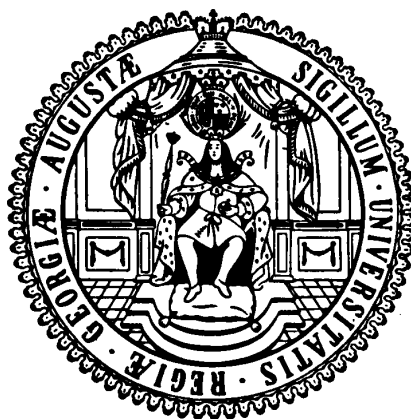


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**Well-being of Migrant Children and
Migrant Youth in Europe**

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1. Introduction and Overview

In contrast to the traditional immigration countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, most European countries have realized only rather recently that they have been *de facto* immigration countries for quite some time. With some delay, this realization (which itself has been contentious in several European countries) has led to increasing interest in studying the determinants of migration flows and its impact on European societies.

As a result, it is now recognized, that migration will have an important impact on the further economic and social development of European societies and economies. International Migration, migration policies, and the challenge of integration of immigrants has therefore become a central discussion in many Western European Countries. Today, Europe is characterized by a wide and complex pattern of movements of high skilled but also of low skilled workers. While in the past many European countries focused on controlling und reducing migration, more recently migration polices aim to influence the pattern of migration while acknowledging the reality and in fact the need for immigration. This also occurred in view of the 'demographic divide' (Kent and Haub 2005), i.e. the vast gap in birth and death rates between developing and developed countries, where the question arise for many Western European countries how they can attenuate the imminent shortage of labor supply and prevent the collapse of social security systems through appropriate migration policies. Within sending countries there is a problematic imbalance between labor supply and labor demand and within receiving countries low birth rates and aging societies leading to shortage of labor supply and pension payers in the medium term. Capital intensive technologies in receiving countries provide plenty opportunities for highly educated and highly skilled workers while, on the other hand, opportunities for low skilled workers are shrinking, particularly in traditional manufacturing industries; there remain opportunities, however, in the service sector. This also determines the opportunities for first-generation immigrants, depending on their skills, educational background, and language proficiencies. For the next generation, i.e. for children of these immigrants as well as their children, the contribution they can make and the opportunities they face will depend largely on the way the host countries are promoting their economic, educational and social opportunities. Thus from a perspective of the host country, the economic and social well-being of migrant children is of critical importance. Promoting opportunities of migrant children is clearly promoting the long-term economic and development of OECD countries; the question is whether and how host countries are planning to capitalize on these opportunities.

But there is of course another perspective which is to concentrate on the well-being of migrants and their children themselves. The well-being of migrants affects not only their ability to sent remittances to their home country but also to acquire skills and knowledge, which will be either useful if they choose to return to the country of origin or settle permanently in the host country. Among those who settle permanently (which constitute the vast majority of immigrants), the second generation of migrants comprise an increasing share of children in the

youth in Western European countries but only very little is known about the status of well-being of this particular group.

The effects of migration on development and (and the impact of development on migration) has attracted increasing attention of researchers and policy-makers in developing countries and developed countries. However, whereas the regulation and management of migration has received considerable attention by policy makers in recent years, the question of the opportunities to capitalize on migration with a special focus on the role of children and young adults has, at least in the European context, often been neglected. But since children and youth are very important for the future development of both receiving and sending countries, their well-being and economic and social opportunities are of critical importance.

Children and young people play very important roles in international migration because they comprise a large share of all migrants. Typically, children and the youth affected by migration are the group that is most vulnerable to risks resulting from the movement. Children and the youth are affected when they are left behind by one or both parents, when migrating with the family or when moving alone and the effects of international migration children and the youth form a wide and complex system of transmission channels. If the migration and settlement process went well, they may enjoy great opportunities for economic and social advancement, often more than that of their parents. Thus the well-being of migrant children and youth is both of intrinsic importance as their well-being is strongly affected by migration, but also of instrumental importance about the contribution they can make to both sending and receiving countries.

