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# Mothers' Educational Expectations and Children's Enrollment: Evidence from Rural China

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## **Abstract**

How much would mothers' educational expectations influence their children's actual school attainment in the rural setting of China? This study explores the impact of mothers' educational expectations on children's schooling by focusing on the discrepancy in expectations between mothers and children. Going beyond existing literature, this study pays special attention to the directions of mother-child discrepancy. I analyze Gansu Survey of Children and Families (GSCF), the longitudinal data, from rural Gansu, China. The analysis reveals that mother-child discrepancy in educational expectations is substantial. Children have a much better chance to stay in school when their mothers share with them the same college dream, or when mothers hold expectations higher than their own. Children at high risk of dropping out, that is those who are from impoverished families and those who struggle academically, benefit most from this positive impact. And mothers' influence becomes stronger as children advance in their schooling.

## **Disciplines**

Education

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**Mothers' Educational Expectations and Children's Enrollment:**

**Evidence from Rural China**

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**Mothers' Educational Expectations and Children's School Enrollment:  
Evidence from Rural China**

Abstract

How much would mothers' educational expectations influence their children's actual school attainment in the rural setting of China? This study explores the impact of mothers' educational expectations on children's schooling by focusing on the discrepancy in expectations between mothers and children. Going beyond existing literature, this study pays special attention to the directions of mother-child discrepancy. I analyze Gansu Survey of Children and Families (GSCF), the longitudinal data, from rural Gansu, China. The analysis reveals that mother-child discrepancy in educational expectations is substantial. Children have a much better chance to stay in school when their mothers share with them the same college dream, or when mothers hold expectations higher than their own. Children at high risk of dropping out, that is those who are from impoverished families and those who struggle academically, benefit most from this positive impact. And mothers' influence becomes stronger as children advance in their schooling.

## Introduction

The impact of family background on children's educational outcomes is one of the major topics in educational stratification research in both developed and developing countries. The sociological explanations of this relationship range from macro-level social inequality in the distribution of resources and opportunities to socialization within the family at the micro level. Parents' expectations for their children's educational attainment have been established as having great influence on children's school outcomes (Teachman 1987; Teachman and Paasch 1998; Kao 2002; Marjoribanks 2002; Trusty, Plata, and Salazar 2003; Englund et al. 2004; Davis-Kean 2005; Jacobs, Chhin, and Bleecker 2006; Neuenschwander et al. 2007; Zhang, Kao and Hannum 2007). However, among the large number of studies of parents' and children's educational expectations, only a few explore the influence of parent-child discrepancy in expectations (Furstenberg 1971; Smith 1981, 1982, 1991; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Beutel and Anderson 2008). To date there are almost no studies that examine longitudinally whether this parent-child discrepancy may relate to children's later school enrollment. Also, though research on educational expectations in the US and other developed countries have brought much insight in understanding the stratification in students' school outcomes, there are little studies on educational aspirations and expectations in the developing country contexts.

This study uses data from Gansu, an inland province in northeast China, with a comparatively high rate of illiteracy, prevalent poverty, and a low level of economic growth. It is a strong belief shared by both parents and children in rural Gansu that education is one of the most important ways to help children change their future, when economic development has provided more opportunities outside the village. Such a context provides a good opportunity to study whether educational expectations of parents can really help keep the children in school in the rural context of a developing country. The Gansu Survey of Children and Families (GSCF)—three-wave longitudinal data makes it possible to explore the impact of parent-child discrepancy in educational expectations on children's enrollment. This study answers the following two major questions: To what degree do mothers and children agree or disagree in their goals for children's future schooling? How would mother-child discrepancy in expectations at early time point impact children's later school persistence?

## Previous Research

### *Parents' Educational Expectations*

Previous research in educational stratification has long supported the argument that family can provide different forms of resources to facilitate children's education, and that demographic measures of family background, such as parents' education and family income, alone cannot account for all the variations in home environment that lead to differences in children's educational outcomes (Sewell and Shah 1968; Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf 1970; Woefel and Haller 1971; Coleman 1988; Teachman 1987; Teachman and Paasch 1998). One of the family process factors that influence children's education is parents' educational expectations. Considerable evidence exists that parents' expectations for their children's future educational pursuits are linked to children's educational attainment (Teachman 1987; Teachman and Paasch

1998; Trusty 1998; Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Cheng and Starks 2002; Eccles and Wigfield 2002; Wood, Kaplan, and McLoyd 2007).

Parents' expectations about their children's educational attainment reflect their attitudes about education and their investment in their children. By conveying their expectations to their children and by providing support and encouragement, parents can influence children's own attitude about education and their behavior at school (Woefel and Haller 1971; Kerckhoff 1989; Wilson and Wilson 1992; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Trusty, Plata, and Salazar 2003). Some researchers have conceptualize parents' educational expectations as a form of social capital (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Teachman and Paasch 1998; Qian and Blair 1999; Sandefur, Meier, and Campbell 2006; Flouri and Hawkes 2008). Using National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) data, Gary Sandefur, Ann Meier, and Mary Campbell (2006) found that family social capital, as measured by parents' expectations and parent-child interaction, substantially increase the probability of students' college attendance. The authors concluded that as parents may have more control over these forms of capital than over family economic status, further research in this area would contribute to our understanding of stratification in education. Parents' expectations can mediate the negative impact of poverty on children's schooling (Neuenschwander et al. 2007), and this effect is even stronger for children at risk (Casanova et al. 2005).

