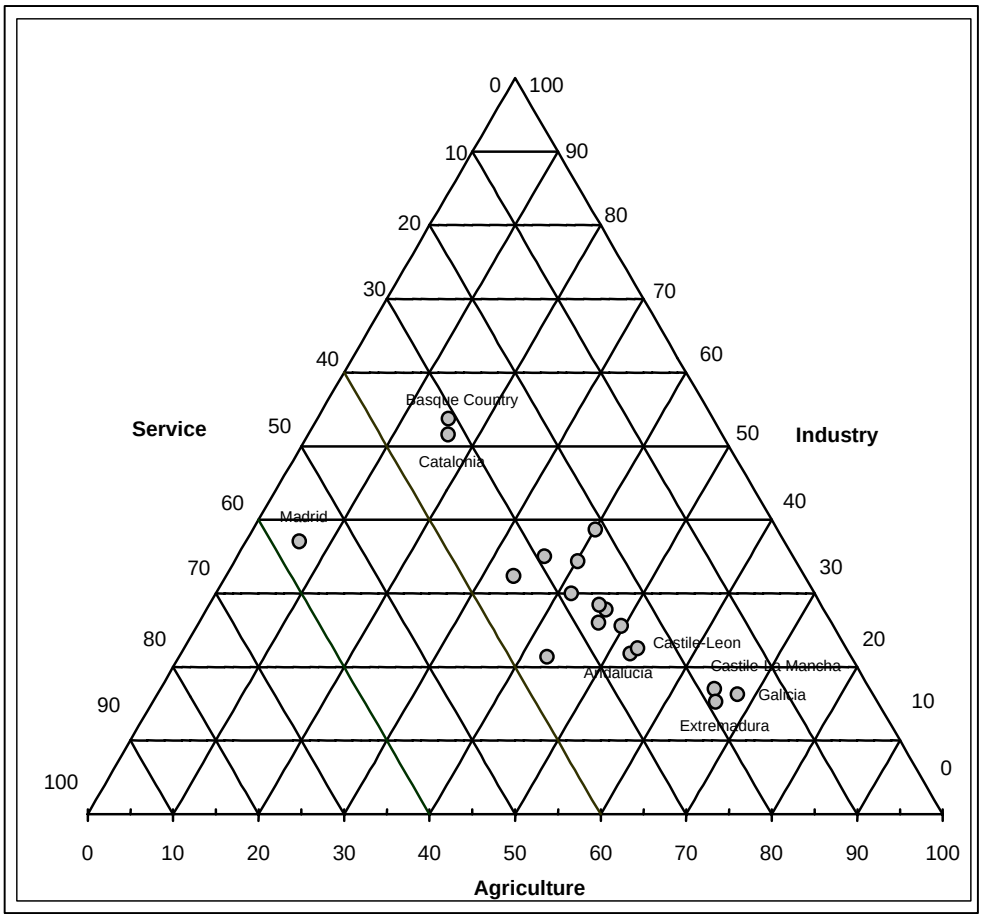
(*) Children that migrated before the age of 10

