Migrant Children in Russian Schools in Comparative Perspective

Daniel ALEXANDROV

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ASSIMILATION THEORIES

Traditional assimilation theory: coming migrants are eventually assimilated into the "mainstream" of receiving society

Segmented Assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993):
- There is no "mainstream" in receiving society, the society itself is segmented
- Migrants are not uniform and there is a diversity of outcomes within and between immigrant streams

1.Patterns of assimilation are defined by SES and cultural characteristics of migrants and by the specific social context in the receiving society
2. Conflicts in/with receiving society affect assimilation
3. Slow assimilation may lead to better outcomes

Portes, A., and M. Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530:74-96.

RESEARCH COMPLICATIONS

Different ethnic groups: cultural characteristics, language, "visible minority" status

Trans-national and internal migration: there may be adaptation problems caused by migration per se

Categorization of migrants depends on research question
American studies are centered on racial differences, European – on ethnic differences

Special case of Russia. Common definition of migrants as "foreigh-born" does not work

Our data allow to construct different categories and investigate effects of ethnicity and migration history separately

LONG-TERM PROJECT ON MIGRANT CHILDREN

MIXED-METHOD RESEARCH
2008 - 2009
58 interviews with schoolchildren
31 interviews with parents
64 interviews with teachers and school administrators

2009 Pilot survey in St.Petersburg: 22 schools, ~1200 respondents

2010
Survey in St.Petersburg :   104 schools, ~7300 respondents
Survey in Moscow region: 50 schools, ~3800 respondents
150 interviews with parents, teachers and school administrators

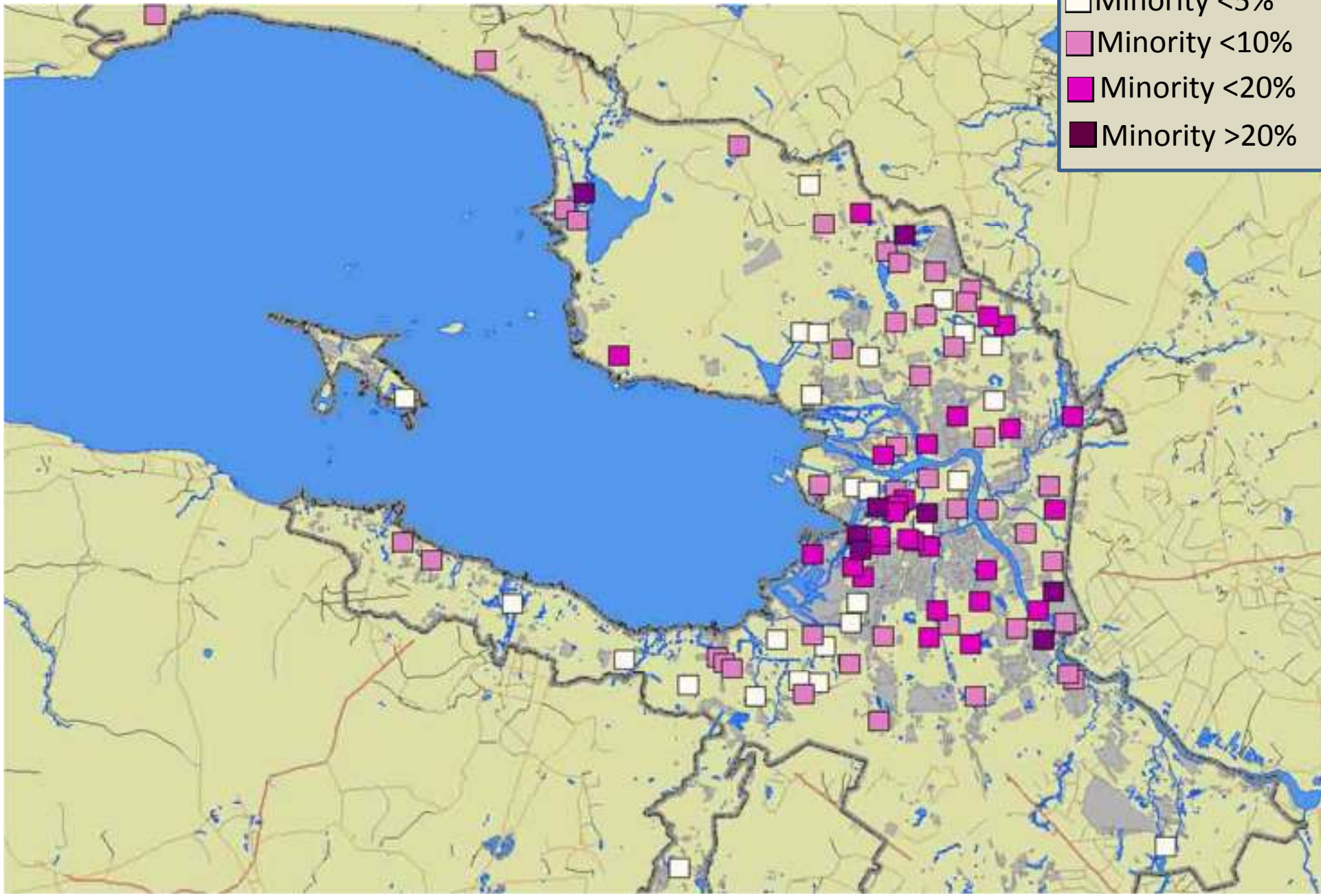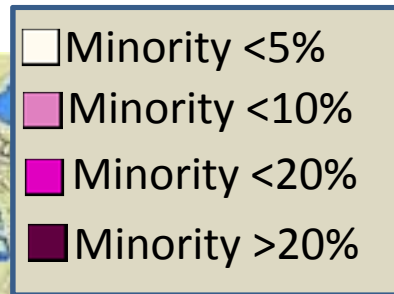**2011**   Small survey of non-citizens ~ 300 non-citizens & 300 citizens

