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ABSTRACT

The project started from the observation that children of immigrant origin – defined using various but recognisably similar systems in different countries – are a category at risk in terms of social exclusion in Europe. National policies aimed at supporting these children have not been completely successful in countering the risk factor. There was no shared system for evaluating policy outcomes in different countries, especially in light of the specific needs and rights of children.
The project analysed national definitions, indicators, and evaluation systems, both in conceptual and in statistical terms. It also analysed specific policy responses in each country, especially in the educational sphere (innovation, training).
At the same time, the project reviewed classification and definition systems for the well-being of children, developing a new definition of well-being for children of immigrant origin according to a hierarchy of basic indicators that could be used for evaluating the condition of children and targeting specific policy.
In addition to the child-based measures of well-being, the project developed a series of indicators relevant to policy and policy-motivated services, proposing a policy-centred system of evaluation of guarantees of rights, access, and strategies of equilibrium.
The definition of children of immigrant origin is not taken from any one national classification system – none of which were found to adequately correspond to the group at risk – based on a recent familial immigration event provoking precariousness in the well-being of the minor. The relevant dimensions of well-being in this case go beyond the basic indicators used in international comparisons and in comparisons of children in general. They include a series of indicators taken from developmental psychology and tested within the project in a longitudinal study of the coping strategies and well-being of 288 immigrant adolescents.
The project drew a distinction between exogenous and endogenous factors in the well-being of children of immigrant origin. The specific policies affecting dimensions of well-being were identified and examined in terms of access to resources and evaluation of results.
There is a current lack of a standard statistical system for monitoring the well-being of children of immigrant origin. At the scholastic level, this system should encompass children of immigrant parents and grandparents. Other essential indicators are home language and the possibility to self-declared ethnic affiliation.
The project identified different needs for children of immigrant origin depending on the distance from the familial immigration event. Essentially there are three broad categories of children of immigrant origin: those arriving after the start of school, those arriving in infancy or born to new arrivals, or those whose families have been the arrival country for longer periods of time. These differ enormously in terms of effective exercise of rights.
For the first group, further linguistic and orientation support is necessary, as well as improved teacher training for school insertion strategies. Bilingual education, as well as courses in the language and culture of origin, were examined in depth and considered effective but extremely difficult to implement correctly.
For all groups, it is essential that full inclusion be an explicit public choice and clear message in all services. A pilot study of media representation underlined that the present communication strategies do not help children of immigrant origin to plan investment in the society in which they live. The intercultural skills that these children possess are undervalued and little used in most environments and should be reconsidered within social policy and public representation.
A new statistical system is necessary to monitor this at-risk population and to guarantee that it is able to exercise its right to social participation.

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.

For most of the countries involved in the CHIP Project, the phenomenon of immigration is not a recent development, but it seems that its complexity is not yet fully understood by those responsible for drawing up policies to promote the integration and protect the rights of immigrants.
It is as if they have been caught "unprepared" to deal with a situation which has many facets, ranging from employment to population statistics, from cultural aspects to factors of a more strictly economic kind.
It is almost as if there were a mechanism by which the phenomenon is reduced to emergency issues only, such as gaining entry, finding a job and crime.
If this is true of the phenomenon as a whole, it is still more noticeable with regard to minors of immigrant origin. These constitute a significant presence, which has become structural in most of the countries involved in the project and sometimes affects the second or third generation. In considering this group we cannot ignore the need to draw up specific policies consisting of concrete components: services, assistance, mediation.
The results of the project show that the chief objective of most of the countries studied is to integrate these children smoothly into the host society, not only because there is awareness of their particular needs but also because it constitutes a form of intelligent social prevention, aimed at eliminating conditions which could otherwise, if not properly handled, lead to the development of forms of delinquency and other problems in the future.
But the project has also shown that, at a European level, there is no mature, collective, shared consciousness of the fact that recently – now that there is closer integration and cooperation within the European Community – there has come to be a new, more urgent need for convergence and confrontation between the various countries: those with a long tradition of immigration, those where the phenomenon is more recent (such as Italy and Greece) and even those outside the European Community.
In this connection, it is essential to focus on the specific nature of this phenomenon in order to draw up a European policy which is not limited to handling "the immediate" but which takes account of the wider perspective.
The main outcome has been to demonstrate that there is no single policy concerning this issue. First of all, the criteria adopted for classifying minors in the various countries differ considerably: the nationality of the parents in Belgium, that of the minor in Italy and Greece, the place of birth of the minor in France, the ethnic group of origin on the basis of a personal declaration in Great Britain, while Sweden does not adopt any kind of classification (Table 1).
A major difficulty is thus the way the group is defined: different countries refer to different "spheres", consider different "target groups", and in this way the harmonisation of policies at a European level appears objectively complicated, first and foremost because of the lack of common points of reference.
Another obvious, substantial consequence of this disparity may be read in the different

attitudes found with regard to the enrolment at school of minors without a residence permit: In Belgium, France and Great Britain, minors with no residence permit can enrol normally for school; in Greece and Sweden enrolment is not permitted and in Italy it is allowed "with reservations", while the parents of the child regularise their position (Table 2).
The extremely varied situation that we find in Europe also refers to groups of different sizes. Even the incidence of the phenomenon seems difficult to compare. As far as Italy is concerned, the incidence of immigrant minors seems particularly low (1.4%) with respect to other countries, such as Belgium, France, Great Britain and Sweden, where the proportion of immigrant minors ranges from 10% in Great Britain to over 14% in Belgium (Table 3).
As a result, the perception of the population with regard to the phenomenon, at a general and individual level, seems to vary. For example, two CHIP pilot media analysis projects conducted in Italy, the first on the perception and attitudes with regard to immigrant minors, the second on the way in which the media reflect the presence of immigrant minors, show that:

- the media insist on treating the question of "immigrants" in terms of security, or at any rate in conjunction with crime-related issues, even in the case of minors;

- the Italians have the capacity of "decongesting" their very perception of the phenomenon, particularly in the case of children, by bringing to bear decidedly well-balanced reasoning and judgement.

To put it more clearly, despite the fact that the media, when dealing with the world of immigration, speak in terms of alarm and apprehension, even in the case of minors, individual citizens seem to adopt more balanced positions (Table 4). For example, when asked whether to allot funds and structures towards promoting the integration of immigrant minors, most of those interviewed replied in the affirmative (Table 5).

The first outcome of the project, as a whole, was therefore to bring to light the urgent need to adopt a common approach on the issue, at least with regard to the two dimensions covered by the project:

- rights of citizenship and well-being of minors of immigrant origin;

- exchange and confrontation, from a cultural and educational point of view, between the host society and the cultures of origin.

This emerged from the study carried out in the seven participating countries on the condition of minors of immigrant origin and related welfare and education policies, and on possible ways in which European policies can be unified, so as to ensure the integration of foreign minors into the community and their general well-being.

1.1. Reference framework

The situation in the countries examined by the project, as far as minors of foreign origin are concerned, varies considerably, and allows the construction of a compact reference framework only to a limited extent. Nevertheless, we can identify certain phenomena that are common to all seven countries, though they take different forms and are of varying proportions.

First of all, the presence of foreigners not only increases year by year but also changes continuously, tending towards settlement, familiarity with the institutions and the language, the ability to formulate requests and to demand that rights be respected.

In addition, today's children are, and will increasingly be, "intercultural children": a true bridge between two or more cultures. The culture, customs, traditions and way of life of the host countries will be ever more strongly influenced and transformed by the life and experiences of their new citizens, who have a different history, which is fully entitled to be reflected in the local culture, including Culture with a capital C, as taught in schools.

Rather than foreigners, these individuals are, and will be, new citizens of the host nations, which means among other things a *change in the definition of cultural identity at a national and European level.*

This phenomenon is new for countries like Italy, where immigration flows are relatively recent, but in others, such as England and France, it is much more consolidated and the presence of ethnic minorities represents a well-rooted characteristic of society. Even in these countries, however, the question of the social integration and well-being of second-generation minors, and often third-generation minors too, remains a problem that is hard to tackle and solve.

In the school, above all, any policy of an intercultural kind, or relating to cultural literacy, must be a policy that is *able to evolve* with the trends and characteristics of immigration. In some countries, like Italy, there is still an atmosphere of emergency and initial acceptance and the most urgent need is to acquire the linguistic resources necessary for the new arrivals to be integrated into a school curriculum that remains unchanged; in other countries, where the language barriers have for the most part been overcome, the main need is for more articulated reception procedures. Moreover, the situation will continue to change, requiring the adoption of an increasingly sophisticated and vigilant approach, and policies must acquire the ability to adapt to a continually changing context.

Research carried out shows that there is currently *no single European model of intervention, nor any true national models.* Nevertheless, in the school sphere, at least *three main approaches* to the problem can be identified on the basis of the study:

- the first is that of an *emergency response to a state of crisis* created by the arrival at school of a child who does not speak the language of the host country. Initial acceptance and the integration of the new arrivals into the classes, particularly as far as learning the language is concerned, is the focal point of many projects: learning the language constitutes the main challenge for many of the initiatives taken by the school in response to the ever greater presence of immigrant minors,

particularly in those countries where second-generation immigrants represent a relatively recent phenomenon;

- the second approach may be defined as *passive interculturalism*, that is to say a reaction of reciprocal, passive adaptation to the new situation. This view of acceptance is for the most part limited to *not putting up resistance.* For example, many measures are implemented in order to counter racism, or to cultivate tolerance, but there is no real effort at an authentic movement of cultural innovation; so intervention merely tends to reduce expectations to the "least bad" solution and to limit damage;

- the third approach may be defined as *active interculturalism*. Basically, it aims to create cultural areas for coexistence, even in the short term: it differs from passive acceptance chiefly by the effort put into retraining staff and/or the use of outside associations. In the medium and long term, the object of active interculturalism is not so much to protect different cultures within a class in a distinct, parallel fashion - on the contrary, it is even expected that the cultures of the new arrivals will change as they become settled – but rather to *reformulate the culture of the host country*. The acceptance of differences, especially in the long term, is bound to result in the transformation of the host society.

An initial analysis of the diffusion of these approaches – linguistic and intercultural, in both passive and active forms – shows that the real situation is often very different from the far-seeing policy set out in official documents. Frequently, ministerial memoranda and the most ambitious articles of new legislation run contrary to local needs and realities. This situation is more marked in Italy, but it is common to almost all the countries involved in the study. Many of the measures linked with the approach defined above as *active interculturalism* start off with good intentions but break down because they are inadequate or because they perpetuate stereotypes relating to the cultures of origin of the foreign children.

1.2. Main proposals put forward

As a result of the project, it is a generally held opinion that, although there are still discrepancies and problems concerning "regulatory differences" between the various countries on the issue of immigration, we can look to culture and children for help in order to tackle them in a balanced fashion.
Culture and its transmission from generation to generation offers opportunities for understanding one another, for coming closer together, for comparing notes and working together, in a way that is not possible in other spheres, or at least not with the same intensity and likelihood of success.
Europe must take *culture* and the *younger generation* as its starting point in order to build a common platform for joint acceptance and regulation of the immigration

processes.
But in order to do this, it is necessary to have a common language, common objectives and common tools.
This is the very issue covered by the project, which attempted to identify, agree and foresee:

- a common *definition of the target* of reference for cultural and educational policies directed towards the younger generation, so as to include immigrant minors of both first and second generations as well as those belonging to ethnic minorities;

- *common objectives for the well-being* of the minors concerned –the concept of well-being including factors relating to life at school, in the community, in the family of reference, as well as participation, health and security – and for safeguarding the basic rights of individuals and of minors, as laid down by the international conventions;

- *common tools* in the areas of language, social and public communications, schools, associations, religion and relations with the country of origin.

Although the CHIP project has ascertained that some of the proposals put forward are not practicable for the time being, because of the very marked differences between the various countries with regard to definition and regulation, it nonetheless seems legitimate, and indeed urgently necessary, for the institutions to develop measures and initiatives that focus on concrete proposals for agreed forms of intervention relating to the state of immigrant minors in Europe.

The project therefore invites those responsible for national and local policies in the European countries not only to agree on a common definition of the target of reference and common objectives for the well-being and protection of minors, but also to create a series of *concrete tools for decision-making and intervention*, aimed at putting into practice the theoretical objectives proposed.

The *tools* that the project puts forward for consideration *at a European level*, and which are discussed below, are the following:

1. Constitution of a European Intergovernmental Commission for unifying the criteria used to define the target group of minors of immigrant origin, at a European level.

2. Harmonisation of the criteria adopted for collecting statistics on the minors in question, focusing on the three parameters mentioned above (first generation, second generation, belonging to ethnic minorities).

3. Monitoring of minors arriving in the host countries of Europe by the competent authorities, on the basis of a common work model.

4. Monitoring of the granting of citizenship to minors by host countries, using a common work model.

5. Monitoring of the language skills and performance of school pupils in the different countries, with regard both to the language of the host country and to other languages, particularly the mother tongue.

6. Monitoring of the well-being of minors, both native and of foreign origin, and of social and cultural risk factors, on the basis of the principles of the UNO international convention on the rights of minors.

The *tools* proposed at the *level of the national states* are the following:

1. Revision of school textbooks and curricula, introducing elements of an intercultural kind to reflect the multiethnic society.

2. Creation of training and refresher schemes for teachers of all types and grades, in collaboration with the universities and educational structures of other countries.

3. Translation and diffusion of the manual for school operators drawn up as part of the CHIP Project by CBAI (Centre Bruxellois d'Action Interculturelle).

4. Implementation of exchange programmes between students of different countries, aimed at intercultural education and mutual understanding between different peoples.

5. Definition of the professional qualifications and skills required by the figure of cultural mediator and that of tutor; development of training based on intercultural skills.

6. Periodic campaigns on the part of the institutions to inform immigrants of their rights and duties and of the criteria and principles relating to the well-being of children, with the aim of eliminating attitudes of prejudice and "fear" with regard to ethnic groups other than the native one.

7. Support for the production of fiction and of radio and TV programmes focusing on the social sphere, oriented towards the promotion of attitudes of reciprocity, particularly with regard to minors.

8. Organisation of refresher and training seminars for operators in the sector of advertising and the media, with the aim of providing a better understanding of the issue.

9. Revision of the self-regulatory codes of conduct adopted by the media, with explicit reference to respect for ethnic minorities and especially to the way in which minors are depicted by the mass media.

10. Promotion of projects for making known and spreading the plays, books and films that constitute the heritage of the various cultures and for using museum systems for intercultural purposes.

1.3. Access and citizenship

With regard to the issue of citizenship, the Child Immigration Project has tried to refocus attention on the basic rights of minors to well-being and protection. Whatever the policy adopted towards waves of immigrants, ranging from a categorical refusal to throwing open the frontiers, the duty to guarantee the basic rights of minors remains unchanged. Whatever the cultural policy adopted by the country, from the promotion of a multicultural society to that of a *leitkultur*, the rights of children must be given precedence.
The oscillating political position of the European countries and the variety of political strategies adopted have highlighted the urgent need for a study of the condition of minors of immigrant origin, their specific needs and how these can be satisfied by the host countries.

1.3.1. Target group and classification

Many different terms are used to indicate the population group involved; it is therefore particularly important to clarify the "object" of the policies adopted.
Different policies towards immigration and different decisions on ways of granting citizenship have brought about a situation in which, in certain countries, the term “immigrant” is used to refer both to foreigners and to individuals born abroad but subsequently naturalised.
In certain cases we are not even talking about immigrants, but rather about ethnic minorities, even if these are the result of the migratory movements of the post-war period.
In other countries there are foreigners who do not have citizenship, despite the fact that they, or even their parents, were born in the host country, because their birth, or that of their parents, in the country concerned does not guarantee the granting of citizenship.
The heterogeneous nature of the definitions used makes it difficult to establish an objective common to all the countries in considering minors of immigrant origin; in fact, one of the intermediate objectives of the project was that of defining the target group for the study.
The starting point for the project was the fact that there is a group of minors in Europe

whose well-being is “at risk” because of a migratory event in the recent past of the family. *Within this group we find minors with very different characteristics: foreign minors, minors who themselves immigrated (first-generation immigrants), second- or third-generation immigrants, minors belonging to ethnic minorities* resulting from an influx of immigrants after the war but who have full citizenship (and have had for several generations) of the European countries considered (Table 6).
Legal status varies enormously within this group of minors, to whom we shall refer, for the sake of simplicity, as *minors "of immigrant origin"*. In the same way, the risks to which they are exposed are of different kinds, even if some of the risks and characteristics, resulting from the family's decision to migrate and from the implications of this choice for future generations, are the same.
The choice of considering minors as belonging to a group of immigrant origin is, in Europe, a choice in harmony with national policy on integration. The classification systems utilised in the different countries reflect this choice, even when minors are not effectively integrated. The most extreme example, outside Europe but included in the CHIP study, is that of Israel, where the result of the policies for the settlement and integration of immigrants is that after 10 years there is no longer any formal distinction between immigrants and those born in the country.
In Europe, it is above all *nationality* which identifies the group; in certain countries, as well as nationality the minors' origin is considered, together with the place of birth of their parents and grandparents; in Sweden, a record is made of whether the grandparents immigrated or not, so as to preserve a trace of the minor's origins, which would otherwise be lost as soon as a residence permit is granted. In Great Britain, on the other hand, attention is focused less on the immigrants' family history and more on the continuance of an "ethnic" difference: individuals make a personal declaration stating the group to which they belong, for the purposes of planning intervention policies. In France, the integration policy seems to be founded on the acceptance by all French citizens of republican values and the state tends to avoid creating distinctions between French citizens on the basis of their different origins. Consequently, the difficulties of minors of immigrant origin, the children who "emerge" from the phenomenon of immigration, are tackled without the aid of any specific classification (Table 1).
The classification criteria adopted in the countries of the CHIP group therefore vary widely, despite the fact that they concern substantial "sectors" of the population requiring specific policies (Table 3).
Imposing a definition helps to identify a phenomenon: one of the basic conditions for dealing with it. For this reason it is essential to recognise that classification must go hand in hand with the integration of minors of immigrant origin. In order to know how to direct resources destined for promoting the acquisition of cultural skills, it is necessary to know the distribution of newly-arrived immigrants. In order to organise measures to support the cultures or languages of origin, as has frequently been done in some countries, it is necessary to know the characteristics of the users. Still more important is the ability to measure access to resources and any disparities in the welfare sector.

It is true, however, that classification runs the risk of creating a "difficult" social group and of exacerbating the current trends towards division and suspicion. It is important that belonging to the "ethnic" categories, where these are added to the classification, is not a decision on the part of the institutions but a personal choice of the individual.
The spirit of classification should therefore be that of *getting to know the problem in order to follow and recognise it.*
In the case of minors, in particular, the distinctions serve to support children in their school career, to fight discrimination and to safeguard the identity of minors caught between contrasting cultural values. The very definition of the group at risk utilised in the CHIP project (Table 6) indicates that, as the length of time since the family's immigration increases, minors of immigrant origin may choose not to be identified as immigrants. The phenomenon being measured is therefore, quite rightly, considered as a transitional process.

1.3.2. Well-being and indicators of well-being

The main object of social policies for minors is to preserve their *well-being*, to *protect their childhood* and to *invest in their cultural skills*, quite apart from models of "integration" or "assimilation", or other mechanisms for social inclusion. The priority of the well-being of minors allows us to bypass the problem of general policy on immigration and culture, concentrating on individuals and their needs, as laid down in the Convention on children's rights.

The "well-being" of minors can be thought of as a pyramid: it begins with *basic needs*, the components necessary for survival, rising through *growth and development* and *participation in society* to the *formation of a complete, functional identity.*

In comparing all the countries of the world, the international institutions, such as the UN and the World Bank, have for years been collecting data relating to the "base" of the pyramid: infant mortality, access to water, nutrition. A comparison of national data with regard to indicators of this kind shows that the *survival of minors is practically certain.* In effect, the institutions concerned have themselves underlined the need to shift the analysis away from the basic indicators to a higher level, before comparing the groups within the individual country, and to add new indicators able to "intercept" more advanced signs of well-being.

In analysing the indicators of well-being utilised, a further distinction is necessary, between those which examine the *present state of the minors* – their living conditions, health, access to resources – and those which look at their *future condition* – i.e. their prospects in adulthood.

This distinction is important because it reflects a fundamental aspect of the minors' well-being. On the one hand it is necessary to ensure minimum conditions for their

survival and dignity, and also to pay attention to their serenity and socialisation; on the other, minors are involved in the process of investing in themselves and planning for society as a whole. The prospects of social integration, as adults, are before the eyes of the children and condition their attitudes, their behaviour and even their psychological well-being, together with those of their parents.

Research on first-generation immigrants has shown how the perception of prospects for integration as adults influences the way minors live the present, particularly with regard to their attitude towards the values promoted by the host society and to the attenuation of the risk of delinquency and demonstrative or psychopathological crimes. The *economic indicators of the well-being of the family* are therefore important, too (Table 7).

There are also important indicators relating to *health*. In many countries, babies of immigrant origin still have significantly higher infant mortality and lower birth weight than those of the native population, which demonstrates that there are still steps to be taken in order to fulfil the simplest needs connected with birth. A study of illnesses must be made, particularly those connected with poverty, such as respiratory infections. Psychiatric disorders, especially those in which the minor is taken into hospital, must be carefully followed and compared with those of minors in the rest of the population. Minors of immigrant origin, particularly those of the first generation, seem to be especially at risk for certain types of pathology.

Conformity to social rules and *pro-social behaviour* is another of the areas which are important for the well-being of minors of immigrant origin, particularly during adolescence, when the risk is greater and intervention more delicate. For example, involvement in criminal activities is a widely used indicator in many countries. But an analysis of delinquency cannot be limited simply to the crime rate and the number of minors in penal institutes; it must include a distinction between *demonstrative crimes*, which reflect social unease and "rage" against exclusion, and *instrumental crimes*, that is to say those committed for material gain, which are more likely to reflect economic difficulties. These indicators are essential in planning youth policies.

The indicators of pro-social participation must also include those relating to youth activities and sport: many youth policies are based on involvement in neighbourhood or community activities.

A sphere which is particularly revealing with regard to children's well-being is, naturally, the school. *School delay*, in those systems which allow children to be *held back*, reveals the importance of different factors for the various sub-groups of minors: for new immigrants, it can reflect a language difficulty that must be overcome, while for subsequent generations it can highlight difficulty in acquiring the cultural skills demanded by the school. School results, too, where these can be measured by standardised tools, make it possible to monitor progress at school.

The *type of school* chosen, of the various kinds of secondary school and preparation for university, is indicative not only of the choices made by the minors but also of the guidance which they are given by the institutions and by individual figures at school. In many countries, attention is focused on this indicator because of the tendency to choose vocational or technical schools rather than high schools for the children of immigrants and for some ethnic groups of immigrant origin.

The well-being of minors of immigrant origin is not represented just by the social indicators utilised in the past for the sphere of children as a whole. There is a series of indicators reflecting the *cultural needs* of minors. Indicators relating to the school already give an idea of the cultural skills acquired by minors, but there are no indicators of intercultural skill, i.e. the ability to grow and to weld an identity that unites the culture to which the family belongs with that of the host country.

Interaction between the values of the family and the values of the host country can be achieved above all by the passing of the generations; nevertheless, it is necessary to know whether minors *have the resources they need in order to make sense of their cultural heritage.*

A key resource is *another language.* Knowing more than one language equips a minor with an extra tool for reasoning and exchanging ideas. A second language is a resource for the minor and therefore for the country in general, although in many spheres there is reluctance to acknowledge the value of non-European languages (Table 8).

Again, minors build their own identity partly by using the images of themselves that are projected by the *media.* As a result, recognising that they permanently live in, and belong to, the society of the host country, and that of Europe as a whole, helps to bind minors to their project for investment and development.

Lastly, life within their cultural group of reference, in community life and in religious structures, constitutes a further factor in identity. The link that minors can have – through the family or group to which they belong – with their country of origin, even when the origin dates back three generations or more, represents another important factor affecting the minors' well-being.

1.3.3. Problems linked to access

Each of the indicators of well-being reveals the unique situation of minors of immigrant origin, especially when compared to the segment of minors as a whole. In order to understand the effects of changes in policy, however, it is important to add another category of indicators, describing *access by minors of immigrant origin* to those services which *affect their well-being.* Thus, for many of the indicators listed above

there is a "shadow indicator" which shows the degree of access to the services, and there is a further dimension, that is to say the *right to access*.

The distinction made by the CHIP project in considering well-being – the distinction between first- and second-generation immigrant children and children belonging to an ethnic minority – must be carefully evaluated when studying problems relating to access, because in certain cases the latter may be limited by other factors, such as poverty or belonging to an underprivileged category.

In the economic sphere, access indicators make it possible to monitor how members of the target group use the welfare system: to what extent they make use of *aid* to the families, the *assignment of public housing*, *vocational training* and *job-finding services.*

Within the sphere of the health service, access indicators take account of the extent to which the target group *utilises the public health system.* One basic indicator is the number of women who have the right to *maternity* aid. Other important access indicators are the number of people using *mental health* services and hospitalisation (which tends to be greater in the target group because of coercive hospitalisation).

In the field of education, although this is organised in different ways in the various countries, the areas where there are problems in gaining access to education are often the same. The are numerous access indicators in this field: the rate of *enrolment* in kindergarten (non-compulsory schooling), the number of *expulsions* or drop-outs during the school year, the *concentration* in certain schools, the number of pupils who follow *special programmes*, where these are foreseen (teaching in two languages, courses in the language and culture of origin, help with schoolwork). There is also participation in *extra-curricular activities*, although not much data is available in this connection.

Other important indicators relate to the sphere of *delinquency*, such as the crime rate and the rate of conviction in penal trials, as well as to various forms of discrimination.

Access indicators are not only indicators relating to the possibility of exercising certain rights but are also, in many cases, indicators of the discrimination to which the target group is subject in exercising these rights (Table 9).

1.3.4. Citizenship

To ensure their well-being, minors of immigrant origin need to have a life project in the host country, in which the values assimilated during their development do not come into contrast with their everyday experience. For this reason it is essential to reduce discrimination in evaluating working qualifications and in the job market, just as it is essential to eliminate the contradiction between a message of belonging to the community and depiction in the media as "outsiders".
The *formal definition* of citizenship must therefore be examined in any study of the

condition of minors of immigrant origin, because it is fundamental to all the minors' projects in the host country (Table 10). Equally important are the other *informal definitions* of citizenship utilised in various contexts, which determine the chances of those "in between" with regard to significant participation in the life of the host country.
The wider question of "investment by society" in minors, and the overall philosophy behind this issue, is illustrated by the immigration policy of all the countries considered: the granting of citizenship must be related to identity. For children, the essential thing is to be able to trust in the future, without the risk of expulsion after reaching adulthood. These processes are encouraged by a quicker, more agile policy for granting citizenship, accompanied by support in acquiring "cultural skills". Since the granting of nationality is an important way of recognising citizenship, it is necessary to determine what rights are denied to non-citizens.
It therefore seems essential for the *route to citizenship* to be clearly marked out for minors and their families, in order to allow new arrivals to invest in the host society, as they need to do to ensure the development of reciprocity and solidarity. With regard to minors who are citizens of immigrant origin, on the other hand, it is even more important for them to be able to exercise effective citizenship, without seeing themselves depicted as citizens who do not have equal opportunities.

1.3.5. Guidelines and political models for integration

Minors have a right to *stability*, to plan a full and long life in the country where they grow up and to safeguard the culture of their family.
It is therefore necessary to intervene in at least two spheres:

– the family, which must be supported to ensure basic material well-being, health and dignified conditions for bringing up the minor;

– society in general, where discriminating attitudes and behaviour must be countered.

Seen from this point of view, the usual distinction between "integration" and "assimilation" is of little importance; in either case, it is necessary to make investments in order to ensure that minors acquire the cultural skills necessary for them to achieve their full potential in the host country and that they are not faced by the denial of rights and equal opportunities.

It is equally important for there to be full respect of the culture of the minor's family on the part of the host society, so as to avoid causing a rift within the family.

1.4. school: the ideal workshop

The European project has clearly shown that the school results of children of foreign

origin are often unsatisfactory and decidedly worse than those of their native companions. It is immediately apparent that this phenomenon depends on numerous factors, ranging from a poor knowledge of the language used for teaching to the distance which separates the cultural system learnt in the family from that presented by the school; from the state of "precarious identity" in which the children find themselves to the fact that schooling in the host country often does not begin at kindergarten level.
Whether we consider results, the "direction" taken in educational courses, enrolment procedures or "depiction", the figures all show an evident different between native children and foreign children, or children of immigrant origin, with the latter essentially being at a disadvantage.

1.4.1. Specific problems of the target group

Difficulties in integration often relate chiefly to the sphere of progress at school, comprising:
1. difficulties connected with the school *enrolment procedures* (the main outcome being that children are put into classes not suited to their age group);
2. *delay* (difference between age and school year; percentage of pupils attaining advancement);
3. *performance* (exam results, advancement);
4. *drop-out* (leaving school)
5. *educational courses* (concentration of pupils of immigrant origin or belonging to an ethnic minority in less qualified forms of schooling, number who enrol at university);
6. *concentration* of foreigners and immigrants in certain schools.