Parental influences are important to children's education not only because of the psychological and emotional support that parents provide by serving as models and definers (Woefel and Haller 1971) in family socialization processes but also because of parents' control of the financial and material resources in the home. Parents' expectations may lead to differences in family investments that mediate the influence of family SES on children's expectations and attainment (Kao and Tienda 1998; Qian and Blair 1999; Kao 2002). In investigating racial differences in educational expectations in the United States, Grace Kao (2002) found that Asian American parents have higher expectations for their children and invest more financial and material resources in their children's schooling than other parents in the same economic category. The higher parental expectations and investment are believed to contribute to higher achievement among Asian American students. Similarly, Jay Teachman (1987) has suggested that parents can mobilize material and nonmaterial resources to create a home environment that facilitates motivation and higher attainment. Parents from socially disadvantaged groups can compensate the lack of financial and human capital by demonstrating more optimistic expectations for their children, which can serve to increase children's own expectations, and eventual school attainment (Kao 2002; Beutel and Anderson 2008; Qian and Blair 1999; Davis-Kean 2005).

### ***Discrepancy between Parents' and Children's Expectations***

One line of research on educational expectations has focused on investigating the parent-child discrepancy in educational expectations, factors that may associate with the discrepancy, and its consequences (Furstenberg 1971; Smith 1981, 1982, 1991; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Beutel and Anderson 2008). Thomas Smith's (1982, 1991) studies compared children's expectations, children's perception of parents' expectations, and parents' actual expectations. Smith found that children's expectations are strongly associated with their understanding of their

parental educational expectations and that the agreement between children's and parents' expectations is positively associated with children's school grades (Smith 1982, 1991).

Several other studies have also pointed to the positive influence of parent-child agreement in expectations on children's schooling. Analyzing NELS-88 data, Lingxin Hao and Melissa Bonstead-Bruns (1998) showed that a higher level of agreement in expectations between parents and children is closely associated with children's higher achievement, while greater differences suppress achievement. In her investigation of racial and ethnic differences in educational expectations using NELS-1988 data, Kao (2002) has found that children are more likely to maintain their educational expectations over time if parents and children share the same expectation. Analyzing NELS data from 1988 to 2000, Jerry Trusty and Spencer Niles (2004) have found that students with high expectations are more likely to fulfill their goals if their parents also hold high expectations for them.

There is a major gap in the existing literature on the impact of parent-child discrepancy on children's education: almost all of these studies examine the consequences of agreement and disagreement between parents and children, but failed to investigate whether the direction of the discrepancy may have different impact on children's schooling.

### ***The China Context***

Economic reform has brought increasing importance to education in both urban and rural China. As educational returns have rapidly increased, education has become one of the most important factors for upward mobility for rural residents (Zhang and Zhao 2006; de Brauw and Rozelle 2007; Hannum and Adams 2007, 2008). At the same time there has been rapid expansion of basic education (Hannum and Liu 2005; Connelly and Zheng 2007). Still, rural residence and household and community poverty have had a negative impact on children's educational achievement and enrollment (Brown and Park 2002; Zheng, Niu, and Xing 2002; Hannum 2003; Adams and Hannum 2005; Connelly and Zheng 2007).

Research on educational stratification in China has also revealed that in addition to the constraints of economic resources, children's performance and engagement in the school and traditional gender norms affect parents' educational decisions for their children (Zheng, Niu, and Xing 2002; Zhang, Kao, and Hannum 2007; Kong, Hannum, and Zhang 2009). Empirical studies have found higher risk of dropping out of school starting at the junior high school level, as both direct and indirect costs of schooling rise (Brown and Park 2002; Hannum and Adams 2007, 2008). Parents and children view poor school performance, unwillingness to attend school, and the opportunity costs of school attendance as major barriers to education (Hannum and Adams 2007).

However, only a few studies on parents' and children's educational expectations and the impact of expectations on children's enrollment exist. Using data from rural Gansu, Hannum and Adams (2008) found that mothers' and teachers' expectations affect children's enrollment, thus highlighting the importance of early support by significant others for children's educational persistence. Kong's ethnographic study of rural parents involvement in their children's schooling reveals that parents, though limited in education themselves, are making great sacrifices in order to provide their children with the resources needed for their education. The motive behind parents' willingness to making sacrifices is their hope that further education will bring their children a better future. (\*\*\*) A few other qualitative studies that have investigated children's dropout rate, especially at the junior high school level, have also taken into account

parents' expectations, though not as the focus of their studies. These studies have suggested that parents' view of the value of education influences some children's, especially girls', decision to drop out of school (Xiao 2001) and that parents' high expectations positively influence children's decision to stay in school, even when children do not wish to continue (Liu 2004).