2011-12
Additional survey in Moscow region: 50 schools more
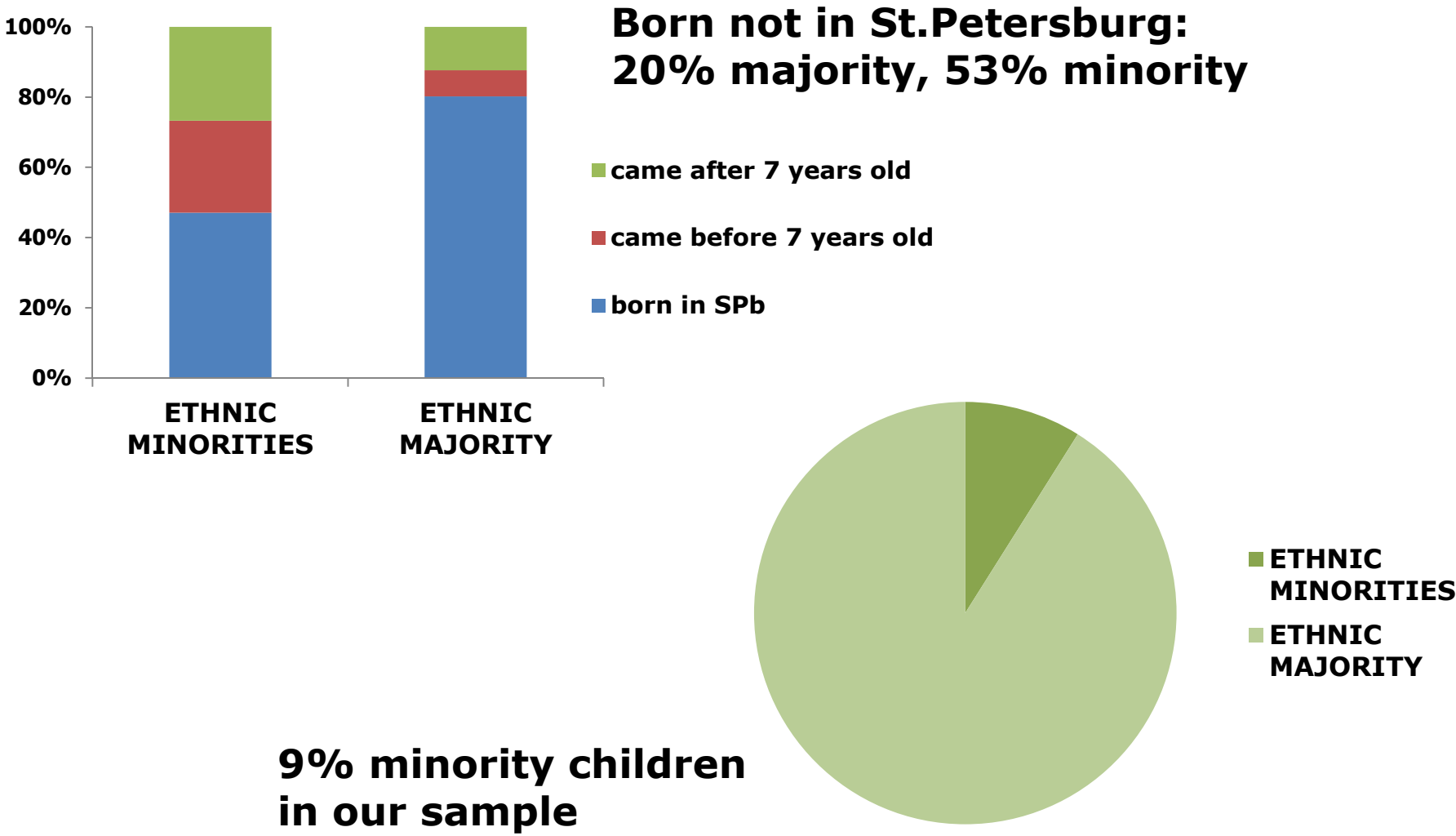Additional survey in St.Petersburg: gymnasiums and other high-status schools
Interviews with parents