The *school enrolment procedure* usually consists of submitting forms with information about the child's skills and previous schooling. It is on the basis of this information, as well as age, that children are placed in the most suitable class.
Only recently, and only in certain countries, has the level reached by children in their mother tongue been taken into consideration in placing pupils. Placement therefore depends in practice on the equivalence or compatibility of the pupils' documents and previous schooling, and also on their knowledge of the language used for teaching, rather than on their age and/or their effective skills.
Numerous studies and experiments have demonstrated that placement in a class with younger pupils has a negative effect on children's development and progress, whereas it has been observed that children's development in the school sphere is more rapid when they are in a class with other children of their own age. The difference between the pupils' age and that of the class in which they are placed therefore creates a situation of *delay* which tends to worsen over the years (Table 13).
Poor performance, which in the worst cases can mean a child being kept down, can also add to the years of delay. Generally speaking, in all the countries examined, the results of immigrant children and children belonging to ethnic minorities are lower than those of the local population, as can be seen from the figures relating to advancement (Table

14).
Lastly, *school leaving (drop-out)* is a rather serious phenomenon, because it inevitably affects the pupils' later prospects for employment: those who do not obtain a diploma are at a great disadvantage in the job market, where this is an important means of selection. Dropping out takes place chiefly between 14 and 16 years of age; the target group is affected to a decidedly greater extent than native pupils.
As well as "spontaneous" abandonment of school on the part of the pupils, another phenomenon has reached worrying proportions, particularly in certain countries, such as England: suspension from school, which is often followed by permanent expulsion.
In the last few years, there has been a considerable increase in the number of children permanently expelled from school. Some ethnic groups are disproportionately represented among children expelled from school.
Table 15, relating to the *distribution of the target group in the various institutes of higher education* (grammar school, technical and vocational schools, but also university) shows that being an immigrant or belonging to an ethnic minority plays a decisive role in the choice of a course of study.
The figures of the various countries are obviously not comparable in a strict sense, since different school selection systems are used. In some countries, schools provide an advisory service to help children choose their branch of study when they are about to move from one educational level to the next, and so this choice reflects the attitudes of the institutes, which are often rife with discrimination and stereotypes; in other countries, the choice is made without any intervention on the part of the school and reflects chiefly how the children's families view their chances.
In countries with an advisory service, such as Belgium, the figures for the number of children of immigrant origin in each branch of schooling indicate that there could be a form of ethnic discrimination in the advisory phase, on the part of teachers and of the school in general: the target group is encouraged to look towards the technical and vocational sector as offering the only prospects for a future that has already been decided by society, without considering the gifts, skills or inclinations of the individual pupil. This is backed up by the fact that even pupils with good school results are often advised to undertake vocational training.
In countries like Italy where no advisory service is provided by the teachers, these seem nonetheless to exercise great influence on both pupils and parents with regard to the perception of their prospects (those of both parents and children); for this reason, teachers should be made aware of the importance of their role in these processes, and trained accordingly.
Another possible explanation of the small number of children of immigrant origin, in Europe as a whole, who opt for general or classical studies, may lie in their cultural distance from certain courses rather than in a form of exclusion or "self-exclusion".
The percentage of immigrant minors who continue their studies after compulsory schooling is also considerably lower than that of the local population. In Italy, the number of pupils enrolled falls sharply between lower and higher secondary school: barely two-thirds of the immigrants who complete their third year of lower secondary

school enrol for higher secondary school, and of those who continue their studies the drop-out rate is about ten times that of Italian students.
Lastly, in some countries there is a tendency to *concentrate foreigners and immigrants in certain schools*: schools tend to be divided between those with a very high concentration of immigrants and those which have none at all, thus creating a situation reminiscent of authentic "ghettos", particularly considering that foreigners and immigrants are to be found in greater numbers above all in schools which are located in underprivileged neighbourhoods and which therefore have a bad name.

1.4.2. The causes of the problem

The difficulties encountered by immigrant children and adolescents, and by those belonging to an ethnic minority, as described above, can in general be traced to several kinds of problems:

- knowledge of the *language* used for teaching, which is often insufficient;

- *disparity between the culture of origin and the culture presented by the school*, with the resulting need to build an identity "astride" two systems of values that are often very distant from one another;

- forms of *discrimination*, more or less overt, which are inseparably linked to the inability of the school system to accept diversity and which accentuate the difficulties described in the previous point.

The *language difficulty* is the first obstacle encountered by immigrant minors during their integration into the school and is to a large extent the cause of their poor progress.

The problem is greater when schooling in the host country does not begin at kindergarten level: attending kindergarten has an extremely beneficial effect on children's learning abilities.

In learning a language, children for the most part use the method of imitation. Since the parents of children of immigrant origin often have limited mastery of the host country language, there is an additional disadvantage for the target group: the parents cannot give their children the example that every child requires in order to learn a language, nor are they able to correct any mistakes.

Furthermore, the greatest problem connected with language is writing: in the host countries this constitutes a fundamental skill necessary for proper integration at school and in employment, while in many of the countries of origin it is considered less important.

This observation brings up another question: minors who are the children or descendants of immigrants have great problems in building their *identity* and in

accepting the fact that they *belong to two worlds with cultures and values* that are often very different from one another, between which neither parents nor teachers wish –or are able- to mediate. The difficulty children encounter in building their identity is often due to the different conception of roles and priorities and the different channels of communication used in the family on the one hand and at school on the other.

Friction between the values of the family and those of the host society, with the children in the middle, has been demonstrated by numerous studies carried out by the countries taking part in the CHIP project; it has been emphasised how these factors help to create learning difficulties that are expressed in the form of unsatisfactory results, lack of motivation - often leading to dropping out - or by the child becoming introverted or using violent behaviour.

It must be added that, as well as these "normal" difficulties, due to the particular position of being "*in between*", further problems are created by the way in which diversity is handled by the host countries, and in particular by the school system.

Children of immigrant origin therefore find themselves not only in between two worlds and two systems of values; they also find that one of the two – if not both – rejects and denies the other. Although some of the countries covered by the CHIP project formally declare that cultural diversity is a resource, none of them have yet adopted a provision institutionalising the recognition of the importance of cultural diversity. In practice, the policies aimed at promoting the integration of the minors concerned penalise, or at best ignore, their cultural differences.

This statement can easily be proved by looking at *textbooks and school curricula*, which in most cases are not directed towards immigrants or the children of immigrants and relegate their cultures to the sphere of marginal, exotic curiosity, if not actually to a phase preceding the development of mankind.

Besides these obvious and extreme forms of discrimination, the school and society as a whole do not provide an opportunity for cultures – the "local" culture and those brought from other countries – to meet and exchange views in such a way as to enrich each other in a state of equal dignity. Whatever the context – the school or the media, the street or public structures – the host country always lays down, more or less implicitly, a scale of values where everything that is "different" is always at the bottom.

One of the main prospects for development identified by the present project is to acquire awareness of the importance, for the well-being and integration of immigrant children, of a non-discriminatory response to their cultural diversity, and to act accordingly.

1.4.3. Educational policies: approaches and types of action

Initiatives aimed at promoting the integration and well-being of minors of immigrant origin in (and through) the educational system can be divided into two main categories, which basically represent two different approaches to dealing with their ever-increasing number in the schools (Table 12):

- initiatives aimed at *counterbalancing* disadvantages specifically affecting the target group (in order to reduce and overcome the differences);

- initiatives aimed at setting in train *structural changes* in the educational system in order to satisfy the changing needs of a society distinguished by a growing presence of children of immigrant origin.

The first type of action, which we can define as *direct*, comprises initiatives undertaken by the schools to allow children of immigrant origin to make the same progress at school as other pupils. The activities covered by this category do not have any effect on the teaching system, but try to assist underprivileged individuals.

From this point of view, the activities concerned touch on the procedural aspects of the school system and aim to overcome the gap which prevents minors from attaining their full potential (language and culture barriers, handicaps deriving from the situation of the family); in this case, intervention has as its object the children or the immigrant families, not the host society.

The second category of intervention, on the other hand, which we can define as *indirect*, is aimed at the whole school system: it tackles the same integration difficulties that the first group of activities is trying to overcome by changing the educational system, in order to "adapt it to its new users".

In a sense, we can say that the first type of action aims to provide minors of immigrant origin with tools enabling them to "bring themselves up to the same level" as their companions, whereas the second type tries to induce the school system, however partially, to adopt a more open attitude towards diversity, thus seeking to attain the same end, i.e. to overcome the differences between the two groups of students with regard to their results, prospects and overall well-being and integration.

1.4.4. Measures taken in the school sphere

The first type of action includes strategies aimed at placing foreigners and immigrants in suitable classes. These basically consist of:

- *simplifying the criteria of equivalence* or recognition for certificates and diplomas issued in other countries;

- *employing qualified language mediators* to explain the enrolment procedures to the families;

- creating *special language programmes* in order to bring foreign pupils rapidly up to the level required for them to attend the right class;

- evaluating the level of pupils in their mother tongue.

In Italy, for example, ministerial guidelines issued in 1994 laid down that, when a child is of the same age as Italian children beginning the school year, or when he/she has received an education of the same kind and level as that foreseen by the Italian school system, he/she should be placed in the same class as Italian children of the same age; on the other hand, if the child is illiterate or at a decidedly lower level with respect to the other children, he/she should have a personalised crash course, consisting of classes after school, tutoring and special Italian lessons during school hours.

Supplementary courses in the language of the host country, proposed at a European level and regulated by the ministries of the individual member states, have been introduced in all the CHIP countries. These courses, directed towards children whose mother tongue is different from the language used for teaching, are organised in quite different ways in the various countries.

They may be governed by national programmes or organised by the individual schools; they can take place during school hours or form part of the extra-curricular activities; they can be given by the teachers of the school or by specially "recruited" outside teachers; lastly, they can vary widely both as to their duration, in terms of the number of hours per week, and as to the way in which the courses are made available, in some cases being concentrated in the period before the children start school and in others being distributed throughout the year.

As well as courses in the language of the host country, many countries have instituted *courses in the language and culture of origin*, introduced with a dual aim:

- to encourage the construction of the children's identity, by creating an area within the school in which the culture of origin is recognised;

- to encourage progress at school: numerous studies have shown that when children have a good knowledge of their mother tongue, and when their national languages are promoted by the school, children find it easier to learn a second language and at the same time are better integrated at school.

All things considered, courses in the language and culture of origin have not proved very successful, primarily because, in most cases, the demand for these courses on the part of the target group is much lower than the number of immigrants. (A case in point

is that of Sweden, where 57% of the foreigners entitled to attend such courses actually do so.)

There are various reasons for this lack of success:

- the differences between the educational system of the host country and those of the countries of origin are such that native teachers criticise their foreign colleagues, saying that the latter are incompetent and have not had adequate teacher training, in an atmosphere of *opposition* rather than collaboration.

- the foreign teachers giving the courses in the language and culture of origin are often not well thought of, either, by the families of the pupils to whom such courses are targeted: since the teachers are recruited, hired and paid by the foreign country whose language and culture they are to teach, they excite *diffidence* in those foreigners who left their country of origin in order to escape from an unpleasant socio-political situation; it is particularly difficult when the courses are full of civic education and patriotism, through a watered-down re-evocation of the history of the country of origin and the introduction of religious notions.

- the culture of origin on which a course focuses is often not the only one: the courses reawaken *internal conflicts* between the different nationalities and ethnic groups which are difficult to solve and which tend to worsen among ex-patriots; equally complex is the case of nations with many dialects besides the national language, which may be almost unknown to the majority of the population and not spoken in the family.

- the parents often fear that it may be harmful for their child – torn between two cultures and in search of stability and firm points of reference – to come into contact with the teachers and culture of the country of origin, since such contact may destabilise an already *precarious equilibrium*: they prefer to see the local school as an area that furthers assimilation.

- children who attend courses in the language and culture of origin often express *rejection* of their mother tongue, going so far as to despise it and to discredit their culture of origin. This depends firstly on the fact that their companions show no interest in the language and culture concerned (if they do not openly denigrate them), and secondly on the children's desire for integration, which leads them to deny a difference that they find unbearable.

- the courses are strictly reserved for children from the country that finances them, which only serves to underline the fact that they belong to a minority and creates a difference on the basis of origin, transforming a unitarian, universalist school into a place of *segregation* and division.

All in all, then, we can say that the effect of these courses does not correspond to the aims which led to their introduction; they should therefore be radically rethought.

To overcome the problem of foreign pupils' delay at school, some schools in Belgium have adopted a *tutoring* system, i.e. a form of "study aid" for pupils of the lower secondary school, provided by university students. The object of this initiative is to fight failure at school and to make the transition to higher education easier. The results of this measure have proved very positive for pupils whose school performance is moderately poor, whereas *tutoring* is of little use for children who are seriously behind at school. This initiative has met with success partly because the *tutors* are not much older than their pupils and partly because over half of them are themselves young immigrants.

In Belgium, the phenomenon of dropping out is addressed by the use of *mediators* and welfare workers in the schools: when there is a case of absenteeism or dropping out, the teachers, the head of the school, a psychologist, the pupil and the parents are all involved in finding a non-repressive solution for the problem.

In England, on the other hand, where dropping out is chiefly the result of expulsion, an attempt to solve the problem is being made by the *fight against discrimination* carried on by teachers and by assumption of responsibility on the part of the school: on the one hand, schools are obliged to guarantee full-time education for all pupils expelled, by drawing up an individual learning plan that includes a final date for the child's return to school; on the other, an area has to be created for discussing expulsions and the circumstances in which they occur, so that they can be monitored.

In order to avoid concentrating foreigners and immigrants in certain schools, so as to guarantee the right to a free choice of school, some countries have introduced *economic incentives to promote changes in admission policy*: in both France and Belgium, certain areas "at risk" have been identified (called *priority action zones*), within which a homogeneous distribution of foreign children in the schools has been incentivated by allocating special funds to schools with 20-50% of foreign pupils, providing that they fulfil precise conditions with regard to both organisation and the contents of programmes; these funds decrease progressively as the schools depart from the above percentages, either upwards or downwards. This measure has proved effective and has achieved a more balanced distribution of foreign pupils in the schools. In Italy, too, a ministerial decree of 1994 made it illegal to concentrate children speaking the same foreign language, or languages belonging to the same linguistic group, in the same class.

The second category, that of indirect intervention, includes activities and initiatives adopted within the school to ensure the proper integration of foreign pupils, those of immigrant origin and those belonging to ethnic minorities, by means of changes in the

very fundamentals of the school system: basically, this means promoting an intercultural approach in teaching, by the adoption of various measures.

The first measures concern *teacher training* and aim to provide operators with tools for dealing with a school population which is now very different from that of the period when most European countries set up their training schemes.

Without specific training, teachers do not possess the tools necessary to carry out their new task: that of transmitting knowledge, culture and values while respecting differences. Although the most modern training and teaching theories put the accent on the need to respect the diverse and unique characteristics of each child, teachers nevertheless carry within themselves an unconscious inner model, which tends to reproduce society in general through the school, following the strong ethnocentric tendencies of the latter.

Secondly, school *curricula and textbooks* must be in a certain sense "adjusted" for the change in the composition of the school population.

The last group of integration strategies relates to intervention of a structural kind: courses in the language and culture of origin, which we have already mentioned above, and *multicultural activities.*

The difference between multicultural activities and courses in the language and culture of origin lies in the fact that the latter are directed solely towards pupils belonging to the specific minority culture concerned, whereas multicultural activities involve all pupils.

Multicultural activities are based on two premises: firstly, that lack of knowledge lies at the root of the various forms of rejection on the part of native pupils and of the many expressions of frustration on the part of foreign pupils; and secondly, that the school is of fundamental importance in creating children's social conscience and has an incalculable potential for classification, such as to give everything a higher or lower rating in the pupils' opinion

Despite its "good intentions", the multicultural approach has certain limits. It leads pupils to look on minority cultures merely as generically exotic cultures; it is considered as a marginal element in the school curricula; it presents the school failure rate of the minorities concerned as the result of the characteristics of the pupils belonging to the said minorities, without linking it to the quality of teaching or to the attitudes and expectations of the teachers. It would therefore seem to be more interesting to work towards an intercultural approach, which aims to compare different cultures rather than simply juxtaposing them.

2. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT.

When the project was developed in the mid-1990's, the growing presence of so-called 'second generation' and native born children of immigrants was adding a significant new dimension to the complex and difficult task of countering inequality and social exclusion facing all immigrants within the European Union. The emargination due to failures and shortfalls in various European national "integration" policies implemented appeared to weigh more heavily on native-born and 'second-generation' children of migrant ethnic communities than on other subgroups. CHIP was planned in order to provide a new and targeted comparative approach to the issue, especially in terms of how to protect and improve the 'well-being' of this component of European society.

There was a vast quantity of research on the education of children of immigrant origin, but there were no comparable outcome measures, nor a Europe-wide consensus on evaluation of policies. There was no shortage of research experience on children of immigrant origin in the area of language acquisition, educational strategies, multicultural approaches, ethnicity, access to education, influence of religion, and the role of national communities. Yet this had produced a variety of conclusions in different academic circles, and a variety of approaches and policy orientations implemented in different European countries.

No comparative research had yet been undertaken on concepts, models, practices, methods of evaluation or indicators. The project proposed to shift the discourse from the contested definition of 'integration' to focus on the well-being of minors. There had been general but vague agreement as to what constitutes well-being for children - encompassing self construction, perception of social acceptance, adequate educational training - yet 'well being' was seen repeated to underlie conventions regarding children, and to be cited in justifying the central importance given to educational policy and practice. The idea in CHIP was to help shift policy dealing with immigrant children from "crisis management" to a more productive mode, in which educational policy inside and outside school would better address children's long term needs.

CHIP's first aim was to distinguish fact from theory in the discourse surrounding integration of children of immigrant origin: *who* the children are, how many of them, and with what issues; *what* the current policies are attitudes are; *which* policies are effective in improving their well-being. This is why CHIP started by working on the fundamental terminology for research on children of immigrant origin in European countries and a characterisation of the current phenomena, using benchmark indicators developed for measuring policy impact in terms of equality, inclusion and well-being, both within the educational framework and outside it.

The project aimed to standardise the theoretical foundations within the group, which would be one of the useful outputs.

CHIP worked hard to achieve this consensus, which was more complicated than had been expected.

The second aim was to identify actions that can be taken by European countries to cope

more effectively with the issue. At the time, there was no comparative and experimental methodology applicable to the activities aimed at promoting the well-being of ethnic minorities and disadvantaged children of immigrant origin.
Education was decided a priori to be the primary area for research, since it is the primary, and often the only, contact point between political bodies and children takes place in the educational context. At the same time, the project aimed to define education outside the narrow confines of the scholastic system, to include extra-scholastic and non-traditional forums for learning and formation.
At the same time, CHIP assembled a highly heterogeneous and interdisciplinary partnership, ranging from sociology departments at universities (Sweden, UK) to associations (Belgium) to research institutes (Italy) to a children's media centre (Greece) to a culture ministry (France) to a mental hospital (Israel). The choice of Israel was motivated by the need to find a "control", a situation where child migration and immigration was strongly monitored and piloted, and an extra-European country which could serve as an extreme test case for some policies.
The hope of the project was to help *reach a consensus* among professionals, experts, policy makers and others as to a *functional description or definition* of the at-risk population.
It also aimed to conduct *comparative analyses of models and policies strategies* adopted in various EU countries addressing the 'well-being' of children of immigrant origin.
One major point was to propose a *basic set of common European social indicators,* aimed at the evaluation of the impact of adopted policies on well-being, inclusion/exclusion and equality/inequality of children of immigrant origin.
To disseminate information regarding the project results, a number of products were planned.
The final objective of the Project was the elaboration of proposals and recommendations for policy strategies in adaptation of the school system to meet the challenge represented by the presence of children of immigrant origin.
CHIP's final goal for the EU and its member countries: a proposal for restructuring the strategy of the European educational system in order to safeguard the dignity of participants of immigrant origin.

3. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY.

3.1 Introduction

The Child Immigration Project addressed the intersection of two phenomena: childhood and immigration. The examined the condition of children of immigrant origin. The objectives were to understand their needs and the way that policies of social inclusion could be modified to better address those needs.

CHIP faced a large quantity of existing research, but the absence of a shared definition of the group of "children of immigrant origin" and of a useful European set of indicators. The focus was first on defining the group at-risk for social exclusion, and then on a useful conception of the well-being of children of immigrant origin. The project examined the school as the privileged arena for policies aimed at supporting the healthy development and social inclusion of children, and examined other actions meant specifically to support children of immigrant origin. The final results of the project, in addition to this theoretical work, include the identification of an essential set of indicators for monitoring and supporting the well-being of children of immigrant origin.

CHIP is an international and multidisciplinary research project. The eight partners are from seven countries and from very different professional disciplines, and represent a range of approaches. Nonetheless, the project was able to contextualise the research issue in such a way as to allow the discussion to begin.

Contextualisation of the project: childhood and Immigration

A project such as CHIP would not be possible without the appearance of a new construction of childhood, formally embodied in the 1989 New York Convention on the Rights of the Child. Current European childhood, in fact, differs greatly from the condition of minors in pre-industrial and industrial Europe. Children have been largely removed from the productive sector, and are not formally allowed in the labour market. Whereas they once represented a major component of the domestic economy and participated significantly in the labour force, they have been moved into a privileged position and are no longer required to participate in production.

Children, as the have become a less immediate economic asset to families, services provided to them have become perceived as a cost, both to the family and to the society in which they live. They are often considered to be an area of public expenditure and not an area of contribution. This transformation in the perception of children, supported by many current researchers, coincided with a transformation in the economy which reduced the need for the kind of labour that children are able to provide. The protection of children was also tied to the rise of mandatory schooling; this was a major transformation.

The withdrawal of children from the workplace coincided with increased concern about creating divisions between adulthood and childhood, protecting children, preserving the "magical world of innocence", and transforming the relationship between children and adults.

The 1989 Convention no longer considers children "as beings who are not yet adults, but as fully-fledged individuals with their own meaning-making". A moral obligation toward children is transformed into a legal obligation, and rights are not "granted" but "guaranteed". The law must guarantee children and adults the same rights, at the same time as it must protect children because of their lesser abilities to exercise these rights. "Childhood is entitled to special care and assistance" in exercising their rights.

A net distinction has thus been formalised between adults and children. Children, however, do not live in a separate society. However, they are formally differentiated in the European legal system, and their activity limited. Minors, as a legal category in Europe, are not considered subjects capable of making certain decisions (this is particularly evident in the sexual sphere, but appears in all age-limits on driving, on elevator use, on voting, etc.). This makes them a special social category, unable to make responsible decisions about major issues in their world.

The principle that children cannot make choices in their own best interest is the condition under which they enjoy protection from the adult world. "Children are considered as having child-specific competences and needs which ask for a certain kind of consideration of the environment and a special treatment of society."

Since children do not have a voice, others are appointed to speak for them: state officials, teachers, parents, etc. This means that adults are represent the interests of what might be called another social category. Children are generally not able to demand distribution of public sector resources, and cannot advocate for themselves if other, politically active sectors – such as the retired – receive more resources proportionately.

There are ever fewer children born in Europe. If resources are divided proportionately, the demographic trends suggest that fewer and fewer resources may be devoted to children. The costs of children to individual families rise, the number of families having children is declining. Children are ever more separated in age from their own parents as the average age at which mothers first have a child rises, demarcating a clearer boundary between generations. Families are shrinking; more European women are having children, but they are having far fewer children. These trends are particularly evident in the Southern European countries, where dire demographic predictions have come true, and current birth rates tend towards extinction.

Like childhood, immigration currently represents a dynamic domain for social science. Europe has seen massive emigration and internal migration for centuries, but the demographic and economic changes that have taken place since mid-century have changed the direction and the nature of migratory movement. Labour migration leads quickly to family migration and settlement, and the demographic and economic disparities between Europe and the developing world seeks equilibrium in population and capital transfers.

Immigration has risen to become one of the main concerns in Europe. European nations see immigration as affecting their *national* destiny, and no European-level immigration policy has yet been attempted. Immigration continues to be considered subject to the

principle of subsidiarity, even as the policing of borders and the control of transnational migration fall under the Third Pillar of the Treaties. The response at which European countries started to arrive in the 1970's, that of closing their borders to labour migrants, had the effect of shifting migration pressure to other countries with lower barriers, or the effect of changing the nominative designation of migrants from labourers to refugees (pushed rather than pulled) or family migrants, although the effective distinction between push and pull may be minimal, and mixed, and the same Somali immigrant may end up a labour migrant in Italy or a refugee in the UK.

Once the immigrant arrives in a new country, there is a process of acquiring rights, and the early stages often involved a denial of participation and a paternalistic appropriation and mediation of representation by the host society. Many European nations also grant citizenship after a period of time corresponding to an implied "development" of the capacity to interact with the arrival society on the latter's terms; in some countries, this period can be more than a generation. In fact, the pre-citizenship period is a "test" of compatibility, where the risk of expulsion exists if compliance is not complete.

The term "child of immigrant origin" is not used in the UN Convention, although there are many references to minors who seem to belong to these categories. Article 20 refers to the "child's ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic background" and article 30 refers to the "child belonging to such a minority [ethnic, religious or linguistic] or who is indigenous". The Convention thus suggests that a group of immigrant minors and minors belonging to an ethnic minority not only exists but that it is legitimate, in terms of rights, to discuss this group using a single category. This grouping of immigrant minors and minors of immigrant origin is based on the recognition that for both groups the same – and specific – condition of risk exists. The Convention not only underlines the importance of protecting children, but also the need to give attention to a group of immigrant-origin children.

The importance of protection for *children* of *immigrant origin* is borne out by the CHIP research in Europe. In every European country, families with children have a lower economic status than those without children. *Being a child* is therefore a "risk factor" for lower status, both for the child and for the child's family; this is a characteristic it shares with *being an immigrant*, or, in some CHIP countries, with belonging to certain visible minority groups. Indicators for employment and income opportunities, which remain the primary indicators of "social and economic cohesion" as intended by the European Commission, are lower for immigrants in all CHIP countries.

CHIP focuses on this intersection of risk factors. The hypothesis at departure was that a group of penalised children existed which was first of all deserving of special protection, as minors, and second of all, subject to special stresses and risks as a result of its connection with immigration.

At the same time, the project set out to examine the parameters of intervention in assisting this group, and the strategies underway.

3.2. Phase 1 of the Project: Shared Definitions

One partner in each country was responsible for drafting a "National Analysis" examining the condition of children of immigrant origin in each country. At the same time, five different partners were responsible for Thematic Studies examining different dimensions of the phenomena: bilingual programmes, extra-scholastic activity, the work of associations, risk and identity in adolescent immigrants, and mediation. In order for these reports to address the same target group and allow for transnational comparison, a shared terminology was essential.

The first step, during the first six months, was to develop the Preliminary Definitions. In order to reach this goal, work was done on functional definitions. The challenge in this phase was to address the fact that the position of children of immigrant origin, who are *in between* the culture of origin and that of their host, varies greatly across Europe. The different legal, social, and cultural realities springing from policy and tradition differences between host countries means that it is difficult to give them a common and comparable definition

In fact, the project started with a wide range of definitions of the target group used in the different countries and different disciplines, from *enfants issus d'immigration*, to ethnic minorities, to immigrants, to foreigners, to "second generation" children, and so on. Terminology varied at the policy level as well. The rhetorical debate in Europe appeared often framed in terms such as "cultural deprivation" (usually attributed to the weak) and the redistribution of "responsibilities" between the minor and the arrival country institutions.

The first task (WP1) was to analyse the definitions used in different countries for the population studied.

As with other European projects based on a shared definition of the group under discussion, various hypotheses were examined. In projects aimed at fighting social exclusion, for example, the terms "immigrant" and "ethnic minorities" have been challenged, and common ground found in discussing "minorities due to origin". While minorities are in some cases comprised in the CHIP interest group, the important defining characteristics are *immigrant origin* and *age* (under 18).

The project, in fact, started with an analysis of the category "child of immigrant origin", in order to reach a definition of a conceptually useful and valid target group. A precise and operational investigative category at a European level was not available.

A methodology was developed so that each partner could catalogue the definitions currently in use in their respective countries.

A glossary of potential terms was brainstormed by the coordinator and by partner 8, and the glossary was circulated to partners, with additions made. The National Preliminary Reports were meant to explore and

A corollary task was the analysis of key concepts.