## Data and Method

### Data

This study uses GSCF data collected in Gansu Province, China. The GSCF is a representative sample of 2,000 rural children, ages 9–12 from 100 villages, which uses a stratified multistage sampling procedure. The first wave of data was collected in year 2000. The children were revisited in 2004, and then again in 2007. Also included are linkable secondary samples of the target children's mothers, teachers, school administrators, and village leaders. Most of the measures used in this study were taken from questionnaires answered by children and mothers. Children's academic achievements were reported by their homeroom teachers. Children's enrollment in 2007 was obtained from the third-wave family questionnaire. After eliminating cases with missing data, 1850 cases are used in the analysis. For the analysis of 2007 enrollment, data is further limited to those children who were in school in year 2004, with 1519 cases.

### Measures

#### Children's Schooling Status

Children's schooling status indicates whether the child was enrolled in school in 2000, 2004, and 2007, when the data were collected. This measure was coded as 1 if the child was in school and as 0 if not.

#### Educational Expectation

*Mother's educational expectation* is measured by mothers' answers to the question "What is the highest level of school you think your child can attain?" The possible responses include four categories: finish primary school, finish junior high school, finish senior high school, and attain college education or above. *Children's educational expectation* is measured by children's responses to a question correspondingly worded "What is the highest level of school you think you can attain?" The children's responses include six categories, which were recoded into four categories to match those for the mothers. Those cases in which mothers or children answered "other" were coded as missing.

To investigate the discrepancy in educational expectations between mothers and children, the measure *discrepancy in expectation* was created by subtracting children's expectations from mothers' expectations (mother's expectation – child's expectation), for both wave 1 and wave 2. Children whose mothers hold expectations lower than their own or mothers who hold the same lowest expectations (primary school education) as their children are coded as 1. Children with mothers who share with them the same two middle category expectations (graduate junior high and graduate senior high) are coded as 2. Children with mothers who have higher expectations



than their own, or both children and mothers share the highest expectations (college education) are coded as 3.

### Academic Achievement

Children's *math grade* was used as a measure of their academic achievement. The grades were end-of-semester test scores reported by children's homeroom teachers at both wave 1 and wave 2. They are on a 100 scale, with below 60 considered as failing the class.

### Individual and Family Characteristics

Children's individual characteristics include their *gender* (with male coded as 1 and female coded as 0) and their *age*. As measures of family SES, I used *mothers' and fathers' education*, as measured by years of formal schooling, and *family wealth*, which was created by adding the value of all durable goods and equipment owned by the family. The information was obtained from household questionnaire, which was often answered by the father. In multivariate analysis, the family wealth quintile was used to capture the potential nonlinear effect. The *total number of siblings* in the family is also included in the analysis.

## Analysis

### ***Descriptive Results***

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics of children and family characteristics for the analytical sample. A little more than half of the children are boys. On average, children are at middle school age when the second wave of data was collected. Most of the children were in school in year 2000. Four years later, about 13% of the children had dropped out of school; by 2007, when many children have reached senior high school age, only 59% of the children were still enrolled in school. In rural Gansu, parents' education is limited, with an average of about seven years of formal schooling for fathers and only about four years for mothers. There are on average 2.3 children in each family.

(Table 1 about here)

Table 2 presents children's and mothers' educational expectations and children's math grades in 2000 and 2004, also the correlations of expectations and achievements at both time points. Overall, both children and mothers expressed very high expectations, and their expectations were higher at the later time. About 59% of the children wanted to go to college in 2000, and the percentage rose to 73% four years later. Mothers' expectations were lower than children's in general but showed the same increase over time. By 2004, about 44% of the mothers expected their children to go to college, compared with 26% in 2000. One possible explanation of this trend is that mothers and children gain more confidence in their children's chance of continuing school as they have made the transition to junior high school. However, the correlations between mothers' and children's expectations are low at both time points, indicating a great deal of discrepancy. The low correlations of expectations over time among mothers and children separately also reveals changes over time. The low correlation in children's grades between the two time points indicates the instability of the children's academic performance. When examining the correlations between expectations and achievements, it is interesting to see that children's expectations were more correlated with their current grades, while mothers' expectations were more correlated with children's achievement at the early point in time.

(Table 2 about here)

Next, I examine in detail the discrepancy in educational expectations between mothers and children in both 2000 and 2004. Figure 2 presents the discrepancy in educational expectations between mothers and children. Considering the extremely high expectations of children, it is not surprising that more than half of the mothers had lower expectations than those of their children at wave 1, though this figure drops to about 45% at wave 2. Among children who hold college expectation in 2000, about 70% of their mothers thought they could only go the most to finishing high school. Though mothers hold higher expectations in 2004 than before, there are still 40% of the mothers of children who wanted to go to college think they can only reach senior high school (calculation results not shown). In 2000, when most children were in primary school, more than half of the mothers held expectations lower than their children, or both mother and child had only expected to finish primary school, the lowest category of expectation, and this number dropped to about 45% four years later. However, not all mothers had lower expectations than those of their children. Though only a small number of children expect only to finish junior high school or below, most of their mothers have expectations higher than that. Figure 1 shows that in year 2000, about 33% of the children's mothers have expectations higher than their children's, or both mother and child share the college expectation, and the number raised to 46% in 2004. The percentage of children whose mothers agree with them to expect to finish junior high or senior high school is about 15 percent in 2000, and it dropped to about 9 percent in 2004.