Minority children in St. Petersburg schools

Legend:
- Minority <5%
- Minority <10%
- Minority <20%
- Minority >20%

DISTINGUISHING MIGRATION HISTORY AND ETHNICITY

Born not in St.Petersburg: 20% majority, 53% minority

- came after 7 years old
- came before 7 years old
- born in SPb

9% minority children in our sample

- ETHNIC MINORITIES
- ETHNIC MAJORITY

DIFFERENCE IN SES BETWEEN ETHNIC MINORITIES AND MAJORITY BY SCHOOL TYPE
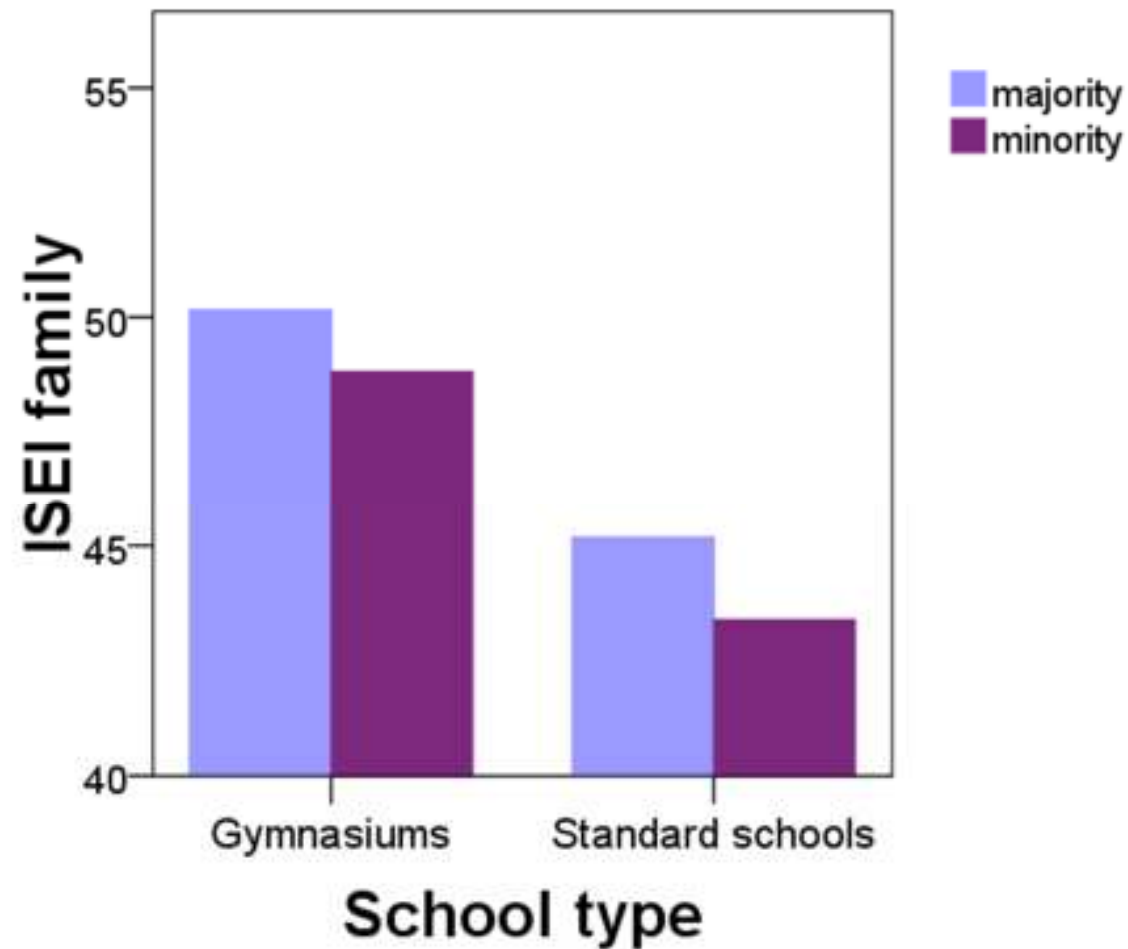
ACHIEVEMENT GAPS