The literature has only highlighted some aspects of the experience of migrant children and youth. Some authors emphasize the importance of migrant children and the youth with respect to their potential as agents of social and economic changes (Carey and Kim, 2006; Roudi-Fahimi and Kent, 2007). And although the 2005 report of the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) refers to children, the report does not take into account the youth. Furthermore, although the 2007 World Development Report focuses on the youth, it only takes into account the question of the role of young migrant as stakeholders for the economic development in the long run but it bypasses the question of how migration affects the well-being of children neither of the first nor the second generation. Some studies exist in the literature so far, which try to assess the impact of migration on the vulnerability of children and the youth to sexual exploitation, trafficking, child soldiers and child labor (Whitehead and Hashim, 2005; Carey and Kim, 2006; Zimmermann, 2003).

Thus, little is known about the channels through which migration affects the well-being of children and the youth. Studies are especially rare for developed countries, outside the traditional immigration countries. And particularly few studies on the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth exist for European countries. Exceptions are the studies undertaken by The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) and by the International

Comparative Studies of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSYE) that analyze the well-being of the second generation children of immigrants in developed countries. Similarly, there are individual pieces of evidence pointing to disadvantages of migrant children in some dimensions of well-being. For example, differences exist in the level of education between children and the youth with migration background and their native counterparts in many OECD countries, which may have severe negative socioeconomic consequences in the long run. These differences in education are probably the most studied aspect of the well-being of migrant children, also aided by the plethora of new surveys on enrolments and educational achievement.

The scarcity of research on the impact of migration on well-being (other than educational performance) also reflects the very limited availability of data to study these issues. Standard surveys neither have the sampling strategies nor the required focus on migrant children and youths to generate very detailed information on this important question. Another serious problem is that studies of well-being and migration are not linked very closely. Most attention has been paid to the well-being of children and its link to development; similarly, there is a large literature on linking migration and development but linking these two literatures by focusing on the well-being of migrant children is rare.

Another serious deficiency in the empirical literature is that most cross-country studies and many household surveys do not properly distinguish between first and second generation migrant, therefore, do not take into account an analysis of assimilation. Therefore, these studies are unable to address an important issue: namely, that the well-being status of second generation is an important indicator of how successful integration policies work.

This paper tries to provide an overview of approaches, results, and open questions on how migration influences the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth in European countries. In particular we address four issues in this survey paper. First, we ask, what research exists on the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth in European countries? For this, the paper provides a synopsis about existing studies on migrant children and migrant youth in Europe. Although the paper has its focus mainly on Europe, it includes also some results from traditional immigration countries like Australia, the United States, and Canada. Until now there is very too little research on the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth in European Countries. In contrast, quite a large body of literature exists for classical immigration countries like Australia, Canada, and the US. Thus, including studies from these countries can inform or guide studies for European countries. Although the immigration history of the classical immigration country differs substantially from the history of immigration in European countries, empirical research on the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth from these countries can also have useful implication for European countries of can serve as important starting point for respective empirical research in Europe.

Second, we ask, what research exists in traditional immigrant countries, which can serve as useful starting point for studies in Europe? Third, what indicators of well-being are relevant to measure the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth? For this, the paper provides a conceptual framework to analyze well-being of migrant children and youth in their many dimensions. To increase the participation of children and young adults in the social, economic and political dimensions, to facilitate their transition to adulthood and to avoid exclusion and decrease vulnerability remain one of the major goals for many countries in order to enhance and insure sustainable human and social capital of migrants and promote their contribution to society. Therefore, the development of an analytical framework to monitor the multidimensional well-being of migrant children and migrant youth is of crucial importance to deal with the question in which ways migration as well as host country conditions, processes, and policies facilitates or hinders the development of capabilities of young people affected by migration. Thus, it is important to emphasize that this paper largely primarily takes the perspective of the migrant children and youth as the central focus of analysis while also commenting on the impact this can have on sending and receiving countries. Given the survey nature of this paper, we will only be able to selectively address the many issues that relate to the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth.

Lastly, we survey what data exist and which data are required for detailed analyses of the well-being of migrant children? For this, we provide an overview about existing data sources to study the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth in Europe and discuss the main problems of existing data.

The survey of the literature and data will emphasize the following main points:

- a) There is a huge amount of heterogeneity in the well-being of migrant children and youth in Europe. This is partly related to more straight-forward issues such as time since migration, first versus second generation migrants, country of origin effects, and migration selectivity effects. But maybe in contrast to the traditional immigration countries, this heterogeneity is also strongly related to the very heterogeneous approaches to immigration and integration that was pursued by different European countries and across different periods of time. Standard approaches to measure economic and social integration that simply compare between natives and immigrants will miss much of this heterogeneity.
- b) As a result of this particularly large heterogeneity, detailed research on the well-being of migrant children and youth is both extremely important as well as very difficult. It is important as it is critical to capture the very different migration and integration experiences; it is very difficult as one will need very detailed data to capture these heterogeneities in a satisfactory fashion.

