

The Children of Immigrants and Minorities: Well-being in Families and Schools

WELLCHI Final Conference

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Guide to presentation:

- Who are we talking about? Children of immigrants and minorities in Europe: differences and inequalities
- Children of immigrants and minorities in schools as well as in families: tensions and contradictions
- Recent works on children of immigrants and minorities in European schools and family/policy matters: Newsletter 4
- Examples from Spain:
 - Patterns of immigration and social inequalities
 - Housing, Working status and educational attainment of parents and carers, Other features
 - Children in immigrant families and educational inequalities
 - Migration projects: between adults and children
 - Limited and misleading local policies for immigrant families
- Further reflections and further research

Wellbeing, immigration, minorities

- The 'weight of immigration' in explaining new poverty rates in Europe
- Measures and concepts of poverty; diversity and inequality
- Child poverty vs child well-being
- Culture and subjective well-being of children
- Inequalities and exclusions

↳ Children's experiences of inequalities within migration processes and minority status

Poverty and children in immigrant and minority families

- Current representations:
 - Poverty as a fatal outcome of migration especially affecting children (misunderstanding of double frames of reference)
 - Children of immigrants, from *troubled* (as accumulators of risk indicators) to *troubling* (as undeserving transfers)
 - Immigrant family environment as unsuitable and unable to proper care of children and adolescents (misunderstanding of family fragmentation)
- Need to processual and comparative approach analysing available data
- Understanding poverty as specific experience of inequality

Forces leading to children's experiences of inequality within migration and minority status:

- Legal status of adults/parents, double invisibility of children: limitation to welfare
- Migratory strategies, transnational household economies, difficult re-unification for poorer immigrants
- Feminisation of flows, emergence of female projects within migration strategies, increase of one-parent families
- Social policies, misleading separate targeting of children, misleading targeting of 'families':



sociocentrism adding to invisibility

Patterns of immigration to Spain

- From unexpected immigration (90's) to complex features of international immigration in only ten years (2000's):
 - Long settlement and new arrivals
 - Rapid change and intensification of fluxes
 - Initial enclaves vs. General presence
 - Diversity of national, cultural and social origins
 - Diversity of family forms and transnational networks
 - Social polarisation and diversity of migration projects
 - Increasing legal, social and educational inequalities within immigrant groups



Impact on second generations

Key features about new immigration waves

- Dramatic increase of foreign population: average 0,8% in 1995 to 10,5% in 2006 (12% in Catalonia)
- 80% from poorer countries, 20 % from richer countries
- 4.000.000 foreigners in a total population of 44.000.000 people: more than 25% are children

Foreign population in the EU

COUNTRY	Year of last available data	Total population	% of foreign population over total population	First foreign nationality in ranking
United Kingdom	2003	55 636.760	4.7	Ireland
France	1999c	55 258.263	5.6	Portugal
<u>Spain</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>39 426.772*</u>	<u>6.6*</u>	<u>Ecuador + Morocco</u>
Netherlands	2004	15 556 702	4.3	Turkey
Sweden	2004	8 500 476	5.3	Finland

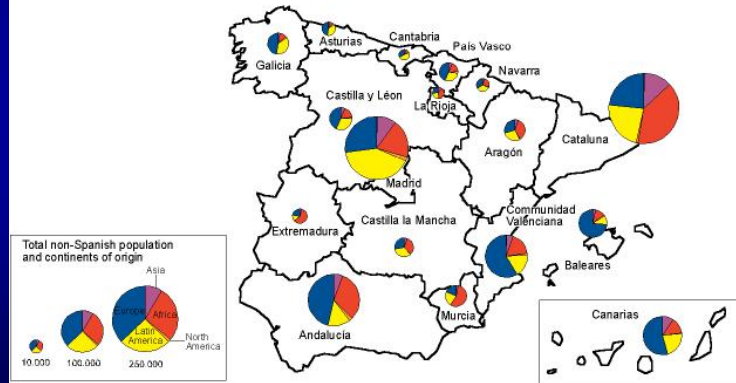
Source: EU Census Report, march 2006

Non Spanish population by Autonomous Community

Spain: Non-Spanish population by Autonomous Communities in 2001

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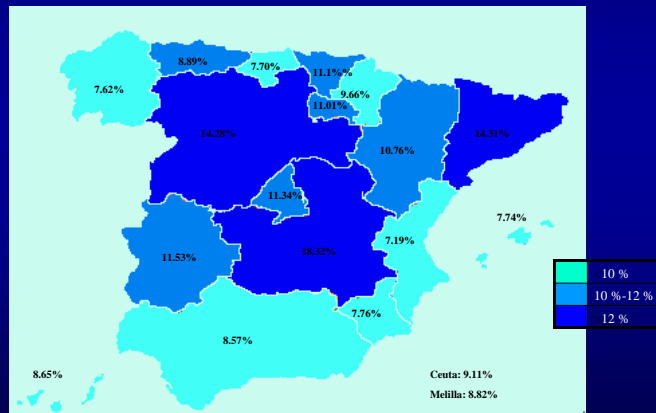
data source: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales (2002): Anuario de Migraciones