PISA, PIRLS, TIMMS – in most countries migrants have lower results than local children. But decomposition of migrants to different ethnic groups reveals differences between groups (Dronkers 2006, 2009, 2010)

Cubans and Vietnamese perform well academically, regardless of the composition of the schools that they attend; Mexican Americans and Haitian Americans perform differently depending on school context. 'Hispanics' and Asian-Americans perform differently depending on the percentage of their groups in class composition (Portes, 2004)

Language proficiency is the best predictor of academic success for migrants in Europe (Esser, 2006 and other authors)
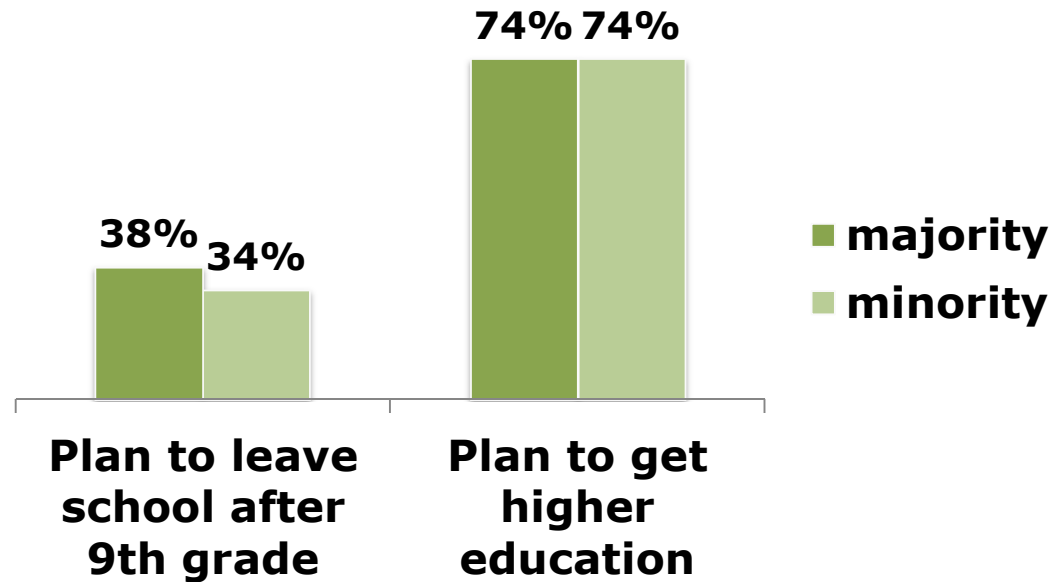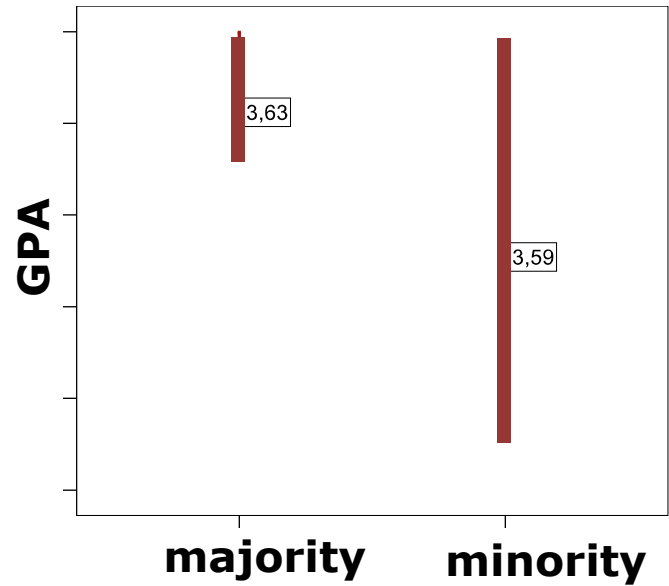
IMMIGRANT OPTIMISM

