

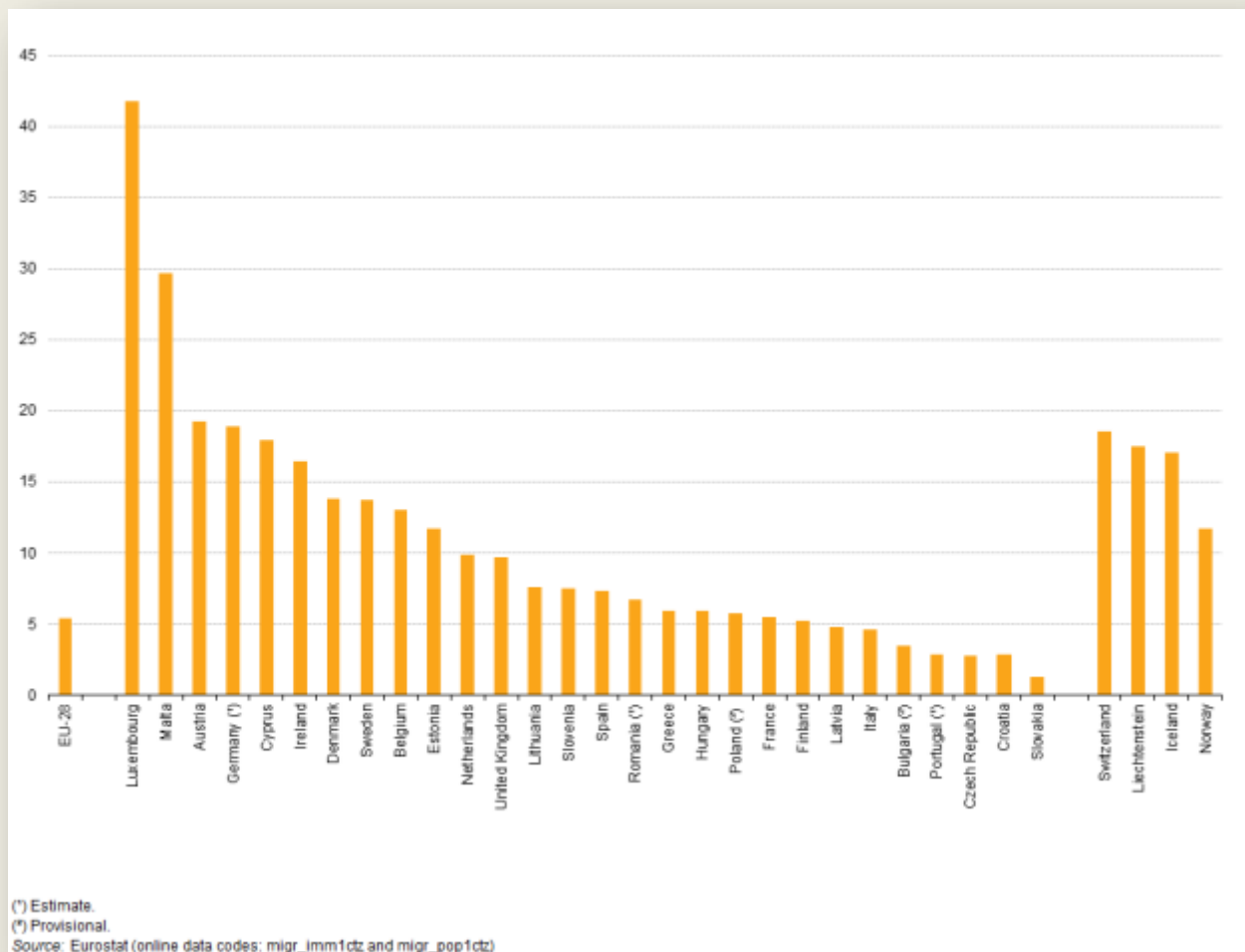
# Immigrant students in Western world



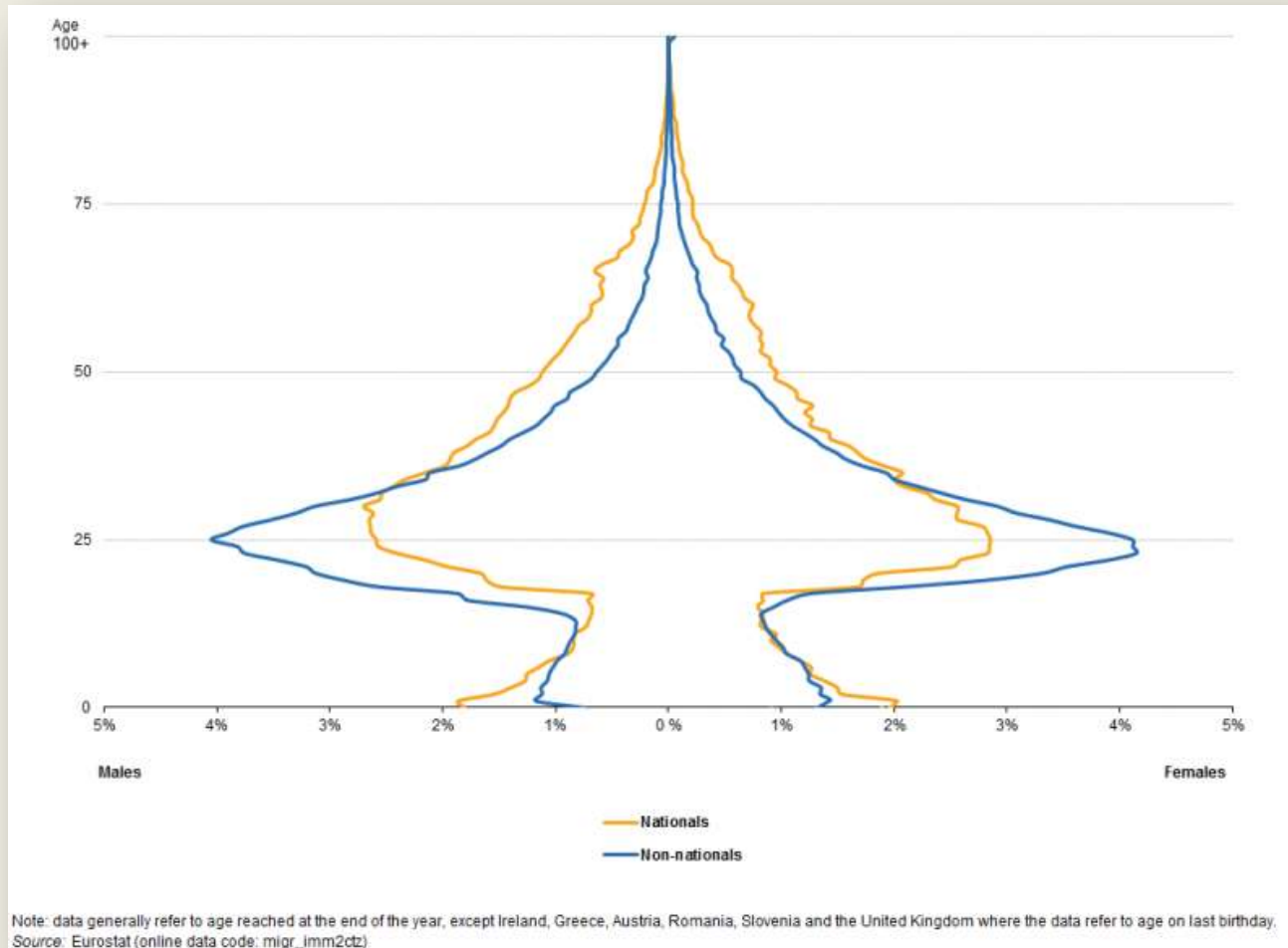
**Federico Zannoni, University of Bologna**

Krasnoyarsk, July 2018

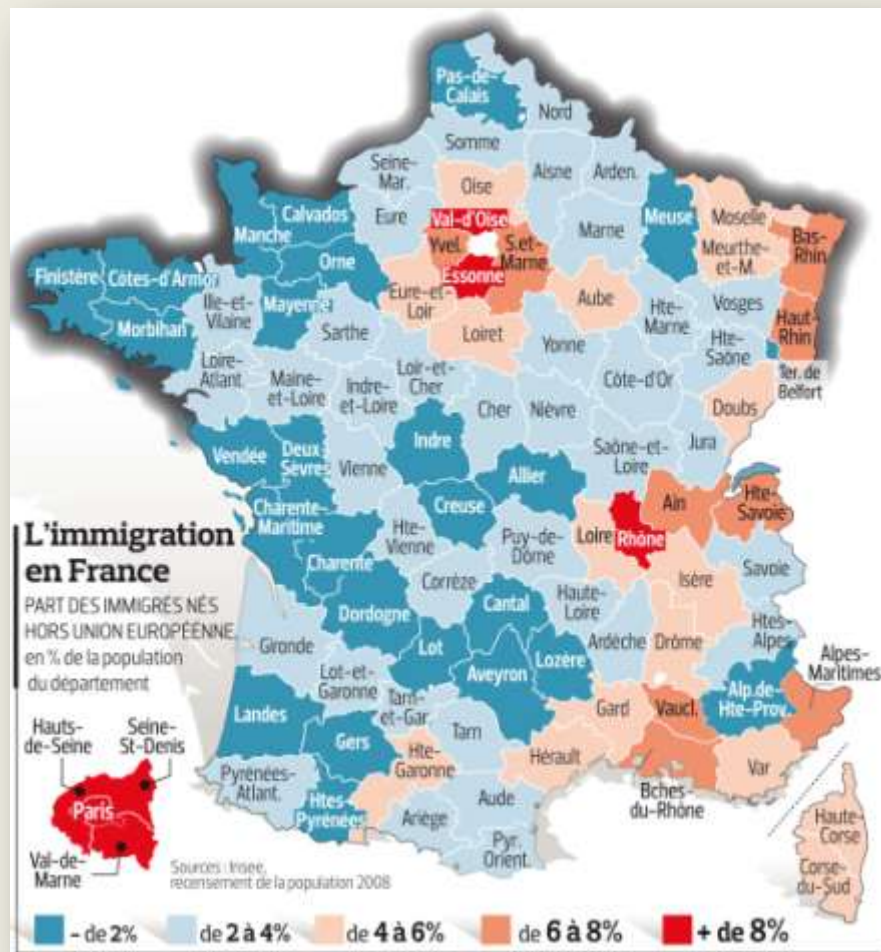
# Immigrants in European countries



# Age structure



# In France



Международная летняя молодёжная школа «Поликультурная медиация в образовании»  
Институт педагогики, психологии и социологии  
Сибирский федеральный университет

- Since the mid-1970s: immigration for **family reunification** more important than labour force immigration.
- **New immigrants** are **more** highly **qualified** than previous immigrants.
- **Educational attainment among the children of immigrants** is generally **higher** than that of their parents, though the differences are sharp across immigrant groups.
- **Difficulties in French** among children of immigrants are frequently and unfairly **equated with intellectual shortcomings or a limited potential** for academic success.