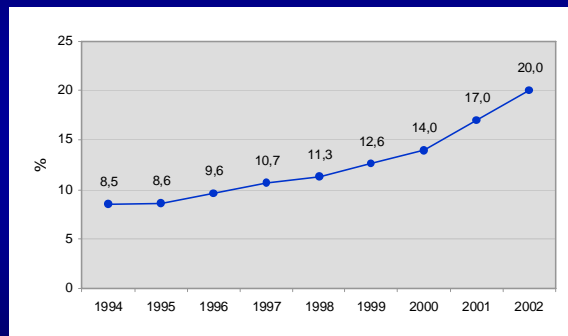
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Weight of foreign population 3-16 over total number of foreign population by Autonomous Communities, 1998

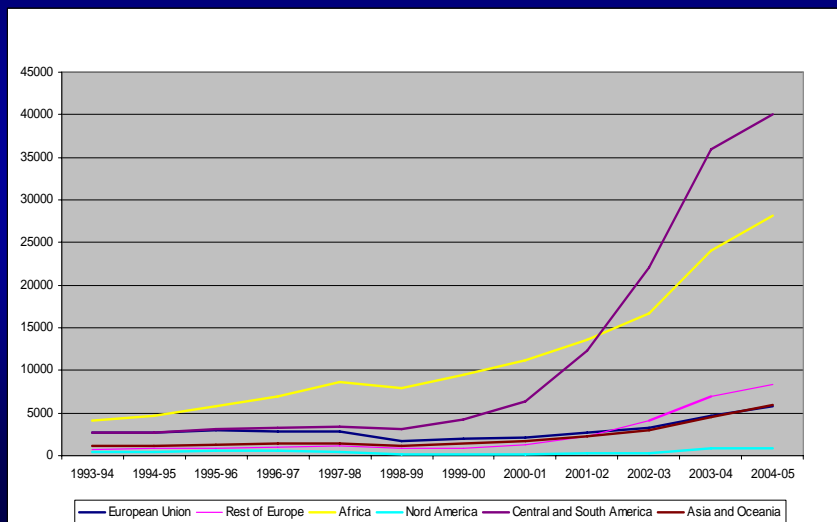


EVOLUTION OF NUMBER OF BABIES BORN TO FOREIGN MOTHERS IN BARCELONA



Source: CIIMU report on Childhood and Immigration in 2004

Numbers of foreign students by area of origin in Catalonia



Immigration and social polarisation

a) Immigration from countries with low income (80%): 'the immigrants'

- Economic migration, strategies of maintenance, remittances & investments
- Weak legal status of parents and double invisibility of children
- Decision making depending on strategies of transnational households
- Family fragmentations and difficult family reunification
- Feminization of immigration, changes in gender roles, increase of number of lone mothers with dependent children and transnational obligations
- High group visibility (neighbourhood perception, media, etc: overexposure)
- Stigmatisation of differences inside and outside school

b) Immigration from countries with medium and high income (20%): 'the foreigners'

- Similar citizenship rights (EU or special agreements, Shoengen, etc) and/or high income
- Professional projects or family projects to improve quality of life
- Family formation in destiny, families rely more in public systems
- Group invisibility & not seen as competence in labour market
- Positive recognition of differences inside and outside school

Foreign workers in labour market: how are children affected by the conditions these data reveal?

- **LEGAL EMPLOYMENT:** The number of foreign workers in the Social Security was 1.688.598 (31/12(2005) (Source: MTAS).

Foreigners represent 9,3% of the total number of workers in Social Security. Out of the total numbers of foreign workers, 1.404.449 proceed from non EU countries and 284.000 from the EU

The ranking of legal workers is composed by Ecuadorians (270.323), followed by Moroccans (239.941) and Rumanians (155.993), Colombia (130.173), Perú (60.139), China (53.776), Argentina (53.488), Bolivia (43.990), Bulgaria (43.053) and Ucraina (36.389).