NELS88 – first- and second-generation migrants have higher grades and standardized math scores than their third-generation peers (Kao & Tienda, 1995)

2008 Boston Youth Survey – recent immigrants were less likely to have used substances, were more likely earn A's and B's in school, had lower risk of violence perpetration relative to U.S.-born. Effect was diminished among immigrants who had resided in the U.S. for >4 (Almeida e.a., 2008)

Immigrant children are more committed to academic success:
1. they view education as a springboard for upward mobility
2. importance of obligations to the family
3. immersion within ethnic community shields them from anti-school behavior of their peers

NO ACHIEVEMENT/ASPIRATIONS GAP
BETWEEN MINORITY AND MAJORITY

GPA

majority: 3,63

minority: 3,59

majority | minority

38% **34%**
Plan to leave school after 9th grade

74% 74%
Plan to get higher education

■ **majority**
■ **minority**

EFFECT OF ETHNIC SCHOOL COMPOSITION ON GPA: SCHOOL LEVEL MODEL

	Model 1		Model 2	
school size	0,28	(***)	0,27	(***)
school ISEI	0,25	(**)	0,22	(**)
% minority	0,17	(.)		
5-10% minor[a]			-0,20	(.)
10-20% minor[a]			-0,09	
>20% minor[a]			0,20	(.)
R^2	0,19		0,24	

[a] Base category: schools with 0-5% migrants

(***) $P<0.001$; (**) $P<0.01$, (*) $P<0.05$;   (.) $P<0,10$

TWO-LEVEL MODEL: EFFECTS OF MIGRATION HISTORY AND MINORITY STATUS ON GPA

	b-coeff	T-ratio	P-value
Intercept	3.24	18.8	<0.001
School Level (N=104)			
5-10% minority*	-0.05	-1.6	0.11
10-20% minority*	-0.01	-0.2	0.87
>20% minority*	**0.10**	**2.2**	**0.03**
School size	2.7 E-4	3.3	0.001
School ISEI	7.9 E-3	2.0	0.04
Student Level (N=6908)			
Sex	-0.27	-17.3	<0.001
momHE	0.13	9.1	<0.001
minority born in SPb**	-0.00	-0.0	0.98
minority came before 7**	0.07	1.7	0.09
minority came after 7**	-0.06	-1.5	0.14
majority came before 7**	0.05	2.1	0.04
majority came after 7**	0.06	2.6	0.009
Variance Components			
Intercept U_0	0.017		<0.001
Sex slope U_1	0.007		0.001