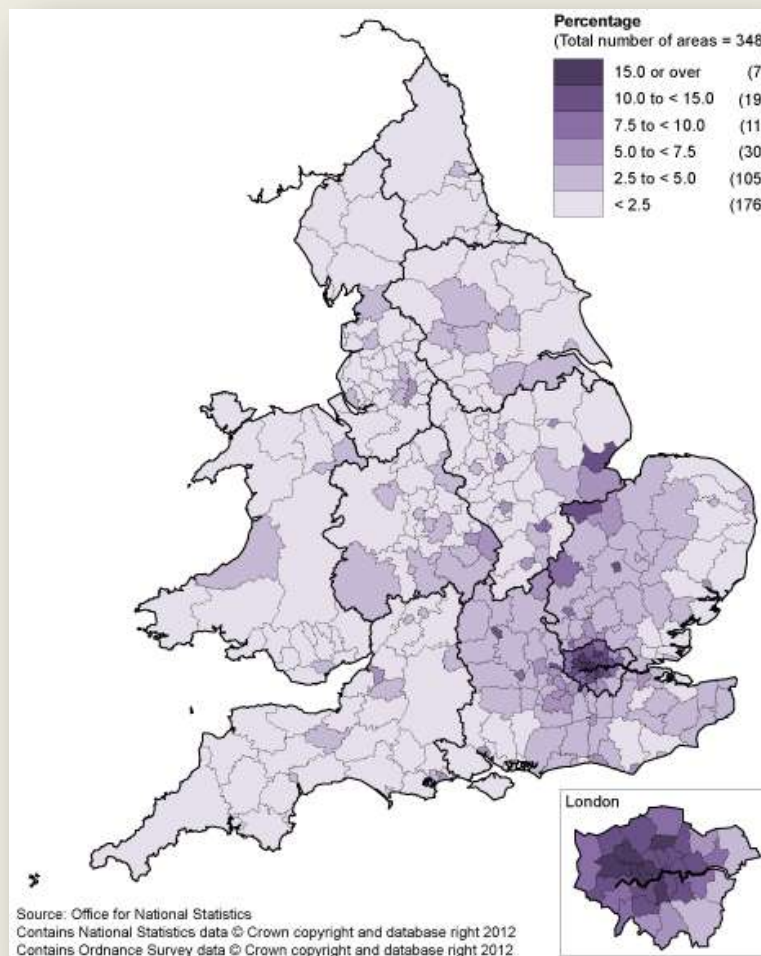
- Young adults of immigrant origin are more likely to be outside the educational system and not be economically active.
- The chances of children of immigrants entering in the labour market are affected by:
  - their social origin
  - limited personal networks
  - discrimination
  - employment status and occupations of their parents

# Paris, November 2006





# In the United Kingdom





- Since the early 1990s: many of the newer countries of origin of immigrants have **no specific colonial** or other historical **links** with the United Kingdom.
- **Mothers and fathers** in immigrant families exhibit significantly **higher educational attainment** than mothers and fathers in native-born families.
- **Ethnic penalty** on certain ethnic minorities **in the labour market**.
- Ethnic minority families are more likely to live in **poor neighbourhoods**.

- **Differential outcomes in education** across minority groups.
- Ethnic minority graduates do less well **in the labour market** than White graduates. **Discrimination** appears to be one factor.
- Increasingly **negative public attitudes** towards asylum and immigration issues.

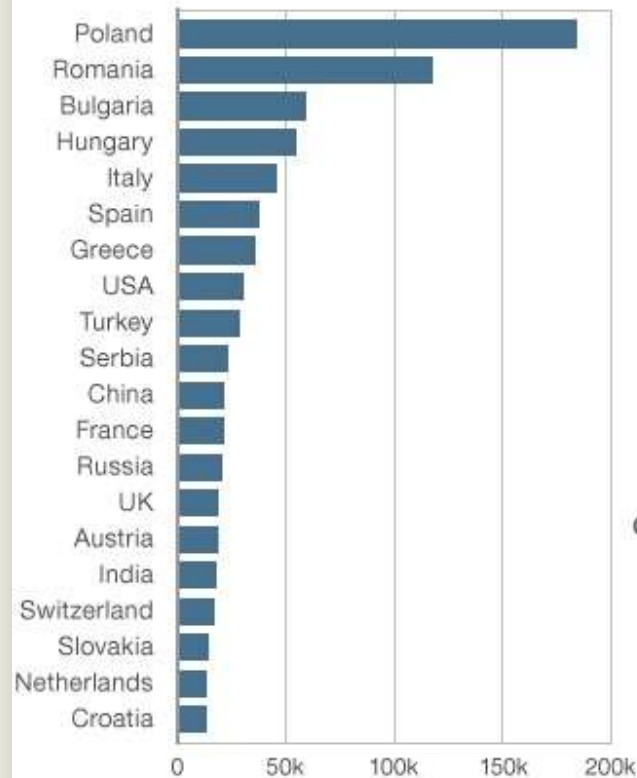
# London, August 2011



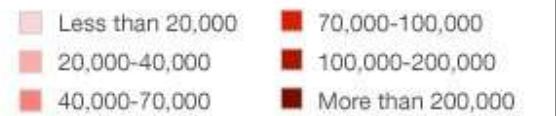
# In Germany

## Immigration to Germany in 2012

Where people are from:



Where they settle:

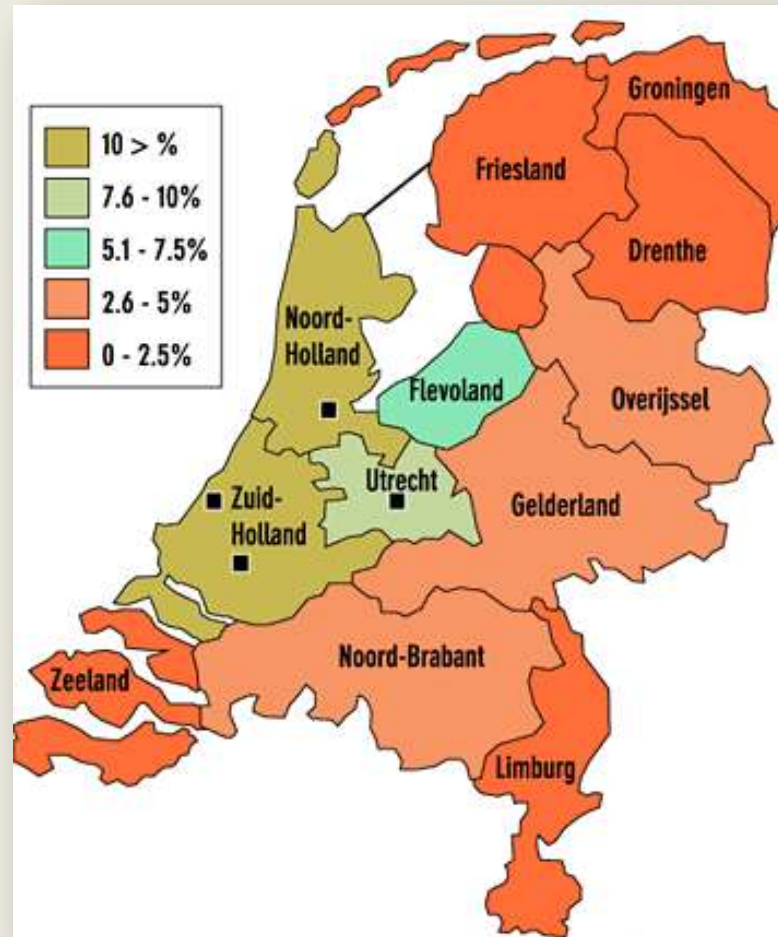


Source: Federal Statistical Office

- The age structure among people of migrant origin is shifted considerably towards **younger ages**.
- Young children of migrant origin face **disadvantages in preschool**. Many are held back because of a lack of German language proficiency.
- Children and youth in foreign-born families tend to start school later and **repeat classes** more often.
- Children of migrant origin are often guided towards **less demanding and less promising educational tracks** because of their perceived deficiencies. This is apparent especially during the transition from primary to lower secondary education.
- Children of migrant origin benefit of **less health care** (more restrained participation of these children in early diagnosis and preventive care; greater incidence of obesity and poor dental care among children in some immigrant groups).

- Youth of migrant origin are involved in **violent crimes** at a higher rate. Certain migrant groups are at especially high risk of involvement in committing crimes.
- **Factors** responsible for the prevalence **of deviant behaviour** among youth of migrant origin:
  - **disadvantages in education**
  - greater **parental tolerance** of violent behavior
  - acceptance of concepts of **masculinity** that legitimize violence
  - more frequent **association with young people prone to delinquency and crime.**
- Crimes committed by offenders of migrant origin are also **more likely to be reported to police**. Germans are the least frequent victims of youth crime. Other **migrant groups** are among the **more frequent victims**.

# In the Netherlands





- Immigrant groups show a **younger age** structure than the native-born Dutch.
- Immigrant families are generally **poorer**, are living in **less favourable housing** and are **more vulnerable on the labour market**.
- **Some** immigrant **groups** are **more disadvantaged** than others.
- The **second generation** in the four main non-western country-of-origin groups (the Antilles and Aruba, Morocco, Suriname and Turkey) appear to enjoy **higher socioeconomic status than their parents**, though they are still generally **below the socioeconomic level of the native born**.

- The majority of all children in immigrant families start primary school with a **language and math deficiency**. Most children in immigrant families become enrolled in the **low secondary tracks**.
- Many youth of immigrant origin **identify with** aspects of **their ethnic backgrounds** rather than with the Netherlands.
- Many in the native-born population consider **identification** with the Netherlands a **requirement for the social inclusion** of people of immigrant origin.

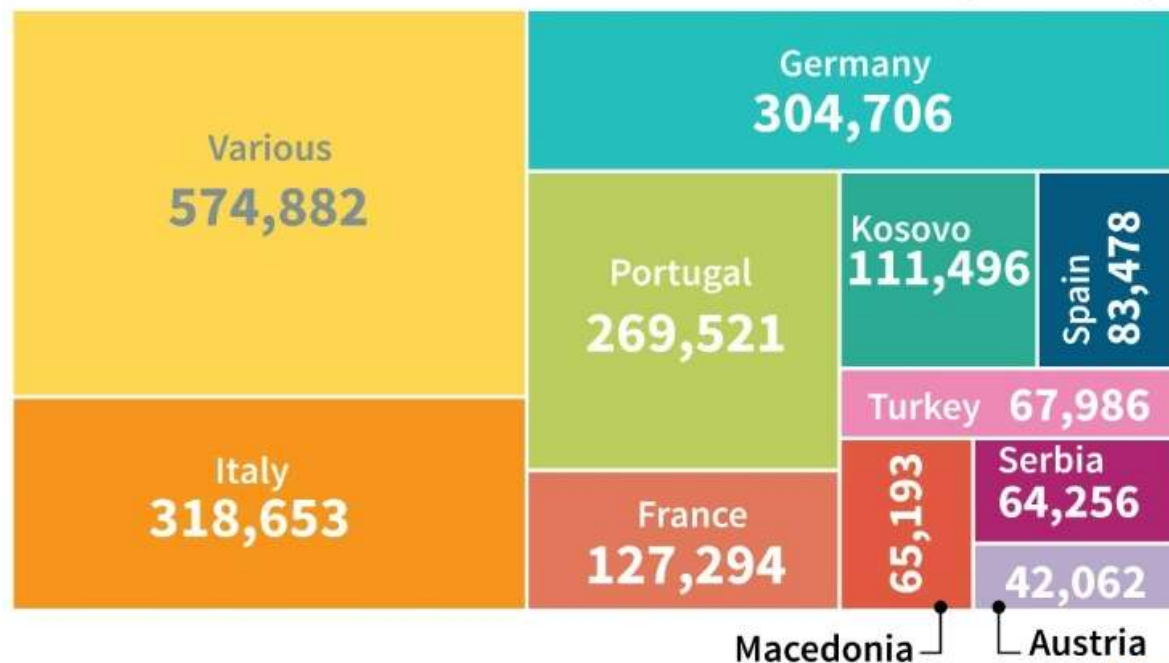
# In Switzerland

## The foreign population in Switzerland

Swiss voters voted in a referendum to simplify the naturalisation process for the grandparents of immigrants

Foreign nationals: **2 million** (December, 2016)

*By nationality*



Source: Swiss government figures

© AFP

- Immigration **decreases** the likelihood of **divorce** and separation.
- The **second generation** often tends to maintain practices and **behaviours** that are **distinctive within their immigrant communities**.
- **Educational performance varies** among immigrant groups. **Youth** in groups involved in **longer term immigration** flows tend to be **more successful** than youth in groups in more recent flows.