Based on guidelines prepared by the project coordinator, each country discussed the definition and application of concepts such as integration, adaptation, adjustment,

assimilation, etc.
The ideas of “access” and “equality” were examined in each country.
Comparison was made within a relevant European framework.
The legal definitions and education policies in force in each country were reviewed.
A vast amount of material, references, and testimony from numerous countries in and outside Europe was collected.
Each CHIP partner prepared a national report that included discussion of existing definitions in single countries. There was a challenge in this phase of the research: the countries involved had different immigration histories, and it was difficult to restrict the extremely wide field under study without excluding any of the issues or target groups of relevance. In order to respect past research in Europe, the definition which emerged had to go beyond a strictly generational approach, since such a definition would have limited the presence of children belonging to immigration-based groups in our investigation. Such groups were agreed to be part of the CHIP target.
The reports repeatedly highlighted the difficulty in defining the role of the migration as a gap in the exercise of social rights. That is, it is not enough to simply look at “foreigners” and “non-citizens”; the child of immigrant origin is not defined by his or her legal status, but by a condition resulting from a displacement.
A fundamental question is when the migratory experience itself conditions the absolute interruption of continuity experienced by the child. In and of itself, moving from one place to another does not have much meaning. Yet the voyage, or *displacement*, is the beginning of the migratory experience and the moment from which to define the target group. This displacement forces the immigrant to re-orient in the new environment. The child of immigrant origin is therefore someone who is still feeling the effects of a displacement imposed by the migratory project of parents or in the recent family past.
A *group de pilotage*[1] was recruited on the basis of their experience and stature. Each one of its members provided documentation and an overview of the current situation in her country.
The information gathered by each member of this group was sent to the Project coordinator.
A comparative analysis was drafted by the Project Coordinator in order to give an exhaustive description of the different national definitions of children of immigrant origin, and of the social and cultural criteria to define the population under study.
In order to codify the contribution of each partner, exploration of the glossary and key concepts was conducted through the preparation of a “National Preliminary Report”. By the end of March 1998, the partners had prepared their *Preliminary National Reports* and had sent them to the Project Coordinator. This vast amount of material, references, and testimony from numerous countries was supplemented with material from in and

[1] Members of the Group de Pilotage included Lydia Potts, U. Oldenburg (D); Kenise Murphy-Kilbride, Ryerson Polytech (CAN), Carl Ipsen, U. Indiana (USA), Otto Filtzinger, U. Mainz (D); Helena Olivan, Istitut Català d’Estudis Mediterraneis (E), Angela Veale, U. Cork (EI).

outside Europe. Members of the *Group de Pilotage* prepared documents covering immigration concepts in their countries and summarising research.
Legal definitions and education policies in force in each country were given special attention.
In-depth statistical analysis was deferred the next phase of the project. The preliminary phase, however, was devoted to the survey of existing sources of statistics and to the types of definitions used in collecting statistics. For example, in those countries where the census covered ethnic origin, the specific questions and results were included.
The Project Coordinator carried out a comparative analysis of the different national definitions of children of immigrant origin, and of the social and cultural criteria to define the population under study. This study was written up in the *Preliminary Report*.
This draft version of the Report was distributed to Partners in time for the meeting in May.
The **First Workshop (WP2)** was held on May 22-23 1998.
Individual partners presented their national reports and discussed issues in their countries which had emerged from the studies they had conducted.
Members of the *Group de Pilotage* then made presentations on the situation in their own countries and their reflections on the national reports they had read.
Discussion reviewed the concepts in the different national reports and the proposals made by the Project Coordinator. In addition to preparing the draft of the National Preliminary Report, the Project Coordinator also prepared a series of summaries of the essential points emerging from the National Reports.
The principal objective of the meeting was to reach agreement as to the Preliminary Report and to identify the group and the indicators to be used. These indicators serve as the basis for WP3 (National Reports).
In fact, the Project Coordinator summarised the proposals made by the different partners and submitted them for discussion. Much of the discussion focused on the definition of "second generation". Partner 8 (IPRS) proposed a strict definition of the category, limited to those with two grandparents born outside the country. This was discussed by the group and it was generally agreed that this definition arose from the special situation of Italy, but was inadequate for the scope of the project.
Discussion centred around the "defining event" creating physical, social, and psychological "displacement". While the physical displacement quickly ends, the "precariousness" continues.
The second half of the first day's meeting was devoted to discussion of the indicators to be used to focus on the target group and elaborating the research hypotheses.
The model for understanding indicators relates to the fundamental choice made in CHIP to use the well-being of the child as the starting point . There is a vast literature on the nature of well-being and the factors which contribute to it. There are various levels of definition of well-being, from the most rigidly absolute to the more sociological level.
Novel indicator categories prepared by the Project Coordinator and debated and discussed. A number of new indicators were added. Call was made to include the economic indicators covering family and employment, the sense of identity, rights

acquired, associativism, and utilisation of resources. From Canada came the suggestion to use indicators of “family embeddedness”.
On the second day of the Workshop, final agreement on the functional definitions and methodology to be used in compiling the National Dossiers in the National Analyses (WP3) was reached. This covered, above all, the indicators.
Here, debate ranged widely, reflecting the different disciplinary backgrounds of the partners. Partner 7 has the possibility to work with immigrant children both before and after their arrival in Israel, administering questionnaires to examine the effects of the event.
Partner 5, Charles Westin, from CEIFO in Sweden, provided a valuable suggested adopted by all partners. The indicators will be classified according to different sets. This will allow the indicators to cover all the specific topics meant to be covered in the project. One issue which repeatedly emerged was that in some countries (particularly in countries of very new immigration, or where privacy requirements limit the data from censuses) some of the specific fields are not available. By organising the indicators into sets, the Partners will be able to cover each topic in such a way as to permit meaningful comparison. Where one specific indicator is missing, it was decided to guarantee that the axis of the set be covered (indicator sets listed below).
After the Meeting the Project Coordinators asked the different Partners to send their further comments about the strategy of the research. CEIFO, the CBAI and the Open University sent their comments and these comments have been enclosed in the Final Preliminary Report. The Greek partner (ECTC) expanded the national report to reflect data which was not available at the initial preparation and the discussion at the meeting.
The result was a conceptually useful and valid target and its definition, even considering the need to broaden the scope of investigation, very precise and absolutely common from an operational viewpoint. Reflecting on the diversity of immigration stories in the countries involved, and on the title of the project financed , i.e. children of immigrant origin, and the difficulty in defining the extremely wide field under study, without excluding any of the issues or target groups of relevance in the individual reports, this definition went beyond focusing only on the generational approach, which might unnecessarily exclude minority groups from our investigation.
The reports repeatedly highlighted a polarity between equal and specific rights of immigrants (or people belonging to minority ethnic groups) and of native populations, but it is hard to define the role of the simple element of migration in such a polarity: when the migratory experience *per se* may or may not be related to this absolute interruption of continuity experienced by the foreign minor.
In our opinion, this voyage, or *displacement*, could be seen as the beginning of the migratory experience and the moment from which to start calculating generations to be included in our study (Fig. 3). For a more or less long period of time, after this displacement, the immigrant feels the need to re-orient himself in the new environment. The child of immigrant origin is therefore someone who is still feeling the effects of parents or grandparents' displacement. In and of itself, moving from one place to another does not have much meaning.

The key, and perhaps traumatic experience of the journey is lived in a different way by a person with a higher socio-cultural level who moves elsewhere for work; children of these people may well experience this interruption of continuity, but it will hardly take the character of precariousness.
There are therefore other variables that, along with the displacement, determine our interest in the minor of immigrant origin. The journey may be a factor of risk for the child, especially if conjugated with other risk factors. The obvious lack of external continuity, due to changing of place, with the journey seen as a moment of separation between 'before' and 'after', the 'known' and the 'unknown', and a symbol of migration, may, along with other variables (socio-economic, cultural, etc:) turn into *precariousness*, thus jeopardizing the inner continuity of the child and threatening his serene and harmonious development. The project also provides a better definition of this precariousness and follows its evolution, since it results from displacement and thus affects the generation before the children of immigrant origin; this will allow us to investigate both children belonging to ethnic minorities in the UK and immigrant children in Italy. The path of the immigrant child in the country of arrival winds from precariousness to well-being.
Precariousness may be a distinctive trait of migration that combines with other features, reinforcing them; it is a factor of social risk and of exclusion, involving foreign children in particular, but not exclusively; therefore, policies aimed at immigrant minors should include specific measures to fight it.
We may well state (according to the Greek report) that when speaking of foreign minors, we extend our approach to all children at risk, because if the universal rights of children were respected, we would have no need to specifically address the problems of immigrant minors. Yet, it is no less true that migration is a specific risk factor requiring specific attention in our project. Identifying models that foster the immigrant minors' well-being will undoubtedly help reflection on the well-being of all minors.
Within the context of migration, the displacement represented by the journey is seen as the beginning of a period of precariousness that may later be integrated with or hamper individual identity development, as well as physical and psychic integrity (the Israeli information about immigrants' health issues should lead us to further reflect along these lines). The journey may be decided by the adult for reasons of simple existence, but in a society which is still essentially permanent, the minor must be offered reassurance and protection for an adequate period of time. Visible diversity makes it easy to recognize the immigrant origin of an individual still living in precariousness, and therefore these visible children must also fall into the object of our research.
Settling an immigrant minor requires measures that may favour the integration of discontinuity, thus avoiding precariousness, as well as a respect of those rights which are universally ratified.
Taking the New York convention as a reference frame to generally defend the right to well-being of the child, we can move from the concept of precariousness as lack of continuity, to a multi-factorial concept, as opposed to well-being, that can be studied on the basis of objective indicators. Precariousness and well-being (rather than social

inclusion and exclusion) are sufficiently neutral terms to be assumed as the starting point the indicators that serve to identify models to protect the immigrant minor's rights, thus going beyond the rhetorical debate over cultural deprivation (usually attributed to the weak) and redistributing "responsibilities" between the minor and the host country along with its institutions. These models should be able to analyse both the variables of the receiving society and the target established, assuming progress from precariousness to well-being, that may lead to minor or major changes in social and educational policy and may help create opportunities for these minors to become psychologically, affectively, culturally and economically independent.

Identifying a system to protect the minor in the move from precariousness to well-being in the country of destination may be assumed as the general target of this project. We are therefore investigating the concepts of precariousness and well-being, bearing in mind what the partners have expressed in the preliminary reports, also to define in the most functional manner possible, the groups of minors we are going to study in the years to come.

Based on the research done in WP1, the workshop and the follow-up discussion, the target group was definitively defined as those children who suffer from shortfalls in terms of the key starting indicators (listed below) due to a precariousness determined by a past immigratory event.

In addition to providing preliminary data and information regarding principal communities in their countries according to the definition agreed upon, each partner drew up an extensive **bibliography** covering the state of the art of analysis of the situation of minors of immigrant origin in their countries and materials available. In addition to the bibliography, a list of sources was drawn up. This source list covers the available data and allows for the project data collection to move towards the harmonisation necessary for the Data base.

The journey is a factor of risk for the child, one which amplifies the effect of other risk factors. The path of the immigrant child in the country of arrival winds from precariousness to well-being. Precariousness is a distinctive result of migration; it is a factor of social risk and of exclusion, and affects those children without citizenship (*foreign children*) in particular.

The lack of external continuity, due to changing of place, with the journey seen as a moment of separation between 'before' and 'after', the 'known' and the 'unknown', and a symbol of migration, may, along with other variables (socio-economic, cultural) become *precariousness*.

The project therefore worked towards a better definition of this precariousness and its evolution, since it *results* from displacement and thus affects the generation before the children of immigrant origin. One of the challenges in the project, in fact, was to deal with situations where the state of precariousness of new immigrants is related to the problems faced by successive generations (as the UK researchers discuss) and those cases where the precariousness where it lasts years or months (as the Israeli researchers find). The vital link between "ethnic minorities" and immigrant children allows a diachronic analysis and an understanding of the intergeneration risks. It also illuminates

certain aspects of the interaction between spatial and social exclusion and the spread of migration-related precariousness.
Within the context of migration, the displacement represented by the journey is seen as the beginning of a period of precariousness that affects the development of individual identity, as well as the physical and psychic integrity of the child and the later adult. The precariousness for successive generations is no longer the need to address a shock in the development of identity, but the continued difficulty in validating social norms, developing healthily, and planning for the future in a society where equality is denied and social exclusion aggravated by discrimination. The problems of new immigrants may appear to be temporary, but they can last over generations.
Identifying a system to protect the minor in the move from precariousness to well-being in the country of destination may be assumed as the general target of this project. We therefore investigated the concepts of precariousness and well-being as they relate to the definition of the target group.
CHIP started with the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as a reference framework for a general defence of the right to well-being of the child. In this framework, precariousness as lack of continuity develops into a multi-factorial concept of well-being that can be studied on the basis of objective indicators. Precariousness and well-being (rather than social inclusion and exclusion) were sufficiently neutral terms to be assumed as the starting point for the indicators behind models to protect the immigrant minor's rights.
Within the above framework, CHIP started with the indicators widely and generally accepted as benchmark measurements of well-being: the UN Human Development Index and a similar, limited, index by the UN World Health Organisation. These indices cover such basic indicators as mortality, health, basic needs such as nutrition, and primary education. However, the specific requirements of the research plan demanded a more elaborate series of indicators and a careful review of the relative weights assigned the different variables in the clusters.
Based on the research done in the first phase, the workshop held in Rome in May, 1998, and on the follow-up discussion, the target group was definitively defined as *children at risk for suffering from shortfalls in terms of the key indicator domains due to a precariousness determined by a past immigratory event*. The nature of the risk was evident in the basic indicators covered in the national preliminary discussion, separating rights from actual achievements (i.e., *rights* from *outcomes*).
Following the First Workshop and the completion of the Final Preliminary Report, the Project Coordinator prepared an outline for the National Analyses. This outline became the general guide for the preparation of the **National Reports (WP3)**.
The indicators are the measures used in the examining the relationship between immigration (as defined for the target groups selected according to the above criteria) and well being.

3.3. Defining Well Being

The UN declaration of the Rights of the Child considers well-being in terms of formal rights to access, well-being is based on other factors. For well-being, the very status of citizenship may be irrelevant. These indicators must be separated from those which will define well-being; despite the close relationship between issues of participation, access, and rights, and well-being, the two domains are not identical. Children of immigrant origin differ from their peers in that they are, at the beginning, subject to formal restrictions, and over time, and in successive generations, they are subject to discrimination and informal restrictions.

The stress inherent in the relationship between the child of immigrant origin, the child's family, and the surrounding culture was also cited. The border between the family and the arrival society is quite clear at the moment of arrival and gradually grows fuzzier over time. Differences between the child and the family increase through the child's development. Among CHIP children, the often fuzzy border between the two represents a line of conflict determined by forces of emargination from the outside and forces of assertiveness from the inside. This conflict appears to continue among some families of immigrant origin even after several generations. An opposite dynamic is the desire to participate (often "integration") on the inside and the forces of "assimilation" on the outside. These forces created problems for use of resources when emargination by the arrival society hindered access.

What emerged from the national preliminary reports was an image of the target groups based on a set of parallel indicators reflecting rights, policy, and outcome in three very different formulations. The indicators we proposed to cover in the National Analyses addressed the domains of the Human Development Index and the WHO "Stress" Index, including others relevant to children, and others which we knew reflect the specific conditions of our study.

This required a clear concept of well-being, especially in terms of the project. There are a number of indicators which are widely and generally accepted as benchmark measurements of well-being. The first of these is the UN's Human Development Index. The second of these is a similar index by the UN's World Health Organisation. At the same time, the specific requirements of our research plan demand a more elaborate series of indicators and a careful review of the relative weights assigned the different variables in the clusters.

What emerged from the national preliminary reports was an image of the target groups based on a set of parallel indicators reflecting rights, policy, and outcome in three very different formulations.

Indicators of participation, which reflect some of the same parameters used to identify the target groups above, were addressed separately, essential to explore the hypothesis regarding the relationship between immigration, participation, and well-being.

The issue of access is perhaps best considered in terms of the stress inherent in the relationship between the immigrant child/family and the surrounding culture. The border between the two is quite clear at the moment of arrival and gradually grows fuzzier. With the CHIP children, the often fuzzy border between the two represents a line of conflict determined by forces of exclusion from the outside and forces of

assertiveness from the inside. A parallel dynamic is the desire to participate (often integration) on the inside and the forces of assimilation on the outside.

The above findings constituted the basis of the Comparative Analysis.

The child of immigrant origin is someone who is in a precarious state – in one or more of the parameters of well-being – related to a displacement in recent family history. This definition developed by CHIP in the first phases of research holds valid in different countries of immigration (including the non-European case of Israel). Immigration represents an interruption and a new situation of precariousness. This can be gradually reduced as behaviours and values reciprocally converge with those of the new society. Likewise, exchange of resources, often including information, may increase over time, reducing precariousness.

The term "immigrant", in the classic sense of "a person that moving from one country to another", cannot be applied to minors arriving with their parents from another country, nor to minors born in the arrival country. The definition based on immigration, however, retains some pertinence in that it alludes to obstacles to inclusion that are common to all children of immigrant origin, a group which is otherwise divided. Indeed, it now seems clear that, beyond examining the position of minors with respect to immigration – defined as a change of geographical and cultural "place" – it is necessary to consider the place these children occupy in the arrival country. Other definitions for these children have been introduced in the face of the terminological risk of limiting the possibility of inclusion strategies, for example, *immigrès de seconde générations* or *enfants issus de l'immigration*.

New definitions attempt to frame the personal issues of minors in the broader context of the migratory cycle and the relationship with the country of origin. The terms refer, without distinction, to children who have joined their parents (or parent) in the country of immigration, as well as to minors who have emigrated together with their parents, and to those that were born in the arrival country. The often criticised term "second generation immigrant" persists in light of the lack of another term. The term implies the concept of "foreignness", even when it refers to individuals born and socialized in the country of immigration, those who have never undergone displacement. When, as occurs in several CHIP countries, an minor is classified as a foreigner based on the birthplace of his parents, despite birth in the arrival country, the term "second generation" seems to further lose value. The psychological and cultural effects of the "displacement" (meant as movement, real and metaphorical, between geographically and culturally different "places") continue to affect these children. The literature speaks of "third generation immigrants" who, even at a distance of several generations, still feel the consequences of the cultural change. Indeed, in their development and growth, fundamental importance is given to the relationship that may exist with grandparents, direct protagonists of the migratory event.

This term "second generation", then, although imperfect given the heterogeneous population it describes, provides some important and useful guidelines. On one hand the term alludes to the history of a group of individuals and affirms that immigration has not been a simple event but an extremely complex process covering several generations.

On the other hand, the term indicates a psychological and sociological *status* that can be traced back to a sense of "semi-foreignness" that is part of the foreign migrant and is shared by those who, inasmuch as they are members of ethnic minorities, do not fully belong to the majority component of the social context. The elements of conflict that may derive from this (intercultural conflict, exposure to the risk of discrimination) depict a condition of precariousness that constitutes one of the fundamental characteristics of the lives of these minors. This precariousness has been explored in the course of the CHIP work as one of the most serious potential threats to their well-being.
There are, therefore, several important distinctions to be made within the target group. The first regards the recentness of the immigration experience, whether the child has personally made the move from one country to another, and if so, at what age. There are "first generation" children of immigrant origin, who came to their arrival country after the start of school age. There are "second generation" children, who have no immediate memory of the country from which their parents immigrated. There are children of these generations, and successive generations, whose living conditions, from their home language to the structure of their community and their community life, is determined by that past immigration event. While these children face some similar issues, and share some of the basic educational, social, and cultural needs, distinctions must be made among them. The indicators highlighted by CHIP, which cover the range of available data in participating countries, allow for a distinction between these groups.

Starting Definitions	**Distinguishing characteristics**	**Identification**	**Indicators**
1st generation children	Immigrated during adolescence Immigrated in pre-adolescence	Age at arrival	Age at immigration, immigrant-origin
2nd generation children	Immigrated in infancy Born to new immigrants Born to settled immigrants	Parental immigration history	Family immigration history (parents, grandparents)
Ethnic minority children	Family of immigrant origin	Group self-affiliation	Group affiliation, home language.

3.4. Phase 2: Structuring the National Analyses

The first phase of the research therefore brought the focus from the child of immigrant origin to the arrival society, and the unit of analysis thus changed from the single person to the strategies and policies of the arrival culture. The project aimed to support policy decisions by identifying the needs of children of immigrant origin and the policies which address those needs. Therefore, although much of the "work" of dealing with the migratory experience, and its long term implications, rests within the developmental process of the children themselves, the arrival society has a responsibility towards children, as declared in the UN Convention.
During the National Analyses, the coordinator developed, in discussion with the other partners, a series of instruments for standardised qualitative interviews. These modules

were tested in Italy and in Greece, but were not able to capture the diversity of the situation without losing comparability. In order to lay the groundwork for the identification of indicators and the creation of a database later in the project, the research group decided to convene in Paris at the INJEP facility in March, 1999, in order to restructure the sections of the National Analyses.
Lengthy discussion on the Analyses underway led to a reformulation of the structure of the analyses.
The analysis was divided into four different elements:

- citizenship, in terms of the formal rights and pathways offered by the arrival society;
- access, in terms of the effective ability of the target group to exercise its rights to resources and representation;
- strategies of equilibrium, through which the arrival society and the target group attempt to correct disequilibria between rights to access and effective access;
- case studies, in which the single immigrant groups become the subjects of analysis in order to capture the diversity of needs of children of immigrant origin, and of the strategies implemented to meet those needs.

Each of the above elements was examined in detail, in terms of its importance in understanding the policies and outcomes in each country, and in terms of the indicators (both process and outcome related) capable of measuring changes and making comparisons.

3.5. The Group

3.5.1 Indicators of Group Presence

The group is based on the specific event of immigration from another society. Given the specific risks that face this group, the project required statistical analysis of the distribution and composition of the group. Yet each CHIP country – and countries outside the CHIP domain - has its own system for registering, counting, monitoring, and classifying children who fall into the target group. Even when attention is given to *immigrants,* all countries devote less attention to children than to adults in their data collection. In European CHIP countries, it seems as if immigrants are perceived primarily in terms of their value for the labour force and as a security issue, rather than as an at-risk social group. In Greece, for example, it was the Ministry of Labour which conducted a 1998 regularisation of foreigners. Data for adults are heterogeneous and it is difficult to extract a single number in each country. Attempts to count the number of immigrant or foreign minors were even more complicated. In many cases the Ministry responsible for issuing permits to immigrants does not furnish data on the total number of minors present.

Beyond data collection, the fundamental issue was one of classification. No country’s

statistics use the CHIP definition for classifying children of immigrant origin. Further, the concession of citizenship often obscures the recent immigration event, and a number of CHIP children disappear statistically. Further, within the CHIP population, important distinctions of nationality of origin (or culture of origin, such as Kurds or Berbers) are likewise often left out of classification and data collection systems.

When self-declaration is used, the categories are often determined by the "majority" itself to develop a "minority" category. Questions regarding "ethnic groups or ethnic background" can be specific (as in the case of the UK, where the census asks not only citizenship but ethnic group, providing only nine possibilities), or they can be general (the Italian census asks only nationality).

Classification was shown to be a political decision rooted in national conditions. Although CHIP children suffer from specific problems of access to resources and of development for realising full potential, and therefore need to be present in statistical systems. At the same time, there is no doubt that such queries mark the children as different, and may create problems for the host society (an avowedly secular society cannot easily ask people what their religion is, and a state which does not recognize the presence of ethnic minorities within its territory cannot add an "ethnicity" census item) or for families (do parents wish to state the birthplace of *grandparents* when enrolling their children in school, as they are requested to do in Israel?).

The heterogeneous statistics range from direct indicators to indirect indicators; the latter do not count children but count parents, students, or some other group which reflects the presence of children to some degree. Some statistics are the "entry points" to the CHIP category, and can be counted and monitored in each country to reveal if not the exact figures then an idea of the order of magnitude and the trends.

CHIP worked on the development of a set of indicators capable of reflecting the presence of minors of immigrant origin in different European countries, based on the current systems of classification and measurement. These indicators are direct measurements of children themselves and indirect measurements (such as families, immigrants who have children, etc.) which allow cross-checking, monitoring of trends, and, in the absence of direct figures, estimates of the presence of the target group.

Statistical sources for the identification of the target group

	Source of data	Type of data	Shortcomings
Direct statistics	Census	Minors in households headed by: - a non-citizen; - foreign born; - "ethnic group" member.	Data are often by head of household and not for each child. Few countries use "ethnic" self-identification and current categories are variable and general.
	Municipal registries	Minors by birthplace, citizenship	Present only in some countries
	Immigration papers (residence permits)	Non-citizen minors	Not all minors have residence permits, only covers non-citizens.
Indirect statistics	Citizenship bureau / authority	Minors acquiring citizenship	Not all bureaus cover data for minors, only for parents.
	Birth registries	Births to: - Non-citizen parents - Couples with one non-citizen parent Non-citizen children born	Births to new citizens not covered.
General statistics	Immigration bureau (Ministry of Interior)	new entries of immigrants with children foreigners with children	Civil status (with children) not indicative of the presence and number of children.
	Marriage registries	Marriages by: - birthplace of spouse(s) - nationality of spouse(s)	Not all couples have children.

Direct Figures

Direct figures on the CHIP target group are generally based on the *number of foreign children present*. This is based on the citizenship of the child or of one or both of the child's parents.

One of the primary sources of these figures is from **census data**. The fundamental question then becomes how to count children in the census. Children are generally counted as minors who are members of households headed by a foreigner (non-citizen), immigrant (born outside the country), or minority group member (declaring membership in one of the categories made available). In rare cases they are counted as individuals (citizens or non citizens, born inside or outside the country), but birthplace of parents and grandparents are not regularly collected in European censuses.

There are also figures on **registered residents**. Some European countries maintain municipal registries recording data on official residents: age, sex, birthplace, citizenship, even occupation. These registries sometimes collect further data, useful in understanding other dimensions such as kinship relationships in large families. Once again, there is a question about the categories to be used: municipal registries generally contain information regarding citizenship, but there are serious privacy concerns, and discrimination risks, in the careless use of such nominative data.

When speaking of non-citizens, there is often useful data based on **residence permits**. Non-citizen immigrants in Europe receive permits, usually from the Police, but occasionally from the Labour ministry. Minors are usually not issued permits separately from the family with which they live, and are thus not always easy to count separately using this mechanism. In European countries where there is labour migration, minors are of secondary interest in official immigration policies which generally regard labour flows. In situations with refugees, the status of minors depends on that of their parents. It is important to consider that permits reflect only non-citizens legally present. The number of minors without documents is significant but nearly impossible to determine.

Indirect Figures

Not all countries have available data from the above sources, and in any case these data do not completely cover the CHIP target group. CHIP sought mechanisms for determining nationality changes within the target group based on existing procedures and data. These indicators also track important characteristics and developments within the target group.

One of the most revealing indicators of the target group is the **acquisition of citizenship by minors**. This figure helps understand that part of the CHIP target group which is "disappearing" into a group where no legal, and often no statistical, distinction is made between those of immigrant origin and long-standing residents. In countries where "ethnic" definitions are used, citizenship is less important as an identifying factor; nonetheless, this is an important indicator.

Births are well-documented in European countries, although "ethnic" identity is not recorded. The important indicators are **births to non-citizen parents** and **births to couples with one non-citizen parent**. Citizenship policy for native-born children varies among European countries, and in countries where citizenship is granted to all children born on the territory, the **births of foreign children**, which corresponds to "non-citizen parents", can be considered.

Where processes of citizenship acquisition are long, birth figures can provide a better definition of "second generation" and "second generation mixed" children. In fact, there are some CHIP countries where there are more children born to mixed nationality parents than to two foreign parents, suggesting that the spectrum of cultural encounter within families is less clearly divided than is often assumed in those countries. The blurring of divisions between "ethnic" groups weakens the interference of discrimination; many of the problems of social exclusion related to linguistic difference, cultural contrast, and social disinvestment are sharply attenuated in families with one autocthonous parent. Nonetheless, arrival-country citizenship alone hides any immigrant origin, and such data must be carefully considered.

Indicative figures allowing estimates in countries without specific statistical categories

CHIP covers a wide range of countries, both in terms of immigration history and in terms of the state of the institutions. In countries where specific data on minors is not collected or provided by institutions (e.g., Greece), other data was identified by CHIP as useful. The important figures for estimating the number of children of immigrant origin can be found in three areas, for which statistics are generally available. The first is **immigration by adults with children**. There are various sources for these data. In some cases, the civil status and parental status of immigrants is recorded on permits or in other administrative documents. The second is the number of **foreigners with children.** As in the previous case, administrative documents often require parental status. There are also data on **foreigners marrying.** Some countries publish data on marriages between citizens and non-citizens and among non-citizens. Figures on marriages are suspect (many marriages between non-citizens in some countries such as Italy are actually between tourists) but figures on marriages between foreigners and citizens are extremely useful in understanding the number of mixed families, with or

without children, and the citizenship-acquisition process.
None of the above existing indicators can provide, in itself, a reasonable quantification of the CHIP target group. Nonetheless, taken together, they can provide a sense of the importance of the CHIP population within each country and of the changes underway in that population. The useful indicators in certain policy domains will be covered below, but it is important that a concerted effort be made to implement a statistical system to follow the development of a relevant group of at-risk youth in Europe.
This system should be able to describe the group as well as important distinctions within the group; this can be done by looking at:

- children who have come with their families from another country, by the age at which they came (before or after school age, pre-adolescence, adolescence);
- children whose families (parents, most grandparents) came from another country;

This measures the recentness of the immigration experience. However, another important dimension must be added, covering the longer-term effects of the immigration event:

- the home language of the child;
- any distinct immigration-based cultural community to which the child belongs.

3.6. Analysis of parameters of Well-being

CHIP critically examined the principal classification systems for evaluating the well-being of children in Europe. The interdisciplinary nature of the CHIP group made this review complex and broad. The examination was conducted through working documents and workshops. This examination of the systems in use led to reflections on several key parameters of measurement of well-being applicable to the CHIP target group, as well as the variable effects on different subgroups within the target population.

CHIP found that the systems and the indicators concentrate on family living conditions and adult outcomes as the most important parameters. These parameters are not always consonant with official policy statements, and do not always match the public political discourse on child well-being.

The CHIP definition of well-being started with a pyramidal concept. The base of the pyramid is the dimension of material well-being. At this lowest level, the corresponding indicators are of well-being itself (adequate income, housing, health, etc.). This level also includes safety from violence. Progressive levels reflect social and cultural dimensions of well-being which underlie the principles of European culture, and can be considered as social inclusion. These include education and social participation. Here, the indicators are important in that they measure the personal resources necessary for social inclusion. Finally, the highest level of the pyramid of well-being is the development of an successful identity and capacity for productive interaction in the

European arrival society. In this case, well-being is not resource-dependent but reflects the successful resolution of developmental stages.

3.6.1 Stability and Well-being

CHIP examined the importance of stability and inclusion from a developmental perspective. Conflict and division in values within the family and between family and society affect the well-being of children of immigrant origin disproportionately. For children, societies serve many of same functions as families, and the inability to orient oneself in society, or the inability to imagine a stable future, or an identity which respects the integrity of the minor, all contribute to reduce the well-being of children. In the case of children of immigrant origin, social exclusion is difficulty in enjoying the rights of all minors and those of native citizens of the arrival country, as well as the situation of social exclusion produced by inadequate economic, educational, and social conditions.

Precariousness affects all minors. Efforts to promote the well-being of minors have always focused on providing the greatest degree of stability and security possible, since precariousness is agreed upon by sociologists and psychologists to be harmful to well-being. These minors share the status of subjects deserving protection, like all minors, but because of their specific condition (as minors of immigrant origin) they are more exposed to a sense of precariousness.

In discussing stability, CHIP made a distinction between the first generation, those who arrive in another country, with or without their families, facing new situations; and those children whose family history contains a recent immigration event, or who continue to live in a community created by an immigration event. The immigrant, as a "foreigner", is conceptually located between two worlds: that of origin and that of arrival. CHIP addressed the juridical and socio-cultural issues raised by this doubleness. The subjective experience of the child, and the needs of the child in coping with this state of being in-between, have been explored in depth in the course of the CHIP project through original research in Israel and through the contributions of the psychiatrists in the project.

Children of immigrant origin, beyond experiencing an ontological condition of precariousness common to all minors, experience a greater specific precariousness. This aggravated precariousness is related to the greater likelihood of living in an unstable and inhospitable environment and the higher probability of encountering serious difficulties in realising the full development of their own subjectivity. This more specific condition was examined more closely by the Psychoanalytic Institute for Social Research (IPRS) through a psychoanalytically-oriented working document distributed before the Half-Way Meeting in Rome in early 2000. IPRS examined the state of the art in developmental psychology regarding children dealing with immigration.