- c) Research on the well-being of migrant children and youth in Europe is only very slowly developing, which is related to the only recent admission that Europe really needs to confront immigration as a reality and an opportunity. There is considerable research in the fields of education and economic assimilation and catch-up, while there is very little research on health and social exclusion. Clearly a Europe-focused research agenda can benefit from the much greater breadth of research that has been undertaken over the decades in the traditional immigration countries.
- d) Currently available macro and micro data are not really able to tackle a research agenda on migrant children and youth in Europe. The macro data lack consistent and comparable definitions, long time series, and the availability of covariates, while the micro data usually do not have samples that are large enough to capture the heterogeneity of the immigrant experience. Here much work still needs to be done.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a conceptual framework of migration with a focus of migrant children and the youth. This section provides a definition of migration and provides an overview of theories and determinants of migration. Section 3 describes the European migration system and shows recent trends in migration within this region. In Section 4, the conceptual framework for the assessment of the well-being of migrant children and youth is developed based on the large literature on well-being concepts and their measurement. Section 5 provides a literature review on existing studies on the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth. Section 6 discusses related measurement issues and provides a description of data sources that can be used to assess the well-being of migrant children and the youth. Finally, Section 7 concludes by proposing a research agenda on the well-being of migrant children.

2. Determinants and Effects of Migration

2.1 Definition of Migration

Analyzing and understanding how migration affects the well-being of children and youth requires both specifying how children are affected by migration and the identification the dimensions of human well-being that are affected. In this section, we start with defining international migration and categorizing how children and youth are affected by migration.

International migrants are persons who take up residence in a foreign country.¹ This definition of international migration includes those foreigners who remain in a new country for an extended time period. Thus, by this definition, tourists, business travelers, religious pilgrims, etc. are not considered as international migrants (IOM 2000). In contrast to internal migration, e.g. rural-urban migration, international migration means that people move across state borders. In this paper we do not consider movements within countries, i.e. from urban to rural areas or vice versa.

The 2000 report of the International Organization on Migration (IOM) provides a useful categorization of migrants, which can be summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Types of International Migration

Voluntary migrants	Forced migrants
Labor migrants (temporarily, circular or permanently)	Refugees
Family reunification	Asylum seekers
Foreign students	Displaced persons
Illegal (irregular) migrants	Environmental migrants
High skilled business migrants	<i>Trafficking</i>
Return migrants	<i>Human smuggling</i>
	<i>(Illegal (irregular) migrants)</i>

Source: Based on the categorization of international migrants proposed by the the 2000 World Migration Report (IOM 1999, 2000); illustration by the authors.

There are several ways in which international migration can be categorized. One is to distinguish between voluntary migrants and forced migrants. Voluntary migrants are people who move to another country for purposes of, for example, employment, study, and family reunification.² Temporary labor migrants are men and women who migrate for a limited time period, from months to several years to take employment and to send home remittances (for example, guest worker). Circular migrants are characterized by working abroad but living in their country of origin (commuter). In many cases, temporary migrants become permanent migrants (for example many of the former guest worker in Germany became permanent migrants), which often is accompanied by family reunification. Highly skilled business migrants are people who work in the high skill sector and often stay for a limited time period in the host country since the

¹ This definition of migration is consistent with the definition of the United Nations (United Nations 1995).

² Migrants entering a country with the aim of family unification are more likely to be women than men.

move within the intern labor market of transnational corporations. Return migrants are people who return to their country of origin after a period in another country.

Forced migrants move abroad to, for example, escape persecution, conflict, repression, and natural disasters. While conceptually clear, distinguishing between the two types of migrants in practice is not an easy task. For example, voluntary migrants may also be forced to migrate to find a job. Forced migrants may choose a particular country to move to because of family reunification or favorable economic conditions in that country (Sesay, 2004). In addition, one form of migration often leads to another form of migration. For instance, forced migrants might bring their family after a while and voluntary migrants might have to move back to their home country in order to prevent their repatriation (IOM 2000). Illegal/irregular or undocumented migrants, while often voluntary, typically do also not have access to the formal labor market. Many illegal migrants, therefore, work in the informal sector. Thus they live in a kind of double illegality. As a result, illegal migrants are most vulnerable to trafficking and human smuggling because they have no mean to fend against low wages and arbitrary treatment.³ In particular, women migrating illegally face a very high risk of being forced to prostitution. In this paper we will not focus primarily on the well-being issues of forced migrants as the issues here are quite distinct and are covered quite well in a literature on this issue. Thus, our focus will be on voluntary migrants and their well-being during the migration process and in the host country.