* Base category: 0-5% minority **Base category: majority born in SPb

MIGRATION HISTORY AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE
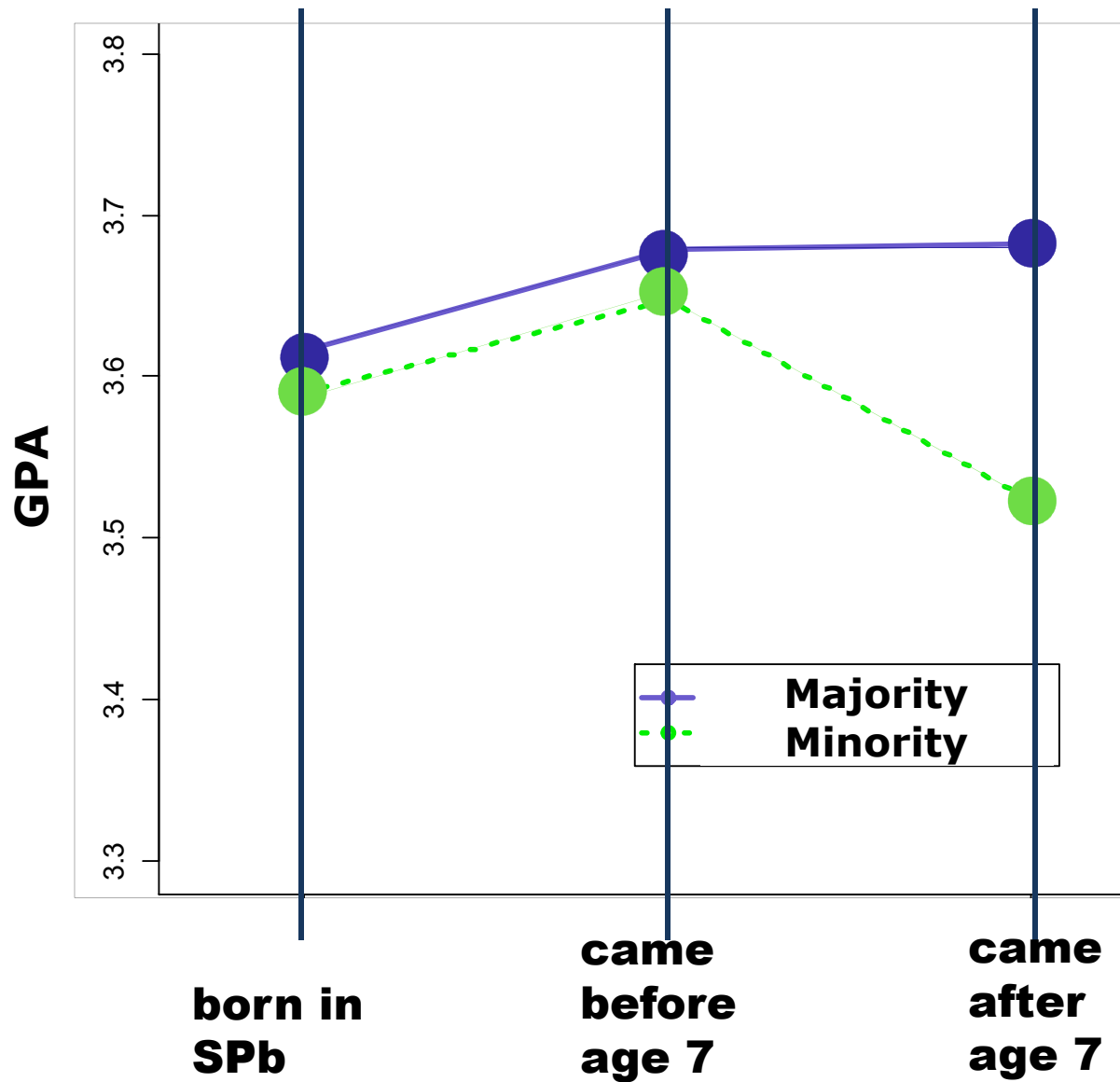
INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

Migrants that differ from receiving society in terms of language, religion, physical appearance often face prejudice, discrimination and segregation. There is a long established tradition of segregation research – American studies of inter-racial relations.

To name just a few:

Hallinan, Maureen T., and Richard A. Williams. 1989. "Interracial Friendship Choices in Secondary Schools." American Sociological Review 54:67-78.

Kao, Grace, and Joyner, Kara. 2000. "School racial composition and adolescent racial homophily." SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY 81:810-825

Moody, James. 2001. "Race, School Integration, and Friendship Segregation in America." American Journal of Sociology 107:679-716.

Kao, Grace, and Joyner, Kara. 2006. "Do Hispanic and Asian Adolescents Practice Panethnicity in Friendship Choices?" *Social Science Quarterly* 87:972-992.

SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

Hallinan & Williams, 1989 (nationally representative data, High School and Beyond survey) :
Students are more likely to become friends with members of the same race than with members of a different race

Kao & Joyner, 2000 (Add Health survey):
Given the same opportunity structure, Blacks and Asians are less likely to have inter-racial friendships then Whites. But, regardless of the race, percentage of observed interracial friendships is considerably lower than expected percentage if there were no same-race bias. [OR: But, regardless of the race, there is distinct same-race friendship preference.]
Authors argue that the norms of social distance prevail over structural opportunity

Friendship relations in "Mountain Middle School" by race and grade

Shaded figures represent nonwhite students.

Circles = seventh graders and squares = eighth graders.