ANNEX

TABLE A.1

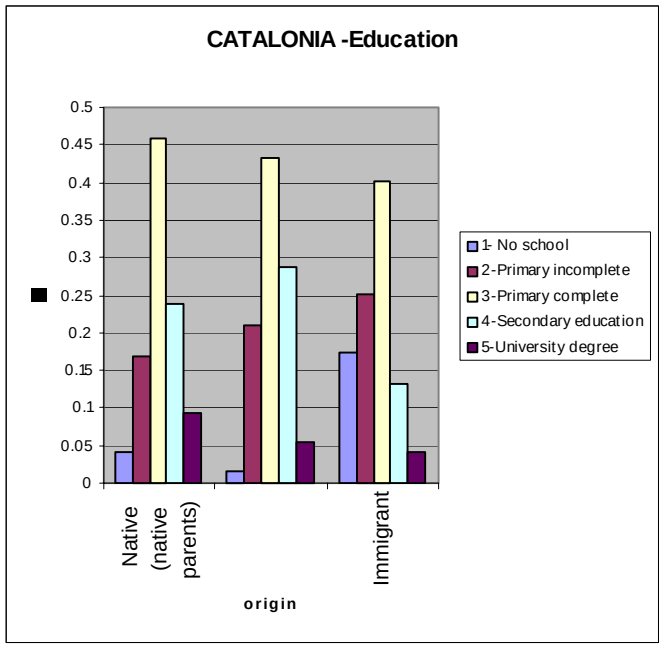
	All regions		
Variables	**Native, native parents**	**Native, migr parents**	**Not native**
Age	**Exp(B) Signif**	**Exp(B) Signif**	**Exp(B) Signif**
1971-72	1.180 (0.231)	1.274 (0.077)	1.276 (0.418)
1966-70	1.324 (0.008)	1.452 (0.002)	1.649 (0.011)
1961-65	1.104 (0.329)	1.228 (0.088)	1.159 (0.404)
1956-60	1.226 (0.041)	1.149 (0.269)	1.294 (0.123)
1951-55*			
Sex			
Male*			
Female	1.126 (0.069)	1.216 (0.003)	1.110 (0.381)
Number of siblings			
0*			
1	0.803 (0.087)	1.044 (0.755)	0.781 (0.369)
2	0.609 (0.000)	0.787 (0.099)	0.728 (0.251)
3	0.623 (0.001)	0.588 (0.001)	0.486 (0.016)
4	0.646 (0.014)	0.413 (0.000)	0.333 (0.001)
5	0.774 (0.230)	0.366 (0.000)	0.316 (0.003)
6+	0.379 (0.000)	0.273 (0.000)	0.309 (0.002)
Region of residence			
Basque Country	1.229 (0.033)	1.304 (0.000)	1.074 (0.748)
Catalonia*			
Madrid	0.868 (0.202)	1.679 (0.000)	2.030 (0.000)
% migrants in Res.			
<20%*			
40-49%	0.884 (0.677)	0.848 (0.716)	0.303 (0.130)
>50%	0.600 (0.123)	0.620 (0.301)	0.317 (0.140)
Father's education			
No education*			
Primary education	2.001 (0.002)	1.547 (0.014)	1.478 (0.174)
Secondary education	4.217 (0.000)	3.243 (0.000)	3.290 (0.001)
University degree	6.985 (0.000)	7.739 (0.000)	6.187 (0.000)
Mother's education			
No education*			
Primary education	1.508 (0.042)	1.953 (0.000)	2.239 (0.001)
Secondary education	2.057 (0.003)	3.438 (0.000)	2.300 (0.040)
University degree	3.144 (0.000)	4.296 (0.000)	7.267 (0.000)
Father's occupation			
Unskilled, manual*			
Semi-skilled, manual	1.084 (0.409)	1.005 (0.960)	1.154 (0.392)
Unskilled, non-ma	2.068 (0.000)	1.923 (0.000)	2.049 (0.000)
Semi-skilled, non-man	1.720 (0.000)	2.003 (0.000)	2.389 (0.000)
Highly skilled, non-m	2.257 (0.000)	2.577 (0.000)	4.305 (0.000)
$\mathbf{R^2_L}$	0.282	0.353	0.342
-2 Log likelihood	5680.23	5709.73	1908.36
Chi Squared stat.	1026.95	1409.83	663.00