Where the child is born is crucial for the duration of migration. If children are born in the host country, this increases the change of permanent migration. When defining international migration, the time dimension of movement also plays an important role. Thus, in addition to the above categorization, the IOM further takes into account the time span migrants move abroad and distinguish between *traditional permanent migration*, *long-term migration* and *short-term labor migration* (e.g. seasonal work, cross-border commuting) (IOM 1999). With respect to the impact of migration on families and in particular on children and on youth, both whether moving with the parent or left behind, traditional permanent migration and long-term migration are expected to have a much higher impact than cross-border commuting, and we will largely neglect commuting in the rest of this paper. Closely related to this distinction is another form of international migration, which sometimes is called 'transnational migration'. Transnational migration is characterized by cross-border networks of migrants to their home countries through frequent visits and communication and the transfer of remittances. This means that migrants permanently circulate between home and destination country; to this extent children are affected by this, we will consider them below as well.

The impact of migration on children and youth is directly affected by their age because of different channels through which migration affects well-being. Therefore, age plays an important role when analyzing the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth. For example, whereas

³ In many countries the employment of illegal workers is a growing market, because it is very attractive for employers to save high wage and non-wage labor costs.

during childhood, the mother (or parents) are the main decision maker, with increasing age, the child (youth) becomes an independent agents responsible for his/her own decisions. In addition, children of migrant families, who are in school and speak the language of the host country often have to take the leading role in negotiating with host country authorities.

Many different definitions of children and youth exist. For example, the United Nations defines children as individuals aged between 5 and 15 and youth as individual aged between 16 and 24. The Convention on the Rights of the Child defines children as individuals under the age of 18. In the World Development Report 2007, ‘young people’ are defined as persons aged between 12 and 24. The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) distinguish between infant (0), children (1-14) and youth (15-24). In this paper, for simplicity and because the focus of the paper is on identifying empirical research and evidence on the well-being of migrant children in rich countries and not specific age groups, children and youth are defined as individuals aged between 0 and 18 years.⁴ Children and young adults are affected by migration in different ways depending on the migration process. This is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Children and youth affected by migration

Dependent migration	Migrating with parents	Born home Born abroad
Independent migration	Migrating alone	Voluntarily Fostered (e.g. for education)
	Left behind	Father migrates Mother migrates Both parents migrate
Forced migration	Alone or with family members	Trafficking Human Smuggling Refugees
Second Generation Migrants	Born in the host country	Citizenship of the host country Citizenship of the home country

Source: Illustration by the authors.

The core distinctions for the types of international child migration are between dependent and independent migration and between forced and voluntary migration. These distinctions are important because they have direct implications for the vulnerability of young migrants to different risks that can affect the well-being. First, children and the youth might accompany their parents when moving abroad; this migration process will directly affect their well-being with the impact also depending on their age. Second, they might have migrated independently of their parents, either in a process of fostering (for example, for educational purposes⁵) or voluntarily as labor migrants (or as those who ran away from home and might end up as street children). These children will face very different issues to those who migrated with their parents as they have left their family as the most important social network.⁶ In general, they are likely to be more vulnerable.

⁴ In this paper the terms ‘youth’, ‘young adults’ and ‘adolescents’ are used as similar terms.

⁵ Note that children and youth who migrate for educational purposes are not the focus of this paper, because they usually only stay in the host country temporarily.

⁶ In the case of children running away from home, of course, that social network has probably been dysfunctional.

Third, they can indirectly be affected by migration in two ways. They can be left behind, which, as we discuss below, have different impact on children and youth depending on whom of the family moves away, the father, the mother or even both parents in which case the left behind have to live with other relatives or friends. But they can also be the children of migrating parents, which are sometimes referred to as children with a migration background. Depending on the roles governing immigration and citizenship, the second-generation migrants might have the citizenship of the host country or of the country of origin of the parents (or sometimes both).