The Israeli CHIP team from the Shalvata Mental Health Center and Tel Aviv University, examining adolescent coping strategies and emergent psychopathology among immigrants, cited other psychological models applied to immigration. Starting

from from Durkheim's definition of anomie they refer to Koranoy's application of Freudian developmental stages and the Bowlby-based mourning model cited by IPRS above. Such psychological models explain the "process of immigration and assimilation emphasizing the period of confusion immigrants initially experience."

In the SMHC model, immigration produces a state of anomie. "Immigrants quickly discover that their norms and values do not help them in their new environment and they are therefore forced to adopt a new set of standards." The risk of not adopting a new set of standards is "isolation". Since norms are expected to be consolidated during adolescence, adolescents show more "immigration-induced anomie". The Israeli team also cites the importance of reference figures, such as parents, as well as a solid set of norms. Their research therefore focused on adolescents from two major immigrant groups – Ethiopians and those from the Former Soviet Union – who arrived in adolescence and whose parental reference figures were devalued (in the former case) or absent (in the latter case).

The Tel Aviv University group within the CHIP project examined risk factors for identity development in immigrant adolescents, working with a sample of 1008 immigrants who came to Israel from the Former Soviet Union at age 14-16 in a special programme. These adolescents came without their parents and received support and services throughout the migration experience. All subjects lived in dormitories upon arrival in Israel. Immigrants who planned on leaving and those with mental illnesses were excluded, meaning that the sample represented the "successful" immigrants. The sample was studied at age 16, after having gone through the immigrant absorption course ("Ulpan"). The adolescents interviewed had also been subjected to a pre-immigration questionnaire, and the data from that questionnaire were available. 287 subjects completed the second round of questionnaires.

The question asked in the research project was what factors affected the response to the stress of immigration.

Adolescents were examined in terms of demographic status (sex, age, family structure and SES, etc.), satisfaction (perception of well-being, social deviation), attachment (using the Parental Bonding Index, used to measure care and protectiveness of parents and bonding to parents.), behaviour, psychopathology, and self-evaluation, in order to understand their connection to the coping strategies and adjustment difficulties, as identified in the Shachaf ARQ questionnaire.

The Shachaf Adaptation Resources Questionnaire uses 92 questions to examine well being at various levels; it contains a hierarchy of indicators following the pyramid of well-being discussed above. Starting with basic needs (food and shelter, etc.), it moves through appropriate medical care, sense of security, language skills, ability to interact, ability to create, ability to enjoy, self confidence.

The Israel research found that a variety of factors affected different aspects of adaptation:

> These included demographic factors such as sex (females conformed with social rules easier than males), number of siblings (greater than 4 siblings resulted in difficulties in social integration, conforming with rules and less internal resources) and the class of the adolescent (the higher the class was, the more difficult adaptation was). Parameters associated with parental bonding were

> strongly linked to better adaptation. More specifically, parental bonding was associated with a better social adaptation and internal resources. Step-wise regression analysis ordered the variety of factors and ranked them in accordance with their relative influence on adaptation. This analysis highlighted the importance of the grade in predicting adjustment. Thus, the adolescents who, while immigrating, were in the 10th grade adapted much better than these immigrated who were in the 11th grade. This finding was unrelated to age, thus emphasizing that it is not the chronological factor that is of importance. The step-wise analysis also revealed that parental bonding influences many aspects of adaptation. Notably, social adaptation was affected by parental bonding (more care than protectiveness, more maternal than paternal), and so is the internal resources parameter (especially paternal caring). Last, but not least, some aspects of adaptation were found to be unaffected by parental bonding. Conforming with social rules, for example, was unrelated to either parental care or protectiveness.

Immigration was not the only stressor in this research, however; the increased difficulty by 11th grade students was attributed, in part, to final examinations. Nonetheless, the importance of parental bonding, especially maternal bonding, was evident, and particularly interesting given the absence of both parents in the lives of the adolescent subjects. The finding that class was a significant negative predictor of adaptation may reflect the subjective nature of the adaptation measure, and the perception of a decline in living conditions following immigration.

Based on discussion conducted from the first meeting through the half-way meeting, the "top of the pyramid" was considered "fulfillment of aspirations and identity consolidation". The model of well-being used in the study was based on a definition of mental well-being widely used in psychiatry, "adequate adjustment, particularly as such adjustment conforms to the community accepted standards of human relations".

Two items from the Shachaf Questionnaire were central for the implications of CHIP: the *development of plans for the future* and *investment in career development*. The first helps reveal the rootedness the adolescent feels in the arrival society and the ability to project a future. The second reveals the capacity to perceive, utilise, and exploit resources for the improvement of human capital within the arrival society.

The Thematic Study sheds light, then, on one of the key dichotomies in the indicators, that of well-being as a child and that of future well-being as an adult, cited above. In fact, the capacity to develop plans for a future in the arrival society is an important indicator of the well-being of the minor, not the future adult, because of its implications for mental health. Translated into action, it then becomes an investment in society.

There was a question in the project regarding the possibility of extending the Israeli case among CHIP countries; Israel provides unique accompaniment and support to immigrant adolescents. Unlike other countries, these adolescents are immediately offered a migratory project which guarantees legal stability (in this case, citizenship), and there is therefore no risk of expulsion. Even more important, they are explicitly guaranteed access to educational resources and social participation, so that they do not perceive a future made unsure by the risk of exclusion. Many resources are devoted to supporting their social inclusion. Finally, they receive reinforcement in developing a sense of their own migration experience, both through the group experience and through the national identity of a nation of immigrants, so that much of the elaboration of the migratory experience can be done using available cultural resources.

The Israeli sample benefits from an absence of precariousness and doubt that is difficult to match in European CHIP countries. It not only supports the importance of guaranteeing stability to minors of immigrant origin but can serve, when replicated in other countries, as a case for examining the effect of structural precariousness, when the arrival society fails to provide material from which to construct a life project or on which to invest in ones own life.

A *stable, stimulating and receptive* environment as indispensable for guaranteeing and promoting the well-being of the minor. The logical extension of this acknowledgement is to look beyond the *state of well-being* to the *spectrum of life conditions capable of guaranteeing stability*, or as those capable of allowing potential or capacities to be developed. This is particularly true for children, who are vulnerable subjects in a delicate stage of development. The sociological and psychological studies on which the UN Convention draws cover factors which favour the well-being and development of the child. Such studies emphasize the importance of the stability and security of the environment in which the child lives. In such an environment, children can not only fully develop their capacities but also overcome obstacles and difficulties, taking advantage of the opportunities that arise.

The Israeli case brought up the issue of anomie, of the contrast between social values and the possibility or realizing them; however, its research was limited to the first generation, those young people who immigrated in adolescence. Those who immigrated in infancy, or who have no experience of immigration, are in a different situation, and do not have the stressor of immigration. Nonetheless, they face an even greater risk for anomie. The contrast in value systems is no longer between those of the country of origin and the country of arrival, but takes place between shifting family values – transformed by the immigration experience – and those of the arrival society. Frustration in achieving the socially promoted objectives can lead to a greater degree of dissonance, since the alternative values may be less present.

The CHIP target group also included these children who are considered “second generation” immigrants. Studies of these children’s condition and the concept of “second generation” were used to identify axes of intervention and targets for policies of settlement and safeguarding of mental well-being. Although the second generation does not undergo the trauma of immigration itself, it does suffer the instability of being in-between.

The second generation, even more than the first, is an ‘involuntary generation’ growing up with apparent problematic issues, such as scholastic delay, problems at both an individual and family level, and a higher rate of social deviance than their autocthonous counterparts. The review of sociological studies showed how the first generation has low deviance rates while the second generation has higher deviance rates than the arrival country population. According to this “classical” scheme, the difficult settlement of the first generation, despite the social exclusion, follows a defined labour and housing paradigm, based on some form of potential social mobility. The second generation, the generation of involuntary sacrifice, pays for the difficulties and contradictions of their parents’ movement in social and psychological terms.

The pathology model of immigration – as a trauma, as a stressor - was not universally accepted. There is another dimension, one supported within CHIP by the work done by the Belgian and French researchers, in which the ambiguity of the second generation represents a resource and a skill. This line of reasoning was followed in examining the Belgium model of mediation, which "profits" from the special skills and cross-cultural competences of children of immigrant origin to change the terms of communication.

In many countries with immigration histories, children of immigration origin are almost all citizens. Even when citizenship has already been acquired or is effectively guaranteed, in fact, other obstacles to expected social inclusion exist. One reason why minors of immigrant origin may have greater difficulty in developing projects for themselves in the society in which they live is because of their very diversity. Cultural and somatic differences often continue to be perceived, both at an individual and a social level, as signs of diversity.

The representation of cultural and somatic differences as diversity can suspend the child between two places and two points of reference and force a choice. The child thus finds himself with the urgent need to resolve a complicated relationship with the past and the country of "origin", even if born in the country of current residence. The resolution of the relationship was seen to be hindered by the difficulties that accompany by a complex and contradictory range of sociological and psychological problems.

Examining the environment in which immigrant origin minors live, discrimination was considered the most influential factor in their precarious existence. Discrimination was explored, especially by Partners 1,2, and 8. In the first place, discrimination, or a majority society prone to discrimination, limits the full recognition of rights and thus directly and concretely threaten the creation of a rooted sense of stability and security. Discrimination can be manifest in different ways, from the subtle but stubborn forms of contempt and unequal treatment, to more explicit forms including verbal or physical aggression. Discrimination consigns the immigrant minor to a specific condition of disadvantage, separate from the other categories of "at risk" children. Other at-risk subjects may be disadvantaged for socio-economic reasons but not because of "ethnic difference" or immigration history. As frequently occurs, diversity due to country of origin can certainly amount to socio-economic disadvantage but this diversity can remain as a stigma that marks the minor in a very particular way.

The same analysis covered the *subjective* aspect of the precariousness of the immigrant minor. Being of immigrant origin or belonging to an ethnic minority have been found to be correlated with greater difficulty in achieving full and free development. The influence of linguistic and cultural barriers; the negative effects of ethnic or racial stereotypes and prejudice; not sharing the same values with the majority components of the host society, by definition "non-ethnic". These examples are supported by the scholastic difficulties that CHIP found these subjects to encounter, or the fact that they are less represented in more important positions in the labour market, or in professions for which a high level of training/education is required. From this point of view as well, being culturally diverse – a potential wealth – often translates into a sort of handicap (in relation to the levels of performance "imposed" by the host or majority society) that

characterizes immigrant minors in a specific way (in respect to other categories of people that likewise have low performance levels due to other causes) and forms other elements of difficulty and disadvantage.

CHIP described the deeply rooted sense of precariousness along with the perception of belonging to a minority group even among minors with less direct knowledge of the migration experience. Beyond the explicit discriminatory actions, the relationship between minority and majority groups operates through various modes which are full of violent and psychologically destabilizing connotations. The minority group is continually forced to reaffirm its own values, in contrast with the majority, and in relation to the majority group tends to emphasize its cultural and ethnic background, promoting its conservation. Or the minority group is threatened by the drive toward assimilation that comes from majority components and result in various modes of cultural erosion. These perceptions are confirmed within the internal environment (feeling of the *in group*) upon which the minority's sense of belonging is based. The causal relationship between the violent atmosphere resulting from these dynamics and the re-enforcement of precarious conditions is quite evident, especially for minors.

IPRS attributes the degree of precariousness constituting a risk to the well-being of immigrant minors – as well as an obstacle to the full and free development of their potential – to two specific preconditions. The first is external, or *exogeneous*, due to more or less explicit forms of discrimination. The second precondition is internal, or *endogenous*, "secondary to the disadvantage that is derived from being culturally diverse, these subjects feel great inner conflict and are not very competitive with respect to the majority culture."

The perception of having a sufficiently stable and secure life as well as having the possibility to develop one's own capacities and potential are two basic conditions that can stem the manifestations of discrimination. It should be equally evident that both conditions refer equally to the psychological and social dimensions. Psychological stability includes stability in terms of relationships and affection and the absence of traumas and psychologically devastating experiences. Social stability means living in sufficiently stable living conditions. In this way, including the possibility that immigrant minors develop their potential, one must not only be able to express affection and creativity, but also have access to instruments of knowledge and learning resources. Certainly, in every social context these two conditions will assume diverse characteristics and aspects. For the immigrant minor these conditions will assume the form of a stable and unthreatening environment, on one hand, stimulating and receptive on the other.

Domain	Observation among Children of Immigrant Origin	Role of discrimination
Health Services	Children of immigrant origin have less access to health care	Resistance to provision of services, unwillingness to change health care approach
Social services	Children of immigrant origin more likely to be taken into state care (foster families)	Tendency to see families of immigrant origin as unfit to raise children
Language	Poor L2 skills in recent immigrants, "semi-lingualism"	Low value attributed to L1, lack of support for L2 acquisition
Schooling	Poor school performance Conduct problems in school	Tendency to assign children of immigrant origin to lower-difficulty or lower-status tiers, tendency to evaluate them more critically Severity of reaction to behaviour by children of immigrant origin
Civic Compliance	Higher rates in some countries of criminal activity	Harsh treatment of children of immigrant origin in criminal justice system
Adult work placement	Low-status jobs, placement in jobs for which overqualified	Discrimination in hiring process
Identity	Perception of low-status	Negative perception of immigrant culture and language

3.6.2. Citizenship as Stability

CHIP examined the relevance of citizenship for stability, looking at citizenship policies regarding minors and the effects they have on the self-perception and self-investment of young people. Formal definitions of citizenship were considered in any analysis of the conditions of children of immigrant origin because they underlie the construction of any arrival-society project by the minor. Equally important are the informal constructions of citizenship, which determine the possibility for those who are "in-between" to participate meaningfully in the arrival society.

The British case was considered in terms of "race relations", explored in depth in the UK National Analysis. It is a case where the immigrants of 40 years ago had British citizenship, yet possession of citizenship did not, and has not, resolved problems. The question is how settlement can produce *ethnic minorities, based on colour, class, or other factors, whose minors have specific problems they share with immigrants in other countries*. This was seen to have broad policy implications since citizenship was revealed to be considered panacea by political movements in some CHIP countries. CHIP research underlines that it may be necessary, but it is not sufficient. There is a broader question of social investment in all countries' immigration policy: the concession of citizenship has a relationship with identity. For children, the central issue is the ability to rely on the future, without the risk of expulsion, even for criminal activity (a major issue in Sweden and Belgium). Social investment is facilitated by an accelerated citizenship policy (Israel) with massive support in the acquisition of "cultural competence" which requires cultural preparation. In other cases, national security and ethnic identity remain central in immigration policy (Greece) and there is an explicit belief that settlement doesn't guarantee "allegiance". The emerging regional and local identities are important reference points (Spain, Germany). The real question with citizenship, apparently, is what rights are not conferred on non-citizens.

The French conception of citizenship is still closely related to nationality, and,

compared to other CHIP countries, nationality is easier to acquire. At the same time, a distinction between nationality and citizenship is made in common usage. In fact, this has led to limits on access to effective citizenship, as conceived by the French, by minors of immigrant origin. At the same time, there is an opposite trend towards a weaker dependent relationship between citizenship and nationality, with the rise of a "citizenship of proximity", based on the local unit and on the inhabitants of that unit. The Ministry of Youth and Sports works on participatory democracy, developing occasions for youth encounters and participation in which no distinction is made between young people of immigrant origin and their native peers; this kind of approach is meant to support new forms of identity not based on national and cultural origin.

The important of citizenship is supported by the CHIP research for two main reasons. First, a clear and reliable route to citizenship allows the child of immigrant origin to *plan and invest in the arrival country*, eliminating the precariousness which negatively affects well-being. Second, citizenship is a *formal means of guaranteeing access* to those resources which are a precondition for well-being.

The analysis of citizenship looked at citizenship historically, at the legal principles involved, at the trends in each country regarding citizenship policy (changing laws), at the definitions of civic participation and informal citizenship, and at the developing European citizenship, both legal and informal, and the implications that it may have for children of immigrant origin. This was also the reason given for the exclusion of children who are descended from internal EU immigrants from within the target of the study. Because such children are included in the *formal and informal* category of European citizens, this inclusion separates them from extra-EU immigrants as much as the basic indicators of well-being.

There were two trends that CHIP found within the European countries studied: an attempt to *expand the old limits on citizenship* to grant some hope of obtaining nationality to the non-European immigrants who express agreement and aspire to belong to the arrival polity; and a *reinforcement* of the new European identity, with some attempt to restrict extra-European access to citizenship.

In summary, the broader area of "citizenship" affects the following important areas for minors:

- the legal stability offered the minor (the right to permanence, protection from expulsion, the right to juridical citizenship);
- the space created for children of immigrant origin;
- the proposal made them by the arrival society (the "deal" or agreement), how explicit it is, how unanimous it is;
- the protection of factors of identity (language, religion, culture).

CHIP reveals a wide disparity in the European approaches regarding the first point, that of legal stability. Although no CHIP country allows a minor to be stripped of citizenship, there are many countries where a non-citizen minor cannot expect to

become a citizen (e.g., Italy), or where the possible penalties for deviance are greater for a non-citizen minor (e.g., Italy and Sweden).

This consideration appears to be less important than the second point, that of the *space created for children of immigrant origin within the nation*. In fact, some CHIP countries are based on inclusion of children who claim to share a "common ethnic origin" (the noteworthy case of Israel, where the State exists precisely to gather in immigrants, is not far from the position of Greece towards ethnic Greeks of Pontian or Albanian origin, or from the situation of "ethnic Germans" from East Europe returning to Germany). In other countries, pressures on the ethno-territorial definition which dominated the post-war period has led to a redefinition of the limits of citizenship, embracing more children of immigrant origin, (e.g., France). Yet other countries have become containers where informal conceptions of citizenship extend enough to allow the perpetuation of cultures of separateness (e.g., the UK, where there are categories such as "Black British"). The attempt to change the definitions of citizenship appears least advanced in those countries such as Italy where the very limits of citizenship are based on a recent nation-building project and are highly local and oppositional.

An adult immigrant can be said to enter into an agreement with the arrival society in which the society exacts some kind of sacrifice (generally a status reduction and limits on rights). The immigrant adult is generally aware of the terms of this implicit agreement, and can justify the social exclusion it entails. The same cannot be said of the child of immigrant origin, who does not enter into this agreement. This involuntary immigration, and the conditions of exclusion it entails, increases the risk for well-being in adolescence (the case of Chinese adolescents in Italy, or Russian adolescents in Israel, are two salient examples).

In the legal sense this condition of being suspended between two worlds (geographic and cultural) corresponds to the orientation of the principal European countries concerning citizenship rights. In this context the immigrant minor can be considered, on the basis of *jus sanguinis*, as a carrier – or "inheritor" – of the citizenship of his parents' country of origin, or, on the basis of *jus soli*, he can be assimilated to the culture and laws of the country where he was born. However, even in the countries where the granting of citizenship is inspired by the full recognition of rights of those born on national territory, the law requires that the minors themselves (those with immigrant parents) *choose* citizenship at the age of eighteen. These norms seem to respect the "fluid" situation of these minors, as far as the definition of a sense of belonging is concerned.

Nevertheless, as the experience of the UK demonstrates, the "deal" which functions with first-generation adults is no longer valid for children who grow up in the society of arrival, and attempts to apply the same conditions create tensions and increase exclusion. Citizenship, where granted, does not necessarily concede access to full social participation, although it assures a formal parity of rights of access to resources. There is an additional dimension, that of the limits of citizenship, of the limits for participation, the conditions posed by the society of arrival for social participation.

The sacrifices made by the child of immigrant origin vary according to the CHIP country, and this finding is significant, especially given the attempt to forge a European identity and a European citizenship. The sacrifice is one in which limits are placed on the child's possibility of expression of identity, religion, customs and practices.

Citizenship And Minors

Country	Formal Citizenship Rights (nationality)	Risk of no citizenship
Belgium	Children born in Belgium to foreign parents resident for at least 10 years guaranteed citizenship upon request up to age 12. Children born to Belgian-born foreign parents are automatically citizens.	No
France	Guaranteed citizenship for French-born foreigners with 5 years residence requesting citizenship at age 18.	No
Greece	Immediate full citizenship for Pontian Ethnic Greeks, regularisation for Albanian Ethnic Greeks. Naturalisation can be requested after 10 years residence	Yes
Israel	Immediate full citizenship for all immigrants of Jewish origin. No naturalisation possible for non-Jews except through marriage or adoption.	No
Italy	Conditional possibility of naturalisation after 10 years continuous residence, requiring renunciation of other citizenship. High rejection rate. Guaranteed citizenship for Italian-born foreigners upon reaching age 18.	Yes
Sweden	Conditional possibility of naturalisation for Swedish-born and long-resident foreigners between age 21 and 23. Otherwise naturalisation is granted after 5 years legal residence, renouncing other nationalities.	Yes
UK	Children born in the UK to resident foreigners ("settlers") receive citizenship. Children of "settler" status parents granted citizenship. Otherwise, UK-born children receive citizenship after 10 years continuous residence.	Minimal

3.7. Indicators of Well-being

Based on the indicators underlined in the preparatory documents, the thematic studies, and the working documents for project meetings, CHIP developed a series of indicators based on different levels of the well-being pyramid described above and based on different units of measurement (individuals, families, structures, resources, and policies).

In doing so, CHIP went beyond the traditional European measures of basic well-being. Certainly, the indicators include traditional world (UNICEF) and European indicators, such as risk behaviours and crimes committed by minors. CHIP drew on new behavioural indicators such as the "use of time" or the "quality of life of disabled or chronically ill children", reflect behaviours or measures difficult to transform into indicators. Then there are structural indicators of the resources available to the child ("leisure and recreational facilities", for example). There is also the effect of events on the child (the presence of violence or the threat of violence in children's lives), describing the environment in which the child lives. Others represent perception of the world around the child (hope and confidence or fear and anxiety about the future), which seem to the CHIP analysis to be dependent variables.

In choosing indicators from among the existing ones, in developing new indicators, and in aggregating indicators into domains, CHIP classified indicators according to the

parameter of measurement.

Three models of comparison of child well-being

	World Development Indicators (World Bank, UNICEF, UN Human Development Index)	**UNICEF, "The Well Being of Children in Europe"**	**USA Report on Well Being of Children**
Criteria for comparison	International	Inter-EU	National by: Racial / Ethnic Composition Difficulty Speaking English Family Structure Births to Single Women Child Care Children's Environments
Health/Survival	Child malnutrition Under-5 mortality rate Life expectancy at birth (m-f) Access to sanitation in urban areas Access to improved water source / sanitation Infant mortality Contraceptive prevalence Total fertility Maternal mortality		Food Security General Health Status Activity Limitation Childhood Immunization Low Birthweight Infant Mortality Child Mortality Adolescent Mortality Adolescent Births
Poverty	Private consumption per capita Rural-urban below the poverty line ($1 or $2 a day) Percentage share of income or consumption by bottom and top 10% and 20%	Child poverty rate Unemployment among households with children Unemployment among 20-24 year olds	Secure Parental Employment Child Poverty and Family Income Housing Problems
Education	Adult illiteracy rate (m-f) Enrolment ratio of primary and secondary age groups Percentage of children reaching grade 5 (m-f) Expected years of schooling (m-f)	% of 16 year-olds in education	Family Reading to Young Children Early Childhood Care and Education Mathematics and Reading Achievement High School Completion Youth Neither Enrolled in School Nor Working Higher Education
Behaviour		Suicide rate among young men 15-24 Birth rate to 15-19 year olds (as a risk factor) Violent death	Regular Cigarette Smoking Alcohol Use Illicit Drug Use Youth Victims and Perpetrators of Serious Violent Crimes
Quality of Life		% of 15-19 year olds who report being 'satisfied' with life	

Source: World Bank; UNICEF International Child Development Centre, US Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics

3.7.1 Child Indicators and Adult Outcome Indicators

The basic definition of well being of children was analysed using two approaches. The first is governed by an adult perspective, in which the adult is taken as the "outcome" of the child, and therefore the well-being of the child is essentially governed by the well-being of the adult that she or he will become. This perspective dominates in psychoanalysis (where the method is retrospective), in developmental psychology (where it is more predictive and anticipatory), and in discussion of the "next generation", which considers children only as future adults.

The second was to examine children as children; that is, to exclude their development and to consider them in comparison to *adults* in the same society at the same time, in terms of basic indicators and in terms of social resources they receive. Yet many indicators are determined by the parents or guardians of the children (socio economic status, for example). That is, some indicators for children are indicators of the family, and not the children themselves.

The analysis took children as the basic unit, or risk skewing the results. Therefore, data on families was considered, where possible, accounting for the number of children.

Measurements of well-being thus measure two diachronic aspects: the *quality of life while children*; the *acquisition of skills and capabilities guaranteeing well-being in later life*. Any child knows that these two aspects often seem contradictory, when subjective measures of "quality of life" are used. This contradiction, however, is not addressed in any of the existing statistical systems, which privilege the adult value-system in monitoring children. Of course, life-satisfaction, or "happiness", even as it is a central component in well-being, is a subjective indicator. Nonetheless, Eurostat used a "life satisfaction" item on its population surveys until 1994, although the youngest age group subjected to the questionnaire was 15-19. Thus the "happiness" of children is not systematically monitored or addressed in policy making in any CHIP country.

CHIP found that the privileging of adult indicators was not always immediately evident. Quality of life while children, for example, regards three of the four domains of well-being used at the international level by the UN both in its monitoring of human development and in drafting conventions. The four domains are: *health and survival*, *material well-being*, *education and personal development*, and *social inclusion and participation*. Of these, only education and personal development are based on measures of adult outcome.

As far as health and survival are concerned, European children, compared to children in developing countries, enjoy high survival rates and generally good health. This has meant that policies have tended to shift to the other three UN domains. Certainly, as CHIP demonstrates, the children of recent immigrants in many European countries have significantly higher rates of infant mortality, lower birth weight, etc. Nonetheless, the convergence towards European rates is extremely rapid. This convergence has reassured many European governments that, as far as basic health care is concerned, their

responsibilities have been discharged.

CHIP does not disregard these basic indicators, however. UNICEF itself has attempted to move beyond the complacency regarding these indicators which reigns in developed countries. In fact, starting with the 1996 *Progress of Nations* Report, UNICEF states, "when the most obvious of needs have been met for the great majority of a nation's children, say 80% or 90%, then the emphasis must shift away from aggregate national figures and towards the kind of disaggregated monitoring that will help to identify those who have been excluded from the progress that has been made. In short, the task should be one of monitoring for *disparity reduction*."

The *disparity* of which UNICEF speaks is a disparity within the child population. Nonetheless, there is a rarely acknowledged disparity between generations as well. As stated above, children as a category are on average worse-off materially than adults. CHIP has further found that child well-being in European discourse is generally related to adult outcomes, and therefore to education and personal development. These are the instruments which are intended to guarantee social inclusion. In fact, social inclusion and participation is generally measured using adults; indicators of inclusion and participation for children are based on school inclusion and participation, rather than other social spheres.

The European social and economic model privileges school attendance. Current attempts to examine child well-being in Europe use these indicators and assign primacy to the educational sphere. Other indicators are likewise based on adult outcome in terms of economic independence and earning-power. This explains the negative value assigned, for example, to teenage fertility, which is associated with lower educational achievement and future earnings.

The current system for monitoring well-being therefore relies on indicators which define well-being as participation in the existing social and economic structure. There is an implicit penalisation of some non-European and non-Western value systems, especially as regards family organisation. Other attempts to develop indicators for the quality of life (such as the Jerusalem Initiative cited by UNICEF) have faced a similar dilemma in agreeing on the values which underlie the establishment of indicators.

One of the most important observations in the first phase of the CHIP work was that statements of European values are often unmatched by specific indicators. CHIP therefore attempted to define indicators which correspond to formally expressed values. For example, CHIP explored the frequent affirmation in European political discourse of "cultural diversity" as a resource. This voice in public discourse is formally privileged, and several CHIP countries have formalised a "respect for the cultures of origin" of immigrants in laws and documents.

New interpretations of "diversity" in public debate have not changed the values attributed to existing indicators. One striking finding of the CHIP work is that diversity is most often "managed" within boundaries, and considered a concession with no return in the existing system. In fact no indicators considering "diversity as a resource" exist in

CHIP countries.

It therefore seemed essential to include a domain of diversity among the domains of indicators. One such indicator in the domain of diversity, for example, is the language used in households, an indicator which single countries and Eurostat occasionally survey. This indicator, which in the past was used by French and Spanish policy makers to evaluate the successful spread of the national language over dialects, has now become a measure of the survival of local dialects considered worthy of preservation. The change in value of local dialects has yet to be matched with a change in the negative assessment of the use of non-autocthonous languages in the household, however. CHIP appropriates this indicator and underlines its value according to a broader declaration of values by single countries.

This example demonstrates why existing aggregate measures were rejected. The UNDP's Human Development Index, for example, aggregates a set of indicators of some domains of well-being into a single measure. This dilutes any child-based indicators and excludes any consideration of new domains. Thus diversity could not assume the status of resource and such single aggregate measures are rejected by the CHIP analysis. They would not be applicable to children of immigrant origin, and seem useless from a policy evaluation perspective.

At the same time, existing systems of indicators for child well-being have been examined and where possible included in the CHIP domains. None of these existing systems address all the domains covered by CHIP.

CHIP indicators require baseline data for the child population at large, and this is fortunately provided by the existing systems. Nonetheless, they concentrate heavily on the domains which lie at the base of the well-being pyramid. They have the advantage that they reflect declared European values.

A review of the data available in the domains at the base of the pyramid revealed that, as stated above, minors are generally worse off than the adult population in CHIP countries, despite the special protection afforded them. CHIP considered the effect of poorer conditions of families with children compared to families without children. Children share this material disadvantage with their own family; children are not worse off than their *parents*, just worse off than *adults in general*. Children are therefore penalised according to material measures, and within the category of children, children of immigrant origin tend to be even worse off. This difference goes beyond basic material indicators. In fact, the universe of indicators of well-being in CHIP includes a series of essential parameters which go beyond the base of the pyramid, and help to explore this difference between those of immigrant origin and the autocthonous children.