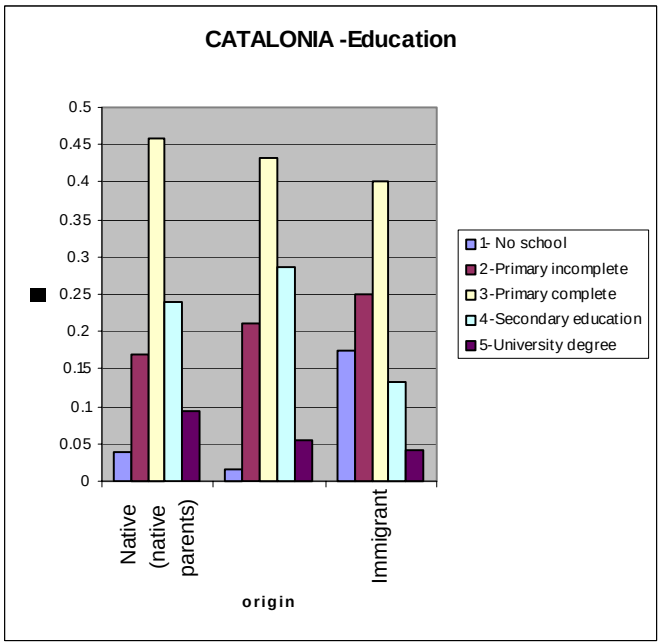
Graph 1: Economic structure - 1960

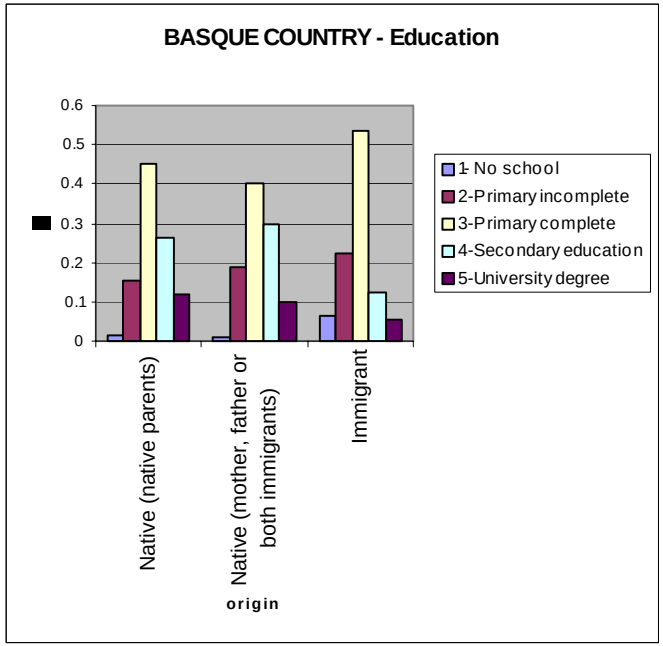


Source: Sevilla Guzmán (1979). Own calculations

GRAPH 2- Education by origin