As discussed above, these forms of migration are different from forced migration, i.e. trafficking or human smuggling because children who move alone or with their parents act as agents based on their own decisions (or at least these of the family), whereas forced migration is based on the decision of other individuals or groups.

2.2 Theories of migration

This section summarizes the main theories on migration from an economic, demographic and social perspective. The understanding on theories on migration and its determinants is important to guide empirical research on children and migration in section three and four.

Economic and demographic theories

Empirically, the two main determinants driving migration are the real wage gaps between sending and receiving countries and the demographic differentials between the sending and receiving countries. While such results crudely explain overall migration flows, the growing complexity of international migration during the last decades has revealed that such macro level approaches cannot well identify particular migrant groups and their rather complex set of motivations. Migrants, especially young people, do not simply respond to wage and employment differentials and, moreover, they are not homogenous with respect to their motivation to migrate. Thus, to explain recent international migration to EU countries necessitates more complex and differentiated theoretical approaches, which emphasize migrants as active agents and which combine micro-level and macro-level approaches. The interaction of individual motivations and environmental circumstances at the household, community and national level have become fundamental to analyze and understand the contemporary migration flows. Based on the idea of push and pull factors that determine migration decisions formulated by Lee (1966)⁷, four main economic theories exist that try to explain the complex and global phenomena of international migration caused by decisions at the micro-level and macro-level circumstances, namely *neoclassical economic theory*, the *new economics of migration*, the *segmented labor market theory*, and the *World systems theory*.

⁷ In particular, Lee (1966) argues that certain variables, like distance, physical and political barriers and having dependents can impede or even prevent migration.

The *neoclassical economic theory* of migration (see, e.g. Lewis, 1954; Sjaastad, 1969; Todaro 1969, Harris and Todaro, 1970) conceives migration in terms of push and pull factors and focuses on the differences in wages and employment conditions between countries. Unemployment, low real wages, poor working conditions, and absence of future economic opportunities motivate individuals to migrate towards countries with better opportunities. In this view, young adults are (or even youth) are particularly likely to migrate. The classic argument why the youth are more likely to migrate is that migration is an investment, requiring costs today to generate higher return from higher income in the future (Sjaastad 1969).⁸ Young people have both higher lifetime returns and lower costs of moving. An important extension of this view is to examine which population groups will be particularly prone to migration. For that it is important to consider differential returns to skills between sending and receiving country, which is closely related to differential inequality between two countries (Borjas, 1990). If inequality is lower in the sending than in the receiving countries (and this inequality is largely driven by returns to skills), then highly-skilled are particularly prone to migration; in the reverse case, low skilled migrants are more likely to migrate.

An individual's decision depends on the characteristics or action of those around them, i.e. other people in their environment influence the decision making process on migration. Mincer (1978) was one of the first researchers who emphasize the importance of family ties in the migration decision process. He suggests that migration decision is not an individual decision but determined by the family. Net 'family' gains motivate migration of households more than 'personal' gains. In contrast to the neoclassical theory, the *new economics of migration* focuses on the household or the family as the relevant decision making unit rather than on the individual. These views also more explicitly take note of migration costs and how they affect migrant flows. Although migration is clearly related to differentials in wages and employment, the differences cannot explain international movements alone. Economic disparities are rather a necessary but not a sufficient requirement for international migration. The new economics of migration (see, e.g. Stark and Bloom, 1985; Stark and Levhari, 1982; Stark, 1991) takes into account various market conditions and does not focus only on the labor market. Behaviors and attitudes of potential migrants are not only based on decisions at the individual level but also at the level of groups. Migration is a decision of the household, not only with the aim to maximize individual income but with the aim to minimize risks to family income or to overcome constraints on family production or consumption attributable to failures in insurance, capital, or credit markets. The choice of the household, which household member has to move depends on the function the member has in the household and on the likelihood of remitting money. In many societies parents have a greater control over girls than boys and, therefore, young women are more likely to be sent for family reasons.

⁸ The costs of migration include, for example, the cost of moving, finding a job, and the mental costs of leaving the family. The potential higher return depends on the wage, the probability of finding a job, and the length of time learning and working in abroad.