- The **unemployment rate among youth** aged 15–24 who are foreign nationals is **twice** the rate among Swiss youth in the same age group.
- The **marginalized position on the labour market** is caused by:
  - **difficulties** encountered in education and in social integration
  - **discriminatory practices** among teachers and employers.
- **Deviant behaviour** among youth of immigrant origin.

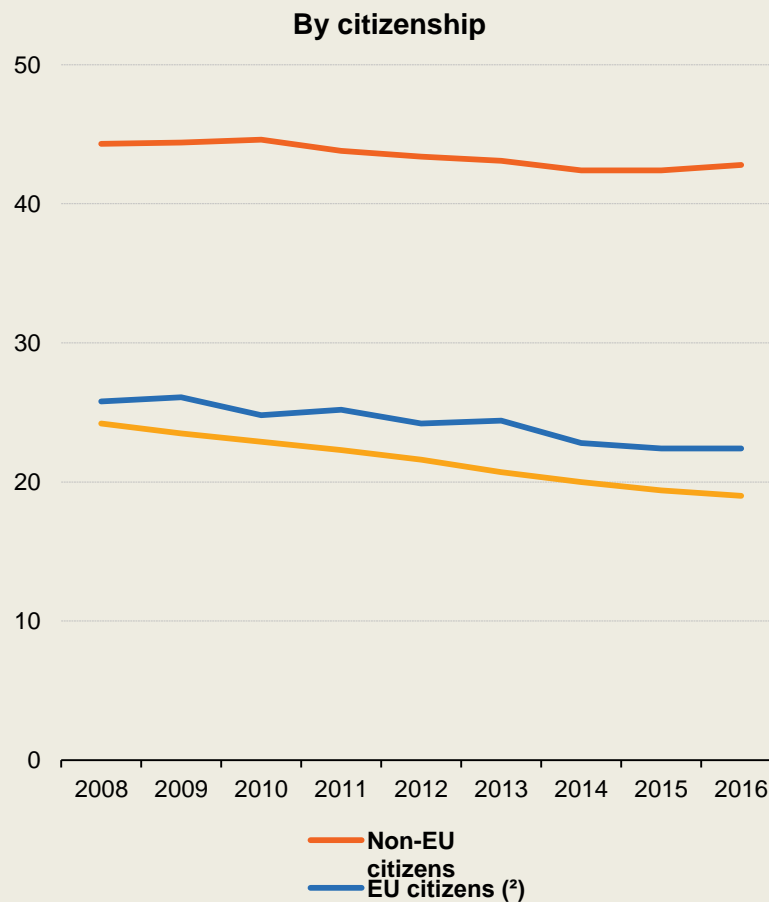
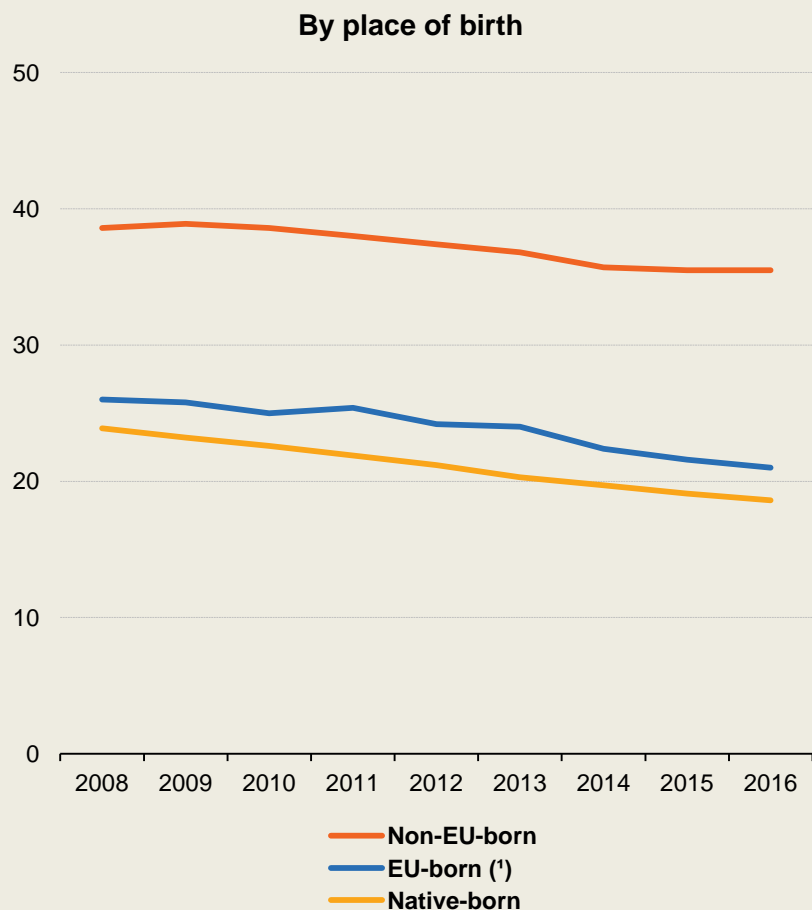
# A common point: the education exclusion



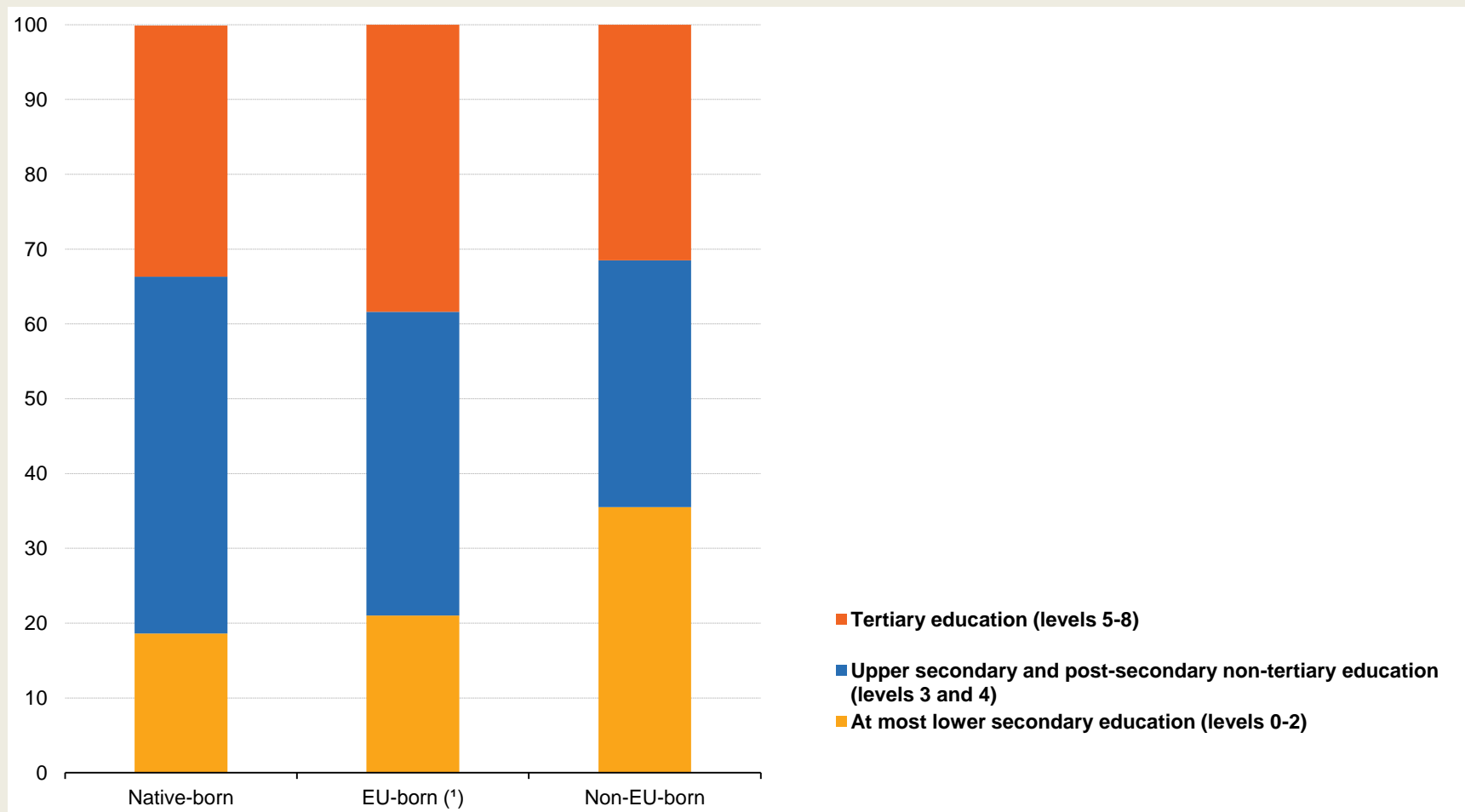
- **Education exclusion** (UNESCO, 2012):
- a situation in which **teaching process** cannot meet the **learning needs** of each student;
- when the **pupil cannot understand the teaching method**;
- when the **language of instruction** cannot be comprehensible by foreign student or he can go through **discouraging experiences**
- Relationship between **inequalities, exclusion and education**



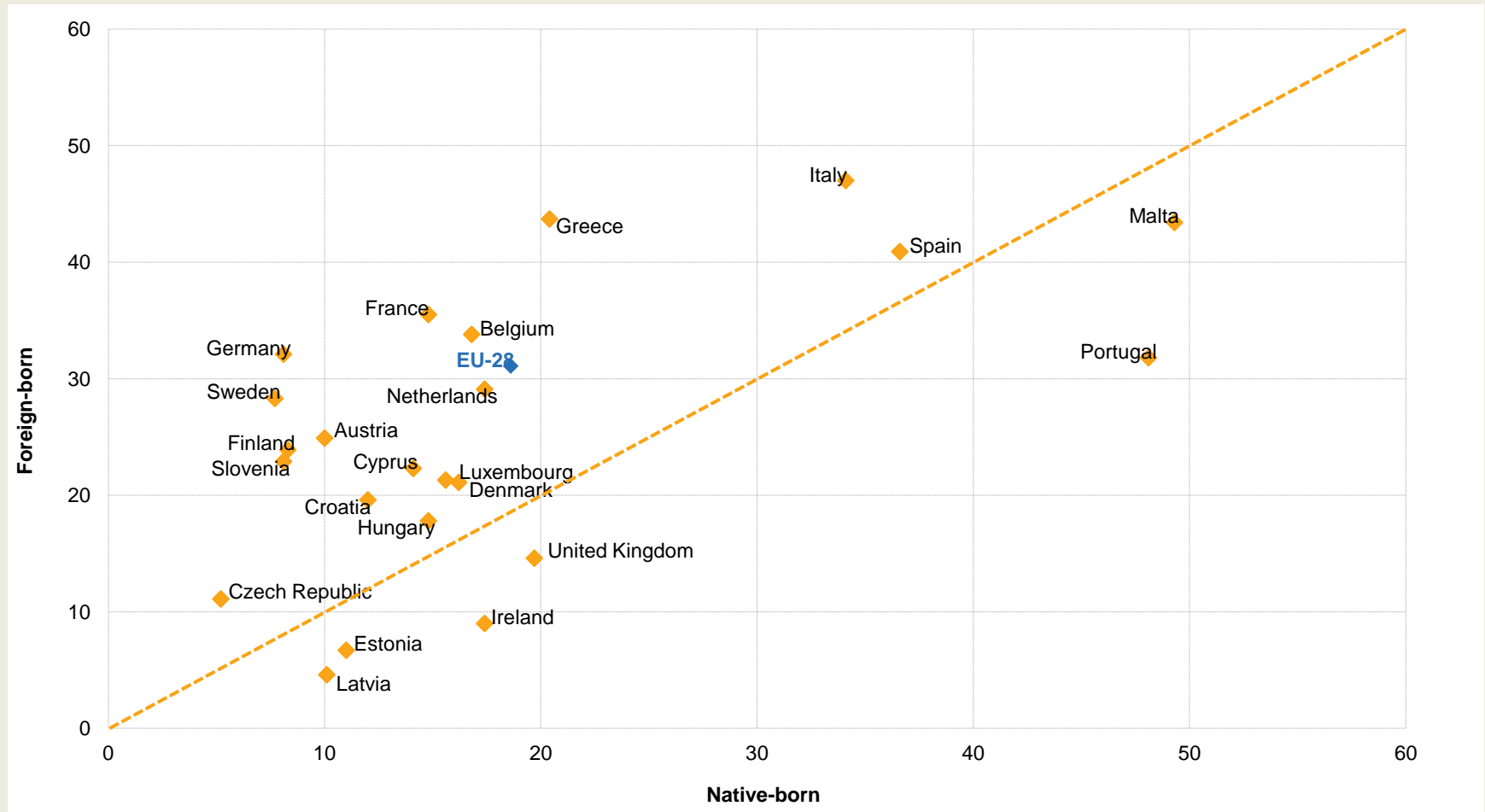
# Development of the share of the population aged 25-54 with at most a lower secondary level of educational attainment, EU-28, 2008-2016