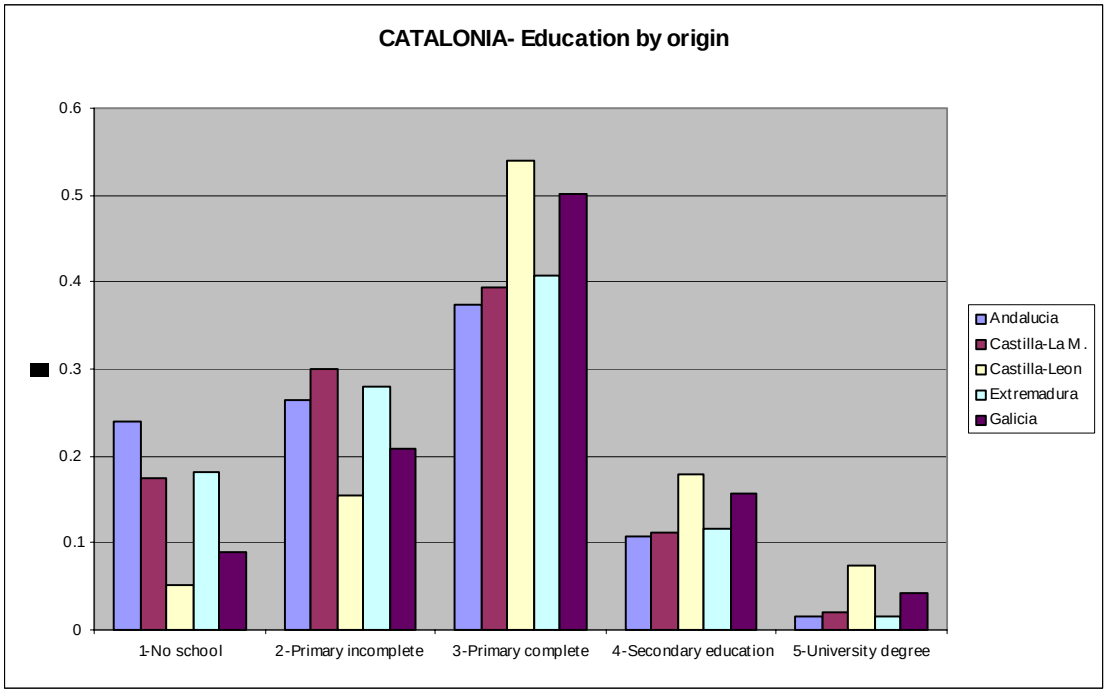


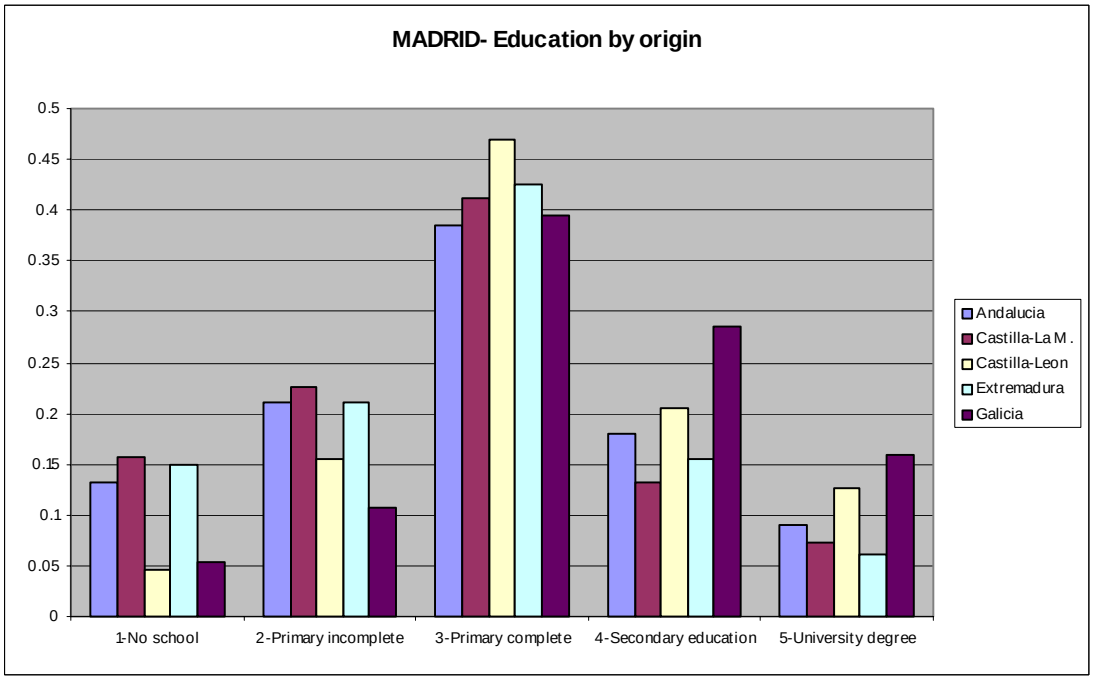


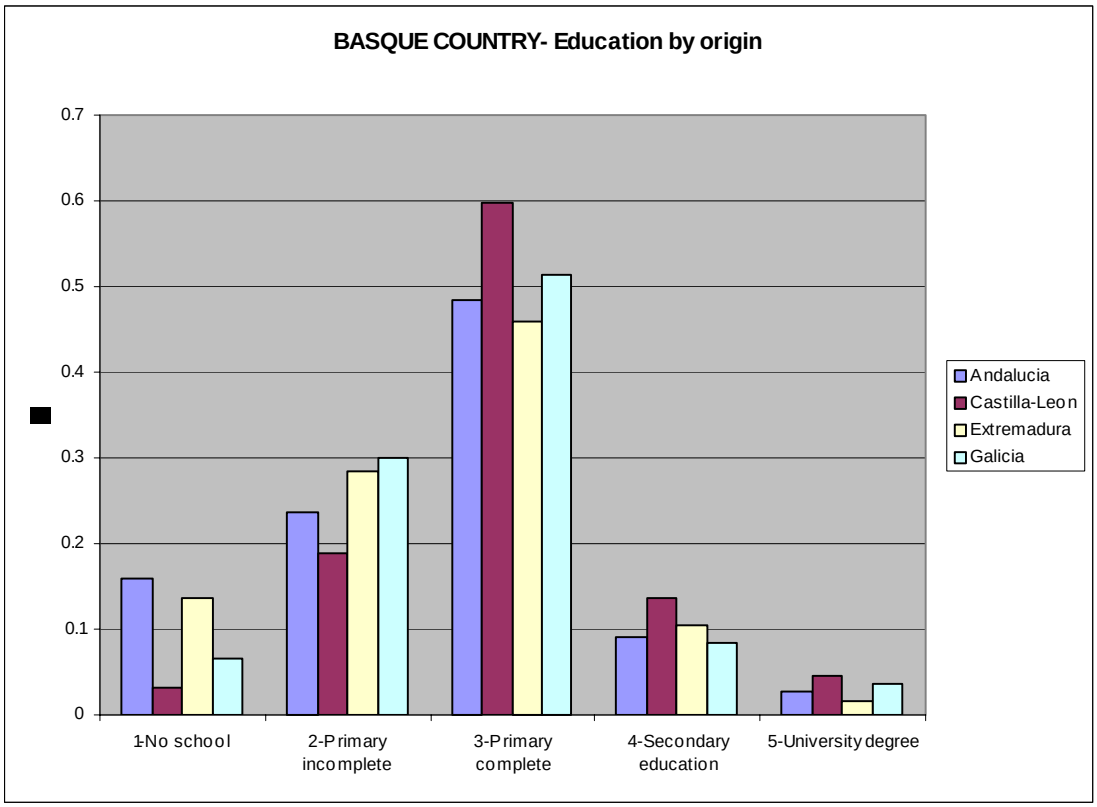


Source: 1991 Socio-Demographic Survey (ESD 1991)

GRAPH 3 - Education by region of origins