Moody J. AJS, 2001
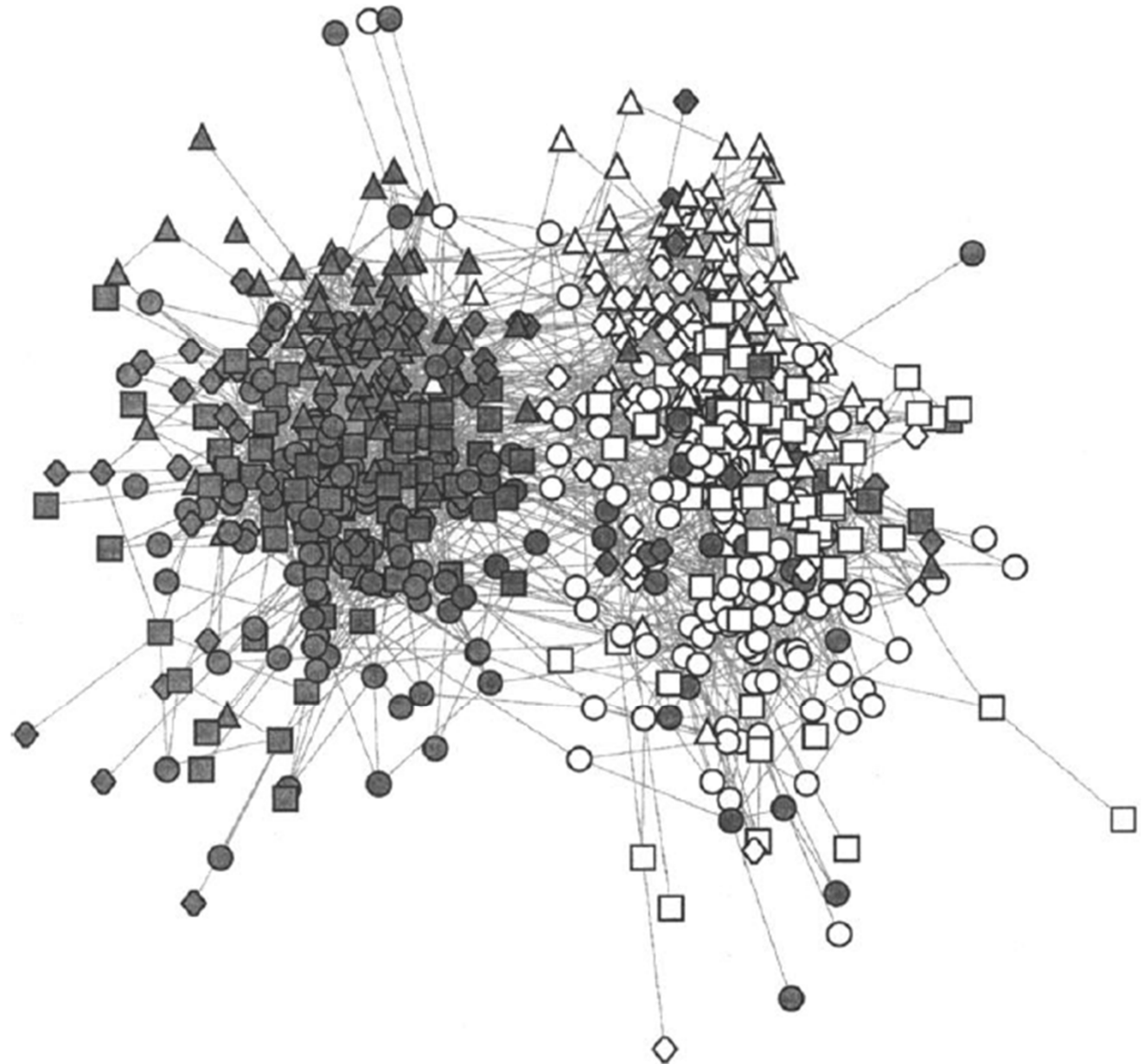
FRIENDSHIPS IN EUROPE

Majority: no same-ethnic preference – students choose friends proportionally to their presence

Minority: tendency to choose friends from minority more often then from majority

Baerveldt, C., B. Zijlstra, M. de Wolf, R. Van Rossem, and M. A. J. Van Duijn. 2007. "Ethnic Boundaries in High School Students' Networks in Flanders and the Netherlands." *International Sociology* 22:701-720.

Baerveldt, Chris, Marijtje A.J Van Duijn, Lotte Vermeij, and Dianne A Van Hemert. 2004. "Ethnic boundaries and personal choice. Assessing the influence of individual inclinations to choose intra-ethnic relationships on pupils' networks." *Social Networks* 26:55-74.

Vermeij, Lotte, Marijtje A.J. van Duijn, and Chris Baerveldt. 2009. "Ethnic segregation in context: Social discrimination among native Dutch pupils and their ethnic minority classmates." *Social Networks* 31:230-239.