CHIP also addressed the indicators of subjective well being, beyond "elementary functions". Although the subjective perception of well-being is not monitored, it remains an important component in examining the child universe, one which must be explored. Well-being is a state of mind, a subjective condition not always directly

correlated to the material and social conditions of the subject. The contradiction between the adult-based outcome indicators and the child-based life-satisfaction indicators cited above was only one of the difficulties in understanding the well-being of children. The psychological studies on the coping strategies used in dealing with the trauma of immigration likewise support the importance of measures of subjectivity.
CHIP delineated the *pre-conditions* associated with well-being. These material, social and psychological conditions *consent* and *promote* a condition of well-being. In their absence, it is more difficult to reach states of well-being. In the case of CHIP, they are valid for minors within the framework of European values, and reflect the subjectivity of minors even where this subjectivity is not directly measured through "quality of life" or "happiness" scales.
This awareness of the subjectiveness of well-being underlies the choice of different levels of well-being: the importance of the condition of minors, of their behaviours, and of their adult outcomes. Likewise, the understanding that external conditions can consent and promote subjective well-being supports the establishment of indicators of the environment in which these children live, including the policies formulated regarding them, the actions and initiatives meant to support them, and the cultural resources at their disposition in coping with the displacement of the immigration experience.

3.7.2 Economic indicators (material well-being)

There are three basic economic indicators: **poverty rates of families with children**; **unemployment in families with children of immigrant origin**; and **work outlook**. The first two describe the conditions of the family of the child of immigrant origin, while the third covers the adult that the child will become. Unemployment is not a pure indicator, since it is important to examine parental job *security* and parental job *legality*. Work outlook is strongly affected by discrimination, so the gap between qualifications and job must be examined (underemployment or inappropriate employment).

Housing quality and density are additional considerations in evaluating the material well-being of children, especially where social housing is programmed (social housing is a policy priority for immigrant-origin groups in many CHIP countries).

There is an additional indicator of "adult outcome", as described above: the **employment prospects** of children of immigrant origin once they reach adulthood. This can be found looking at the employment profile of youth of immigrant origin in their early 20's, as has already been done across Europe by a number of statistical institutes. There is a fairly accurate knowledge of employment prospects among children of immigrant origin, especially as they reach adolescence, and this affects their capacity to plan for the future, their ability to invest and to hope.

3.7.3 Health indicators (material well-being)

In the health sphere, there is a wide variation in the availability of data. Basic indicators cover **infant mortality**; and **weight at birth**. There is no debate over the value of these indicators. In addition to these, other data from national reports can be considered more informative. These include such data on such diverse indicators as birth weight; hospitalisations and/or institutionalisations; physical illness (AIDS, TB, diabetes, obesity); psychiatric illness (major psychiatric disorders); abortion rates, in relation to teen pregnancy rates; attempted suicides; and victimisation (by crime).

Regarding **psychiatric illness**, the Israeli Thematic Study underlined how children who have directly experienced immigration in adolescence appear to be at higher risk for certain psychiatric problems, especially depression and anxiety. The study also investigated the factors that can lower or increase the risk for such disorders: parental bonding and a functional support system.

Hospitals, however, cannot always register data on the ethnic origin of patients, especially where discrimination is a concern. It is clear that appropriate treatment requires family background questions, especially in treatment for psychiatric complaints. There is much evidence suggesting that recent immigrants are at higher risk for certain problems, especially those related to maternity. Later generations do not show such marked risks, but there has been a difference found where studies have been conducted. There is therefore a justification for including immigration history among intake indicators, although such information can only be, as in other areas of services, offered voluntarily.

3.7.4 Civic Indicators (Social well-being)

The original CHIP workplan described one object of study as the “conformity of immigrant’s private attitudes, values, and behaviours with the culture of the host society”, which turned out to be extremely polyvalent. These values range as widely among immigrants as in the host society, and that even within a single immigrant group it is impossible to generalise. More importantly, the importance of this conformity for children’s well-being was not supported by the National Reports. We must exclude this conformity as a “social integration” indicator, since beyond being immensurable, it is judged of dubious value.

Tension between familial values and the dominant values of the surrounding society, with the child placed in the middle, was revealed in several national reports. Conflict with traditional family values appears almost universal, but the familial strategies vary greatly between immigrant groups, as much as the accommodation levels vary among institutions.

On the other hand, certain “social integration indicators” appear very important in the National Reports. Among the “participation indicators”, the first is **criminality**, which

measures the "fit between public behaviours with a minimal civic culture defined by the county's laws". The second is the **social participation** in general.

The sphere of "civic obedience" covers deviance and anti-social behaviour. This can be further divided into substance abuse and criminality. Some national reports mentioned substance abuse (generally illegal drugs, although substances can include alcohol and tobacco). In some cases, alcohol use can actually be an indicator of full cultural adjustment. The social role that alcohol plays in some European societies is quite different from that in the departure-country culture or in the family culture, and increased alcohol or tobacco consumption can, in some cases, be a convergence *towards* the average in the arrival country.

Criminality is a very important and delicate issue, especially when discussing children of immigrant origin. The crime rate among children (adolescents) of immigrant origin was reported to be higher than that among non-immigrant origin adolescents in most CHIP national reports. While these figures were simply reported in some cases, other National Reports, especially that of the UK, outlined the ongoing debate over the significance of these figures.

The stigmatisation of visible minority and immigrant adolescents can amplify the rates of reports, arrests, trials, and convictions, and these passages through the criminal justice system must be examined carefully to reveal the different course that native and immigrant-origin children take through the justice system. Further, rates of incarceration are variable. In some countries (e.g., Italy) there is a huge difference in incarceration rates, and most of those in juvenile detention facilities are immigrants.

CHIP underlined the importance in separating crimes into two categories: "instrumental" crimes (theft, drug dealing, extortion, etc.) and "expressive" crimes (vandalism, aggression, rape). The former are often related to economic conditions, while the latter often represent conduct disorder or social malaise. In some CHIP countries, adolescents of immigrant origin are reported to have relatively high rates of expressive criminal activity, while in others, such as Greece, crimes tend to be more instrumental as unaccompanied minors seek to survive in exile.

In any case, the identification of adolescents by minority group or by nationality also has the effect of creating a phenomenon. In France, for example, criminal data does not go into great detail regarding the nationality of the offender, while Italian criminal justice statistics devote attention to the nationality of the arrested or convicted offender. The result is statistical support for the stigmatisation of certain immigrant groups.

Teenage pregnancy is assigned a negative value in Europe. Some children of immigrant origin however have, as one of their cultures of reference, societies where women first have children before age 20, often while still minors. In Europe, teenage pregnancy is associated with low economic status and low educational achievement, and is the target of specific national and European initiatives aimed at reducing the rate. In many of the countries of origin for young people in the CHIP target group, especially in continental Europe, high fertility rates among women under 20 are changing as an effect of the

importation of values *from* Europe. Given this contamination of values and given the definition of well-being as realisation of *individual* potential, CHIP considers teenage pregnancies to be a risk factor for lower adult well-being. Abortion rates likewise reveal difficulty in successfully managing sexual choices.

There is an opposite to civic disobedience, which might be called civic compliance. This is the area of participation and involvement in community activities and in the processes of civil society. The French CHIP partner is directly responsible for developing, promoting, and supporting youth activities, and devoted much attention to the dimension of involvement in community activities. One area is sport, another is community action in volunteer work, associations, and youth centres.
It is particularly important to capture participation by gender. This is especially true in families of recent immigration, where gender roles are in transition and often in conflict. Since much of this area lies outside an institutional framework, it is particularly difficult to monitor. Nonetheless, in order to understand if public youth initiatives are reaching children of immigrant origin, it is important to have some sense of the participation levels.

3.7.5 Education indicators (cultural well-being)

"Human potential" and "human resources" generally mean education, and there is a clear association of education with well-being in Europe. As far as children of immigrant origin are concerned, the educational sphere offers some basic data on the presence in the school system, and on performance in the system.

Enrolment of children of immigrant origin can be contrasted with the overall presence (above) to understand enrolment ratios. In any case, scholastic statistics are advancing rapidly and drawing more attention. Countries where school statistics are compiled on the CHIP group monitor the following indicators: **foreign students enrolled**. Most countries use the child's nationality in statistics. In some cases, the data cover **children with at least one foreign parent enrolled**. Given that *child citizenship* is the usual indicator, most schools do not ask the citizenship status of parents. A more variable indicator is that of **children of "ethnic" groups enrolled**. In some cases (notably, the UK), ethnic origin is indicated, either in school analyses or in enrolment.

The presence indicated by school system statistics does not reveal much beyond the presence and relative enrolment of the target group. Data on performance, on the other hand, reveals differences between the group as defined in school statistics. This means that the distinction between foreign and national students, or between "minority" and "majority" students, in terms of performance, can be profoundly affected by the definitions of the groups themselves. In other words, changes in the classification system can change the apparent performance of children of immigrant origin.

The indicators that were examined in the course of CHIP cover several parameters of performance. The most widely available is **drop-out rates** (percent of minors in school at age 14, 16, or at the end of mandatory schooling). Some areas report **delays**

(age/level). Delays can be measured by gap between age and school level, and by percentage of students promoted. Delay, in fact, can be due to insertion in a younger class or to failure to be promoted. In some cases, **standard exams** reveal school performance. Performance can be measured by promotion rates, but for an accurate comparison standardised exams, not currently used in all European countries (e.g., the TIMSS), are more useful, given the subjective factors in promotion rates. In fact, promotion rates are often considered better indicators of discrimination than of performance. Finally, there are the **educational paths taken** (streaming or setting, university enrollment). The role that immigrant origin plays in the choice of education pathways can be measured in the "streams" used in some countries or by the choice of secondary school and then university. Yet this is not necessarily comparable between countries, because of the different systems of school selection. In some countries, students are "guided" from one educational level to the next, and school choice reflects institutional expectations coloured by discrimination and stereotyping. In other countries, such a choice is made with no input from the school, and reflects the child's family's perception of opportunities.

3.7.6 Cross-cultural competence (cultural well-being)

Our discussion of stability drew upon knowledge of the construction of identity for those who are in-between. A variety of resources in the development of coping strategies is an important precondition for the successful resolution of an identity conflict.

The national reports provide support for definition of another domain of well-being, that of the possibility of self-determination, the chance to define one's own identity and find the material necessary for a construction of an identity. Measurement in this sphere is extremely difficult, since the measurement would be based on assessments of self-determination among single individuals.

Such a *child-based* measurement currently appears impractical, although developmental psychologists are working on new instruments for measuring cross-cultural competence. CHIP encourages attention to *society-based* measurements, looking at the resources available. Cross-cultural competence means possibilities for cultural expression, and reflects the evolving cultural life of communities of immigrant origin. Such resources benefit not only the immigrant culture but the competence of all members of society.

The first area of resources is that of the media, of the extent to which cultural resource. Proposed media indicators include: control of resources (special programming and publications); the presence of publications (books, magazines); general presence in the media; visibility in advertising (recognition as a consumer group).

Another area is that of the cultural life of a community, capable of sustaining an identity: the existence of associations; the availability of cultural structures such as cinemas, video rentals, food stores, etc.; the presence of religious structures; the existence of schools for cultural groups (private or state funded); the relationship with

the country of origin (remittances, telephone traffic).

Finally, a major indicator is the survival of a language. The measure of the **language spoken in the household** is an excellent indicator. Many countries conduct periodic surveys on the home language spoken by residents, examining dialects, regional languages, and foreign languages. In some cases, such as national censuses, there are analyses of birth country and language spoken; it should be possible to examine language use in immigrant families with children.

This domain reflects cultural resources and helps to monitor cultural diversity. This is particularly important since some CHIP countries formally state that cultural diversity is a resource, or even as a resource to *protect*, while none have appointed indicators by which to measure it. The above basket of indicators suggest possible parameters for the measurement of resources available for the creation of an individual identity and for the protection of factors of identity. Without such an attempt to measure this domain, it would be difficult to institutionalise acknowledgement of the importance of cultural diversity.

In fact, claims to consider "cultural diversity" a resource are difficult to reconcile with policies which penalise, or at the most ignore, cultural differences.

The special role of the media falls into this domain. Television occupies an important place in children's lives after school itself (viewing averaged around 200 minutes a day around the EU in 1994). Press analyses conducted in different CHIP countries on the representation of immigrants, foreigners, and minority groups, as well as the language in which new cultural resources (i.e. new cultures) are described, suggest that the representation of minors of immigrant origin provide negative images that foster conflict within the development process.

Summary Table of Basic Social Indicators

Category of Indicator	**Indicator**
Economic Resources	Poverty rates of families with children Unemployment in families with children of immigrant origin Housing quality and density Work outlook
Health	Infant mortality Birth weight Hospitalisations and/or institutionalizations; Physical illness Suicide rates Attempted suicides; Psychiatric illness (major psychiatric disorders); Victimisation (by crime).
Civic obedience	Crime rates - instrumental crimes - expressive crimes Substance abuse Presence in detention/correctional facilities Teenage (under 19) pregnancies Abortion rates
Social Participation	Involvement in organized youth activities - sport - extracurricular/community activities
Education	Enrolment rates - foreign students enrolled - children with at least one foreign parent enrolled - children of “ethnic” groups enrolled Drop-out rates (percent of minors in school at age 14, 16, or at the end of mandatory schooling) Delays (age/level) Standard exams Educational paths (type of school)
Cultural Resources	Household language Control of the media - employment in media industry - creation of special programming - publications (books, magazines) Presence in the media Recognition as media consumers (advertising) Cultural life of a community: - the existence of associations - the availability of cultural structures (cinemas, video rentals, food stores, etc.) - the presence of religious structures - the existence of schools for cultural groups (private or state funded) - the relationship with the country of origin (remittances, for example)

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000.

3.8. Access: Indicators

Citizenship confers basic rights to resources and to collective endeavour, but does not guarantee access to those resources and endeavours. The issue of limits emerges in the analysis of access to education, health care, and other services, as well as in the sphere of social participation.
The question raised in many long-term immigration countries is if access is sufficient. If on the one hand immigrants participate, and are then discriminated against precisely because they participate, access alone may worsen the situation. Phenotypical characteristics remain important, and therefore it is essential to examine the predictions that underlie policy: *formal inclusion vs. informal exclusion*. This captures the issues examined in the previous section on citizenship.

Each one of the indicators of well-being reveals the condition of children of immigrant origin, especially when compared to the population of minors at large. In order to understand the effects of policy changes, it is important to add another level of indicators which describe the access that children of immigrant origin have to services which govern their well being. Thus, for many of the above indicators, there is a "shadow" indicator which covers the access of children of immigrant origin to services. There is a further dimension, which is the right of access. Thus, the indicators must take account of, for example, the right to health care, minors receiving treatment, and the rates of certain diseases.

The National Reports address emerging indicators of access in the different domains of well-being. These indicators should be examined in terms of differential rates of access to resources.

The distinctions made within the CHIP group – into first and second generation children and those belonging to ethnic minorities – must be carefully considered in examining access, since in some cases limited access may be the result of other factors, such as poverty or disadvantage.

In the *economic* sphere, the indicators of access cited monitored the target group's use of resources. One was **assistance to poor families with children**. The number of families receiving assistance, based on origin, compared to the total number of poor families. This indicator reveals shortfalls in welfare programmes. Another was **entry into public housing**. In some CHIP countries, it is difficult for immigrants to request social housing, either because they do not have the right or because there is discrimination in the process. The indicator is the difference in waiting periods and in ranking on social housing lists. Another important area was **job training programmes for immigrants**. The number of participants and the different ratios among the unemployed reveal the success of requalification investments. Finally, there were **placement services for immigrants entering the labour force**. These data reveal the

use made of job-placement services.

The *health* sphere, participation in public health systems was cited. A primary indicator, especially for the most basic well-being of children, was the number of eligible women involved in **prenatal and child care programmes**. Likewise, other **reproductive health services** and **mental health services** were considered of relevance. As will be discussed below, cross-cultural competence in the administration of these services is enormous. Many of the problems underlined in CHIP countries regarding the provision of these services have to do with misunderstanding and discriminatory practice, which exacerbates the difficulties in overcoming an initial precariousness.

In *education*, despite different school systems, the areas of difficulty in access often coincided. The search for shortfalls in access turned up several important measures. There is the **rate of enrolment in non-mandatory pre-school**. There is also the **exclusion from school (expulsion)** and **over-representation in certain schools and certain tiers**. There is the **number of foreign students entering special programmes**, where such programmes exist. There was much attention given to **the students in bilingual programmes**, where such programmes exist. Likewise, the number of **students in ELCO-type programmes**, where such programmes exist. Finally, although not measured in any CHIP country, there was discussion of **participation rates in extracurricular activities**.

The issue of civic obedience in **conviction rates**, since children of immigrant origin are more likely to face trial and to be convicted in some CHIP countries. Likewise, attention should be given to **sentencing disparities**. It has been noted in some countries that sentences for minors of immigrant origin are longer and harsher than they are for autocthonous minors convicted of the same crimes.

There are other stages in the criminal justice process, from “stop” rates to arrest rates to rates of indictment, but these can only be measured with special studies, and not using current data. Nonetheless, some countries have imposed monitoring requirements on law enforcement officials to measure precisely this discrimination in access.

These indicators of access are indicators not only of the exercise of rights but also, in many cases, of discrimination suffered in exercise of these rights.

Indicators of Access

Domain	Indicators
Economic	• assistance to poor families with children • entry into public housing • job training programmes for immigrants • placement services for immigrants entering the labour force
Health	• number of eligible women involved in prenatal and child care programmes • number of eligible women receiving reproductive health services

	• use of public health services (esp. receiving primary care) • enrolment rates in health services • use of mental health services (esp. hospitalization)
Civic participation	• Response by police to requests for intervention • Involvement of eligible young people in community activities
Education	• rate of enrollment in non-mandatory pre-school. • exclusion from school (expulsion) • over-representation in certain schools and certain tiers. • proportion of foreign students entering special programmes • eligible students in bilingual programmes. • eligible students in ELCO-type programmes • participation rates in extracurricular activities
Cultural resources	• Support for appropriate cultural events and productions (from publications to transmissions) • Support for associations

3.9. Policy and Response Indicators

By "strategies of equilibrium" CHIP meant the policies and approaches to correcting the imbalance in well-being between autocthonous minors and minors of immigrant origin, and cover supplementary services, transformation of the service-provision paradigm, and reallocation of resources. Education remained the primary sphere in which initiatives were examined, although the broader issues of cultural mediation and counter-racism were also examined in depth in national reports.

The education process was carefully mapped, from insertion to the advantage/disadvantage of different languages, to national curriculum (books, religion classes), to the recognition of minorities and the control over the curriculum of private schools. The role of associations as supplementary or competing routes was examined. Intercultural vs. multicultural strategies were examined (esp. in France and in Belgium, where the Flemish and Walloon cases were contrasted).

The indicators of access listed above measure access to existing resources. There is another set of indicators which are more meta-indicators, measuring the creation and extension of special services. In fact, while access indicators are child-based, strategy indicators take the structures (school, city, nation) as the unit of analysis, and measure the actions taken by these bodies.

CHIP examined the importance of indicators measuring life-satisfaction, self-image, and self-respect. The importance of these parameters is confirmed in the study on risk factors conducted in Israel by the Tel Aviv University group discussed above. Nonetheless, these "subjective" indicators were not included among the proposed indicators, because of the myriad of instruments used to measure subjective indicators in psychological research and assessment and the difficulty in systematically collecting such data.

At the same time, these indicators make sense only when examined together with broader policy decision and strategies. Once a strategy (such as protection of the language of origin) has been decided upon, a series of initiatives and actions follow; CHIP has conducted an analysis of the initiatives corresponding to specific strategies in each country. This allows an analysis of the existence and the state of realisation of both strategies and the specific actions they comprise.

The treatment of subjective measures, then, has been to link them to the initiatives meant to protect and respect them. The policies and actions described below are linked to underlying subjective measures.

Primary areas in which actions are undertaken	**Specific areas for policy making**
National immigration policy	Concession of citizenship, immigration permit policy, asylum policy
Social and welfare policy	Welfare programmes targeting groups with assistance for families: economic support, housing and support
Educational policy	Curriculum, textbook development, school organisation
Equal opportunity policies	*Immigrant origin* as anti-discrimination criteria

Changes in the provision of services and exercise of rights	mediation, communication, training personnel
Cultural policies	Media and cultural activity, statements on multiculturalism

In order to develop indicators of structural response to the needs of minors of immigrant origin, it is important to develop a basic taxonomy of policies. There are two fundamental areas of intervention:

- the gaps that block the minor from full development of potential (linguistic and cultural barriers, handicaps due to the family situation, etc.); in this case, the policies aim to promote good social performance of minors of immigrant origin. The object of intervention is the child or the immigrant family itself, and the not the society of arrival.
- the risk that these minors will be exposed to aggression or threats (physical and psychological, direct and indirect) related to the distinguishing factors; this generally translates into policies aimed at eliminating discrimination against minors of immigrant origin. The object of intervention is found in the arrival society.

The first type of policies addresses *endogenous* factors affecting well-being, while the second type addresses *exogeneous* factors. This distinction is sometimes blurred, since the endogenous factors are often closely related to the exogenous ones. It is evident that there is some overlapping between the two proposed categories, yet the distinction is clear when the object of the action is examined.

Actions to reduce endogenous difficulties that minors encounter

Type of Policy	**Example of Actions**
Social support	Economic and housing assistance
Educational support	Language tutoring Education in family language Cultural mediation to improve communication Curriculum changes to meet developmental needs of children of immigrant origin
Affirmative action	Privilege certain disadvantaged groups in access to services, education and employment
"Empowerment"	Strengthen the social representation of the needs of minority or disadvantaged groups to better represent their own interests: advocacy, voting rights, intermediary forms of representation such as "immigrant delegates" in city councils
Recognition	Public events, media programming, changes in school curricula.

The argument for recognition policies drew not only on psychological studies of identity formation but also on discussions of group identity in democracy. Recognition is a response then which aims at both endogenous and exogenous factors. In the former case, as stated in the previous section, it affects the self-perception of the immigrant-origin child or adult. In the latter case, it affects the perception held by non-immigrant origin members of the arrival society. This affects discrimination in the environment, which in turn affects the well-being of children of immigrant origin.

3.9.1 Recognition: the mass-media image of children of immigrant origin

The mass-media image of children of immigrant origin has an effect on the formation of identity of the child and on the treatment of that child by other members of society. One of the most interesting elements in the sociology of cultural processes is the study of the influence of the mass media on the formation of collective opinions, perceptions, and

emotions towards phenomena, facts, and subjects.
It is recognised that children's "mean world view", their vision of the world as a dangerous place, is heavily conditioned by a catastrophic tone and images used in television news. The discourse covers other themes as well, from political opinion to consumer choices.
The relevant dimension for CHIP is that of the special influence of the media on the collective perception of certain members of society: the elderly, men, women, and immigrants or refugees, for example, are "socially assigned" by television and by the press. A great distance between the images may lead to a sense of inadequacy, or perhaps pride in a special solitude, affecting the image and bringing it back towards reality. The mediation and contamination between symbolic realities – more or less imposed – and lived experience make the relationship one of special complexity.

How the well-being of children of immigrant origin is affected by the media representation

Level of effect	Effect on Well-being
Self-perception	The child must develop a broad and versatile project for the future. It is essential that the child believe that the country of residence offers various existential opportunities and is not "condemned" to a difficult, endangered, or marginal life.
Collective perception	The country should be able to "read" the presence of children of immigrant origin as a manifestation of childhood itself, with the same rights and duties as other children. It should relate to these children with serenity, without charging them with the weight of any adult cultural confrontation. In addition, the media has a responsibility towards those not of recent immigrant origin to acquaint them with the world of these "new children", without social stigmatisation, allowing space for a necessary encounter.

CHIP tested a series of indicators for such an Observatory, with Censis conducting a media content analysis for a one-week period in the Italian press. Although this pilot was short and limited to print media, in contrast to past Censis content analyses, it did reveal areas for investigation in any Observatory, and revealed some troubling use of the image of children of immigrant origin in Italy.
Some of the key points in a content analysis of this type:

- the thematic area in which the child appears (international, national, local, crime/scandal, etc.);
- the gender and age range of the child;
- the nationality or group identity of the child, if identifiable;
- the exact terms used to describe the child ("immigrant", "minority", "Asian", "Oriental", etc.);
- the theme linked to the reference or appearance of the child (crime, immigration, education, etc.);
- the use of images (photos, etc.) and the connection they have with the story reported;
- whether the child is "passive" or "active"; whether the action is constructive or deviant;
- the emotive content of the reporting (aimed to shock, disturb, reassure, etc.);
- if the child represents an element of instability, conflict, family problems, or health

risks. Often children are used to symbolise entire families of immigrant origin;

- if the child is in the country of immigrant origin, used in association with that country. Often children are used to symbolise tragedies and disasters in their countries;
- the use of stereotypes in the depiction of the child.

The proposed observatory of the image of the child of immigrant origin should monitor negative associations with crime and disaster, and the use of children to symbolise negative events, as well as the overall image of the child. A review of codes of conduct in the media for the representation of children of immigrant origin in different countries – such as those for children – showed how this category has not been addressed in depth. It is evident that the development of an identity in the country of arrival is related to the role and identity offered in the mass media culture, and that any fight against discrimination must include a reflection on the way the media represent children of immigrant origin.

3.10. School

The Child Immigration Project devoted great attention to school. An historical overview regarding the relationship between schooling and the concept of childhood was conducted by the project coordinator to help create the framework for an analysis of the role that the school plays in socialisation and preparation for the economy. The indicators of children's capacity for expression, of the identity development, or of their emotional skills are broadly recognized by educators to be important, and figure in all documents on child well-being, but are not used in policy development or in evaluating the conditions of children. The indicators currently used are outcome-based and make reference to social participation, especially economic participation in the adult society.

Just as no child-expression indicators were used to measure school success, no indicators of diversity were used in evaluating schools. CHIP, in considering schools, did not challenge their supremacy in the socialisation of children, but examined the interaction between the school and the child of immigrant origin. It is important to note the significance of this analysis, however, because it does not question the underlying parameters by which European schools currently are judged: civic and economic participation.

CHIP devoted attention to schools because of their importance in the socialisation of children, and not because they are a "weak link" in the process of settlement. Contrary to the impression in many new immigration countries, schools have the chance to be far ahead of the society at large in terms of their understanding of the new challenges and their ability to work with them. They are the first institutions to deal with large numbers of immigrant children, meaning that they are at the vanguard of the institutional response to children of immigrant origin. The fact that schools are the first to receive

these children does not guarantee that they will be progressive or successful in adapting, but it does put them in the privileged position of monitoring changes in the cultural composition of imminent generations.

The role of schools in the knowledge production process described sometimes seems to be one-way, simply *transmission*. Instead, schools have become a privileged site for the interaction between the arrival society and the evolving cultures of immigrant-origin children, and teachers are the first to benefit from this relationship. CHIP national reports differentiated between the capacity of lower school and upper school teachers in accepting this kind of exchange.

The CHIP analysis of schools covers the following areas:

- Criteria for classifying immigrant children in schools; this is partially addressed above under "education indicators", but is explored in greater depth;
- School-integration related problems (students, teachers, and parents);
- Education policies and strategies adopted (documents and forms of intervention);
- Reflection on the trends in Europe.

This division mirrors the logic behind the general approach in the CHIP analysis.

3.10.1 Criteria for classifying children of immigrant origin in schools

CHIP analysed the criteria for classification at the national level. School systems use different systems for classifying students, and the use of this classification varies. In countries with laws or guidelines governing placement and concentration of immigrant-origin students, it is essential to count such students. School systems, however, must address the fact that classification systems are not passive registers, but impose a division upon the student population.

The basis of the classification system varies according to the objective of identification. Where foreign nationality is assumed to coincide with immigrant origin (e.g., Italy), classification is based on nationality, and those who have acquired citizenship or were born to immigrant parents disappear not only from school statistics but also from the policies aiming to "protect and respect" their cultures of origin. In other countries (e.g., the UK), the classification system is based partly on a negotiation with groups asserting their own identities and on decisions taken by policy makers to identify at-risk categories, regardless of their citizenship status.

Classification at the school level, just as at the census level, is a political decision and is a component of any policy targeted at addressing shortfalls in access and in participation. In any case, decisions vary in CHIP countries according to the policy needs and political framework for the settlement of immigrant-origin children.

The table lists the different criteria adopted to classify students of immigrant origin in the schools of the various European countries.

Finally, the political importance of the choice of criteria used to classify children of immigrant origin and the practical consequences in relation to the weight attributed to them should be pointed out. The collection of information about the ethnic origins of the

students means the reification of difference. Singling out children as belonging to a minority ethnic group can be taken as a declaration of a problem, with all that this entails in terms of discrimination. On the other hand, this is the only way to enable concrete, efficient measures to be implemented in favour of the group in question. This is a fundamental issue in a project such as CHIP, where the objective is to provide instruments for policy makers.

Criteria for classifying foreign-origin children in schools

Belgium	France	Greece	UK[2]	Israel	Italy	Sweden[3]
Foreign nationality; in providing support resources in school, the ethnic origin of the maternal grandmother of the student and the education level of the mother is used.	Nationality of parents; Student's place of birth and the age at which s/he entered France	Children of immigrant parents, except "Pontian Greeks" from the former Soviet Union and Albania, who have automatically received Greek citizenship.	Ethnic origin, divided into nine categories: White, Black African, Black Caribbean, Black Other, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Other.	Immigrants are those who themselves immigrated within the past 10 years or were born to parents who immigrated within the past 10 years. Enrolling children are asked the birthplace of their parents and their grandparents.	Foreign nationality, by nationality. Naturalised Italyns are not counted, nor are those born to naturalised Italyns or mixed nationality couples.	No distinction is made between autocthonous and foreign students. The latter, however, have the right to Swedish as L2 classes and to mother tongue language training.

Source: CHIP National Reports, 1999

[2] Most children of immigrant origin (immigrants and second generation) have British nationality. In some cases they are third generation. The UK does not use "immigrants" but *pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds*. This group is considered to represent children of immigrant origin for the purposes of this table.