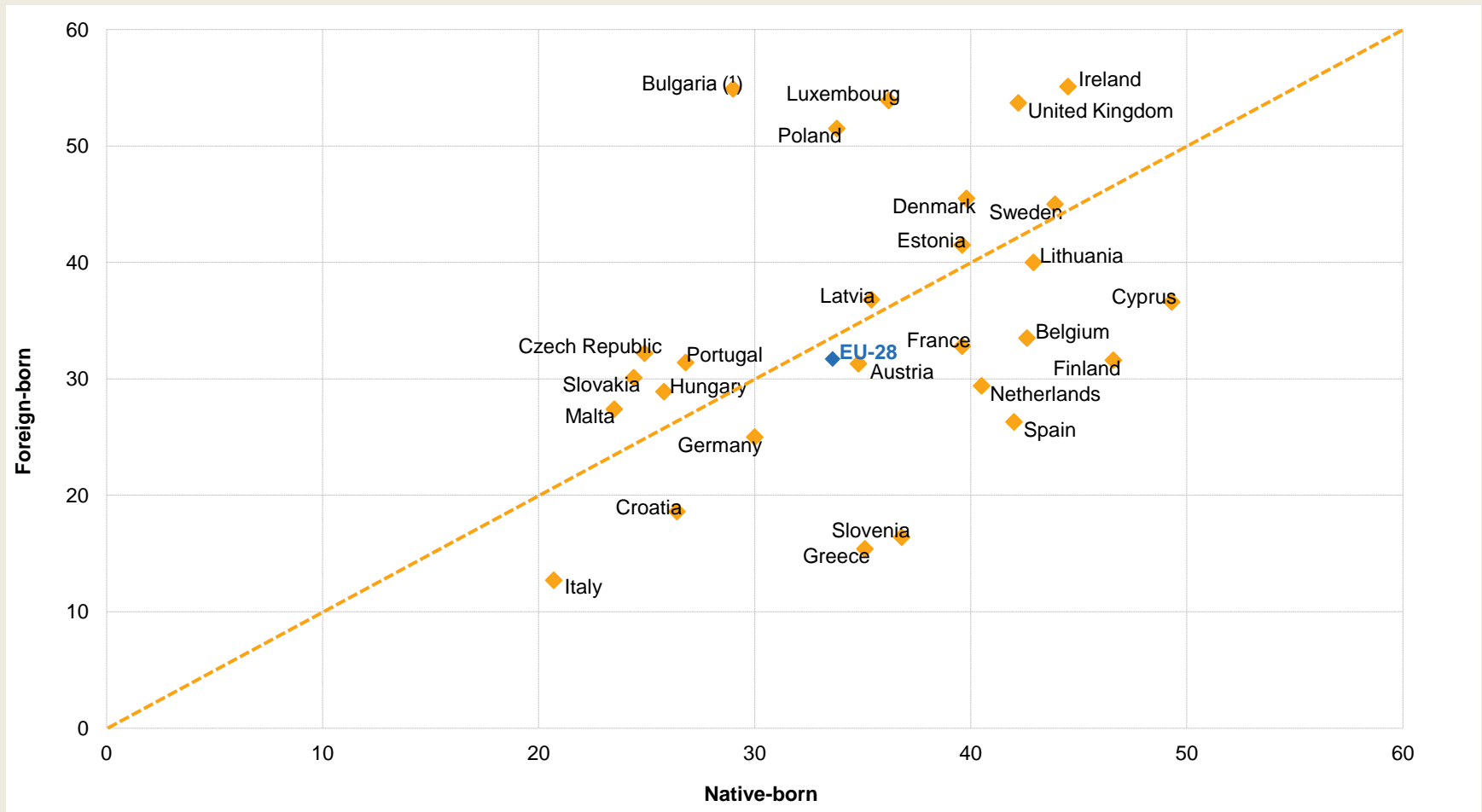
# Analysis of the population aged 25-64, by educational attainment level and by place of birth, EU-28, 2016



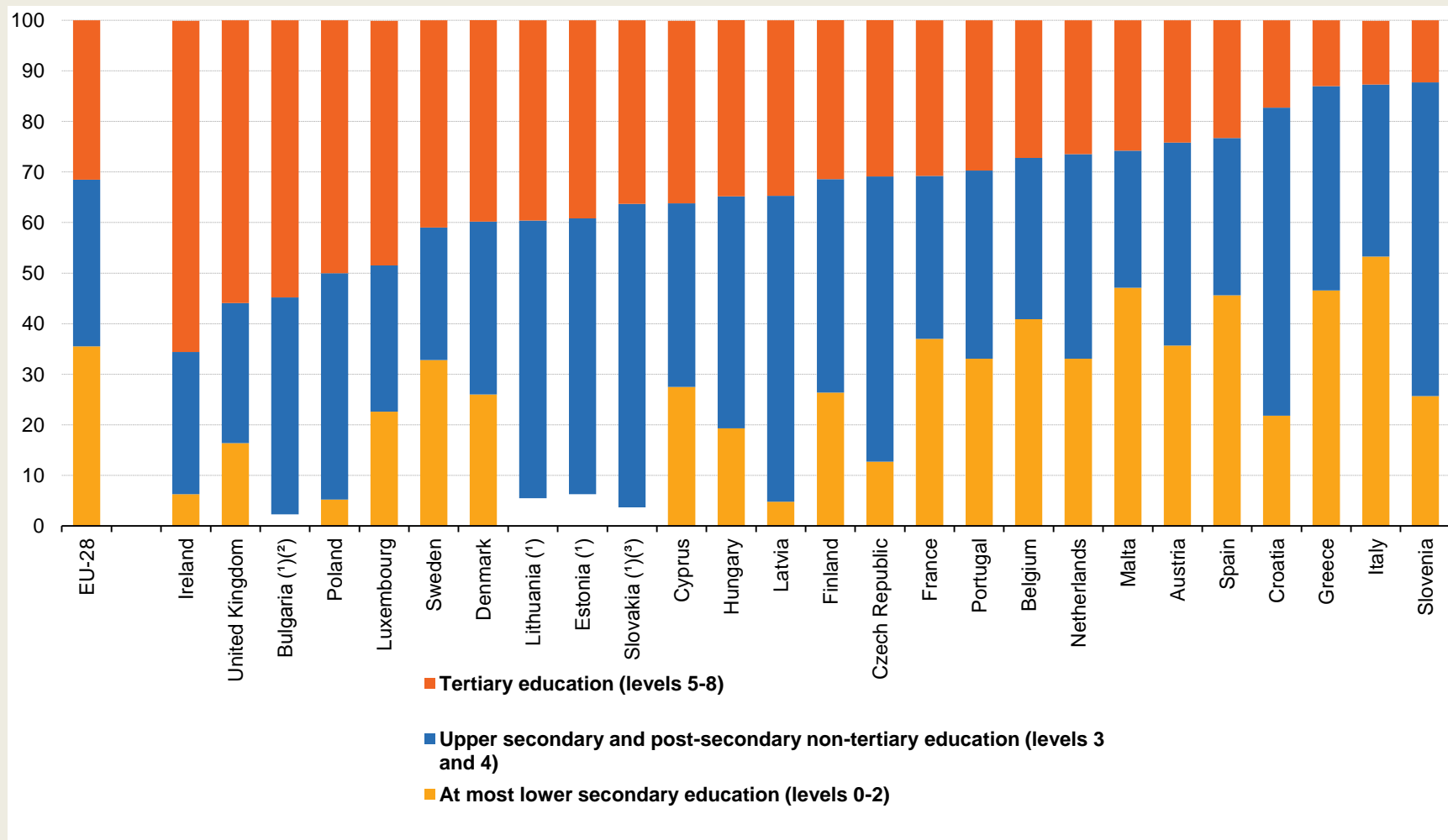
# Share of the population aged 25-54 with **at most a lower secondary level of educational attainment**, by place of birth, 2016