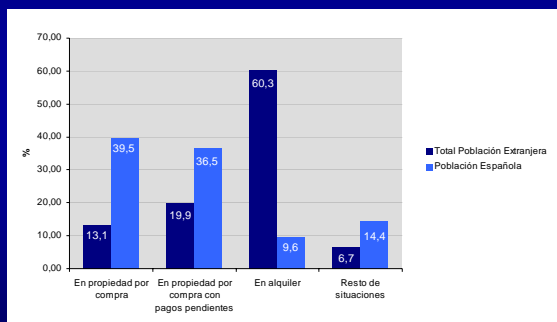
Among European citizens, the largest number is for British citizens (52.280), followed by Italians (49.727) and Portuguese (48.169)

Sectors of employment:
BUILDING (26,09%) TOURISM (17,37%), STATE AGENTS (14,52%) INDUSTRY (10,63%); AGRICULTURE (temporary workers)

- **INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT:** domestic service, caring for children and lone elders, other activities, agriculture

House ownership in families with foreign children

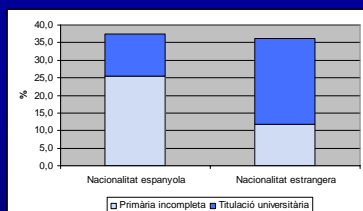
POPULATION 0-17 BY NATIONALITY, PLACE OF BIRTH OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND HOUSE OWNERSHIP. SPAIN, 2001



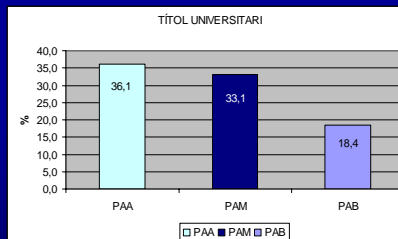
Source: *Childhood in Figures* based on data from Spanish Population Census 2001 (INE).

Education in families with foreign children

HIGHER EDUCATION/INCOMPLETE PRIMARY EDUCATION AMONG FOREIGN AND NATIONAL POPULATION IN BARCELONA (HORTA-GUINARDÓ) 2004



FOREIGN POPULATION WITH HIGHER EDUCATION ACCORDING TO AVERAGE INCOME OF AREA OF ORIGIN HORTA-GUINARDÓ 2004 (PAA=high income; PAM=medium income; PAB=low income)



Source: CIIMU, *Childhood in Figures*, based on data from Spanish Population Census 2001 (INE).

Educational level of foreign population

	1999			2003		
	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Spaniards	31,58%	54,84%	13,58%	24,04%	52,78%	23,18%
Foreigners	35,58%	45,83%	18,58%	28,48%	50,79%	20,74%
Africa	68,01%	27,12%	4,87%	59,40%	34,40%	6,19%
Latin America	24,23%	56,84%	18,93%	22,31%	60,06%	17,64%
Eastern Europe	17,77%	55,00%	27,23%	18,03%	52,80%	29,17%
Western Europe	18,64%	54,93%	26,43%	14,71%	46,90%	38,40%

Source: BBVA Report based on last available data from INE 2003

Foreign students and educational inequalities

EVOLUTION OF RATE OF FOREIGN STUDENTS OVER TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN SPAIN FROM 1999/00 - 2003/04.

Comunidades Autónomas	Alumnado Extranjero		Alumnado Total	
	N	%	N	%
CURSO 1999/00	100.940	1,45	6.972.500	100
CURSO 2000/01	134.081	1,95	6.882.363	100
CURSO 2001/02	197.559	2,89	6.830.185	100
CURSO 2002/03	295.717	4,32	6.843.646	100
CURSO 2003/04	392.037	5,68	6.903.063	100

SOURCE: CIIMU working on data from Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (MEC).