Apart from these considerations, migration costs are more explicitly taken into account in these theories. Moving, finding housing, getting access to public services, finding employment, and building up social networks are very costly deterrents to migration. These costs can be much lower, however, if migrants use existing family and social networks for their migration decision, i.e. move to places where they can rely on an existing network of support (see, e.g. Massey et al., 2006). Two of the most distinct contributions of the new economics of migration are that it takes into account remittances as a factor that determines the migration decisions and that they consider migration costs. This theory also helps to explain why the poorest of the poor often do not migrate, although they are most affected by push factors; only those who are somewhat richer are able to overcome migration costs or rely on migration networks and can afford such complicated diversification strategies involving international migration. The new economics of migration also helps to explain, why migration does not stop if wage differential have been equalized. Incentives for migration remain if other markets within the sending countries like insurance, capital and consumer credit are absent or imperfect.

Both the neoclassical theory and also the new economics of migration are based on micro-level decision models. The *segmented labor market theory* (Piore 1979) does not take into account the micro-level decisions and focuses on higher aggregation levels by linking migration to the structural requirements of modern industrial economies. It is assumed that modern economies have a dualistic labor market: a primary market of secure, well-paid work and a secondary market of low-wage work. Developed countries have a permanent demand for migrant workers for several reasons due to upward inflexibility of wages at the bottom of the skill hierarchy and little motivation of native workers to take these jobs. In addition, the inherent duality of the labor market creates stable jobs at the higher skilled level to which the native workers are attracted to.

The *World System Theories* (Sassen 1988) also ignores the micro-level decision process focusing instead on focuses at higher aggregation levels. International migration follows the political and economic structure of a global market. Migration is seen as a logical consequence of economic globalization and market penetration. Globalization has created a mobile workforce willing to migrate for better job opportunities. Economic development gives people new skills, which leads to more migration an. In addition, trade and political contracts between developing and developed countries create ne linkages and opportunities that foster migration.

Network theories:

Economic models have been criticized for reducing the migration decision making process to economic variables like inequalities in employment and wages while not taking into account social and formal institutional aspects such as social ties and networks, which influences the individuals' decisions (Massey et al., 1998; Boswell, 2008). Network effects, cultural and linguistic ties often tend to be even stronger determinants of migration than economic incentives.

Epstein (2008), for example, examines the impact of informal institutions and herd behavior on influencing the choice of the destination of migrants and shows that the informational advantage of existing networks at the destination country together with herd behavior are important components in the migration decision making process. In particular, migrant networks increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected return and, therefore, the propensity to migrate. The probability of finding a job in the destination country heavily depend on the demand a specific occupation and on existing social networks of migrants having the same origin (see, e.g. McKenzie and Rapoport, 2006). Thus, transnational migration networks have a strong influence on the constitution and composition of groups of migrants. Migration networks constitute a form of social capital that enables people to gain access to various kinds of financial capital, i.e. employment, higher wages, and the possibility to send remittances (Massey et al. 1994, 2006). Therefore, networks create strong incentives to migrate as a strategy for risk diversification or utility maximization. And as networks expand economic factors have less influences on the migration decision than the have the social networks. These views are quite complementary to the new economics of migration that also specifically considers the role of migration networks.

Beneficial network externalities arise when the stock of immigrants in the destination country is large enough to provide accommodation, work, and other economic and social assistance that reduce the physical costs and risks of migration (legally or illegally) as well as the psychological distress of adapting to a new environment (Chiswick and Miller, 1996; Munshi, 2003, IOM, 2003; Bauer et al., 2007). Haug (2008) shows the positive network effects for the migration decision for Bulgarians and Italian migrants in Germany.

Immigration Policies and immigrant selection:

From a political perspective, legal and regulatory barriers and entry opportunities are very important for the decision to migrate and should, therefore, be included into the theoretical framework to explain international migration (IOM 2002).

Although the described theoretical approaches can help to explain the determinants of migration, they leave out the fact that considerable variations in migration stems from different national immigration policies that regulate both the numbers and characteristics of (legal) migrants (see, e.g. Freeman and Kessler 2008). National immigration policies are dependent, first, on the country's macroeconomic health. Periods of economic distress is associated with a move to a more restrictive migration policy whereas periods of economic boom is associated with a more moderate regulation of the number of immigrants (Borjas 1995). Second the migration policy is dependent on the rates of migration inflows in sense that higher rates of migration inflow leads to restrictive policies (Massey 1999). Therefore, developed countries will increasingly move to a more restrictive and selective migration policy from developing countries. Third, the migration policy is also dependent on the attitudes in the society to immigration,

especially in periods of election. For example, due to a period of social and economic pressure in Europe with in the last years, immigration control discussion is currently prominently in public policy and election campaigns in Europe. Card et al. (2005) analysis the attitudes toward immigration in Europe and show that attitudes to migration depend heavily on personal feeling of economic and social safety and vary with, for example, age, by urban/rural areas, and education.