(Figure 1 about here)

The foregoing analysis shows a great deal of discrepancy in educational expectations between mothers and children. It is importance of taking this discrepancy into account in examining the impact of parents' educational expectations on children's schooling. The following multivariate analysis explores whether the mother-child discrepancy in educational expectations, especially the directions of the discrepancy at early time, have impact on children's later school enrollment.

### ***Multivariate Analysis Results***

This part of the analysis will test whether the differences between mothers and children in expectations at early time point can help keep children in school later, in addition to conventionally considered factors, such as family SES and children's previous school achievements. Two sets of models are estimated, one using mother-child discrepancy in expectations in year 2000 to estimate children's enrollment in 2004; and the other set of models estimate children's enrollment in 2007 using mother-child discrepancy in 2004. Table 3 presents the results of 2004 enrollment estimations.

(Table 3 about here)

Model 1 includes only mother-child expectation discrepancy and children's own expectations. Having mothers have higher expectations, or share with them the highest expectation at early time has a positive impact on children's later school persistence. Those children are 56% more likely to stay in school than children whose mothers have expectations lower than their own, or both only expect to finish primary school. However, having mothers who hold the similar junior or senior high school expectations does not have significant influence on children's later enrollment. Model 2 adds in children's gender, age, and their early

achievement as measured by their mathematics grade. As shown by many previous studies that boys have a better chance to stay in school than girls, and children with better achievement early are more likely to stay in school. Adding in these measures does not change the pattern we see in model one. Actually the impact of higher mother expectations increases a little in magnitude. Model 3 is the full model, with measures of family characteristic added, including parents' education, family wealth and number of siblings in family. Children from families with father having more education, or better economic situation are more likely to stay in school, which is in consistent with previous literature. Holding all these factors constant, mothers' higher expectations at early time point still have a strong positive impact on children's later school persistence. The results show that having mothers who hold higher than children's expectation, or share the same college expectations increase children's chance of staying in school, in addition to the impact of family SES and children's own achievements.

From year 2000 to 2004, as the majority of children were transitioning from primary school to junior high school, the enrollment rate at 2004 is relatively high. But there is a sharp drop in 2007, when many children should have advanced to senior high school. How would mother-child discrepancy in expectation impact children's school persistence during this transition? The following models test if mother-child discrepancy in 2004 can help explain children's enrollment in 2007. Here the analytical sample is limited to children who were in school in 2004. After eliminated cases with missing data, 1519 cases are used.

(Table 4 is about here)

Model one includes only mother-child expectation discrepancy and children's own expectations. Same as in the model for 2004 enrollment, children whose mothers having expectations higher than their own, or share with them college expectation in 2004 are more likely to stay in school three years later, holding children's own expectation constant. Here we see a much stronger influence. These children are twice as likely to stay in school as children whose mothers have expectations lower than their own. Model 2 adds in children's gender, age, and their mathematic grades in 2004. The strong impact of mothers' higher expectation remains. Model 3 also includes measures of parents' education, family wealth, and number of siblings in family. Same as in models for 2004 enrollment, children whose fathers have more education, and children from better off families are more likely to stay in school. However, it is interesting to notice that children from the wealthiest families do not have better chance to stay in school comparing with children from the poorest families. It is likely that wealthy families may have other plans for their children rather than further their schooling. Adding in family background measures does not change the pattern in the previous models. Among children of same family background, school achievement and their own expectations, those whose mothers holding expectations higher than their own, or sharing the highest college expectations are twice as likely to stay in school, compared with those children whose mothers' expectations are lower than their own. Boys have a better chance stay in school compare with girls. To further test the gender difference, interaction terms between mother-child discrepancy and child gender were added in the model, but there is no significant gender difference in the benefit of having mother holding higher, or sharing college expectations (analysis results not shown).

The analysis of children's school enrollment in both 2004 and 2007 reveal that having mothers holding expectations higher than their children's, or having both mother and child

holding college expectation at early time point can really help keep the children in school, controlling for other factors. And this impact is stronger as children advance in school. To provide a clear picture of how some of the key factors work together to influence children's school persistence, I calculated the predicted probability of a child's enrollment in 2004 and 2007 using estimate results from the full models for each year. The predicted probability is calculated by giving different values of the key factors, while holding all other variables constant at their mean values.

Figure 2 presents the predicted probability of children's enrollment in 2004, given different values of mother-child discrepancy in expectations and family wealth quintile in 2000. In general, children's school persistence is closely tied with family economic situation. As families' economic situation gets better, children have a better chance of staying in school. However, within each family wealth quintile, early mother-child discrepancy in expectation adds in variation of children's later enrollment. Those children whose mothers hold expectations lower than theirs, or both mother and child expect only to finish primary school, have the lowest probability of staying in school. Having mothers who share with children junior high or senior high expectations help to increase their chance of staying in school. Children who have the highest probability of staying in school within each family wealth quintile are those whose mothers have expectations higher than their children's, or both hold college expectations.