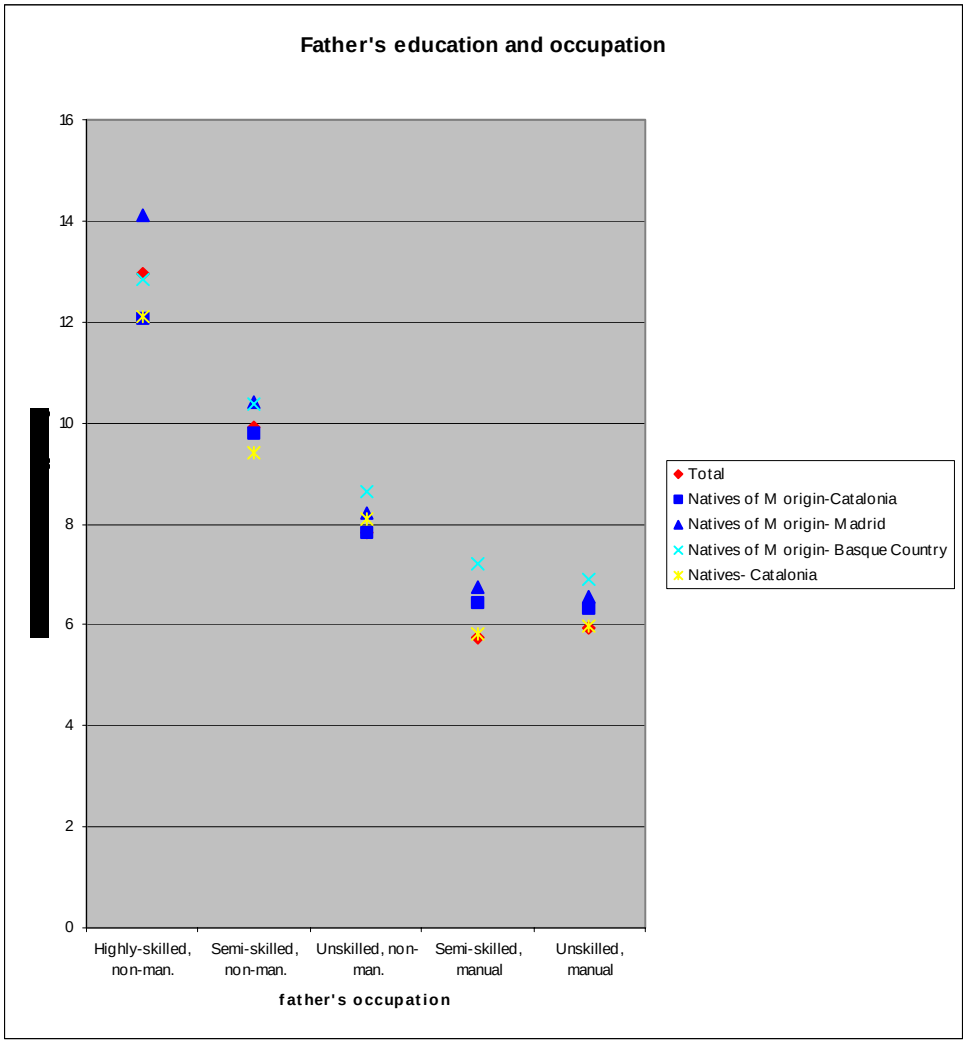






Source: ESD 1991

GRAPH 4- Father's education and occupation



*** We refer to "immigrants" in the text- fathers of the second generation (natives of M origin)**