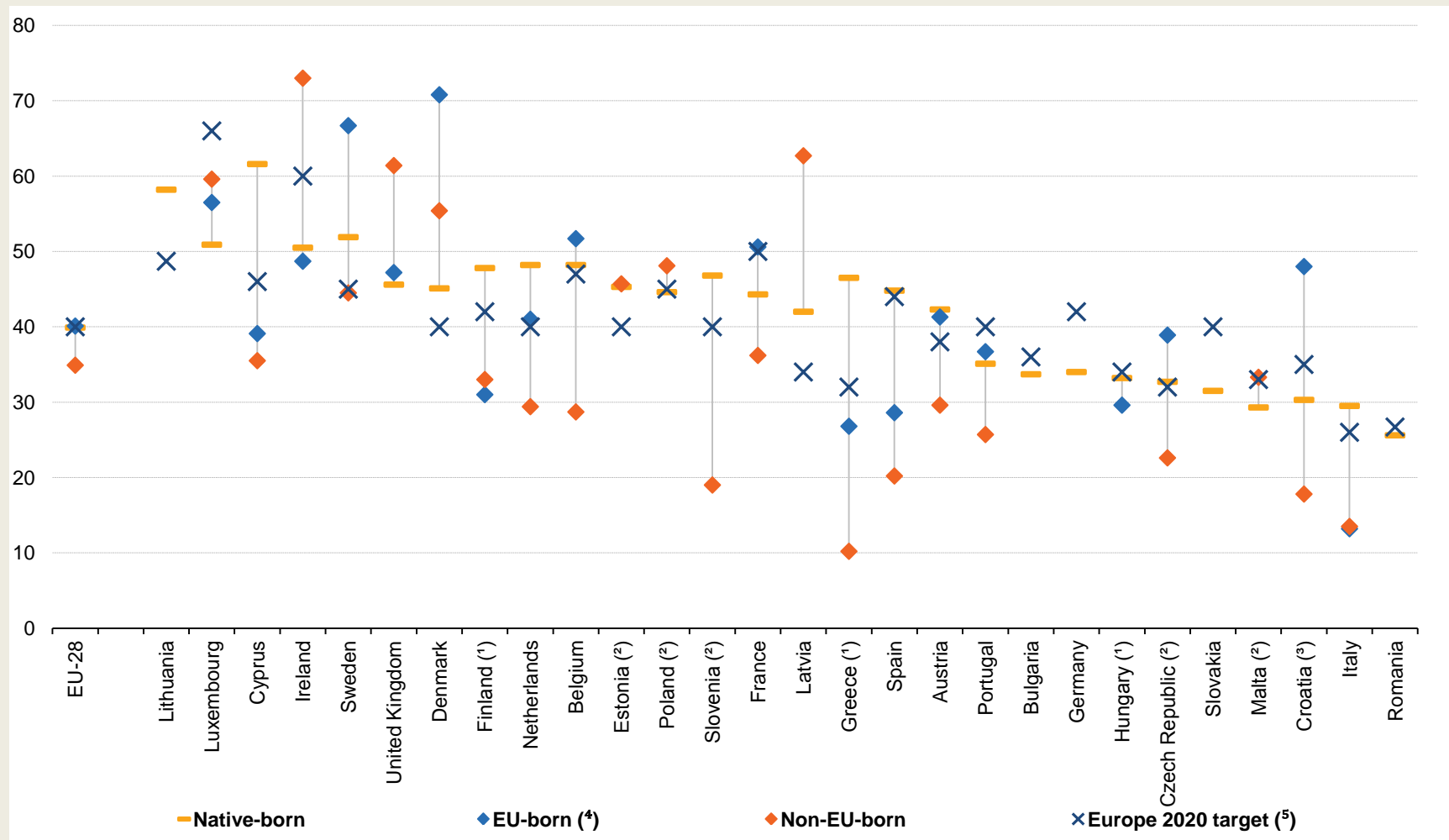
# Share of the population aged 25-54 with a tertiary level of educational attainment, by place of birth, 2016



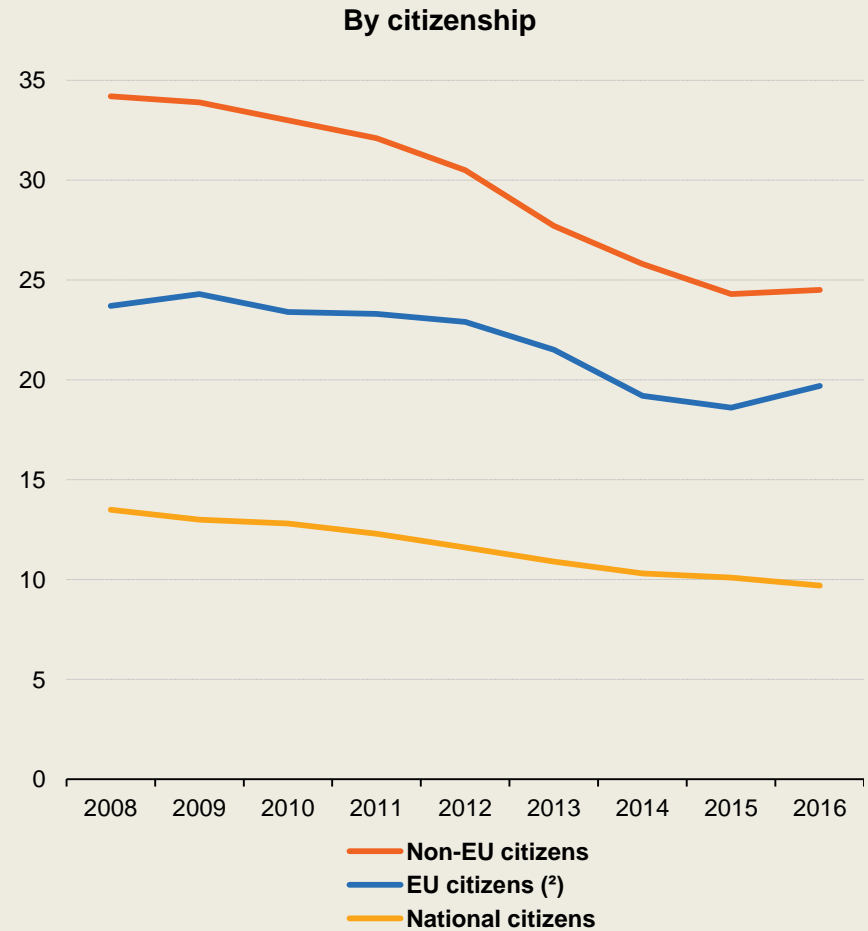
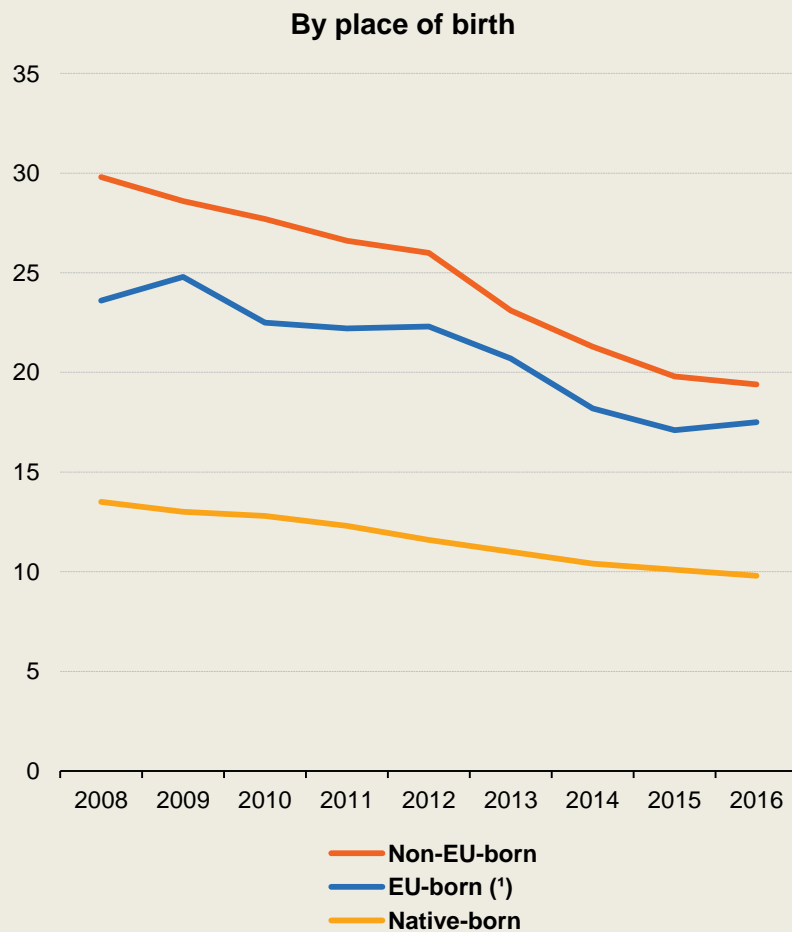
# Analysis of the population born outside the EU and aged 25-54, by educational attainment level, 2016



# Share of the population aged 30-34 with a tertiary level of educational attainment, by place of birth, 2016

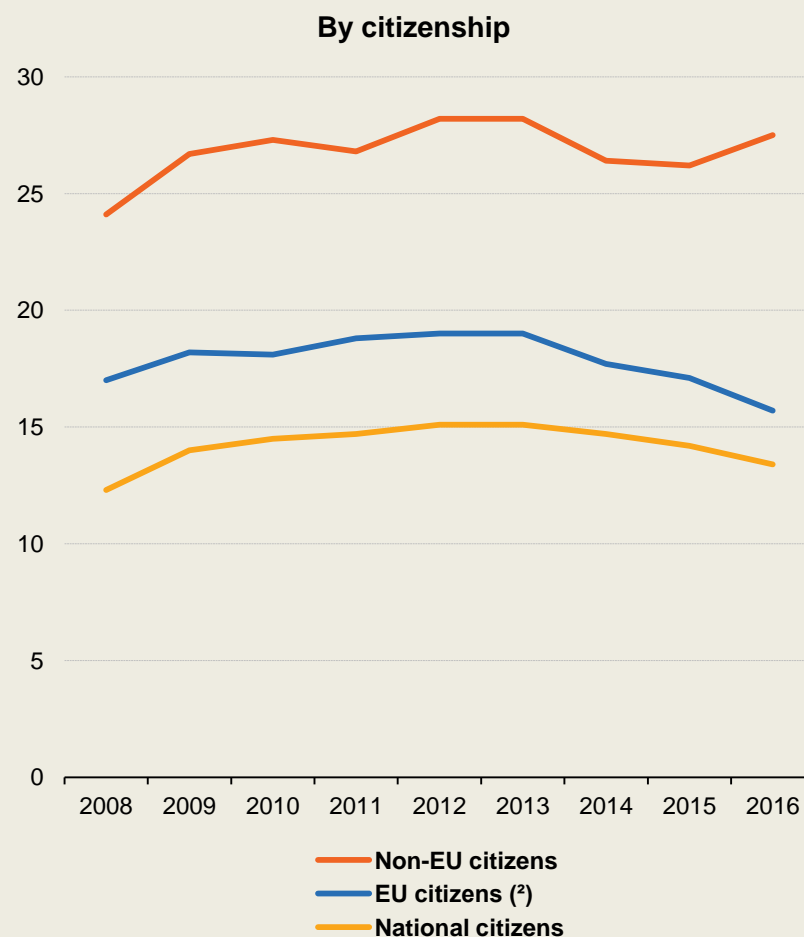
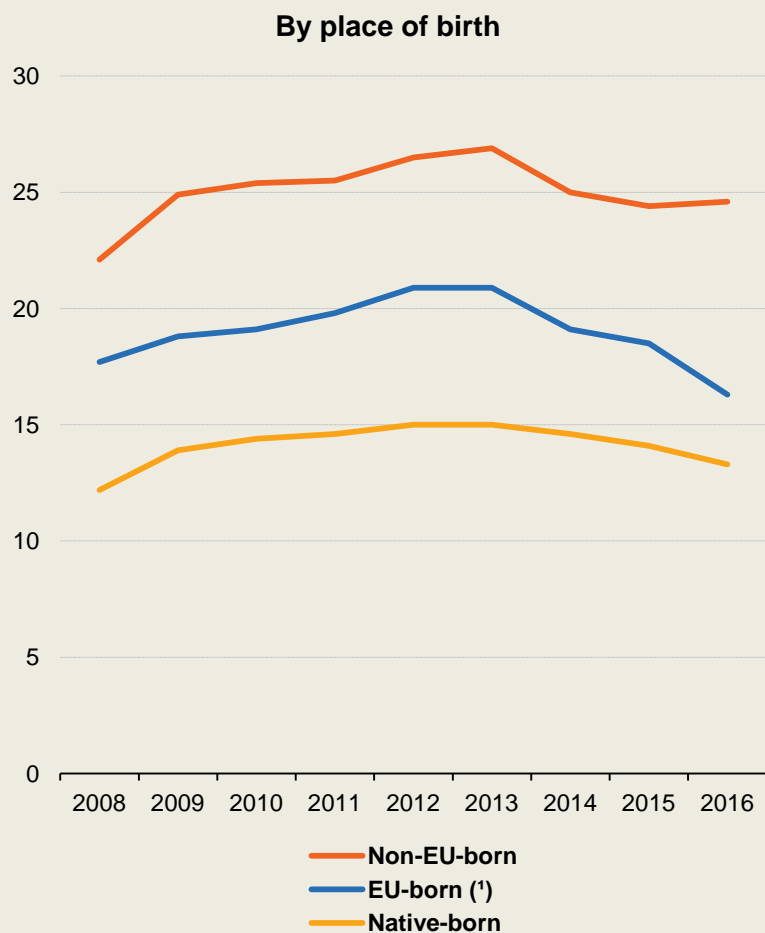