(Figure 2 about here)

Figure 3 presents the predicted probability of children's enrollment in 2007 based on the full model of enrollment estimation, given different values of mother-child discrepancy in expectations and family wealth quintile in 2004, while holding all other measures in the model at mean value. As in the previous figure, children's probability of staying in school is closely tied with their family wealth. Children's chance of enrollment increases as family economic situation getting better, except those children from families at the top quintile of family wealth. It seems that the wealthiest families have other opportunities for their children rather than attaining more education. However, within each family wealth quintile, mother-child discrepancy in expectations makes a large difference in children's probability of staying in school. There is almost no difference in the probability of staying in school between those children whose mothers have lower-than-child expectations, and those children whose mothers share with them lower than college expectations. However, having mothers who hold expectations higher than their children, or having mothers share with children college expectation can substantially increase the children's chance of staying in school. There is similar strong impact across every quintile of family wealth distribution. Among children from the poorest families, having mothers holding higher than children's expectations, or having both mother and child holding college expectations, can increase children's probability of staying in school by 17 percent compared with children whose mothers have lower expectations, which is the largest increase of all. . In rural Gansu, where limited family economic resources still post barrier to children's schooling, especially when they reach senior high school, mother's higher than child or the highest expectations can really help mediate the negative impact of poverty.

(Figure 3 about here)

Besides poverty, children's previous school achievement is also considered as one of the major factors that hinder children's school persistence. Next, I examine how children's achievement and mother-child discrepancy at early time point together influence children's chance of later school enrollment. Figures 4 and 5 show the predicted probability, using the full models of enrollment estimation.. Different values of mother-child discrepancy and children's

mathematic grades at early time point are used, while holding all other measures in the models at their mean values. Three different values of test score are used: 60, which is the cutting point of failure, 75, which is around the mean achievement of the sample, and 90, which is considered high achievement. Figure 3 presents the predicted probability of 2004 enrollment. Consistent with existing literature, the higher the children's previous achievement, the higher chances are for them to stay in school. At the same time, the early mother-child discrepancy in expectation adds variation in children chance of continue schooling, for both lower achievers, average students, and high achievers. Those children whose mothers hold lower than their own expectations, or both expect only to finish primary school have the lowest probability of staying in school. Having mothers share with their children junior high or senior high expectations increase their chances of staying in school, and those children whose mothers hold expectations higher than their own, or those whose mothers share with them college expectation have the best chance of staying in school. Again as we see in the above part of analysis, since children have a relatively high enrollment rate at 2004, children benefit from having mothers who hold expectations higher than their own, or share with them high expectations, but the influence is not that strong. Again, when examining children's chance of enrollment later in 2007, we see the much stronger influence of mother-child discrepancy in expectation, as shown in Figure 5.

(Figure 4 about here)

Figure 5 presents the predicted probability of children's enrollment in 2007. Children's chance of staying in school is closely tied with their previous academic achievement. The high achievers have on average about 15 percent a better chance of staying in school than those who are struggling academically, which is a much larger difference than in 2004. Within each achievement category, there is a substantial difference by early mother-child discrepancy in expectations. Among children who were struggling with their school work, having mothers holding higher-than-child expectations or sharing with their children the college expectation can increase their chance of staying in school by 16 percent, compare with other children. The difference in their probability of staying in school for students with average achievement is 14 percent. Even the high achievers, who already have a much better chance of continuing their schooling, still enjoy a 12 percent increase in their probability of staying in school if their mothers hold higher than their expectations, or sharing their college expectations.

As many children in the sample reached junior high school, their previous academic achievement have a much stronger impact on their chance of continuing schooling. It is also the time when mother-child discrepancy makes a substantial differences. Having mothers holding higher-than-child expectation, or sharing with children college expectation can prevent students from dropping out, especially for low achievers, those who are at higher risk of dropping out.

(Figure5 about here)

## **Conclusion and Discussion**

This study examines the impact of parent's educational expectations on children's school persistence, focusing on the discrepancy between mothers and children in their plans for children's future schooling. Going beyond previous studies, it pays special attention to the directions of this discrepancy and its different impact on children's school persistence.

The analysis reveals that in rural Gansu, discrepancy in educational expectations between mothers and children is substantial. About half of the mothers had lower expectations than those of their children. Given that children in rural Gansu have very high expectations, this is not surprising. Nevertheless, some mothers held higher expectations than those of their children. As the children grew older, agreement between mothers and children tended to increase. The mother-child discrepancy in education at early time has strong impact on children's later school persistence, and this impact become much stronger as many children advancing from junior high school to senior high school, when a higher dropout rate is observed. And it is the direction of this discrepancy that makes a difference in children's chance of staying in school. Having mothers holding expectations higher than their children, or holding the same highest expectation as their children can really increase children's chance of staying in school. Children at high risk of dropping out benefit most from mothers' higher expectations. Children from impoverished families, or children who are struggling academically, have a better chance of staying in school, especially as they advance to junior high or senior high school, when their mothers are determined to have their children continue their schooling.