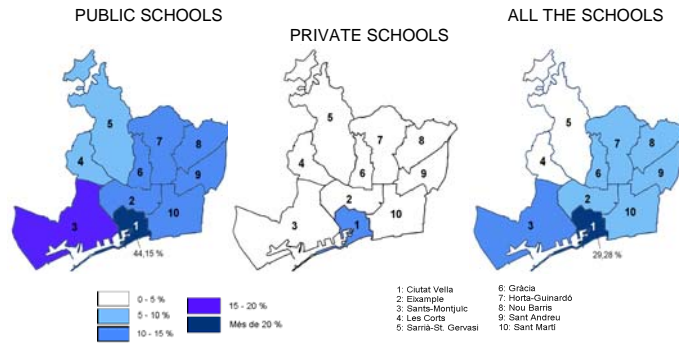
Education and social change

- **Education Reform LOGSE (PSOE, 1995)** : important proportion of teachers and conservative parents associations against comprehensive philosophy in ESO
 - Not enough public schools to develop comprehensive Reform: private schools take advantage in receiving public funds + local and middle class flight from public schools
 - Greater autonomy and decentralisation in management: languages and in-service training
 - Parallel debate about integration of students with certain physical or mental disorders in ordinary schools; tracking officially forbidden
 - The expression 'Paying attention to diversity' becomes popular
 - Multiple 'special' and 'specific' educational devices developed instead of system transformation
- **Education Counter-reform LOCE (PP, 2003)**: selective and segregationist system, ideas of 'culture of effort', 'quality' and official streaming, instead of struggle against educational inequalities
- **NEW EDUCATION LAW (PSOE, 2006): LOE, in progress...**

Socio-cultural composition of schools: increasing segregation

- Four types of schools reflecting position of families in social structure and different rate/origin of foreign students
 - Working class Spanish speaking students + largest numbers of new immigrant students
 - Unique public schools in villages/high prestige public schools in town center with social and cultural diversity
 - Private schools (concertada, religious or not) with middle and lower middle class families, lowest presence of foreign students
 - Elite schools socio-culturally homogeneous or with upper class foreign students

Foreign students over the total number of students by district. Barcelona. 2003-2004.



Source: Elaboration by team, I+D *Educación e inmigración en Barcelona*, PI Dr. Sílvia Carrasco. Octubre 2004

Experiences of educational exclusion and social segregation

- Lower attainment of immigrant students, even those whose parents have higher education
- Lowest attainment, highest drop out and minimum certification obtained by North African and Latin American students (certain nationalities)
- Social segregation between public and private schools (worse in Barcelona city)
- Academic segregation within high schools (streaming), though illegal
- Selection of students by schools through indirect methods (private and public)
- Limits to access pre-school education depending on legal status of parents
- Consolidation of social representation of immigrant students as 'failure+conflict'
- Failure in educational response to immigrant students reveals important inadequacies of school practices for all students
- Low post-compulsory education, legal limits to labour market, producing a new generation of 'illegal immigrants'



+ long life experience of poverty

Students in compulsory, postcompulsory and S.Ed.

Areas of origin	ESO (compulsory secondary education)		Higher Ed tracks		Vocational tracks		Special Education	
	2003/04	2004/05	2003/04	2004/05	2003/04	2004/05	2003/04	2004/05
EU	1,046	1,214	366	437	189	274	20	21
Rest of Europe	1,929	2,557	447	580	252	297	15	32
Northern Africa	5,598	6,014	357	399	580	761	192	232
Rest of Africa	439	616	49	50	101	121	53	59
North America	84	89	41	38	11	13	0	0
Central and South America	9,653	10,887	1,626	1,973	1,489	2,037	239	327
Asia and Oceania	1,484	2,155	154	188	77	119	18	28
Total foreign students	23,532	20,233	3,040	3,665	2,704	3,622	536	699
Total number of students	258,746	256,556	90,131	87,964	67,357	68,604	6,514	6,716
% of foreign students	9.1	7.9	3.37	4.17	4.01	5.28	8.29	10.4

Factors conditioning achievement of immigrant students according to PISA

- Immigrant students obtain worse results in PISA tests in all the countries, but great differences between countries
- Conventional factors explaining worse results:
 - Parents' education attainment in the country of origin
 - Socioeconomic status in host country
 - Family language
- Correlation in most of countries between socioeconomic divide and achievement divide among national and immigrant populations, but disadvantage persists even in countries *most selective* with type of immigrants (skills required, nationalities, etc) or with higher knowledge of language of tuition (or second generations)
- Language determinant factor in Belgium, Germany and US
- Example of Germany, explicit selective system (immigrant students underrepresented in Gymnasium, overrepresented in Haupschule)

Factors conditioning achievement of immigrant students according to PISA II

- More than a third of second-generation immigrant children in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Norway and the United States, who have spent their entire schooling in the host country, perform below the baseline PISA benchmark for mathematics performance
- Immigrant children express equal, if not more, motivation to learn mathematics than their native counterparts and very positive general attitudes towards school
- School systems differ widely in terms of their outcomes for immigrant children, the report makes clear
- In many countries, the odds are weighted against students from immigrant families right from the start. They tend to be directed to schools with lower performance expectations, often characterised by disadvantaged student intakes and, in some countries, disruptive class-room conditions

Table 2.1a
Differences in mathematics performance by status (PISA 2003)