# Development of the share of **early leavers** aged 18-24 from education and training, EU-28, 2008-2016

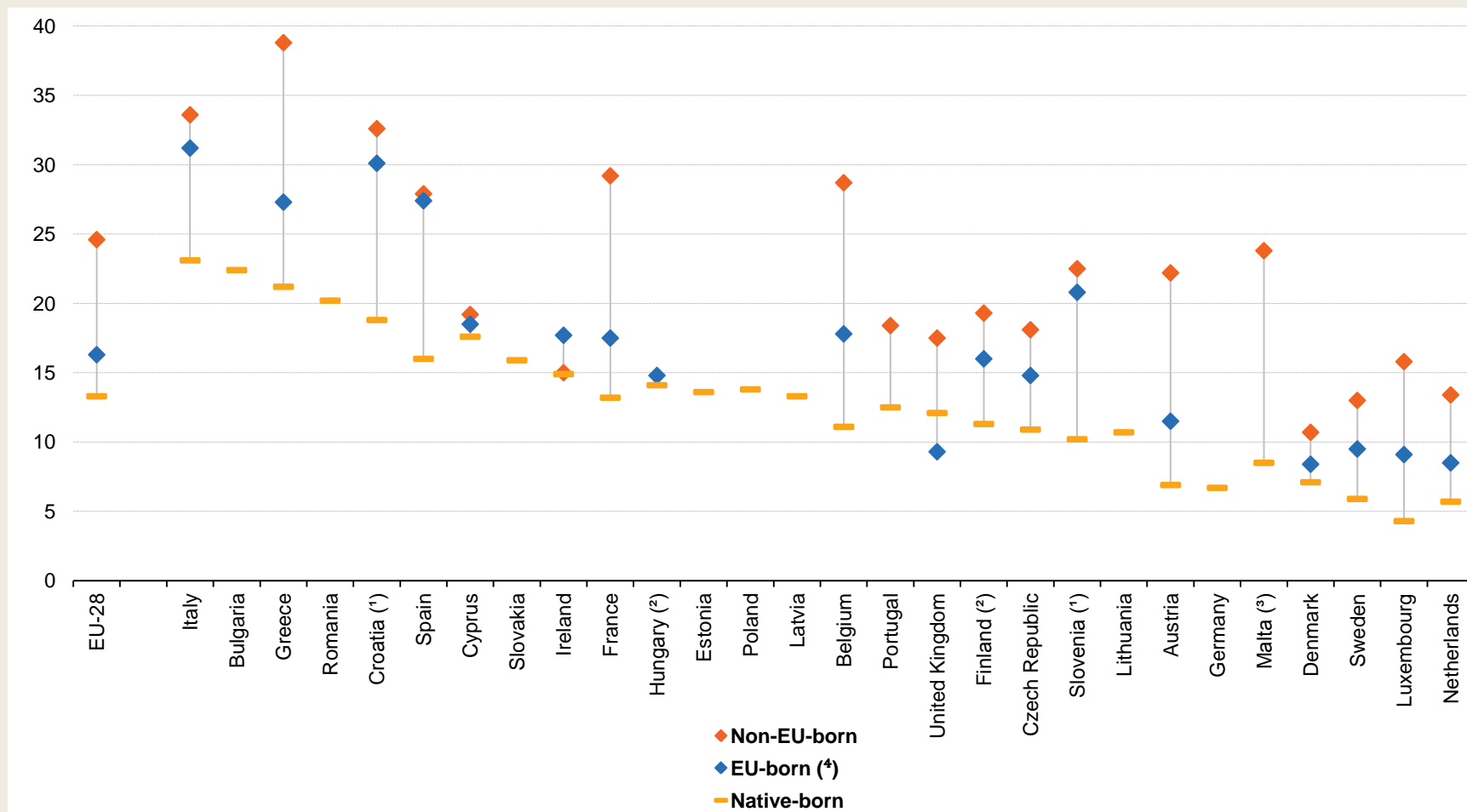




# Development of the share of young people aged 15-29 **neither in employment nor in education and training**, EU-28, 2008-2016



# Young people aged 15-29 **neither in employment nor in education and training**, by place of birth, 2016



# The achievement gap



- The achievement gap between immigrants and natives is a **well-established regularity** in western countries.
- However, immigrants' performance and their relative positions compared to their native classmates **differ** substantially, both **within and between countries**.

# Key findings:

- The academic performance of migrant children is **higher in skill-based immigration systems**.
- The performance of migrant children benefits from **preserving their cultural capital**.
- **Improving language acquisition** boosts migrant children's educational achievement.
- Having **high-ability peers** improves the educational performance of migrants.
- Increasing the number of **teachers with an immigrant background** and **helping immigrant parents engage with their children's schools** can narrow the educational achievement gap.

- The performance of migrants is impeded by the **lower socio-economic status of their parents**.
- The achievement gap of migrant children widens when they **immigrate at an older age** (due to: acculturation, language acquisition, cognitive and linguistic development)
- Generational status is associated with educational achievement. In general, **second-generation children tend to outperform first-generation children**
- **Classes with higher percentages of immigrant children display on average lower educational outcomes.**
- **Avoiding segregation and compensating for parental disadvantage can reduce migrants' educational achievement gaps**

- **“Paradoxically, despite an initial advantage, in nearly all immigrant groups today, length of residence in the United States is associated with declining academic achievement and aspirations”** (Orozco et al. 2009, p. 153)



- **Long term effects of achievement gap** among children of immigrants is reflected in:
  - drop outs
  - low employment opportunity
  - low socioeconomic status
- Hao & Bonstead-Bruns (1998): “Research has shown that **educational achievement predicts** continuation in school and future educational attainment, which in turn, predicts **future economic success**”

- **Major themes in the achievement gap:**
  - family involvement
  - socio- economic status
  - community and neighborhood conditions
  - school conditions

# Family



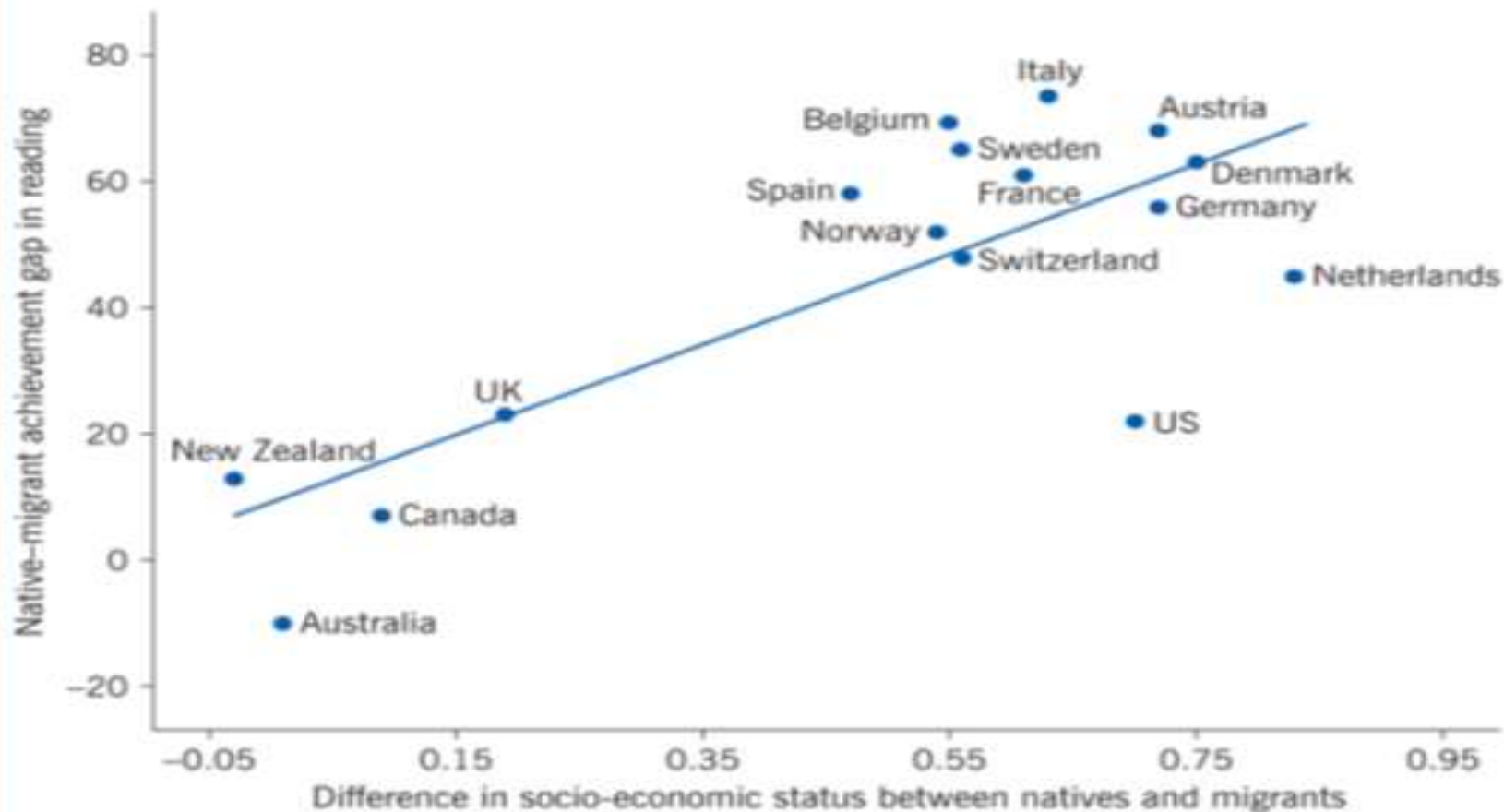
- **Parental influence** and aspiration for student achievement play a great role in encouraging children to succeed in school
- “Good performance in school is directly related to the **assistance** that parents can give to children, and academic assistance is something that many ... **parents cannot provide**” (Stewart, 1993, p. 181).
- **Limits on parents’ ability** to support their children:
  - low levels of parental **education**
  - low levels of **language proficiency**
  - settlement of immigrant families in **troubled neighborhoods**
  - arrival from war torn countries **without resources**
  - **lack of knowledge** to navigate **school systems**

# Socioeconomic Status



- The **availability of family resources** and social capital increases and encourages the support that children need for: **better** and high achieving **schools**, **text books**, access to **library**, **summer school** programs, **computers**, **tutors**, and additional enrollment in academic and **artistic** programs.
- The **lack of access to resources** and early social environment inhibit parents' fundamental support to immigrant children.
- **Students' academic achievement is strongly associated with social class and economic standards of families** to which a child is born.
- **"Faucet theory"** (Ansalone 2009): "When schools are not in session (the summer months), disadvantaged children stop learning! On the other hand, the curve for advantaged children may be more consistent and continue during these periods".

Figure 1. Differences in reading literacy between immigrant and native students are strongly related to differences in parental socio-economic status in selected OECD countries, 2009



Note: Reading literacy is assessed by performance on the PISA, and socio-economic background is measured by the PISA index of economic, social, and cultural status.

Source: Calculations based on data for selected countries from OECD. *Untapped Skills: Realizing the Potential of Immigrant Students*. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2012. Online at: <http://www.oecd.org/edu/school/Untapped%20Skills.pdf> [1].