[3] In Sweden, as soon as a foreigner receives a residence permit and becomes a legal resident of the country, s/he is considered as a normal citizen and disappears as an immigrant. Immigrant are not only not counted, but it is considered discriminatory and therefore illegal to count them, to collect data on the nationality or ethnic origin of citizens. As a result, the Swedish data presented in these tables on the presence of children of immigrant origin, where present, refer to case studies on small samples and not the national situation, or, as in this case, to the number of Swedish- or foreign-born children of foreign parents..

3.10.2 Problems related to school integration of children of immigrant origin

The presence of children of foreign origin in schools gives rise to various problems at different levels. In order to give a general picture of the difficulties which face children of immigrant origin within the school, the main problems were identified at a European level. The problems cited in the National Reports and by the single partners cover: belonging to two groups (building an identity "astride" the two groups); difficulty in access to schooling (enrolment problems); failure at school (delay, low marks, drop-out rates); difficulty in communicating, chiefly connected with language problems but also due to non-verbal codes of communication which frequently differ considerably between the arrival country and the country of origin; integration/discrimination, which, through the school, affects the future career of children of immigrant origin; teachers' unwillingness to deal with the presence of children of immigrant origin in their classes and inability to handle the resulting difficulties; exclusion rates and distribution in different categories of school.

These problems are often interlinked and interdependent. In general, there are three actors in the scholastic relationship: students, teachers and parents. These actors work within a structure influenced or determined by educational and government policy makers.

Difficult access constitutes a concrete problem and concerns the school enrolment procedures; it is particularly marked in countries like Italy and Greece, where the bureaucracy is most complicated and where a glaring gap exists between the real opportunities for access for children of immigrant origin and the native population. The enrolment procedure involves submitting forms containing information about the child's achievements and school history; based on this information, as well as the child's age, the child is placed in the most appropriate class. Required information and documents from the families cover identity, state of health and past illnesses, previous studies and family income. Explanation of the school enrolment procedure to the parents of children of immigrant origin has been assigned in most CHIP countries to specialised mediators.

As for the enrolment of compulsory school age children who lack documents (because their parents are clandestine immigrants), most of the countries follow the 1989 UN convention on Children's Rights, which states that all children have the right to education, and allow conditional enrolment for this category. In practice, this means that they are able to participate in compulsory education; some countries require all minors to attend school regardless of immigration status. Sweden has adopted a different solution, refusing rights at all to clandestine immigrants or their children. Table 2 provides a comparison of the ways in which the problem is handled in the various countries.

There is another issue beyond enrolment, and that is enrolment in the desired school. In some educational systems and in some countries great differences can exist between single schools, and families may have difficulty in sending their child to a desired school, either because of information shortfalls or active exclusion in the form of resistance or routing.

Enrolment of Children of Immigrant Origin without residence permits

Belgium	Access to compulsory school guaranteed to minors regardless of parents' status if accompanied by a parent or guardian. Unaccompanied minors must be entrusted to a guardian (person or institution). Students enrolled in a "parallel" register, but included in applications for subsidies, which assists the school in accepting them. There is a problem of police controls.
France	Access to compulsory school is guaranteed to minors regardless of their parents' status.
Greece	The children of immigrants without documents cannot enrol in school. Minors without documents, like their parents, have no rights to services.
Israel	Jews receive citizenship upon request. Non-Jewish minors of immigrant origin can enrol in schools but their education is not funded by the Ministry of Education, and is the responsibility of single cities or towns.
Italy	Children whose parents do not have permits are enrolled with "reserve"; They are not required to be resident, nor are their parents involved. The "reserve" is lifted whenever their parents obtain documents. The "reserve" does not affect the school career of the child.
Sweden	The children of immigrants without documents cannot enrol in school. Minors without documents, like their parents, have no rights to services, except emergency health care.
UK	Any truly 'illegal immigrants', and thus their children, would not be easily traceable unless a school or education authority had reason to be suspicious and conducted more detailed checks were carried out.

Source: Censis, CHIP National Reports, 1999

Language is the first hurdle in inserting children of immigrant origin at school. This is also a major cause of school failure in the group in question. The problem is magnified when education in the host country does not begin at nursery school, as shown by research carried out in Belgium: attending nursery school entails significant advantages for the children's education. However, few foreign children attend nursery school both because the children frequently arrive in the host country when they are too old for nursery school and because of the role played by the mother, who often does not work and tends to keep the children at home; in consequence, foreigners often consider this stage of schooling as of lesser importance.

Acquiring skills in the national language is made more difficult for children of immigrant origin by the fact that, even when they are born in the country of residence, their families often know the language poorly. Moreover, the main language deficit is in writing, a factor of fundamental importance for effective integration in school and work, although many of the countries of origin give it lower priority.

Further, children of immigrant origin of later generations may have poor standard language skills, reinforced by their family language. It is important to be able to measure the mastery of standard language skills especially when the home language is officially that of the country.
Finally, as already stated, communication difficulties do not necessarily involve language in a strict sense, but can more generally affect all channels of non-verbal communication, which can vary greatly from one culture to another. This is often considered of low priority or even taken for granted in schools while, especially in certain cultures, they are a means of transmitting important messages.
Performance is often unsatisfactory, for reasons which undoubtedly depend on the fact that they start off with a series of disadvantages, ranging from the gap between the cultural system passed on by their family and that presented by the school, to a poor knowledge of the language in which they are taught and the fact that children of immigrant origin often miss out on nursery school.
Performance is also difficult to measure in some countries because of a lack of standardized testing, especially at primary school levels. In fact, most European school systems do not use annual standard tests, and therefore comparison is more subjective and contaminated by the effects of discrimination. This observation is reinforced by Eurydice, which notes that at the primary school level, only France and the UK have national exams during school. Likewise, some countries have automatic promotion (UK and Greece), so that promotion levels cannot be used as an indicator of school success.
Another reason for failure at school is to be found in the level of education of the families of children of immigrant origin: the rate of failure is higher among students whose parents have a low level of education, regardless of the country of origin.
In most cases, children of immigrant origin have a problem of *school failure*, to a greater or lesser degree, as measured in terms of: *delay:* they are in a class with younger children because they have been held back or placed at a lower level; *dropping out*: the students abandon school or are suspended by the school; absenteeism, repeated absences; *concentration of children of immigrant origin in less qualified types of education.* Each of these dimensions of school failure was explored in detail.
At school, children of foreign origin are often placed in lower classes than those of their age group, which causes a state of delay which may or may not be aggravated over the years by being held back. An effort is being made to overcome this problem by taking into account the mother tongue skills of children when deciding where to place them; in countries where this measure has already been adopted, the children's progress at school has been seen to be faster when they are placed with other children of their own age. Delay may also be caused by poor school results, which in the most serious cases lead to the child being held back. Generally speaking, in all the CHIP countries, the results of children of immigrant origin are poorer than those of the local population.

Dropout generally occurs between 14 and 16 years of age, following the first year of higher secondary school. It is a fairly serious phenomenon, because it inevitably affects the future career of the students: failure to gain a diploma is a big handicap in a society where this is a major criterion for selection.
In some countries, there has been an evident concentration of children of immigrant origin in the least qualified types of school. The choice of school made at the end of the cycle common to all students depends partly on school results, but also on the selection mechanisms used by the school: a student's choice is conditioned by the environment in which he or she lives. Studies carried out in the Flemish community in Belgium have demonstrated the importance of the ethnic factor.
In order to analyse the reasons for the phenomenon, a distinction must be made, first of all, between: countries in which guidance is provided by the school to help students choose their branch of studies; countries in which the choice is made by the students themselves and their families; situations in which quality schools are oversubscribed and other factors are important in guaranteeing optimal school choice.
In countries where guidance is provided, such as Belgium, an analysis of the figures relating to the presence of children of immigrant origin in the various branches of studies supports the charge - difficult to prove - that a form of racial discrimination, or at least stereotyping, is present when teachers and schools provide guidance. Teachers on the one hand and students themselves on the other are induced to see the technical or vocational sector as their only possibility, their only hope for a future which has already been socially decided, independent of the gifts, abilities or inclinations of the individual subject. This supposition is supported by the fact that even students with a good school record are frequently advised to choose the vocational sector.
On the other hand, in countries like Italy where no guidance is given by teachers, it is nevertheless certain that the latter have a great influence on both students and their parents with respect to their perception of the opportunities open to them (parents or children); for this reason, teachers should be made aware of the importance of their role and trained so as to handle it correctly.
Nevertheless, in this case the choice depends to a greater extent on the families, many of which consider the Italian university system to be inefficient, slow and chaotic and able to offer limited job prospects; for this reason, it is often the families themselves who prefer to send their children to vocational schools so that they can enter the working world sooner and better prepared.
Another factor is that the families consider the realistic possibilities of integration in the working world, which, for children of immigrant origin, are often effectively limited to the least qualified sectors. In any case, the result is the same: in *Italy*, too, few children of immigrant origin enrol for the lyceum, the school which, by definition, prepares students for a university education (attended by 28.8% of Italian students and only by

10.4% of African students), while most of them enrol at the technical and vocational institutes (54% of Africans enrol for this kind of school: more than twice the percentage of Italians). In *Britain*, there is some evidence that “part of the problem is that schools use racist stereotypes” in “tiering”, or separating students into educational levels.
An explanation of the small proportion, throughout Europe, of children of immigrant origin who attend general or classical schools may however be found in their cultural distance from certain subjects, rather than in a form of exclusion or "self-exclusion". This holds true where the traditional role of classical lyceum (training in Greek and Latin) is not part of the cultural system of new arrivals.
The difficulty in achieving equal opportunity is in fact connected with classmates’ and teachers’ acceptance of differences which are at best tolerated. The diversity of children of immigrant origin is part of a scale of values; their potential and ability is decided for them at the start and very often, as we saw in the case of school guidance, immigrants and minority ethnic groups are considered as destined "by nature" for the least qualified jobs.
This was the fundamental issue raised by the UK case. After all, once formal citizenship has been obtained, and ties to the country of origin cross generations and decades, the role of children of immigrant origin remains in some way linked to the decision of their recent ancestors to enter a new country as low-status migrants. In discussing citizenship above, this report addressed the issue of the persistence of disadvantage over time.
The countries of new immigration are still struggling to formulate a vision of inclusion for the adults that today’s children of immigrant origin will become. If they are projected by the school system into low-status roles, or into a status not commensurate with the resources they will have acquired, then the principle of inclusion does not function.
This differs from discrimination based on phenotype or specific contrasts between the school and the single CIO. Although children of immigrant origin appear to be considered indistinctly as belonging to a single group with the same needs and difficulties, in fact there are clear differences between immigrants from various countries as to the way in which they are seen, the problems they have to face and their quality of life.
Although national origin is not in itself a cause of delay at school, in practice it can constitute a discriminating factor within the school context, so that the child of immigrant origin is "stigmatised" as a discredited or inferior individual (in some cases, however, the stereotype may be positive, subjecting the student to higher expectations).
Discrimination also affects the sphere of socialisation and opportunities for children of immigrant origin to form friendships with native classmates. the Israeli study provides an interesting figure relative to this observation: about 60% of children of immigrant origin and 75% of Israelis form friendship bonds within the group to which they belong

(the difference decreases in the case of children of immigrant origin of Ethiopian origin, whose tendency to form friendships within the group is equal to that of Israelis). This aspect tends to become more pronounced at higher levels of education, possibly because the attention of the teachers is concentrated more on content and the acquisition of knowledge than on social and relational matters.
CHIP found that the dominant strategy in fighting the discriminatory attitudes widespread in schools is that of intercultural education. This is seen to work by diminishing the ethnocentric content of school curricula, teaching respect and open-mindedness for increasingly multiethnic society. There is no consensus on this kind of educational initiative, especially since it involves spending less time on traditional scholastic activity. Intercultural or multicultural education (the name depends on the country) is related to broader decisions regarding the type of intercultural relationships supported at an institutional level.
In general, no European country has yet seriously addressed the problem of the numerous children of immigrant origin who receive no education at all, despite the fact that in almost all countries, in accordance with the above-mentioned UN agreement, schooling up to a certain age is a right and a duty for all.
This problem arises particularly in the countries with the greatest influx of clandestine immigrants and unaccompanied minors, most of whom come from Eastern Europe and North Africa. In Greece and Italy there are organisations concerned with the schooling of children of immigrant origin of mandatory school age who work or live on the streets.

3.10.3 School Policies and Actions to promote the scholastic integration and well being of children of immigrant origin

It was essential for the project to examine the subjects and their roles in developing and implementing school policy. In order to analyse the measures and action undertaken in the school sphere to promote the integration of children of immigrant origin, the CHIP group agreed on the subjects. Action can be taken at three levels: laws, decrees and directives which address children of immigrant origin or provide the necessary financing; executive memos, which represent an interpretation of the law and provide more detailed instructions on how such laws should be applied; practical implementation of measures and projects.
The last phase may be carried out by three possible subjects: individual schools (staff and head of institute); local administration bodies (regions, municipalities etc.); non-profit associations, working on behalf of the schools, a local administration body or the state.
One of the sharpest contrasts between national approaches was in the distribution of

responsibility for implementing action. This mirrors the structure and the openness of the school system. In Italy, France and Belgium in particular, most of the projects are carried out by associations. In the UK, the state (in the form of the DES and later the DfEE) has taken a great interest in the educational experiences of minority ethnic children.
In the Italian, French, and Belgian cases, private non-profit associations are of great importance in promoting projects aimed at school students of foreign origin. Where associations appear most frequently, it is because schools and local administration bodies often do not possess the necessary competence to carry out specific activities in the field. Associations have often been set up to fulfil this very need, consist partly of foreigners, and moreover can boast a less cumbersome structure. They are therefore more competent, over all, and may ensure a higher quality that that offered by state organisations.
The case of Italy is the most striking. Almost all social projects relating to the school and/or the integration of foreigners are carried out by private associations. Moreover, these have, in practice, complete autonomy in executing the projects, since the authorities responsible (Ministry, education offices) are simply unable to follow and monitor their activity and frequently are not even aware of their presence and degree of penetration.
Where projects are carried out mostly by private associations there are two results, one positive and one negative: on the one hand, it causes a lack of homogeneity among projects, especially in some countries; it also results poor circulation of information about existing projects among the subjects involved (schools, teachers, families, students), leaving much to chance and personal initiative; on the other hand, the very vitality and independence of the associations which, at the price of a certain degree of "anarchy", ensures the positive outcome of some projects, as well as providing an opportunity for ample experimentation.
In order to give an overall picture of the political direction assumed by Europe with regard to the integration of immigrants in schools from 1977 until the present day, CHIP compiled, through the national reports and research by the coordinator, a catalogue of the special laws relating to children of immigrant origin, at the European level and at the national level.

3.10.4 Forms of intervention

Supplementary courses in the national language were examined. This activity, proposed at a European level, is regulated by the ministries of the individual member states. Although courses of this kind exist in almost all the countries involved in the CHIP project, they are not always efficiently organised.

In-depth analysis was conducted of language and culture of origin education, from the LCO courses in France and Belgium to the bilingual education projects in Sweden. Both of these issues were the subject of specific thematic studies conducted by different partners.
In almost all the CHIP countries, courses in the language and culture of origin have been set up, with a dual objective: to encourage children of immigrant origin to build their identity by creating an area within the school where their culture of origin is recognised; to promote success at school, to the extent to which this is connected with the child's proficiency in the language used for teaching: if children are fluent in their mother tongue, when national languages are promoted by the school it makes it easier for them to learn a second language and at the same time furthers their better integration at school.
There are the courses of Language and Culture of Origin (LCO), which should be distinguished from bilingual education. France, Belgium and Greece are examples of the former, while Sweden is an example of the latter.
It countries where school courses in the language and culture of origin have existed for a long time (such as *France*, where they have existed since 1973, *Belgium*, where they were introduced in 1977, and *Greece*, where they were introduced in 1980), they were set up under the expectation that the immigrants would soon be returning to their country of origin. Since then the objective has changed, partly as a result of the overall change in expectations of migration plans: the current goal is that of integration into the arrival country. This is a radical shift in the objectives of these courses and explains much of the failing related to them.
In *France*, courses in the language and culture are available to children whose families immigrated from those countries which have signed bilateral agreements with France (Algeria, Spain, Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia, Turkey and ex-Yugoslavia).
In general, in countries where LCO courses are by now an institution, they are held by teachers from the same countries of origin, and managed and financed by the governments of the individual countries.
In sharp contrast to the perception of bilingual initiatives in Sweden, the LCO courses in France and Belgium can be considered to have failed at different levels:

- as mentioned above in relation to supplementary courses in the language of the host country, are very few students effectively utilise them;

- there is such a great difference between the educational systems of the new and former countries that teachers in the new country criticise the LCO colleagues, considering them incompetent and underqualified, so that there is more hostility than collaboration;

- the foreign teachers who give the LCO courses are not viewed positively by the families of the target students. Since teachers are recruited, employed and paid by the foreign country of which they teach the language and culture, they are mistrusted by those parents who left their country of origin to escape from a specific socio-political situation. They often perceive the teachers as an attempt by the government of their country of origin to impose on them the very things from which they wished to escape. This is particularly true when courses concentrate on civic education, aimed at developing patriotism, providing a positive version of the history of the country of origin and the promotion of a religious culture.

- the culture of origin on which an LCO course is based is frequently inappropriate: the courses can reawaken internal conflicts between different nationalities and ethnic groups; in nations with different dialects, the official language used in the LCO may be almost unknown to the majority of the population;

- the parents of children of immigrant origin often fear that if their children - divided between two cultures and in search of stability and fixed points of reference - come into contact with the teachers and culture of their country of origin, this may be harmful and destabilise their already precarious balance; they often prefer to see the school as an area for assimilation;

- children who attend LCO courses sometimes categorically reject their mother tongue, often going so far as to denigrate it and discredit their own culture of origin. This depends on the fact that, on the one hand, their classmates assign no value to this language and culture, or even insult it, while on the other hand their desire for integration leads them to deny a difference which would demand sacrifice;

- LCO courses are only open to children from the country financing the course. This underlines a minority status, creating a differentiation on the base of origin which introduces segregation and division into a united and universal school.

Alongside the official courses in the language and culture of origin, which are managed and subsidised by the countries from which the immigrants come, there are similar courses promoted by associations. These try to avoid the problems listed above and are organised in small, flexible structures which are better able to fulfil varied and continually changing needs.
The courses organised by associations have generally been quite successful, as they have succeeded in breaking out of the typical framework created by the gap between parents who are often illiterate on the one hand and teachers on the other, ensuring that the two parties communicate. The advantages are twofold:

- parents feel gratified because the content of their cultural heritage is being given attention and even taught as a subject,

- they can follow their children's progress in these courses and possibly help them.

As a consequence of these positive results, teachers themselves, even those who are initially most diffident and reluctant to accept the courses, have asked the associations to work in their schools.
Nevertheless, although the courses organised by associations are definitely more effective and do not have the same drawbacks as the official courses, the latter prevail in the long run, because they are easier for the governments of the host countries to manage, in that they are organised and subsidised by foreign governments and do not require funds and monitoring as the former do.
The LCO courses organised by the governments of the countries of origin and those held by the associations both have a characteristic which prejudices their success from the start: they are imposed by the school authorities or by the government and do not spring from a bottom-up demand. The result, as shown above, is that few students attend them.
The *Swedish* experience is quite different because of the approach and the structure of the courses. The decision to offer bilingual education was made easier because of the availability of resources and a consensus around the right of the child to instruction in the family language. The objective was never that of eventual return to a country of origin; in fact, the bilingual programme was meant to support children of immigrant origin in acquiring the cultural competences necessary for success in Swedish society. The findings that mastery of the native language helped to acquire another language helped justify the course, but were not necessary. There was concern among scholars of bilingualism over the risk of “semi-lingualism”, or the failure to develop good language skills in any language.
The Swedish bilingual programme started with ambitious eligibility and course requirements. The idea was, and remains, that of supporting instruction in the language of origin in the early years and gradually increasing the amount of Swedish-language instruction over time so that the student would qualify for the final exams (available only in Swedish) and the university system.
There were a number of problems with this approach, even when resources were practically unlimited. Some of these problems are similar to those faced in LCO courses: difficulty in finding qualified teachers, difficulty in relationships between bilingual teachers and regular teachers, difficulty in enrolling eligible students, and stigmatisation of the classes.
Nonetheless, some successes were achieved, although not always academic success: the Finnish bilingual classes were noted to have increased the status of Finnish culture

within the school and the self-esteem of the students, much more than their Finnish language skills.
The principal problem over time was the reduction made in resources devoted to bilingual education, rather than a reduced commitment to the principle of bilingualism. In fact, although it remains difficult to find bilingual educators, especially in some of the non-written languages widely spoken among new immigrant groups, there is still a commitment to offering some sort of bilingual education. The eligibility criteria have been changed, and there must be more children of a language group in a single district to justify the creation of bilingual classes, as well as availability of teachers and resources from the town.
Not as many parents of immigrant origin send their children to bilingual education classes as was first expected, and this has undermined some support for the programmes. Similarly, the fact that Swedish society rewards Swedish language skills (and English language skills) tends to discourage people from investing in an immigrant-origin language penalised in the labour market. The challenge in Sweden, since the final judgement on a person at the end of mandatory schooling is based on the Swedish skills, is to reward bilingualism more. This is part of a general effort in Sweden to raise the status of non-Swedish cultures and develop a truly multicultural society.

3.10.5. Special training for teachers

Although the importance of adequate training for teachers with regard to the integration of children of immigrant origin at school has been emphasised by various authorities, in none of the CHIP countries have specific courses been set up and rendered compulsory for the training of teachers, initially and in an ongoing fashion, with relation to the teaching of children of immigrant origin, nor have the existing programmes been updated in this respect. In many countries, such as *Belgium* and *Italy*, teachers can, if they wish, attend external courses in multicultural or intercultural education. These are held at independent institutes which do not depend on the school authorities or are arranged by the individual schools outside the official, institutional context. These courses are not compulsory, however, and do not have to comply with any standards governing content or form. This is starting to change.
After having explored the terms *intercultural* and *multicultural* in the national glossaries prepared in the preliminary phase of the project, CHIP concluded that they are still often used interchangeably, despite the efforts in specific professions to separate the two concepts: the latter foresees the simultaneous presence of various cultures in a single context in an atmosphere of recognition and respect, while the former refers to interaction between cultures which generates a change in the subjects

involved and tends to create a third dimension. In other words, the more recent and demanding concept of *interculturality* is based on a "trilateral" exchange between native and foreign students; "trilateral" because in addition to the former welcoming and accepting the latter, and their reciprocal recognition, reference is made to the construction of a common ground, a third identity half-way between the two.
Intercultural education is seen as the education of the school population for diversity and plurality, necessary in an ever more heterogeneous social context; it promotes the transition from an ethnocentric outlook to one which does not classify cultures according to a hierarchy. It is therefore intended for all students indistinctly and is taught even in classes where no foreigners are present.
Multicultural activities, on the other hand, while sharing with intercultural education the goal of creating the necessary conditions for reciprocal respect and giving natives and foreigners an opportunity to meet, are structured around a different premise: that of spreading knowledge of the cultures of origin of the children of immigrant origin in order to promote an open-minded attitude with regard to the cultures of others and tolerance in the face of behaviour which does not immediately appear to be logical.
In any case, these two terms are for the most part used interchangeably to indicate any activity which aims to create a culture of tolerance, curiosity, open-mindedness and the knowledge which sets diffidence to flight.
Intercultural/multicultural education has significant advantages, not only in a wider perspective but also from the more immediate and concrete point of view of the school results of students of immigrant origin. Since they feel more accepted, they cease to have a closed, defensive attitude and at the same time their parents, seeing the "cultural open-mindedness" of the school, stop feeling ashamed in relation to an institution which they idealise and fear and cease to oppose it because they feel unaccepted; instead, they tend to follow their children's school career more closely, to the advantage of the children's results.
This distinction was useful in examining how intercultural/multicultural education can be introduced into school; the Coordinator identified three basic means: by training the teachers, who absorb an intercultural perspective into their very way of teaching; by reformulating school curricula; by promoting intercultural activities, carried out mainly by associations consisting chiefly of second- or third-generation immigrants.
Specific teacher training still exists only in theory in Europe, whereas multicultural activities provided by associations are quite common.
The main obstacle to an intercultural education, common to all the CHIP countries - and which brings adverse comment from the associations involved, especially in Greece, Italy, France, Belgium and the United Kingdom - consists in the substantial ethnocentrism of school programmes. In effect, although the educational systems of these countries on the one hand make an effort to recognise the role of the linguistic and

cultural diversity of immigrants, on the other they have difficulty the cultural homogeneity of the school and of society putting into question. In some cases, an explicit role of the school in conducting a national curriculum aimed at creating citizens with a common culture makes it difficult to legitimise intercultural education. The approach of the school, as evident not only in curricula and textbooks but also in the attitude of teachers, appears to be limited to the rejection of diversity, with the resulting tendency to assimilate, an officially sanctioned discrimination of everything which is different, and to an attempt to add multicultural content as an afterthought to an existing programme.
Each national analysis looked at tutoring strategies and those aimed at preventing drop-out.

3.10.6 Mediation

Special attention was given to mediation in the school, but also examined the role of cultural mediation in other services, especially in health care and in civic compliance. In the case of health, mediation is used in the provision of services and information. In the case of civic compliance, mediation is used in strategies of communication and conflict resolution.

Although formal mediation is a dominant strategy in new immigration countries, CHIP also found that in countries where immigrants are more settled the emphasis has been placed on the development of cross-cultural competence among service providers and on the development or relational capacity within immigrant communities. In Germany, for example, mediation is often rejected as an outdated model that, as suggested by the CHIP work, allows subjects to communicate and share resources without contamination.

No international consensus on the role of the mediator was found; the definition used in one country can be in sharp contrast to that in another country. In the UK, for example, mediation services are more likely to be advocacy services, with mediators representing single communities, at times as case workers, with city services. This role of the mediator appears to be more applicable when there are stable communities of immigrant origin whose specificity is recognized by institutions, than where the specificity of communities is not formally recognized.

The risks of mediation were also covered.

Secondly, there is a vast range in the effective use of mediators. The term “mediator” is used to describe those who fulfil the following functions:

1. language facilitator: provides a complementary support service for teaching, usually using L1 or both L1 and L2. In addition to improving communication with teachers

and the rest of the class, the mediator should allow students to have a stress-free period of insertion (as in Flanders). The language mediator is usually female.
2. mediator in access to services: used to provide information used as a strategy of communication in conflict resolution;
3. multicultural animator: a foreign-origin animator working inside schools with the role of raising awareness of the culture of origin. The mediator works within or outside the regular school schedule, or even (as in one Italian case) on the school bus.
4. socio-cultural mediator: serves as a go-between for the arrival society in representing and ensuring that the community's needs are acknowledged.

There are essentially three spheres in which the mediator works:

- education (as a language facilitator, as an access mediator, and as a multicultural animator)
- health care (as an access mediator and as a language facilitator)
- public administration (as an access mediator and as a language facilitator)

While the role of the mediator in schools is very complex, the other two sectors see mediators involved in assisting communication between the service and the user, on the one hand, and in the reformulation and representation of the needs of service users on the other.

As the Belgian research done by the CBAI reveals, there are essentially three underlying concepts in the different uses made of mediation:

- those in which the mediator works in situations where there is no conflict but rather the impossibility of communicating, and therefore the involvement of a third person to re-establish communication. Distance, however, may not just be about values, but also differences in status, related to stereotypes and negative attitudes; the mediator has to dissipate the negative images at their root.
- those in which the mediator works to resolve conflicts of values between immigrant families and the arrival society.
- those in which the mediator launches or aims to establish a process of transformation of the rules of communication itself, basing them on new relations between the parties involved, relations of cooperation and interdependence and no longer those of opposition and ignorance.

Mediation tends to be employed in one of the first two senses. There are certainly many cases in which the third conception of mediation could be applied, but it has not become widespread.

The ambiguity of the profession of mediator is further heightened by the fact that no rules cover training a mediator. Anyone can call her or himself a cultural mediator. Some work in schools without training, and where courses exist they run from as few as 24 hours to as many as 800.

In cases where mediators are not used as representatives of single immigrant communities, it is precisely because they are expected to remain third parties in communication and not advocate any single party. Yet recruiting mediators is more difficult when there is no advocacy, no self-advocacy and search for empowerment. In any case, it appears likely that formal mediation between immigrant groups and local authorities and institutions will increase. As families arrive, and the second generation appear, a new generation with an awareness of the challenges and difficulties faced by immigrants will at the same time have the expertise in the social practices of local society to join the ranks of mediators.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS.

The conclusions will focus first on the school and then on the broader implications.

4.1. Conclusions Regarding the School

The need to draw attention to school policy for the presence of children of immigrant origin is based on the observation that this category suffers from lower well-being than other minors. A series of factors underlie this gap: the management of the in-between identity, difficulty in school access, communication difficulty, and the discrimination they face more or less explicitly.
CHIP has found that these difficulties are accentuated by the poor preparation of cultural operators, including teachers, for new challenges created by the presence of children of immigrant origin. There are three main subjects in this process:

- Students

An important area in which problems arise for children of immigrant origin is connected with constructing an identity when they belong to two communities. Problems are caused by the conflict between two cultural identities which are often very different from one another and which neither parents nor teachers want (or are able) to bring together. The “contamination” which occurs as elements of these identities are fused or negotiated is a form of knowledge production; yet the admission of these elements is only possible when there is a will and a capacity for inclusion. The creation of a new and unitary identity – something later generations can inherit – is an outcome over time.
Discrimination, both by classmates and by the school system itself - from teachers to textbooks, from enrolment procedures to school curricula - exists within the school as it does elsewhere and represents a serious obstacle to the integration of children of immigrant origin. Discrimination can be active, in the form of negative representations and disparagement, or passive, in the form of exclusion the child of immigrant origin in the target school population. Both are evident in many textbooks in new immigration countries.
The failure to guarantee equal opportunity can provoke a crisis of values in the child of immigrant origin and lead to the kind of anomie discussed in the chapter on well-being and identity. It can also undermine the support for the arrival society values by the child’s family, which may have placed hopes in the education system for helping the child to get ahead.
Problems of another kind are connected with cultural barriers to learning, in particular

with regard to the importance which the culture of the host countries attributes to the written word as compared with the spoken word, lessons in a language other than the student's mother tongue, a different concept of time and space, a different concept of roles and priorities, different channels of communication. These factors, separately or all together, may help to cause learning difficulties which may have various consequences, ranging from poor results to lack of motivation - often a cause of dropout - and from violent behaviour to self-isolation. Similar factors may also support the success of the child, when the culture of origin places great emphasis on discipline or study.