	Performance on the mathematics scale					
	Native		Second-generation immigrants		First-generation immigrants	
	Mean score	S.E.	Mean score	S.E.	Mean score	S.E.
OECD countries						
Australia	527	(2.1)	522	(4.7)	525	(4.9)
Austria	515	(3.3)	459	(8.8)	452	(6.0)
Belgium	546	(2.5)	454	(7.5)	437	(10.8)
Canada	537	(1.6)	543	(4.3)	530	(4.7)
Denmark	520	(2.5)	449	(11.2)	455	(10.1)
France	520	(2.4)	472	(6.1)	448	(15.0)
Germany	525	(3.5)	432	(9.1)	454	(7.5)
Luxembourg	507	(1.3)	476	(3.3)	462	(3.7)
Netherlands	551	(3.0)	492	(10.3)	472	(8.4)
New Zealand	528	(2.6)	496	(8.4)	523	(4.9)
Norway	499	(2.3)	460	(11.7)	438	(9.3)
Sweden	517	(2.2)	483	(9.8)	425	(9.6)
Switzerland	543	(3.3)	484	(5.0)	453	(6.1)
United States	490	(2.8)	468	(7.6)	453	(7.5)
Average for the 17 OECD countries	523	(0.7)	483	(2.1)	475	(1.9)
Partner countries						
Hong Kong-China	557	(4.5)	570	(4.6)	516	(5.3)
Macao-China	528	(5.9)	532	(4.1)	517	(9.2)
Russian Federation	472	(4.4)	457	(7.2)	452	(5.9)
Belgium (Flemish Community)	567	(2.9)	445	(10.7)	472	(10.0)
Belgium (French Community)	514	(4.3)	458	(9.6)	419	(14.4)

Notes:

1. Differences that are statistically significant are indicated in bold.

2. PISA did not test all 15-year-old students in all countries. The means are based on samples of 15-year-old students that represent the population of 15-year-old students in each country. The standard error (S.E.) denotes a level of confidence in how well the reported mean represents the whole population of 15-year-old students. A low figure means a higher level of confidence and a higher figure means a reduced level of confidence.

Migration projects: between adults and children

- Younger generations' limited options for *accommodation without assimilation*
- Conflict between parents' role assigned to children in migration project and children's own integration aspirations
- Contradictions between mobility expectations from education vs. expectations of integration from employment
- Adults minimise higher exposure to racism in relations with majority and in exclusion from labour market
- Emergence of attitudes of resistance among young Moroccans and Ecuadorians, reinforcing 'troubling' representation
- Parents from China and Russia warn against pressure on children derived from 'model-minority' stereotype at school

Legal framework concerning immigration and the children of immigrants in Spain

- **Immigration policies**
 - 4/2000, modified by extremely restrictive 8/2000
 - Extraordinary regularisation process Fall 2005
 - Children: universal rights according to Convention of Rights of the Child (but equal rights only until age 16)
- **Integration policies**
 - Plan para la Integración Social de los inmigrantes (Spain)
 - Plà Ciutadania i Immigració (Catalonia: citizenship rights, reception strategies, accommodation policies)
http://www.gencat.net/benestar/immi/pdf/pla_05_08.pdf
 - Immigration plans at local level (cities, 'comarcas', etc)

Limited and misleading local policies for immigrant families

- Local policies through immigration and integration strategies are not child+family+centred: social transfers not reaching most needy children
- Reproduction of invisibility of different conditions of children in migrant families but overexposure of certain aspects of cultural diversity
- Assumption of standard family forms and treatment of fragmented households as mainstream poor household lacking 'suitable' structure
- Assumption of legal status in the receiving country, limits to access public services: fear and withdrawal strategies of families with illegal status
- Updating of debate between development of universal or specific services and strategies according to different population needs
- Reproduction of dichotomy between 'immigrants' and 'foreigners'
- Social policies in southern European countries continue to rely on family networks that immigrants lack, therefore...
 - ➡ Self-fulfilling prophecy: 'migrant families are unsuitable for their children's wellbeing'

Further reflections for further research:

- Children in migration: need to focus on experiences before and after reunification processes (example from LISA project)
- Children's experiences in migration entail downward mobility, even among those from poorer countries
 - Living on remittances, higher consumption
 - Comparative status in receiving country, to nationals and to children from richer countries
 - Direct exposure to downward mobility of parents in labour market in relation to educational attainment and public status
- Subjective perception of well-being is highly affected by family and individual difficulties and loss of status
- Increased questioning of parents' migration project by children
- Need to produce more accurate research on children's social experiences within migration and minority status

Southern border