The educational expectations of rural parents are more than abstract attitudes about education. In order to realize their goals for their children's education, they mobilize all the resources and make sacrifices themselves (Kong\*\*\* ). The findings from this study suggest that the support and encouragement of significant others at home, in this case, the mothers, that children receive can in the long run help the children's educational attainment. By holding high expectations for their children, the mothers create a supportive home cultural environment that helps to compensate the lack of other resources.

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**Table 1. Descriptive Statistics**

	<u>Mean or</u> <u>Proportion</u>	<u>Sd.</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Boys</u>	<u>0.5310057</u>	<u>0.499168</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>Child Age (2004)</u>	<u>15.08807</u>	<u>1.158033</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>Schooling Status</u>			
<u>2000</u>	<u>0.9962162</u>	<u>0.061413</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>2004</u>	<u>0.8751351</u>	<u>0.330655</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>2007</u>	<u>0.5952782</u>	<u>0.490976</u>	<u>1779</u>
<u>Family Background</u>			
<u>Father Education</u>	<u>7.006486</u>	<u>3.486815</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>Mother Education</u>	<u>4.164324</u>	<u>3.482479</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>Family Wealth</u>	<u>22759.13</u>	<u>39902.52</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>2.34</u>	<u>0.734361</u>	<u>1850</u>

**Table 2. Educational Expectations (%) and Child Achievement**

	<u>Primary</u> <u>School</u>	<u>Junior</u> <u>High</u>	<u>Senior</u> <u>High</u>	<u>College</u> <u>or</u> <u>Above</u>	<u>Correlation</u>				
					<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Educational</u> <u>Expectations</u>									
<u>1</u> <u>Child 2000</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>9.41</u>	<u>26.86</u>	<u>59.03</u>					
<u>2</u> <u>Child 2004</u>	<u>1.38</u>	<u>7.31</u>	<u>18.38</u>	<u>72.92</u>	<u>0.12</u>				
<u>3</u> <u>Mother 2000</u>	<u>4.49</u>	<u>26.65</u>	<u>42.43</u>	<u>26.43</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>0.09</u>			
<u>4</u> <u>Mother 2004</u>	<u>0.68</u>	<u>14.92</u>	<u>40.65</u>	<u>43.75</u>	<u>0.12</u>	<u>0.14</u>	<u>0.25</u>		
<u>Mathematics</u> <u>Grade</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>sd.</u>							
<u>5</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>74.17</u>	<u>14.39</u>			<u>0.21</u>	<u>0.14</u>	<u>0.22</u>	<u>0.23</u>	
<u>6</u> <u>2004</u>	<u>72.15</u>	<u>16.74</u>	-	-	<u>0.09</u>	<u>0.14</u>	<u>0.13</u>	<u>0.15</u>	<u>0.23</u>

**Table 3. Logistic Regression of Enrollment (2004)**

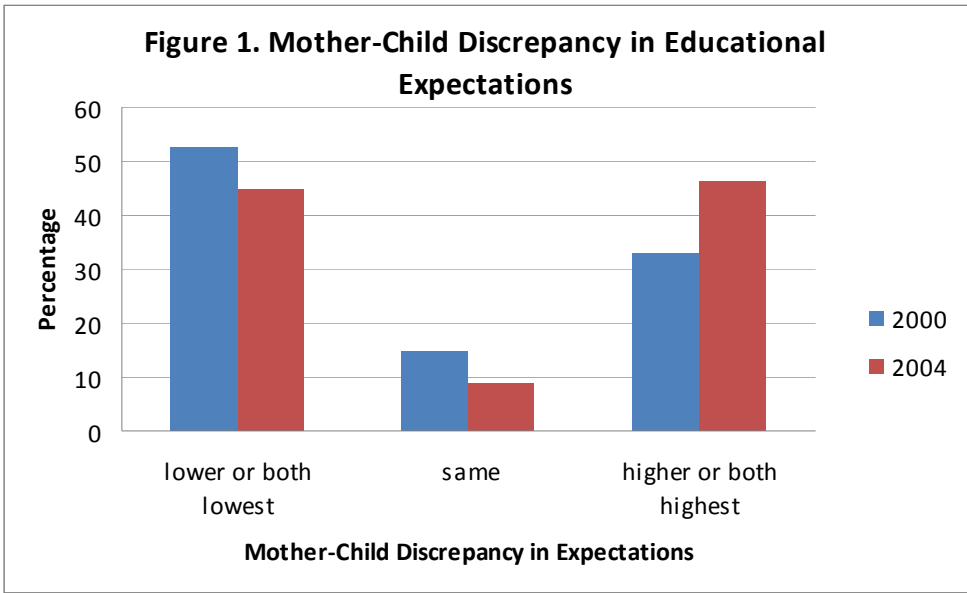
	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3</u>
<u>Mother-Child Discrepancy in Expectation</u>			
<u>Mother's lower-than-child or lowest (Reference)</u>			
<u>Mother's same as child's</u>	<u>0.295</u> <u>(1.362)</u>	<u>0.358</u> <u>(1.532)</u>	<u>0.268</u> <u>(1.128)</u>
<u>Mother's higher-than-child or highest</u>	<u>0.450**</u> <u>(2.493)</u>	<u>0.502***</u> <u>(2.590)</u>	<u>0.461**</u> <u>(2.362)</u>
<u>Child Expectation</u>	<u>0.436***</u> <u>(5.041)</u>	<u>0.398***</u> <u>(4.129)</u>	<u>0.349***</u> <u>(3.564)</u>
<u>Child Math Grade</u>		<u>0.016***</u> <u>(3.166)</u>	<u>0.013**</u> <u>(2.462)</u>
<u>Boys</u>		<u>0.327**</u> <u>(2.156)</u>	<u>0.340**</u> <u>(2.175)</u>
<u>Child Age</u>		<u>-0.859***</u> <u>(-11.570)</u>	<u>-0.900***</u> <u>(-11.800)</u>
<u>Father Education</u>			<u>0.060***</u> <u>(2.631)</u>
<u>Mother Education</u>			<u>0.036</u> <u>(1.454)</u>
<u>Total number of children in family</u>			<u>0.092</u> <u>(0.873)</u>
<u>Family Wealth (1st Quintile as Reference)</u>			
<u>2nd quintile</u>			<u>0.297</u> <u>(1.295)</u>
<u>3rd quintile</u>			<u>0.276</u> <u>(1.177)</u>
<u>4th quintile</u>			<u>0.548**</u> <u>(2.205)</u>
<u>5th quintile</u>			<u>0.551**</u> <u>(2.103)</u>
<u>Constant</u>	<u>0.320</u> <u>(0.969)</u>	<u>8.901***</u> <u>(9.428)</u>	<u>8.812***</u> <u>(9.159)</u>
<u>N</u>			
<u>R2</u>	-	-	-