RUSSIAN DATA USED FOR NETWORK MODELING

Number of classes with a given number of minority children
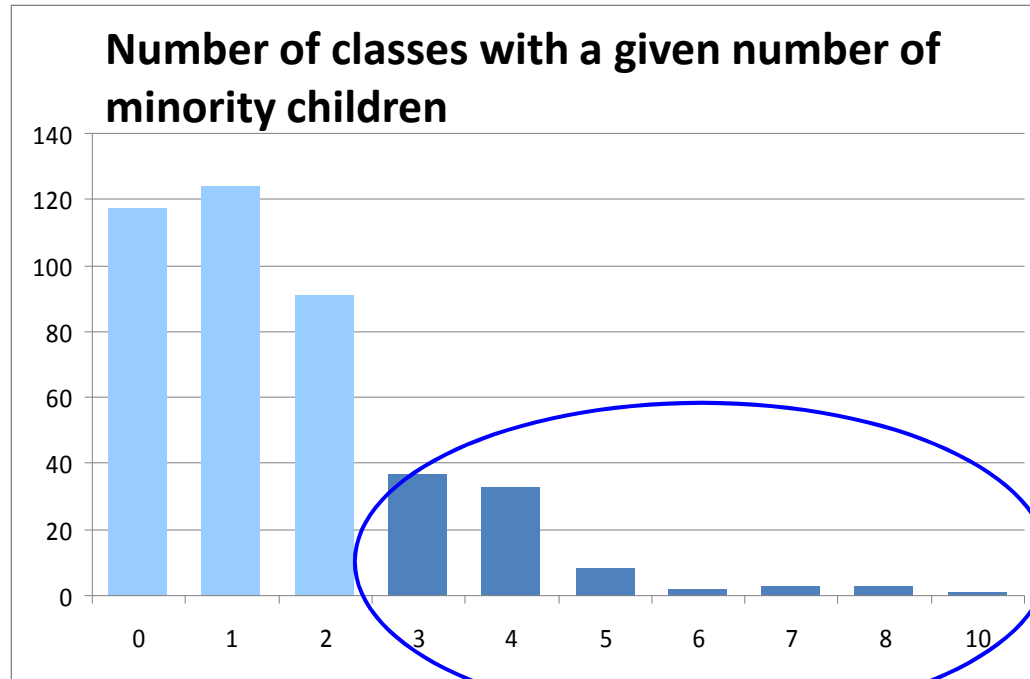
For modeling we used complete networks of classes with three and more minority children – 80 classes (53 schools, 1575 students)

Classroom	Min	Max	Mean	Median
Size	8	29	20,5	20
Number of minority	3	10	4,2	4,0
% of minority	4,0	43,8	21,3	18,6

MULTILEVEL P2 MODEL (Zijlstra, Van Duijn, Snijders)
- assesses effects of individual, dyadic, and network characteristics on dyadic outcome probabilities
- allows simultaneous analysis of multiple networks

Individual and contextual variables:
Gender
Minority status
Parental SES
GPA
Plans leaving school for vocational training
Plans for higher education in the future
Sense of belonging
Self-perceived popularity
Anti-school attitudes

School type (gymnasium vs. standard)
School Size
Number of minority in class
% of minority in class

FACTORS AFFECTING CLASSROOM FRIENDSHIPS: ANALYSIS ON DYADIC LEVEL

	Beta-coef.	S.E.	Signif.
Gender			
Sender girl	0.66	0.12	***
Both girls	0.88	0.07	***
Both boys	1.51	0.07	***
Minority/Majority			
Sender Majority	-0.04	0.12	
Both Majority	0.02	0.07	
Both Minority	0.39	0.09	***
Both plan Higher Education	0.20	0.04	***
GPA (Abs.Dif.)	-0.32	0.04	***
Anti-school attitude (Abs.Dif.)	-0.14	0.03	***
Self-perceived popul. (Abs.Dif.)	-0.27	0.03	***

Base category for gender: dyads 'boy – girl'
Base category for minority: dyads 'minority – majority'

CONCLUSIONS

1. In Russia social class is much more important than ethnicity in educational sorting and educational outcomes.

2. Segregation – migrants go into low SES schools – has positive effect on integration and education of migrant children as they perform better then their majority peers.

3. The positive effect of migration history on academic performance can be interpreted as both selectivity in migration and higher motivation in migrant families.

4. Ethnic minority status has virtually no effect for children who came to St. Petersburg before age 7 and has negative influence on performance for children who came after age 7.

5. School friendships in Russia follow European pattern (majority is 'ethnically blind') rather then American pattern (mutually segregated networks).

THANK YOU