- Teachers

Despite the fact that up-to-date training and educational theories emphasise the need to respect the diversity and uniqueness of each child, it is difficult to contrast the largely unrecognised and unconscious model teachers still maintain. This models tends towards the reproduction of the universal through the school, in line with the school's strong ethnocentricity which distinguishes the latter's social function, as described above.

The challenge of overcoming stereotypes in teaching children of immigrant origin is not very different from the challenge of overcoming gender, class, or regional stereotypes. Work on achieving equal opportunity for girls in schools has already highlighted some of these challenges, and demonstrated the importance of a concerted effort to avoid using stereotypes in classroom behaviour.

Teachers are therefore faced by a need which is to a certain extent contradictory: they must propagate knowledge, culture and values even as they respect diversity. This task is relatively easy when the students come from a social and cultural background similar to that of the teachers, because in this case the differences do not touch on the basic foundations of identity (values, representation and organisation of life and the social sphere, language). But when the differences are such that teachers come up against something they find radically extraneous, their task becomes more arduous and generates internal conflicts.

In positive cases, new skills are developed, or acquired through assistance and support in managing this internal conflict. Unsuccessful management of this conflict can lead, at the lead, to isolation, and often to patronising and even hostile attitudes towards these children.

- Parents

In European CHIP countries, parents are generally considered as playing a very minor role in the relationship between the child and the school (Israel is an exception). In any case, some immigrant parents come from cultures where parents entrusted their children to the school and were not involved in the institution or in the decision-making process (e.g., the former Soviet Union). The result can be resentment of the school for attempting to involve them in what is considered not to be their responsibility. Other

immigrant parents come from cultures where schools were not available, and do not possess the means to interact with school authorities. The risk in this case is of total exclusion from involvement.

CHIP highlights the policies adopted by the Flemish community in Belgium, described below, as an example in which parents are deeply involved. These policies are based on the theory that it is only by ensuring efficient communication with the families that the school can tackle the problems connected with the integration of children of immigrant origin. In particular, schools must take the migratory project of students' families into account so as to understand their difficulties and expectations and to interact efficiently with them.

The European response to problems related to the insertion of children of immigrant origin in school varies greatly, but some common trends can be identified. These trends are shared in countries of recent and historic immigration, suggesting that the underlying problem is as much the receiving country and its institutions as the characteristics of those arriving. Overall, it is possible to identify several different trends which underlie the legislation of the countries covered by this study.

The laws and directives (see table below) generally seem to have a dual objective: on the one hand, to fight all forms of racism and discrimination and to promote a multicultural attitude within the school; on the other, to solve the most frequent problems connected with the integration of children of immigrant origin in the school system of the host countries, ranging from dropping out to delay, from language difficulties to various expressions of identity disorder, the most serious of these being episodes of violence.

Intake	supplementary courses in the language used for teaching, the opportunity for students to have part of their teaching in their native language and, more generally, placement in classes of a suitable age
Support for the student's ethnic and cultural identity and sense of belonging	courses in the language and culture of origin but also changing current ethnocentric attitude in school curricula and textbooks
Management of school population	homogeneous distribution of children of immigrant origin within schools, by the allocation of incentives to the individual institutes or concentration of children in certain schools
Cultural orientation of the school	Teacher training, school programmes and textbooks to work with the *entire school population* to support a social project of inclusion of immigrant-origin cultures.

In terms of the actions undertaken in each CHIP country, there seems to be certain homogeneity in the response to specific problems, while others see a wide divergence in the responses.

As far as the language difficulties of newcomers are concerned, all countries employ supplementary language classes and most have stated that good native language skills assist in the acquisition of the arrival country language. Some countries accompany the development of the native language with specific resources, and allow these children to follow fundamental courses in their native language for a certain period of time. In

Belgium and in Italy, further, some schools have placed language mediators directly in classrooms with foreign students to assist them during their insertion.
Poor performance, along with the delay and dropout with which it is associated, are unanimously attributed to the greater difficulty faced at different levels. The most radical response, one which is most difficult to measure, employs those associations most active in the field of immigration to assist in the insertion of these children: teachers, students themselves inasmuch as they are classmates, textbooks, and the curriculum. Initiatives range from teacher training to changes in textbooks, from treatment of other cultures (multiculturally or interculturally) to animation, to positive discrimination aimed at an equilibrated distribution of the children of immigrant origin, to courses in the culture and language of origin aimed at bolstering the difficult identity formation of children of immigrant origin.
It is clear that there is an ever-increasing tendency towards the recognition of different cultures and respect for diversity. The school is trying, more and more explicitly, to promote a multicultural outlook, even if the tools available for attaining this objective are frequently inadequate.
It is generally agreed that, in order to encourage the effective integration of children of immigrant origin and to ensure their well-being, it is necessary to bring about a radical change in each individual, granting him or her cultural and intercultural competences.
It is equally clear that there is an awareness of the importance of the school as a place where different cultures meet, the main area of contact and involvement in the country for children of immigrant origin, as well as an excellent laboratory in which to study and perfect models of integration.
What emerges in any case from the CHIP reports is that there is a noteworthy gap between legislation and action, in both directions. In other words, laws are often not followed by adequate intervention, and in many other cases action is far ahead of the principles contained in laws and directives. The quality of the projects, in particular, appears to depend chiefly on the "goodwill" of those carrying them out. This phenomenon is more pronounced in some countries but is common to all.
In this sector, in effect, no homogeneous evaluation criteria exist for testing the validity of the measures taken and no guidelines or standards have been laid down with which to comply, unlike projects and measures in other fields (for example territorial development).
In this connection, the CHIP research has identified the main difficulty as being the lack of an explicit and universal model of reference and the resulting impossibility of monitoring intervention in favour of children of immigrant origin; in fact the study itself constitutes a "laboratory" for defining such a model of reference.
There is a fundamental need revealed by the above analysis, is to collect data concerning immigrants and young people of immigrant origin: in order to act

effectively, it is necessary to have an unequivocal definition of the group in question, and to have standard measures of their experience and treatment in the school system.
The distinction between endogenous and exogenous areas of intervention, delineated in the course of the project, is useful in defining indicators in education policy.

1. Indicators for the survey of actions aimed at making up for conditions of disadvantage related specifically to children of immigrant origin (to reduce and overcome gaps);
2. Indicators which register structural transformations in the educational system underway or completed to meet the changing needs of a society with rising numbers of children of immigrant origin.

The first indicators cover those actions by schools to support children of immigrant origin in reaching a comparable level of educational achievement. Such indicators build upon generally used indicators of educational achievement (as described in the above section on education indicators of well-being. This means that they function in environments where pedagogical assumptions are intact, but where there is a need to assist disadvantaged subjects (immigrant-origin children). In this sense, the first group of indicators regard procedure. They are indicators that provide an overview of how schools are acting to supplement education and training procedures.
The specific importance of procedure indicators, in comparison with other indicators, is that they can also tell us how much scholastic institutions believe it is useful to focus on strategies of change for modes of teaching (pedagogical procedure) rather than modifying the whole of notions and constituent values of the Παιδεια that is called upon to transmit from one generation to another (pedagogical theory).

Indicators of Procedure

Issue addressed	Indicators
Classification	Immigrant origin considered in school statistics
Promotion of enrolment by immigrant-origin minors	Forms in other languages, community outreach services
Evaluation systems for comparing performance of immigrant-origin minors and their classmates	Measures used for comparison based on classification system: language, performance,
Special actions for children of immigrant origin:	Preparation classes, supplementary classes, supplementary teachers
Training for teachers in second language education	Teacher training or continuous education for bilingual or LCO course teachers
Funding for the above actions	Cost of these initiatives, budget for special programmes for children of immigrant origin

The second group of indicators gives evidence of whether scholastic institutions have acted in order to adapt pedagogical paradigms of teaching, and whether they consider current paradigms as no longer being appropriate for the new scenario which is more ethnically and culturally diverse.

The specific indicators chosen by CHIP

Issue addressed	Indicators

Religious and cultural emblems	Are these emblems addressed by a policy? If so, is the policy one of neutrality or promotion of one or more emblems?
Cultural and religious differences	Are special dietary requirements addressed Are religious holidays recognised
Intercultural teacher training	The presence, whether it is required, the length and substance of the course
Cultural mediators	Are there "mediators"? Do they work in animation, within classes, in the school-family relationship?
Textbooks	Has representation of immigrants, people of immigrant origin, foreigners, and the countries of origin in textbooks been examined? Have they been changed to encompass the presence of children of immigrant origin as users?

One important question in examining the two categories of indicators of school structural response is the relationship between the two categories, whether response is limited to one strategy or the other. Of greater importance is the relationship between the educational performance indicators listed in the preceding section (both the performance and the access of children of immigrant origin at school) and the response of the institution, which may reveal a threshold for a structural response.

As we have said, interventions which focus exclusively on the scholastic area test the flexibility of educational systems, on one hand inevitably revealing the limits of such systems while also raising the necessity of greater integration of different multiculturalism policies and the interdependence between actions aimed at constructing an intercultural society.

4.2. General Conclusions

We would like to draw some conclusions based on the CHIP research and the conclusions drawn by partners in their national contexts.

CHIP has rejected the idea that children are simply "pig iron" to be forged into adults. European society is now largely a knowledge society (the much touted information society), in which *information* is the primary product. Children play a role in this information society; instead of working in farms or factories, their "labour" now consists of school, where they gain the social capital necessary for the tasks they will face in the knowledge society. Childhood, always conditioned by the needs of the contemporary adult society, has been extended enormously during the past two centuries with the evolving complexity of the knowledge demanded for social inclusion.

It is not often that children's contribution to society is discussed. Their activities, at least those which they are required to perform, are often considered in column of expenses for society. Their value is even expressed in terms of the future potential. The expansion of pension systems means that, while children were once expected to care for

their own elderly parents, they must now care for *all* adults through the pension system.

This reference to the "economic value" of children is meant by CHIP as a comparison to the economic discourse surrounding immigration in Europe. In fact, the demographic predictions made by international organizations such as the OECD, claiming that Europe needs vast numbers of immigrants to maintain its current labour force, reveal how immigration is promoted in terms of economic necessity. This institutional promotion of immigration contrasts with an evident suspicion and resentment of new immigration among parts of the population in many immigration countries – both historic and recent, a concern that is largely related to economic concerns.

Yet neither children nor immigrants, and especially children of immigrants, are considered as mere elements of the economy. In fact, the importance of children to a society is unchallenged, as is the idea that children are a resource. The importance of immigrants to the development of society is still contested at all levels. In some CHIP countries, public policy has stated that the promotion of cultural diversity within the national territory and in the national society is a value. In these cases there is an explicit acknowledgement that not all citizens share this value. The transformation of cultural and social life due to immigration is often a source of fear for many residents.

Children of immigrant origin lie at the centre of these values: as children, an undoubted resource for society; as representatives of diversity, a contested value. Reconciliation of the positive image of children with a mixed image of immigration is essential for concerted support for children of immigrant origin. This is especially important because while immigration policy can exclude new arrivals, children of immigrant origin are a growing group in Europe and cannot be excluded.

The research done within CHIP also underlined the importance of a sharp division between children of immigrants and children of immigrant origin. This difference is in terms of the challenges and risks faced by the two different groups and the kind of resource they represent.

This distinction is essential given that the conditions of children of immigrant origin are increasingly important (socially and statistically) within Europe along both the temporal parameter and the social parameter. The demographic effect is matched by a cultural effect, as new demands are made within the public sphere and new ingredients are added to the evolving European culture.

On the one hand, children of immigrant origin face more stressors than their autocthonous peers, and must employ more strategies of adaptation. The challenge of adapting to new values and norms can result in anomie, as the Israeli Thematic Study highlighted. At the same time, when the challenge is met not by a substitution of values but by a negotiation and coexistence, the child can grow into a resilient and adaptable

adult. In other words, according to the CHIP findings, children of immigrant origin are privileged subjects in that they are, in principle, self-conscious subjects in the evolution of European society. The cross-cultural competence that comes from being in-between, the ability to manage more than one culture of reference and develop a synthesis, equips children of immigrant origin with skills needed in the integrating Europe.

Yet this skill is not automatic, and is only positive when recognised and applied. In fact, the state of being in-between does not guarantee a capacity to reconcile two value systems. Often, the dissonance is unresolved and cultural exclusion occurs. This can be the "deference integration" described in another trans-European project (Esser), a kind of integration in which the new arrival surrenders to hopelessness and subordination.

Children of immigrant origin must therefore be supported first in their acquisition of cultural competence and in their reconciliation of contrasting values, and then by ensuring that these values are legitimated by effective opportunity and representation in the arrival society.

New arrivals must receive support immediately. The success in supporting families and children in the initial phase of the immigration experience determines, to a large degree, the long-term status of these individuals. This may take the form of investment in welcome strategies – in CHIP, the extreme case is represented by the Israeli absorption process – or in less resource-intensive forms.

The necessary skills for interaction with the arrival society must be made available. This includes language but extends to other relational dimensions of behaviour. At the same time, there must be clarity in the administrative processes and access to services. It is essential that the values of the arrival society match the effective offer.

Although almost all basic rights are formally guaranteed in all CHIP countries, access to resources is often problematic. Immigration creates a precariousness, above all an economic disadvantage. This disparity is often accepted by immigrant adults as part of the immigration process. In fact, the CHIP research examined the "deal" or exchange made by immigrants: entry into low-status work and incomplete enjoyment of resources, in exchange for greater economic return (in the case of short-term migratory projects) or opportunities for the next generation (in the case of permanent migratory projects).

In fact, as the Israeli CHIP work reveals in its analysis of adolescents, a fundamental difference between adult immigrants and their children is that the adults have made the choice to immigrate, while the minors have been forced to follow a project they did not devise.

Entering into a "deal" functions for adults at the moment of immigration, but this "deal"

is rejected by the next generation and by minors immigrating after school age (although the CHIP research shows a variation in age according to country and culture of origin). The host-country values themselves, as inculcated formally and informally by the educational system and the broader context, make this "deal" unacceptable.

If the arrival society continues to offer the same "deal" to the children of immigrant origin, as CHIP has found in some long-term immigration countries, then the dystonia between formal values and effective access perpetuates the precariousness of the immigration experience and produces anomie.

The issue of access was thus central in the CHIP research, because access guarantees that the formal rights, and therefore formal values, are exercised and validated.

A failure to validate arrival society values puts successive generations of children at risk, while a mastery of cultural competences and a reconciliation of normative value systems creates a stronger individual and reinforces increasingly pluralist societies.

In Europe, the principle scholastic response to immigrant children, after host-country language training, has been intercultural education, as codified in different countries' official curricula. This intercultural education is aimed at subjecting non-immigrant origin students to some of the same mediation challenges already faced by the CHIP target group, even though the primary beneficiary is generally considered the children of immigrant origin. The development of cognitive competences for managing challenges should equip children for the society in which they live.

Children of immigrant origin have a head-start in this development, but only if barriers to the exercise of synthesis are not imposed. That is, there must be a concerted effort to reduce discrimination. However, discrimination cannot be the only variable in evaluating the well-being of children of immigrant origin. There is a clearly manifest contradiction in such an evaluation: their condition ends up being studied by examining the attitudes that others have towards them. In such an evaluation are therefore no longer protagonists of their own situation, but subject to the actions of the host society.

In this way the child/adult disparity is mirrored in the immigrant/native disparity: the second determines the conditions for the first. Yet the individual and social empowerment of adults of immigrant origin has been verified in Europe, and CHIP reveals how children of immigrant origin are similarly proactive in the construction of their own identities, and not passive recipients of an incomplete identity imposed on them.

The dialectic in the development of children of immigrant origin can be expressed as:

- the familial culture, as it represents the culture of origin;

- the society of arrival, as it represents the culture of origin and the child of that origin;
- the cognitive style for synthesizing the contradiction and managing difference.

CHIP reveals that this advanced capacity for managing the challenges of modern and plural society may be greater among children of immigrant origin, although not among new immigrants (as demonstrated by the Israeli thematic study). Nonetheless, their conditions in terms of the traditional indicators cited in the report are often worse than those of non-immigrant-origin children. Capacity for managing diversity is not enough to guarantee well-being.

Strategies for guaranteeing access in European CHIP countries are usually based on *mediating* diversity; when diversity no longer serves as the principal obstacle to access, the emphasis shifts to *managing* diversity. Diversity management in CHIP countries is based on the definition of boundaries. The host country establishes the limits of difference which it will allow without formal contradiction with its values. CHIP examined bilingual education (in Sweden) and the Language and Culture of Origin classes (in France) to delineate how the host society imposes boundaries and manages diversity.

The real managers and mediators of diversity, however, are the minors themselves, in that they are the only subjects who are born *in-between*, and required to adapt to the diversity management limits which exist.

This means that the management of diversity is important, but not as important as mastery of a set of values that European countries have established as fundamental. In each CHIP country, children of immigrant origin are expected to meet basic criteria: acquisition of the language, conformity to the educational system, and civic obedience. These criteria correspond to well-known indicators. These well-being indicators will remain in place for the foreseeable future.

The new domains of indicators to which CHIP draws attention, those related to intercultural competence, do not conflict with the established indicators. They confirm the role that children of immigrant origin play in the evolution of European society and acknowledge the rights to identity and expression contained in fundamental conventions.

We close with a discussion of the role that the indicators can play in policy planning and evaluation. The indicators should be used to link policies, strategies, and actions, and to evaluate the conditions of the target group and the effect of actions.

In defining the target group, the issues raised in the CHIP discussion of classification (ethnic origin, national origin, language group, religious group, gender, etc.) demonstrates how the group is defined by public authorities in implementing policy and

how this affects policy planning.

CHIP has examined the central issues in counting, monitoring, and developing strategies in favour of children of immigrant origin. The relevance of this work is its ability to assist policy makers in understanding the principles which underlie their own choices and structuring the actions that conform to these principles.

CHIP explored the basic and advanced indicators of well-being, outlining the essential indicators of well-being along economic, health, social, civic, and cultural parameters. These indicators can be used in

An additional set of indicators covers access to services, which can help to detect the effects of institutional and individual discrimination and guide social investment in improving access to existing services.

Finally, CHIP examined the specific policies aimed at supporting the well-being of children of immigrant origin, based on the above indicators. In this, CHIP does more than just provide a “check-list” of initiatives and domains of intervention. It links these actions to the results, and provides new measures of evaluation. These dimensions allow policy makers to plan strategies which reflect the value assigned to individual expression and to cultural diversity, at the same time as they respect the limits which underlie current European policy towards children of immigrant origin and the roles they are hoped to assume in the adult society when they become adults.

The distinctions made in the group must be specific enough to capture important differences and general enough to avoid confusion. The CHIP research underlines how definition depends on the national vision of immigration. For example, the Swedes use a system that captures up to the third generation, while the Israelis consider those who have lived in the country for a decade to be statistically identical to native-born (or “veteran” Israelis).

Genealogy is not sufficient, however. Identification must be made on the basis of membership in an immigration-rooted group. This group identification must be the result of discussion with those who are to be included. In other words, categories must evolve according to the needs of those who are being counted, and according to the evolution of new cultural subjects. It would be premature to define categories for ethnicity, for example, without taking into account an acknowledged difference in practices and conditions. The process of defining groups is – as demonstrated in different CHIP countries such as Israel and the UK – a dialogue about representation and power.

The eventual distinctions to be made – which represent clusters of immigrant-origin culture around community activity and association – will vary from one country to

another. In any case these distinctions will evolve according to migratory trends (which refurnish communities) and according to discriminatory behavior by the larger society.

In fact, the development of "ethnic" categories is the result of a dialectic between a community's request for recognition and the desire of institutions for classification. Institutions should be open to such classification requests and should try to find categories which respond to areas of discrimination and social exclusion. Institutions should avoid *a priori* refusals to consider classifying communities, just as they should avoid the declaration of ethnic categories on the basis of arbitrary distinctions.

Parameter	Indicator
Immigration history	Immigrants, divided into arrival before school age and after school age Children of 2 immigrant parents Children of 1 immigrant parent, one non-immigrant parent Children with 3-4 immigrant or foreign grandparents Children with 2 immigrant grandparents but no immigrant parents
Ethnic self-identification	Evolving group definitions

Defining children according to these two areas – recentness of immigration history and belonging to an immigration-related group at risk for exclusion – is sufficient to have a sense of the needs of the population, the areas for investment, and the changes underway in the population.

The well-being of children according to the indicators discussed above should be compared among the subsets of the groups and with children outside the group, in order to evaluate policy initiatives and to plan additional actions.

There are a number of key domains in which the status of children of immigrant origin, as defined above and with the above distinctions, should be monitored.

First of all, the economic indicators, especially poverty rates of families with children.

The data on infant mortality should be available, as well as that for causes of death of children, especially suicide and violence-related death. Attention to psychiatric problems should be high because of the increased risk associated with the immigration event.

There should be careful monitoring of the criminal justice system in terms of arrests, convictions, and incarcerations. As observed by different CHIP partners in their respective countries, the higher rates of criminal activity in the target group can often be affected by a tendency to stigmatise and deal harshly with these children.

The participation of children in social initiatives – organized sports, extracurricular activities – should be monitored.

The area of education and school performance should focus on drop-outs, delays, educational pathways, and passages.

The area of cross-cultural competence can be examined looking at the home language of the child.

One factor affecting well-being is the availability of resources in the development and exercise of cross-cultural competence. This means a measure of cultural resources available in the community.

Other factors are the gap between rights to resources and effective access to resources. Regardless of the distinctions made in the group of children of immigrant origin, it is essential to monitor some of the factors which have been demonstrated by the project to affect the well-being of children. Most of these were considered under the heading of "access" in the National Reports. By access, CHIP intended use of shared resources by children of immigrant origin.

The first set of indicators is thus of access to basic resources such as family assistance, public housing, health care, and schooling. The project underlined how children of immigrant origin do not always receive the services to which they are entitled, and how there is often discrimination in the system. In fact, discriminatory effects must be measured in the important parameters of access to resources.

In order to organize these policy interventions in a broader policy scheme, CHIP has developed a diagram of policy areas.

There are two broad policy areas affecting the well-being of children of immigrant origin: welfare policy and cultural policy.

Welfare policy determines health care and family support received by the child of immigrant origin. In this area, access can be facilitated by fighting discrimination and transforming services to meet the specific needs of the users.

Cultural policy determines the education and cultural support received by children of immigrant origin. The success of this support depends on its respect for the specific needs of these children and the fight against discrimination within services.

The well-being of children of immigrant origin depends on the one hand on a guarantee of basic needs, most of which are satisfied through the family, and on the other hand through safeguarding their development, through education and support in resolving conflicts of identity. The risk of anomie – underlined by the Israeli research in CHIP – can be contrasted by careful support to the family and to the child, and by a concerted effort to reduce discriminatory practices towards these children and their families.

In the area of welfare policy we find measures of economic support to the families of children of immigrant origin, in terms of housing, subsidies, and other family benefits, as well as direct health care for the children. We also find mediation, advocacy, and other forms of access facilitation for services.

In the area of cultural policy we find education policy, including language support, and cultural policy, including the media. Major choices are made about supporting the family languages of children of immigrant origin, about the recognition of emerging immigration-based cultural groups, and the kind of visibility of these groups which will be supported. This is especially true in publicly funded cultural actions, such as state television and public events.

The creation of a database covering policies in these areas is essential for monitoring response to the needs of children of immigrant origin. It is to be hoped that such policies will grow more focused in the future, and allow effective comparison between European countries.

4.3. Prospects for development

4.3.1. Monitoring and classification

A system of classification must be able to distinguish between sub-groups and at the same time to define the whole category. For this reason, the group of minors of immigrant origin should be subdivided into immigrant minors, children of immigrants and individuals who define themselves as part of an ethnic group that immigrated in the past.

Minors of immigrant origin, as we have said, have specific needs. At the same time, they represent a group at risk owing to the many different factors mentioned above.

The granting of citizenship to minors and the statistical and social characteristics of the population should be constantly monitored. These indicators are particularly important for the countries in which immigration is a recent phenomenon, where minors of immigrant origin do not have citizenship. The transformation of the minors' legal status must be monitored, even if basic rights are guaranteed for all minors.

It is essential for new arrivals to be given a fitting reception at school. It is therefore urgently necessary to monitor children's linguistic ability in their mother tongue, so as to place the new arrivals correctly and follow them during their school career.

Minors of subsequent generations, too, may sometimes need support in forming an identity, which will still span past and present. It is not sufficient to distinguish at school between recent immigrants and minors of immigrant origin. The language spoken by the family, together with the opportunity for children to make a personal declaration as to their ethnic group, would provide a more complete picture of the phenomenon, making it possible to plan the training of the teachers who are to work

with the schoolchildren.
When a child is enrolled at school, it would be advisable to ask what language is spoken in the family and where both pupil and parents were born. This information would make it easier to plan support courses in a more suitable fashion.

4.3.2. Initial and ongoing teacher training and revision of textbooks and school curricula

Initiatives aimed at advancing the integration of minors of immigrant origin, or those belonging to ethnic minorities, by means of the school must be based on an educational approach that aims to promote the harmonious and pacific coexistence of different cultures, within the context of a wider vision of the community. A transversal viewpoint must be adopted in order to reinterpret the school system and to demand the necessary changes in the very figure of the teacher and in his/her educational role.
Structural measures are based on the fact that it is necessary, in an ever more heterogeneous social context, to educate schoolchildren towards diversity and plurality, promoting a transition from an ethnocentric point of view to one which does not classify cultures in order of merit. These measures should therefore be directed to all pupils, without distinction.
Besides having a wide sphere of action, measures of a structural kind are also effective from the more immediate and concrete point of view of the school results achieved by pupils of immigrant origin. Once they feel more accepted, they stop having a closed and defensive attitude, while their parents, seeing the "cultural openness" of the school, cease to have a feeling of inferiority in relation to the institution they have idealised and feared, and to oppose it because they do not feel accepted; instead, they tend to follow the school career of their children more closely, with the result that the children make better progress.
The concrete strategies necessary to bring about changes in the school from a multicultural point of view comprise teacher training, the reformulation of school curricula and the revision of textbooks.
In order to lay the foundations of reciprocal respect and readiness to meet between native pupils and foreign ones, it is first necessary to overcome the essentially ethnocentric attitude which distinguishes the school. This can be seen in the school curricula and textbooks and is also communicated by the teachers, who in most of the countries examined receive no proper specific training, either initially or in an ongoing fashion.
Although the educational systems of these countries make some attempt to recognise the importance of the linguistic and cultural differences of the immigrants, they do not in any way question the cultural homogeneity of the school and of society. On the

contrary, the approach of the school, as reflected in the curricula and textbooks but also in the attitude of the teachers, ranges between the rejection of diversity, with the consequent tendency towards assimilation, and a legitimated discrimination of all that is different.
With regard to *training*, in particular, in many countries, such as Belgium and Italy, teachers can attend courses in multicultural or intercultural training, either held outside the school in independent structures which are not controlled by the school authorities or organised by the individual schools outside the official, institutional context. These courses are not compulsory, however, nor must they follow any rules as to content and approach, which means that, in practice, most teachers find themselves working in classes with minors of immigrant origin without having the necessary tools and skills.
In Italy, for example, although the hours spent on refresher courses are considered working hours and attending the courses gives teachers points towards their career advancement, each school is free to plan its own refresher courses and each teacher is free to choose what course to attend, according to his or her own needs. The result is that the acquisition of specific content, including intercultural teaching, is by no means certain and that teachers sometimes consider the refresher courses as useless except for increasing their points.

4.3.3. Intercultural mediation

In many European countries the figure of intercultural mediator has been introduced, chiefly to help newly-arrived foreigners and immigrants but also, in some spheres such as the school, to assist those of immigrant origin, with the aim of promoting interaction between different members of society.
Especially in countries where immigration is a recent phenomenon, the use of mediation is the prevailing strategy; nevertheless, there is still a wide variety of opinions and much confusion about the concept of mediation and the definition of the role, training, background and identity, both professional and institutional, of the mediators.
In practice, the definition of "mediator" is used for those with the following roles:

- *linguistic facilitator;* in the public administration (records office, municipalities, police commissariats) they act as translators and interpreters; in the school they provide complementary support for teaching activity, chiefly using the pupils' mother tongue or bilingual communication. They collaborate with classes and teachers to promote the integration of bilingual students;

- *multicultural activity-leader*; operating within the schools, with the job of teaching pupils their own culture of origin. Mediators can be used as multicultural activity leaders during school hours, for occasional activities or outside the school;

- *socio-cultural mediator;* this figure exists only in certain countries. These operators act as an interface between immigrants and the host society, helping to represent and amplify the voice of the community.

In all three cases, mediators have the dual function of assisting communications between the service and the user on the one hand and reformulating the users' requests on the other. These mediators do not represent specific communities of immigrants; on the contrary, they are asked to remain impartial during the communications process, without taking anyone's side. The ambiguous nature of the professional figure of mediator is amplified by the fact that no regulations exist covering the training of cultural mediators; so anyone can use this definition.

In new migration countries, mediators work almost exclusively as linguistic facilitators. Considering the evolution of migratory flows, it is foreseeable that, as has happened elsewhere, formal mediation between groups of immigrants on the one hand and local authorities and institutions on the other will soon develop, partly as the result of the appearance of the second generation of immigrants, a generation more aware of the challenges and difficulties facing immigrants and at the same time more expert in the culture and practices of national society.

The mediator operates basically in three spheres: public administration (as mediator in access to services and as linguistic facilitator); health (as mediator in access to services and as linguistic facilitator); education (as linguistic facilitator, as mediator in access to services and as multicultural activity leader).