# Neighborhood





- Neighborhood and school factors are not universal but they **influence the performances of immigrant children** more than that of native children.
- Immigrants are settling more frequently in **disadvantaged neighborhoods** with **poor performing schools** and low economic status.

# Epidemic Model:

- The **peer influence** in the neighborhood has negative impacts on children that result in opposition to values held by parents and society at large.
- **Peer pressure** to be engaged **with anti-social groups** who may use drugs or controlled substances is immense for immigrant children who may be coerced to criminal activities rather than school adherence, resulting in academic failure.

# Collective Socialization Model:

- Successful **adults** in education, economic status and social status, especially, immigrant adults in the neighborhood could be good **role-models** for the growing young generation in that community.
- **Peer support** can **moderate neighborhood effects on antisocial behavior, substance use, and school achievement.**
- Pre-school and school age children's school achievement, verbal ability, and IQ scores are positively associated with the presence of **affluent neighborhoods.**
- Children living in neighborhoods with **low socioeconomic Status** are exposed to **mental health problems** that directly affect their academic achievement.
- **Peer pressure** and physical threats such as **violence** and availability of illegal and **harmful substances** are prevalent in **poor neighborhoods** where immigrant children are residing.

# Relative Deprivation and Competition Model:

- People judge themselves in **comparison** to the people living around them.
- Immigrant children from poor families may attend the same school with affluent children in their same neighborhood. It is most likely that these children **feel inferior** and may develop **low self-esteem** that results in **low school performance**.

# Institutional Model:

- Different **institutions** such as police force, community services, and public and private organizations in the neighborhood **affect academic performance of children**.
- Neighborhoods that have **no police protection** are prone to **violence** and **antisocial behaviors** that disproportionately affect immigrant children.

# School



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- Children of immigrants were more likely to attend **schools** that have:
  - higher composition of **poor or minority students**
  - **lower** average **academic performance**
  - **poor learning environment**
  - **less support for teachers**
  - **poor teaching environments**
  - **worse school climate**
  - **poorer school safety**
  - **classes with many children**, some of them from very **different ethnic groups**
- **Institutionalization of low academic expectations for immigrant children.**

“The children of immigrants are **discouraged by** the insensitivity and sometimes out right **discrimination** that they encounter **from teachers**, counselors and other school personnel and that they seem to **benefit from the presence of mentors and non-parental adults who show concern about their education**” (Holdaway & Alba, 2009).



# Physical, psychological and mental health problems



- Poverty, the stresses of migration, and the challenges of acculturation can increase the **risk for the development of physical, psychological and mental health problems.**
- Range of **mental health problems** among immigrant populations:
  - anxiety
  - depression
  - posttraumatic stress disorder
  - substance abuse
  - severe mental illness and suicidal ideation
- **Psychological problems:**
  - **acculturation-based** presenting problems
  - **trauma-based** presenting problems
  - **discrimination, racism, and xenophobia–based** problems

- Immigrants demonstrate high **resiliency**.
- **Protective factors:**
  - traditional **family networks**
  - **collectivistic coping strategies** (e.g., seeking help from family or similar ethnic peers)
- The **negative consequences of poor childhood health** influence:
  - **school achievements**
  - **adult education**
  - **employment**
  - **socioeconomic status**

- Childhood illnesses result in frequent hospitalizations, and school absenteeism, and consequently lower achievement.
- Childhood mental health or behavioral problems such as depression and hyperactivity negatively influence performance in primary school.
- Mental health and behavioral problems increase the likelihood of dropping out of high school and not attending university.
- Adults with poor childhood physical or mental health or unhealthy behaviors can experience lower rates of labor force participation, employment, and, ultimately, earnings. Subsequently, the low socioeconomic status of these adults contributes to poor childhood health outcomes among their children. As a result, poor childhood health perpetuates socioeconomic inequalities across family generations.

# The Role of Migration in Shaping Children's Health

- **Migration** and the subsequent **acculturation** experiences of children growing up in immigrant families increase the **potential vulnerability** and can profoundly shape their health.
- **Sources of stress throughout the migration process:**
  - 1) *Pre-migration stage*
  - 2) *Migration stage*
  - 3) *Post-migration stage*
- Pre-migration and migration influences are critical to children of immigrants, whereas post-migration influences are critical to second and later immigrant generations as well.

# Pre-Migration Experience and Health



- Poverty, family separation, and political violence can substantially influence the health of children who immigrate:
  - in less developed countries, the prevalence of excessive weight (overweight and obesity) tends to increase with socioeconomic status; low-income children who migrate from these countries are more likely to be at risk of malnutrition and stunting
  - family separations (from one or both parents, for a few months to a few years) place children and their mothers at risk for depressive symptoms
  - separation from a parent or primary caregiver who has migrated is associated with poor emotional and physical health among the children left behind
  - some refugee children experience extreme hardships: witnessing murders or mass killings, enduring forced labor, long waits in refugee camps, detention centers or juvenile jails, or going without sufficient food for long periods of time

- **Paradox:** in the USA, immigrant health advantage across a variety of medical outcomes
- **Foreign-born immigrant children:**
  - more positive health behaviors than their U.S.-born peers: smoke less, drink less, and eat more nutritional and fewer snack foods.
  - tend to live in two-parents and mul-tigenerational households with high levels of family support and other social support that can mitigate stress, especially during the initial settlement period.
  - may be a selectively healthy group. Parents whose children have physical or emotional health problems could be less likely to immigrate or bring their children to the United States or more likely to send ill children back to their home countries.



# Migration Experience and Health



- The **mobility process of migrating**:
  - **how?** (walk, drive, fly, by ship, etc.)
  - **with whom?** (family members, friends, alone, etc.)
  - possible **hardships** during travel (detainment in a refugee camp, assault, or hunger, etc.).

# Post-Migration Experiences, Acculturation and Health



Usually immigrants experience an **initial euphoria** upon arrival in the new country.



That phase is often followed by **depression**, which can last well into the third year after arrival.

- Acculturation and enculturation influence child development and health outcomes.
- **Enculturation** = the process of retaining distinct cultural identities, beliefs, and norms of behavior that distinguish one ethnic group from another.
- **Acculturation** = the dynamic process that immigrants experience as they adapt to the culture of the new country.

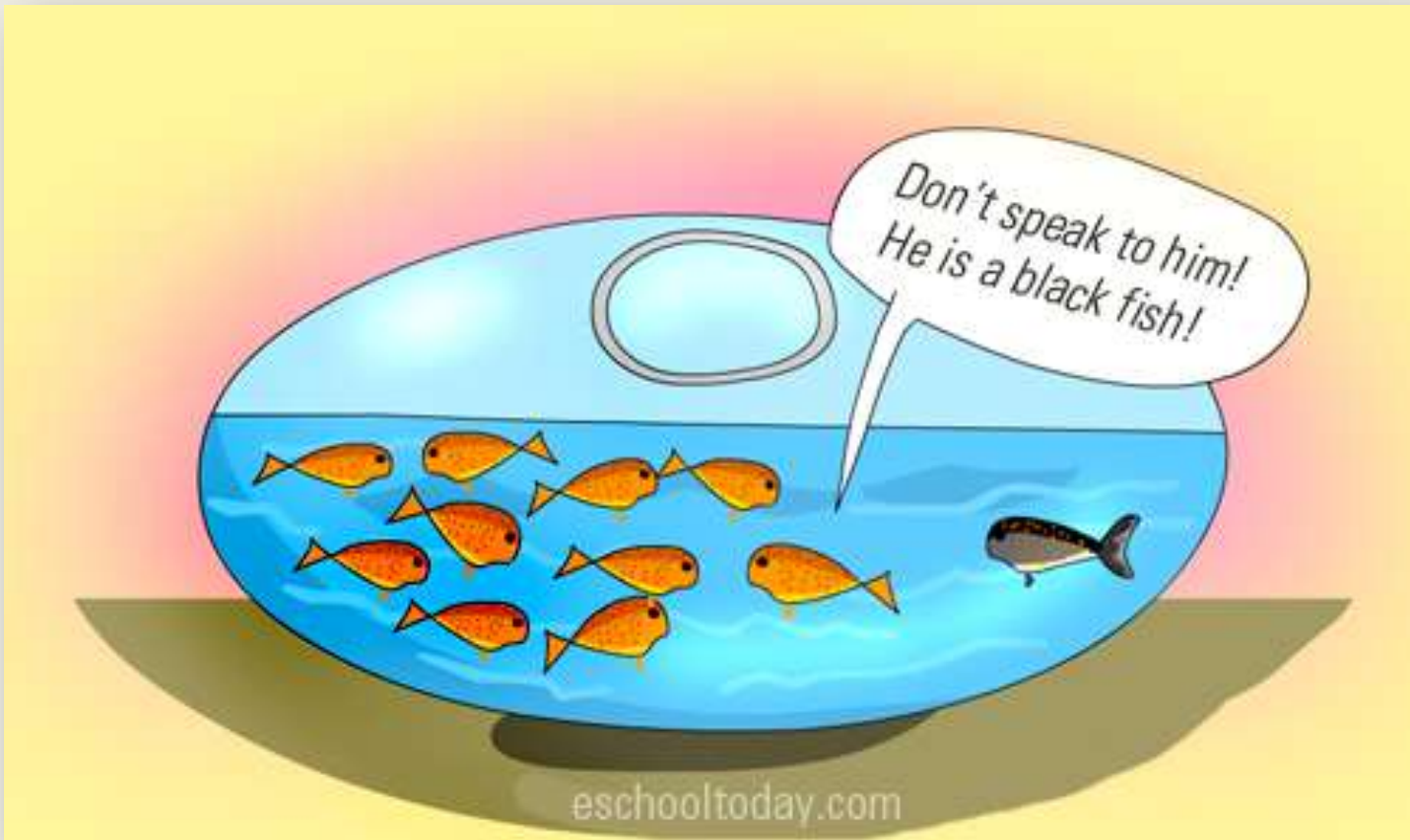
- Acculturation is a multidimensional process that involves changes in many aspects of immigrants' lives, including:
  - language competence and use
  - cultural identity
  - attitudes and values
  - food and music preferences
  - media use
  - ethnic pride
  - ethnic social relations
  - cultural familiarity
  - social customs

- **Acculturative stress** = stressful life events to be associated with the acculturation process that lead to psychological difficulties.