note: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

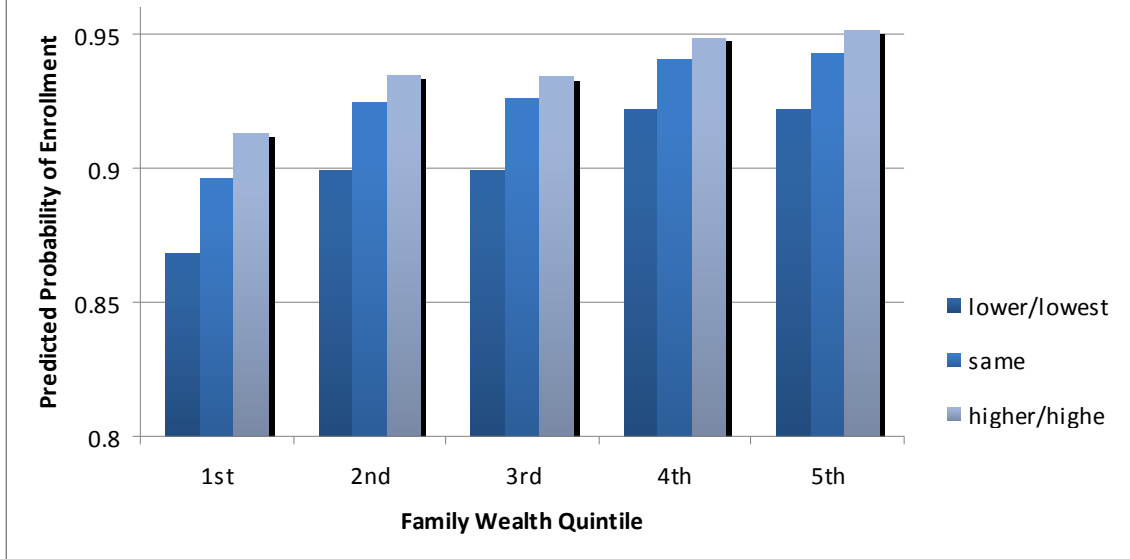
**Table 4. Logistic Regression of Enrollment (2007)**

	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3</u>
<u>Mother-Child Discrepancy in Expectation</u>			
<u>Mother's lower-than-child or lowest (Reference)</u>			
<u>Mother's same as child's</u>	<u>0.013</u> <u>(0.058)</u>	<u>-0.050</u> <u>(-0.220)</u>	<u>-0.070</u> <u>(-0.301)</u>
<u>Mother's higher-than-child or highest</u>	<u>0.818***</u> <u>(6.492)</u>	<u>0.788***</u> <u>(5.974)</u>	<u>0.676***</u> <u>(4.993)</u>
<u>Child Expectation</u>	<u>0.576***</u> <u>(5.626)</u>	<u>0.518***</u> <u>(4.808)</u>	<u>0.468***</u> <u>(4.248)</u>
<u>Child Math Grade</u>		<u>0.027***</u> <u>(7.533)</u>	<u>0.027***</u> <u>(7.418)</u>
<u>Boys</u>		<u>0.321***</u> <u>(2.738)</u>	<u>0.333***</u> <u>(2.759)</u>
<u>Child Age</u>		<u>-0.305***</u> <u>(-5.702)</u>	<u>-0.327***</u> <u>(-6.008)</u>
<u>Father Education</u>			<u>0.072***</u> <u>(3.909)</u>
<u>Mother Education</u>			<u>0.026</u> <u>(1.392)</u>
<u>Total number of children in family</u>			<u>0.077</u> <u>(0.883)</u>
<u>Family Wealth (1st Quintile as Reference)</u>			
<u>2nd quintile</u>			<u>0.247</u> <u>(1.316)</u>
<u>3rd quintile</u>			<u>0.368**</u> <u>(1.966)</u>
<u>4th quintile</u>			<u>0.627***</u> <u>(3.239)</u>
<u>5th quintile</u>			<u>0.053</u> <u>(0.281)</u>
<u>Constant</u>	<u>-1.734***</u> <u>(-4.252)</u>	<u>1.006</u> <u>(1.147)</u>	<u>0.609</u> <u>(0.675)</u>
<u>n</u>			
<u>R2</u>	-	-	-