In the field of *public administration*, special helpdesks have been created, "one-stop counters" run by cultural mediators with the aim of helping immigrants exercise their rights and making it easier for them to access services. These are "multifunctional" information counters for immigrants, born of the awareness that many immigrants do not know about the services to which they are entitled and are not very familiar with the institutional structures.

The service of the one-stop counters is not structured according to homogeneous criteria, however, but varies significantly according to the town in which it operates, in terms of personnel employed, hours, duties and the institution in which it is located. Nevertheless, towns make ever greater use of this service. The counters often start spontaneously, only subsequently being formalised by the authorities that create them. In some towns the service is subcontracted to private associations, although most towns prefer to pay and control the staff directly.

In *hospitals* and *public health structures* mediators are used to fill the linguistic and cultural gap that separates the structure from the patient.

In the *school*, the function of mediator is more complex. Mediation at school can be defined as the sum of the activities carried out by the mediator in order to promote good communications between the family and the school. It is necessary on the one hand to make the parents understand how the school works, so that they can better follow their children's progress, and on the other to ensure that teachers have a better comprehension of the problems relating to pupils of foreign origin, by giving them more complete knowledge of the culture of the families concerned.

Mediation experiments to date have demonstrated the potential advantages of the introduction of this professional figure (both in the school and elsewhere), but have also drawn attention to certain aspects which have been identified as potential sources of problems:

- the *ambiguity* of the role of mediator: many teachers see mediators simply as custodians and expect them to deal with disciplinary problems that it is the teachers' duty to solve. Basically, the mediator's job changes, from that of promoter of social links to that of social controller;

- mediators are not considered as *an integral part of the school staff* and therefore the objectives pursued by means of their intervention are not considered in a spirit of collaboration.

At the same time, the possibilities linked to the introduction of mediators in the school are evident:

- mediation could provide pupils with better *guidance* for choosing their branch of higher education, partly by seeing that the families are more fully involved and better informed;

- where the mediators have the same cultural roots as the pupils and their families, they can *help the parents* to make themselves understood in the light of their cultural heritage and to see in the school a model with which their children may be able to identify; at the same time, the school would have more attentive counterparts in the parents, because they would be better informed.

Lastly, it should be said that although formal mediation is one of the main strategies in the countries with a great influx of "new immigrants", the project has shown that, in the countries where immigrants have settled in a more stable fashion, greater emphasis has

been placed on the development of intercultural skills among the service providers and on the development of relational skills in the sphere of the immigrant communities. Where mediation is often rejected as an out-of-date model it is because it leads individuals to communicate and share resources without having reciprocal contact.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that although mediation holds interesting and promising prospects for development, it is necessary to fill the gaps identified above in order to adapt its use to the specific situations in each country and at each moment in time.

4.3.4. Culture and communication

All the theories formulated in the field of communication and in the study of cultural processes concur that the identity of an individual is influenced to an "important" extent by the images and "models" continually transmitted by the media. Although individuals are generally fairly unaware of this influence, all of us constantly see ourselves in relation to the images shown, developing a complex system of attitudes and emotions ranging from imitative behaviour to mechanisms of identification and projection, from a sense of inadequacy to rivalry.
What is certain is that if a teenage girl, for example, sees that the girls depicted by the media consistently and in all cases have a "decorative" function, she will find it difficult to develop a different life project using her intellectual abilities or professional skills.
In this connection, minors of immigrant origin are undoubtedly at a disadvantage: they never hear anyone speak on TV about the traditions or culture of their country, they see the most difficult aspects of their people (famine, war), on TV they often see faces like their own associated with episodes of delinquency or problems to do with security. Above all, they hear aspects of their culture or religion discussed with great inaccuracy and superficiality, however good the intentions of the individual journalist, who is often "catapulted" into talking on little-known subjects. With these images as a reference, minors of immigrant origin have great difficulty in picturing a positive and constructive "life project" and in thinking of a positive and serene future in the host country.
Furthermore, the image of the ethnic minorities given by the media has a powerful influence on how they are perceived by the host society: a recent detailed report on cultural diversity drawn up by the Swedish organisation CEIFO in collaboration with UNESCO showed how the "white" audience is strongly influenced by the way coloured people are shown on British television, which gives the impression that coloured people "are inferior, less intelligent". In this important survey the African groups also underlined their "bitterness" in seeing their people always shown in connection with disasters or homicides. This bitterness turns into authentic disorientation in the case of

Asian or black children born in Great Britain.
These results were fully confirmed by the surveys carried out under the project: minors of immigrant origin are generally shown in news items about crime, war and famine. Although journalists try not to use too many stereotypes, they nevertheless end up by provoking "alarm" and "apprehension".

4.3.5. For a new type of cultural encounter: proposals and developments

From the above observations, based on a rich harvest of results from the survey, it is clear that it is necessary, in the light of the changes currently taking place, to promote a new season in which prior inhabitants and ethnic minorities can get to know one another better; particular attention should be paid to processes for settlement of children, whatever choices may be made in the future concerning immigration policy. The fact that different ethnic groups live in the same country means that policy-makers must give priority to the need to promote processes for bringing the groups closer together and furthering cultural exchange, going well beyond the issue of merely ensuring the "rights" of the minorities. It is necessary to forestall enclaves of self-isolation in ghettos and social exclusion, which might create serious difficulties in the overall osmosis of the social system and that of the local communities.
This new phase, more oriented towards actively assisting the processes of social change, must move forward, in the cultural sphere, on two fronts which are complementary and equally important.

a) Communication

This is perhaps the most suitable dimension in which to promote, in the short-to-medium term, greater knowledge of the various expressions of mankind and to eliminate attitudes of diffidence, self-exclusion and social stigma.
Intervention plans could include:

- periodic campaigns by the institutions to inform immigrants about their rights and duties;

- campaigns to raise awareness, with the object of eliminating attitudes of prejudice and "fear" with regard to the different ethnic groups;

- radio broadcasts providing information, promoting discussion and offering advice for immigrants;

- support for the production of socially-oriented fiction aimed at promoting attitudes of reciprocal understanding, especially with regard to minors;

- in advertising messages, promotion of a positive image for children belonging to ethnic minorities;

- organisation of seminars to update and train information operators working in radio, television and the press, with the object of increasing their knowledge of the issue and providing thought-provoking material;

- preparation of a manual emphasising the social responsibilities of the media in building a balanced multiethnic society (everyone must have "a voice"; in particular, the public service must favour this type of participation, reducing today's under-representation and misrepresentation as well as the changing society, the minorities as a potential audience and so on);

- revision of the self-regulatory codes of conduct adopted by the media with regard to social issues;

- refresher courses for advertising operators in collaboration with the organisations of the sector, with the object of making advertising language aware of the issue concerned.

b) Cultural sector

It is necessary to promote a better knowledge of the various cultures, particularly among the younger generation, by:

- promoting cultural exchanges by means of the museum system and by organising specific exhibitions; using the museum system to promote a greater knowledge and diffusion of the cultural heritage of the various ethnic groups present in the country;

- spreading knowledge of the literature and poetry of the countries of origin; setting up specific programmes to promote the literature and poetry of the various countries in collaboration with schools and with the cultural institutions responsible for promoting books and reading;

- promoting the theatrical heritage of the various cultures; promoting specific programmes for spreading theatrical traditions that make reference to the cultures present in the host country, in collaboration with the schools.

5. DISSEMINATION AND/OR EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS.

5.1. Strategy of Dissemination

The project has a three-pronged dissemination strategy: through publication of results, in project deliverables, in scientific publications, and in popular media; through the web-site (http://www.injep.fr/etud/chip/chip_english/chip_english.html); and through the final conference.
The project coordinator has worked since the beginning to announce the project to the policy community, with great success within its own country, and less success in other countries. The vocation of each institute was reflected in their national dissemination strategies, which ranged from local policy in Belgium to national programming and publication in France to scholarly presentation in the UK, Israel, and Sweden.

Following the Second Workshop held in Castel Gandolfo on June 5-6, the Coordinator sent a press release to the Italian media describing the workshop and referring to a few of the findings of the National Analysis. The press release, which coincided with the end of the school year, was picked up by every major newspaper and featured prominently on television and the radio. The Minister of Education, Luigi Berlinguer, interviewed regarding the CHIP analyses, announced new educational initiatives.

Since then, interest in CHIP in Italy has been high. Policy makers and operators asked for a description of the national findings in the Ministry of Internal Affairs immigration journal, *Gli Stranieri*. The "National Centre for Documentation and Analysis of Childhood and Adolescence" at the Istituto degli Innocenti asked for an article for its journal, *Pianeta Infanzia*. The Centro Italiano Femminile asked for an article for its journal, *Opinioni e Cronache*. These have all been published.

During the project, major findings were publicised through presentations at conferences (i.e., Metropolis 1998 (Israel) and 1999 (Washington); Linkworkers 2000 (Stockholm); to the MOST project 1999 (Liege) as well as conferences held by the partners themselves) and through press releases by the project coordinator. The annual press clippings were submitted with the annual progress reports. The result of this publicity led to great interest in Italy regarding the project, especially significant given that the 1998 immigration law was in the process of being applied. In fact, CHIP was cited in the Ministry of Social Affairs annual Report on Integration in Italy.
This led to requests for involvement by politicians in the final conference. In fact, the final CHIP conference – the day devoted to presentation of the results to policy makers – saw the participation of the Italian Minister of Education, Tullio De Mauro, who

spoke for twenty minutes on the implications of the project results, and the Italian Minister of Social Affairs, who participating in the conference for the entire morning and then spoke for twenty minutes on the implications for Italian policy regarding settlement of children of immigrant origin.
The final conference was attended by 121 persons, including 12 newspaper journalists, 7 television stations, 6 press agencies, and 7 radio stations. It was widely covered on television during the peak mid-day news programmes.

INJEP proposed the participation of each country in the French review *Agorà* (12 pp. each), in a Special Review: Youth of Immigrant Origin in Europe. This is expected next year, in a special CHIP issue.

Papers from the Israeli Thematic Study have been submitted to the Journal of Social Psychiatry.

5.2. Table

Result	Partner(s) involved	Dissemination	Follow-Up
Definition of the target group	1-8		Paper on definitions to be written by partners 1, 2, 5.
National analyses	1-7	Via Web Site	Italian National Analysis to be published and distributed by the Ministry of Education
Thematic Study on Language and Culture or Origin Classes	3	Published on Web Site and presented at conference	
Intercultural Mediation	4	Handbook for Operators published on the Web site	
Bilingual Education	5	Thematic Conference held in Stockholm, paper produced	
Risk and Identity: risk factors during adolescent immigration	7	3 articles submitted and accepted by scientific journals (J. Soc. Psych.)	Project follow planned at army induction evaluation
Voluntary and Non-Profit Associations	8	Disseminated at national level.	
Social Indicators	1-8	Represented in project deliverables, esp. data base.	
Comparative Analysis	1	Published on Web Site and presented at conference	To be published and distributed by the Italian Ministry of Education
Data Base	1,3,8	Published on Web Site and presented at conference	Is being updated by Censis with contributions from countries outside the CHIP partnership.
Report for Policy Makers	1	Published on Web Site and presented at conference	New project proposals on separate lines of proposed action.
Professional's Handbook	4	Published on Web Site and presented at conference	To be published and distributed by the Italian Ministry of Education
Pilot study of Media Representation	1	Presented at conference, press release	New Project "Tuning into Diversity" continues research

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7. ANNEXES.

Publications and Conference Presentations (excluding those in press)

"Il Ctp e l'educazione degli immigrati", conference "Centri Territoriali Permanenti e Formazione degli adulti, tra realtà e prospettive", Marina di Sibari, 13 6 2000.

"Il disagio dei bambini", *il Mondo Domani (UNICEF Italia)*, vol XXIII, n.1, gennaio 2000, pp. 13-15.

"Current Research into Education for Immigrants in Italy", 4th International Metropolis Conference, Washington, DC, 9 12 1999.

"Polítiques d'educació intercultural en Itàlia", Curs Internacional Polítiques d'educació intercultural a Europa, Institut Català de la Mediterrània, Barcellona, 20 4 1999.

"L'immigrazione familiare e l'evoluzione interculturale", *Centro Italiano Femminile: Cronache e Opinioni*, Roma, 1999.

"L'immigrazione familiare: indicatori di insediamento", *Gli Stranieri*, no. 2, vol VI, maggio-agosto 1999, pp. 261-268.

"La ricerca CHIP e la condizione dei minori di origine immigrata in Italia", *Pianeta infanzia: dossier di documentazione* 11, Firenze, novembre 1999, pp. 246-248.

"Educazione interculturale in Europa con elementi per un rapporto sulla scuola italiana", presentato al Seminario interno alla Commissione Nazionale Intercultura, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Roma, 14 novembre 2000.

"Crises in local dynamics – conflict, mobilisation and change in Rome's neighborhoods", First International Conference of Linkworkers in Europe, Stockholm, 31 10 2000.

"Minori stranieri in Italia: condizioni e prospettive", Convegno nazionale "Immigrazione e Sviluppo: Quali strategie?", Cocis, Milano, 8 4 2000.

"Politiche nazionali di accoglienza in Italia e in altri paesi del Mediterraneo", presentato al seminario "Accogliere/accogliersi: esperienza a confronto in un'ottica formativa", Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa, Orvieto, 30 6 1999.

"Insertion in an Informal Economy and Society. The Case of Rome", 3rd International Metropolis Conference, Zichron Yaakov, Israel, 2 12 1998.

The year-end issue of the Italian weekly magazine *l'Espresso* (27 December 1999) featured a cover story on the demographic issues raised by CHIP and articles (pp. 82-86), including special attention to CHIP and an interview with Carla Collicelli (p. 86).

The IPRS was able to provide some recent results as well as reflections from the discussion to the major Roman conference on migration in the 21st century. Their report was published in the conference dossier.

Deliverables	Status
Preliminary Report	Completed
National Dossier Italy	Completed
National Dossier UK	Completed
National Dossier France	Completed
National Dossier Belgium	Completed
National Dossier Sweden	Completed
National Dossier Greece	Completed
National Dossier Israel	Completed
Thematic Study Language and Culture of Origin	Completed
Thematic Study Intercultural Mediation	Completed
Thematic Study Bilingual Education	Completed
Thematic Study Risk and Identity	Completed
Thematic Study Role of Volunteer Work	Completed
European Report	Completed
Set of Social Indicators	Completed (see European Report)
Data base	Completed
Web Page and Information Site	http://www.injep.fr/etud/chip/
Report to Policy makers	Completed
Professionals' Handbook	Completed

Table 1 –Criteria for classifying minors at school

	BFR	BFL	EL	F	UK	I	IL	SE
Birthplace of parents							■	
Nationality of parents	■	■						
Nationality of minor			■			■		
Birthplace of minor				■				
Ethnic group to which the minor belongs, on the basis of a personal declaration					■			
No classification								■

Source: Child Immigration Project 2000

Key

•	Yes
	No
BFR	Belgium, French community
BFL	Belgium, Flemish community
EL	Greece
F	France
UK	Great Britain
I	Italy
IL	Israel
SE	Sweden

Table 2 –Enrolment at school of minors with no residence permit

	BFR	BFL	EL	F	UK	I	IL	SE
Not permitted			■					■
Conditional enrolment (does not affect school career; the position of the pupil is regularised when a residence permit is obtained)						■		
Enrolment allowed in the presence of a parent or guardian								
Normal enrolment but at the expense of the pupil (costs not covered by Ministry of Education)							■	
Normal enrolment	■	■		■	■			

Source: Child Immigration Project 2000

Key

- • Yes
- No
- BFR Belgium, French community
- BFL Belgium, Flemish community
- EL Greece
- F France
- UK Great Britain
- I Italy
- IL Israel
- SE Sweden

Table 3 – Immigrant minors and minors of immigrant origin in schools in France, Italy, Great Britain, Sweden, Israel, Greece and Belgium (period 1995-2000) (a.v. and % value)

	France	Italy	Great Britain	Sweden	Israel	Greece**	Belgium	
							French community	Flemish community
Pupils who are immigrants or of immigrant origin *	738.900	119.679	831.000	171.994	155.679	24.020	138.061	61.632
Native pupils	11.178	8.642	7.479	1.261	1.018	1.092	834.823	1.051
Total pupils	11.917	8.761	8.310	1.433	1.174	1.116	972.884	1.113
% of immigrant pupils out of total	6,2	1,4	10,0	12,0	13,3	2,1	14,2	5,5

* In this table and those that follow, for France, Israel and Sweden immigrant pupils have been considered, for Greece and Italy foreign pupils, while for Great Britain both immigrant pupils and those belonging to ethnic minorities have been considered.
** For Greece, only State-run primary and secondary schools have been considered

Source: Data from various sources elaborated by CHIP – TSER European Commission, 2000

Table 4 -Media Portrayal: type of news reported about immigrant minors

	%
Law, crime	35,6
Welfare, solidarity	11,0
Abuse	7,7
Family	7,7
Culture and school	6,8
Poverty	6,3
Health	5,8
International cooperation	3,8
Immigration, interculturalism	3,8
Work	0,5
Other	11,0
Total	100,0

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 5- Opinion of Italians: whether to allocate resources for the integration of children of immigrant origin in the community and at school

Opinion	%
Yes, this initiative should be given priority	31,6
Yes, I would provide resources, as for other underprivileged sectors of the population	48,4
No, it would be better to use the resources for other areas of intervention	16,7
Don't know	3,3
TOTAL	100,0

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 6 – Target group of CHIP project: minors of immigrant origin. Definitions and criteria for identification

Definition	Identification
First-generation immigrant minors	Age at time of immigration
Second-generation immigrant minors	History of immigration in the family (parents, grandparents)
Minors belonging to an ethnic minority	Personal declaration that the pupil belongs to an ethnic group, language spoken at home.

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 7 – Basic indicators of minors' well-being

Area	Indicator
Material well-being	Poverty rate Families with all members unemployed Standard of housing Density of housing
Health	Infant mortality Weight at birth Illnesses (reason for hospitalisation) Psychiatric disorders (reason for hospitalisation) Cause of death
Delinquency	Crime rate: demonstrative crimes/instrumental crimes Pregnancy and abortion in adolescence Drug abuse Detention in penal institutes
Community participation	Involvement in sport Involvement in community and youth activities
Education	Enrolment rate Drop-out rate Backwardness Results Choice of course of study

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 8 – Cultural resources used to build identity: indicators

Area	Indicator
Language	Home Language
Representation	Presence in the media (recognition)
Cultural structures	Activities in associations Multi-ethnic media production Television availability Availability of food products from country of origin Private schools Places of worship
Ties to country of origin	Remittances Telephone traffic Travel connections to origin country

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 9 – Discrimination against minors: types and causes by sector

Sector	Type of discrimination	Cause of discriminatory nature
Health	Reduced access to health services	Reluctance to provide services, unwillingness to change approach adopted by health service
Welfare and social services	Greater likelihood of being put in the care of the social services	Tendency to consider that immigrant families are not capable of bringing up their children
Law and justice	High crime rate	Excessive severity of the penal system
Education	Poor school performance	Tendency to direct minors of immigrant origin towards less qualified courses and to judge their results more critically
	Misconduct at school	Severity in judging the behaviour of minors of immigrant origin
	Poor knowledge of the language of the host country for newly-arrived immigrants and "semi-linguism" (not knowing either language properly)	Low value attributed to language of origin, insufficient support for learning language of host country
Work	Access to jobs at a lower level than the qualifications possessed	Job discrimination

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 10 – Policies for granting citizenship in the countries examined

Country	Formal rights of citizenship (nationality)	Risk of not being granted citizenship
Belgium	Citizenship is automatic for children born in Belgium who have at least one Belgian parent, even if the latter was born outside Belgium. Citizenship is guaranteed for children born in Belgium to foreign parents who have been resident for at least ten years, if the latter submit an application before the child reaches 12 years of age; after this age, citizenship is granted following on application from the interested party once he/she reaches the age of majority, providing that he/she has been resident in Belgium from birth.	No
France	Citizenship is guaranteed and automatically acquired at the age of 18 by all foreigners born in France who have lived in the country for 5 years; it can be granted at the age of 16 following a formal application.	No
Greece	Automatic citizenship for immigrants of distant ethnic Greek origin, regularisation for Albanians of distant ethnic Greek origin. Naturalisation can be requested after 10 years' residence.	Yes
Israel	Automatic citizenship for Jewish immigrants. No naturalisation is foreseen for non-Jewish immigrants except by marriage or adoption.	No
Italy	Conditional possibility of obtaining citizenship after 10 years' residence: a clause entails renouncing the citizenship of other countries. A large number of applications are rejected. Citizenship is guaranteed for foreigners born in Italy on reaching the age of majority.	Yes
Sweden	Conditional possibility of acquiring citizenship for those born in Sweden and for long time foreign residents, between 21 and 23 years of age. Naturalisation is guaranteed after 5 years' legal residence and involves renouncing other nationalities.	Yes
Great Britain	Children born in Great Britain of foreigners who are residents automatically obtain citizenship (these children are known as "settlers"). The children of "settlers" automatically have citizenship. All children born in Great Britain obtain citizenship after ten years' residence.	Minimal

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 11 – Areas of intervention and policies to promote the integration and well-being of minors of immigrant origin

General areas of intervention	Specific areas in which the policies are implemented
National policy on migratory flows	Policies relating to granting citizenship, residence permits and asylum
Welfare policies	Welfare programmes for families: financial aid, assignment of public housing and training for a job
Cultural policies	Cultural activities and the media, support for multiculturality.
Policies in the educational sphere	Revision of curricula and textbooks, organisation of schools, out-of-school assistance.
Way in which services are provided and rights exercised	Mediation, communication
Equal opportunities policies	Inclusion of immigrant origin among the criteria for non-discrimination

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 12 – Principal measures taken in schools in the countries studied

Problem	Direct action	Indirect action
Difficulties linked with school enrolment procedures	Use of mediators	Evaluation of pupils in their mother tongue to decide in which class they should be placed
	Simplification of criteria used to determine equivalence of diplomas	
Delay	Placing in classes corresponding to age	Teacher training
	Language2 courses	Revision of curricula and textbooks
	Tutoring	
Results	Language2 course	Teacher training
	Tutoring	Revision of curricula and textbooks
	Language and culture of origin	Language and culture of origin
		Multicultural activities
Choice of educational courses	Guidance on the part of the teachers	Teacher training
		Guidance on the part of the teachers
Dropping out	Use of cultural mediators	Teacher training
		Verification of circumstances of expulsion, with a view to monitoring all forms of discrimination
Concentration in certain schools	Economic incentives aimed at promoting the homogeneous distribution in the various schools of minors of immigrant origin	

Source: Child Immigration Project, 2000

Table 13 – School delay of immigrant pupils in schools in France, Italy and Belgium (period 1995-2000) (% value)

	France	Italy	Belgium	
			French community	Flemish community
Pupils in the right class	36,1	55,7	52,8	58,7
Pupils who are behind:	63,9	44,3	47,2	41,3
1 year behind	-	*30,1*	-	*33,2*
2 years behind	-	*10,5*	-	*7,1*
3 years behind	-	*3,7*	-	*1,0*
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: data from various sources elaborated by CHIP – TSER European Commission, 2000

Table 14 – Comparative rate of advancement of native pupils and immigrant or immigrant origin pupils, in schools in France, Italy and Belgium (period 1995-2000) (% value)

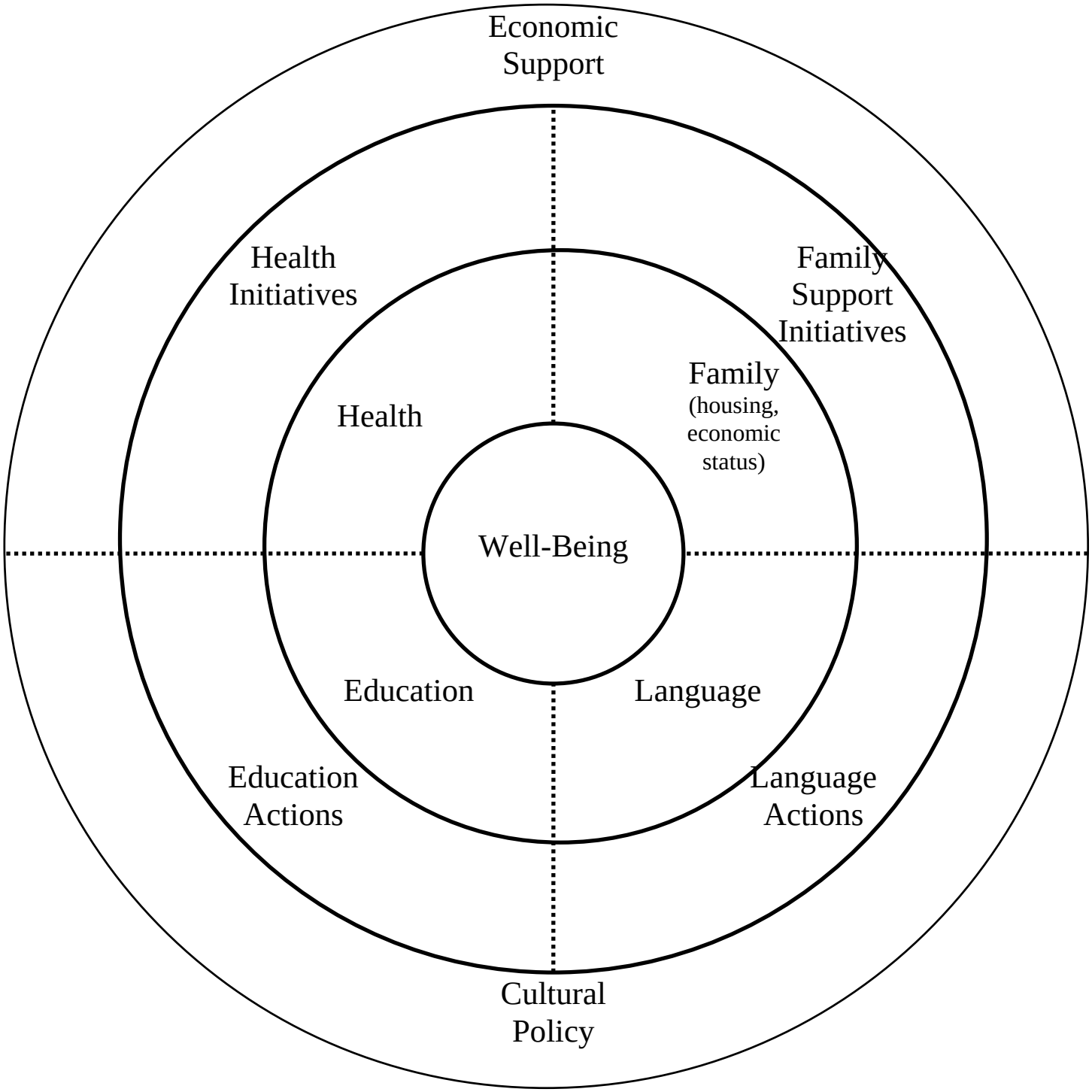
	France	Italy	Belgium	
			French community	Flemish community
Native pupils	71,4	93,5	73,9	87,2
Immigrant or immigrant origin pupils	63,9	91,5	52,8	58,3

Source: data from various sources elaborated by CHIP – TSER European Commission, 2000

Table 15 – Immigrant minors and minors of immigrant origin present in higher secondary schools in Italy and Belgium, by type of school (period 1995-2000) (% value)

	Italy	Belgium	
		French community	Flemish community
Lyceum	20,1	27,4	24,2
Technical institute	35,3	29,6	19,8
Institute for vocational training	40,2	43,0	54,6
Art school	4,5	-	1,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: data from various sources elaborated by CHIP – TSER European Commission, 2000



Source: Westin, 2000

Segregation of psychopathologies and mental health practices and in Ethiopian and Russian immigrants – a comparative study.

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Background: Immigration is associated with significant psychological stress. During the last decade Israel has confronted several immigration waves, the most important were from the former USSR and Ethiopia. Little is known about differences in psychopathologies and mental health practices in these two populations of immigrants.

Objectives: To examine differences in segregation of psychopathologies and mental health practices in Ethiopian and Russian patients.

Methods: A retrospective comparative analysis of psychopathology profile, age of hospitalization and period from immigration to hospitalization of immigrants in the catchment area of one mental health center.

Results: It was found that Ethiopians were more frequently diagnosed as suffering from brief psychotic state. This is opposed to the Russians immigrants, who exhibited classic psychoses (such as schizophrenia) and affective disorders. It was also found that Ethiopian immigrants were hospitalized at a younger age, and that- in comparison to Russian immigrants- more time elapses from their arrival to Israel to hospitalization.

Conclusions: The segregation of psychopathologies and mental health practices differ in immigrants of Ethiopian and Russian origin. These findings are of importance in promoting early detection and treatment of major psychopathologies in immigrants.

The significance of sex and bonding parameters in the integration of immigrant adolescents- A cohort study on 288 Russian immigrants

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Background: Various factors are thought to influence the coping capabilities of adolescents. Immigration is regarded as a major event that exerts substantial stress on the adolescent immigrant.

Objectives: To examine the importance of sex. Attachment and bonding in the integration of immigrant adolescents.

Methods: A cohort study of 288 Russian immigrants (aged 16-17) who arrived in Na'ale Project during 1995-1996. Bonding was assessed using the PBI questionnaire (r=0.868). In addition, a psychopathological profile was made to each individual using a battery of questionnaires (Beck/depression, Spielberger/situational anxiety, Achenbach/psychopathology screening). Integration was examined using the Shachaf questionnaire, which assess difficulties and coping strategies and capabilities.

Results: It was found that: a) females integrate better than males (p=0.009) and this is related to a better coping repertoire (p=0.0085); b) more bonding to parents correlates with more difficulties in integration (p=0.00001), and this roots in a decrease in coping repertoire (p=0.00001); c) adaptation difficulties are related to a variety of psychopathologies, notably AN and BN (p=0.06), anxiety (p=0.0001) and depression (p=0.0001); d) hierarchical analysis reveals that the most important variable predicting difficulties in integration are (in order of importance) poor SES, bonding (mother more important that father), eating disorder and depression.

Conclusions: The hereby presented study shed light on the importance of various factors in determining integration of adolescent immigrants.