### **Acculturation stressors:**

- learning a new language: language and cultural barrier, communication
- changes in family roles and responsibilities: family separation and reunification, family life events, acculturative family conflict, low parental support
- protecting one's legal status or the legal status of family members
- encountering racism or discrimination
- adapting to a new environment: immigration-related trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder, developmental issues, financial difficulties
- Although these stressors are common, their **influence on a child's health** can vary **depending on**:
  - the length of time the child has lived in the new country
  - the broader social context of settlement
  - the child's age or developmental stage at migration

# Racial discrimination and health





- **Effects of experienced or perceived discrimination:**
  - more anxiety
  - more depressive symptoms
  - more risky health behaviors
  - lower self-esteem
  - reduced academic motivations and expectations
  
- **Physical health outcomes in minority children:**
  - elevated blood pressure
  - elevated levels of glucocortisol hormones in the blood stream
  - insulin resistance
  - conditions associated with high rates of coronary heart disease and inflammatory disorders

# Family environments and health



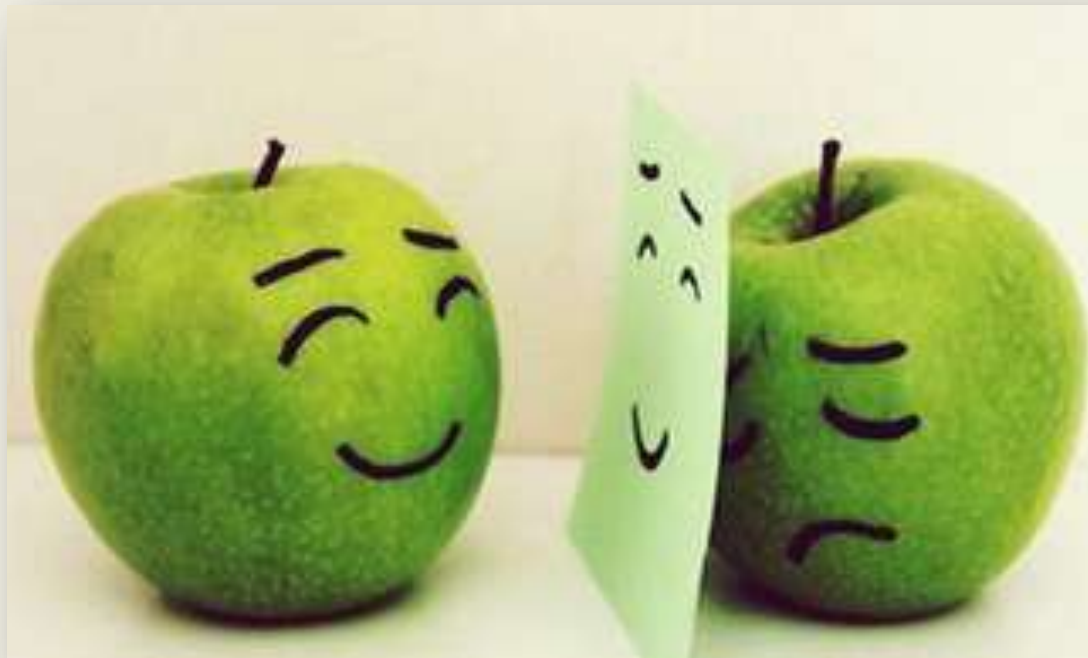
- Strong family ties positively influence youths' emotional well-being.
- Family conflict, parent-child acculturation gaps, and numerous family obligations produce stress and compromise well-being.

# Intergenerational differences in acculturation



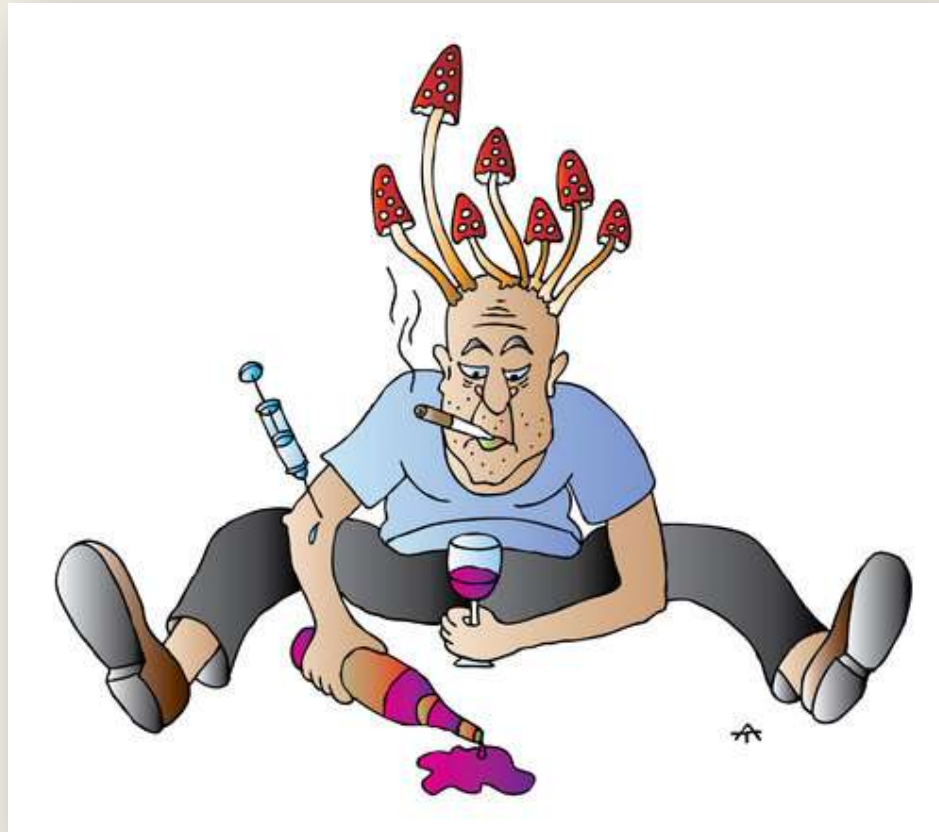
- Parents and children acculturate in different ways and at different rates: they live in different cultural worlds.
- Immigrant parents often understand little of their children's lives outside the home.
- For immigrant children, it can be difficult to live with the expectations and demands of one culture at home and another at school.
- Children may not turn to their parents with problems and concerns, believing that their parents:
  - do not know the culture well enough to provide them with good advice or assistance
  - are already overburdened with the multiple stresses of resettlement.

# Emotional Well-Being in Immigrant Children



- Children who immigrate at younger ages (more acculturated) tend to adopt more risky health behaviors such as alcohol use, smoking, and early sexual activity than their peers who immigrate at older ages (less acculturated). In addition, they face a higher risk of psychiatric disorders such as depression.
- Living in a liminal state between countries and sometimes without legal status can create daily hassles and become a source of chronic stress for children and their parents.
- Link between how well immigrants are received in an institutional and social context and health outcomes.

# Substance use

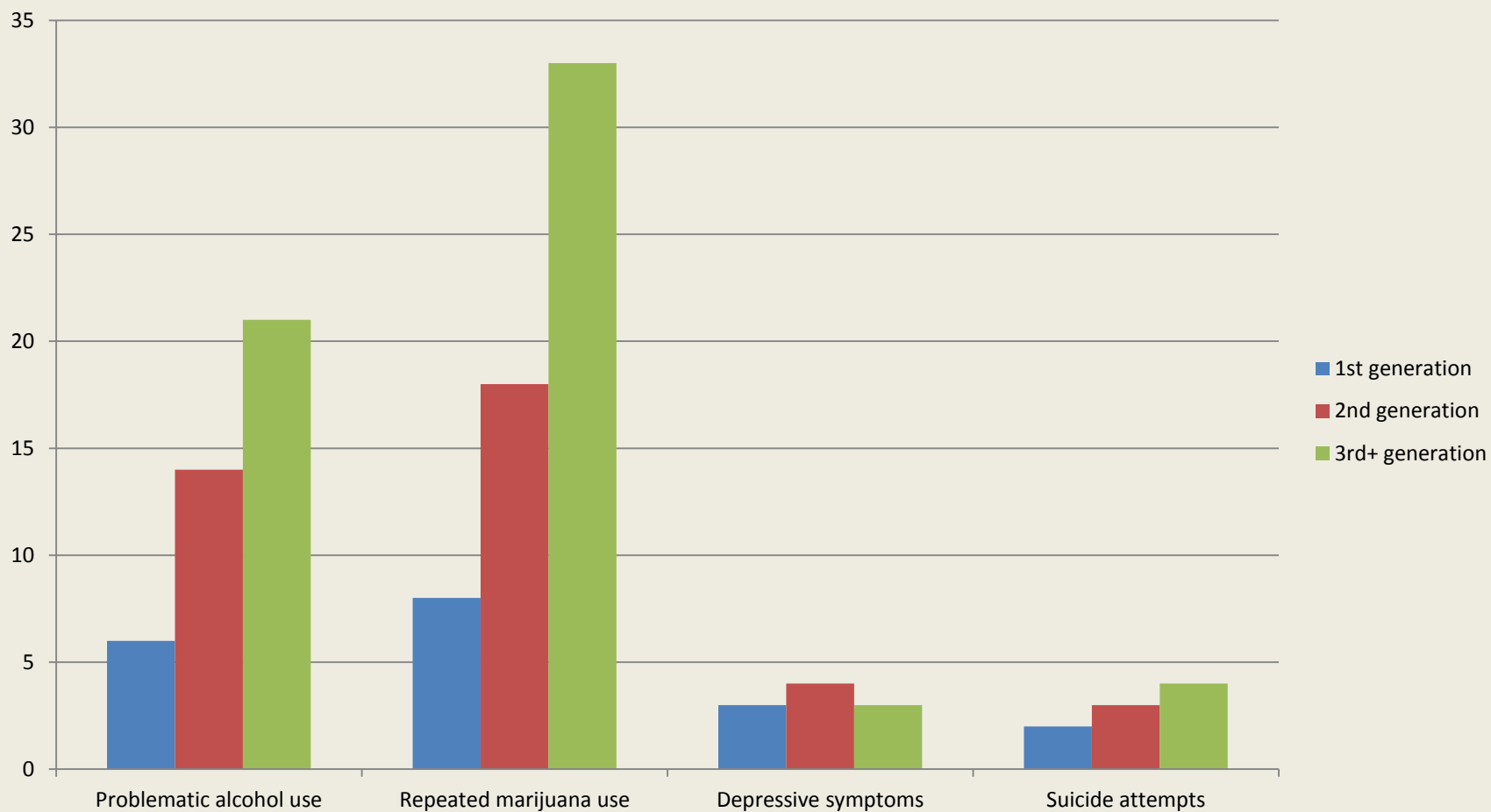




- First arrive in the new country: fewer risky health behaviors than peers born there.
- Risky behaviors among foreign-born children increase with time spent in the country, especially during adolescence.
- While newcomers were found to be less likely to engage in **substance use** than the US-born population, those who had been in the United States for 10 years or longer reported drug use that was not significantly different from that of the US-born population:
  - immigrant youth are particularly vulnerable to peer pressure
  - immigrant youth report lack of confidence to refuse substances
  - this increasing influence may accelerate their adoption of what they perceive as mainstream behaviors and cultural norms.

- Immigrants and refugees utilize substance abuse services less than native-born populations due to cultural and sociopolitical barriers:
  - they are unfamiliar with these services and systems
  - stigma is a powerful deterrent to help seeking in many cultures
  - fear (if illegal migration status)

# Substance Abuse and Mental Health Problems among Latinos in the USA



# Depression and suicide



- Factors that increase the risk of **anxiety** and **depression** among children of immigrants:
  - exposure to culture-related stressors
  - acculturation to the mainstream
- **Protective factors:**
  - adherence to **cultural heritage**
  - **sense of belonging to their ethnic groups**
  - **family influences:** parental closeness and absence of parent-child conflict
  - **social support** from friends and neighbors
- Mainstream integration may be problematic only when it is not coupled with the retention of one's cultural heritage, ethnic identity, and family strengths.
- **Acculturative stress is positively associated with suicidal ideation among immigrant youth.**

# Final remarks

- In a recent study that aggregated data across all immigrant groups, researchers found that **immigrants who had lived in the United States 5 years or less were healthier than foreign-born persons who had lived in the United States 10 years or more.**

- Multiple interpretations:

- immigrants may arrive with existing physical conditions that are masked during the initial settling in period
- immigrants may acquire those conditions or certain risky behaviors (such as smoking, drinking, and lifestyle changes) in their new environment
- health may deteriorate with increased duration of residence in the United States as a result of limited access to appropriate health care
- if family income declines with increased length of residency, the health results may derive primarily from socioeconomic factors

- **Factors that influence the immigrants' health outcomes:**
  - family networks and social supports
  - relationships within families
  - frequent mobility on children's lives
  - segmented assimilation into different kinds of contexts
  - cultural practices from the country of origin
  - lack of health insurance and inconsistencies in health care





Federico Zannoni  
[federico.zannoni3@unibo.it](mailto:federico.zannoni3@unibo.it)