note: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

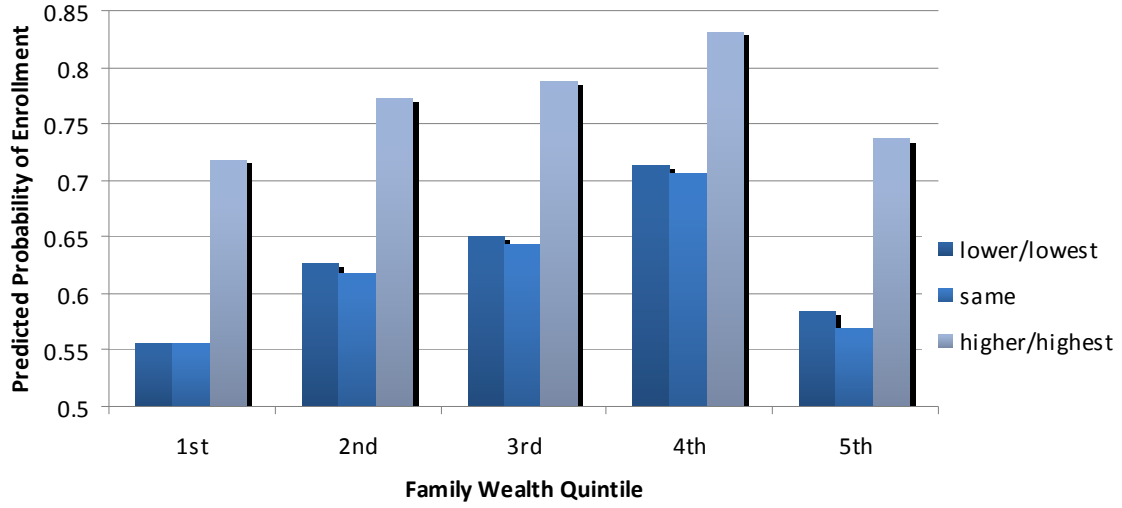


**Figure 2. Predicted Probability of Enrollment (2004): By Family Wealth and Mother-Child Discrepancy in Expectations**

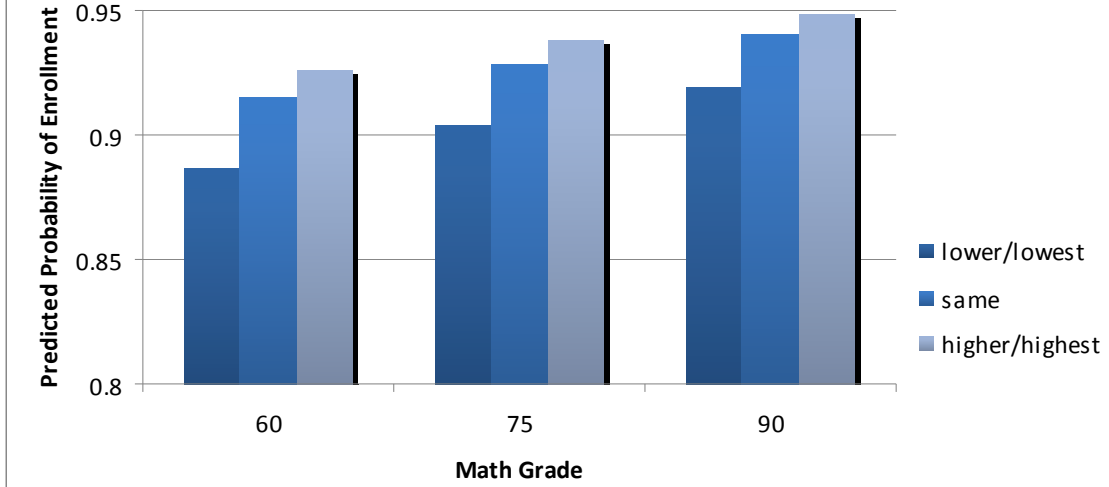




**Figure 3. Predicted Probability of Enrollment (2007): By Family Wealth and Mother-Child Discrepancy in Expectations**



**Figure 4. Predicted Probability of Enrollment (2004): By Math Grade and Mother-Child Discrepancy in Education**



**Figure 4. Predicted Probability of Enrollment (2007): By Math Grade and Mother-Child Discrepancy in Education**