As policies become more restrictive the costs and risks of migration rise. In many developed countries existing (legal) immigration policies are very selective in terms of education, skills, wealth, family connection, which determines the character and composition of migrants in the respective receiving countries. Also, migration flows will be affected by the level of enforcement to address illegal migration which clearly changes over time given prevailing political circumstances in a potential host country. Today, in the globalized world, distances are small but barriers raised by governments remain high.

Therefore, sample selection of migrants in the host country through immigration policy filters plays an important role to explain the numbers and characteristics of migrant in OECD and in particular in European countries. In particular, the selection of immigrants by education and skills, based on the theoretical framework of the Roy model (Roy, 1951; Borjas, 1994, 1999) is a central issue both in the analysis of the determinants of migration and also in the analysis of the well-being of migrants in the respective host country. Highly educated and skilled immigrants tend to be, on average, more successful in school and in the labor market and place fewer burdens on social security systems (Belot et al.2008). Thus, the selection of immigrants by host countries and by skills plays a crucial role in how well immigrants perform abroad and, thus, how national migration regularities are defined in industrialized countries.⁹

⁹ For example, Docquier et al. (2006) find for OECD countries that sample selection by skills and education increases with former colonial links, and with linguistic and cultural similarities, and also with prosperity of the destination country. High-skilled immigrants respond to economic incentives while skilled immigrants respond to colonial ties and the generosity of the welfare programs in the host country.

2.3 Determinants of migration

Why do children and youth migrate? Based on the different migration theories, a set of different determinants can be summarized that influence the migration decision of individuals and/or household to migrate internationally and with particular focus on migration of young people.

Table 3: Determinants of international Migration

Demographic factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population growth • Share of young adults in a population
Economic factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low economic growth • Wage gaps between receiving and sending countries • Unemployment (national and/or district level) • Differences in returns to skills (inequality) • Community infrastructure and public service differentials (e.g. access to safe water, health, education, pension and social security systems)
Political Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration legislation and regulation • Refugee and asylum policies • Enforcement effort to reduce illegal migration (border control, repatriation, etc.)
Household/family factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household welfare (income, land owner etc.) • Household structure (size, number of children and young adults, proportion of singles) • Previous mobility • Remittances • Family/community pressure • Number of migrants from place of origin
Individual factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Gender • Education • Marital status • Networks (language barriers, information costs)

Source: Illustration by the authors.

The most important demographic factors that increase the propensity to migrate are large rates of population growth in sending countries and a large share of young people in the population. High fertility and large population growth produce large birth cohorts that increase the pressure for migration, because the large birth cohorts put pressure on the national labor market and on national infrastructure like schools, roads, and hospitals (see, e.g. Hatton and Williamson, 2003).

Economic factors at the macro-level that positively influence migration decisions are slow economic growth, combined with gaps in wages, employment or unemployment rates, and returns to skill between the sending and receiving country. For example, Castaldo et al. (2005) use household survey data for Albania to examine the factor that drive international migration. Besides family factors they find that both local labor market conditions and community characteristics strongly influence the decision to migrate. Furthermore, an important pull factor is

the well-functioned and established infrastructure in the destination countries regarding health care, education, and social security and pension systems.

As described, political factors also play a role including migration policies and their enforcement in potential receiving countries, including refugee and asylum policies. They can particularly affect migration destination countries. For example, the extent to which old EU members have opened up their labor markets to migrations from new EU members is heavily affecting migration flows within the EU; similarly, as the USA has become somewhat more restrictive in allowing migrants (particularly from certain regions such as the Middle East), while Europe has in general become more accommodating of migration (particularly of people with skills), migration flows have changed accordingly.

The decision to migrate is also a decision of the family, particularly in developing countries. Especially household poverty is an important driving force for migration. On the one hand, as higher the relative poverty of a household and as higher the level of deprivation, as higher is the willingness to migrate. However, on the other hand, very poor households lack of resources necessary to migrate resulting in a lower possibility to migrate. The poorer the households, the higher are the information costs of movements, which is the reason why many very poor households do not migrate.

Several individual characteristics influence a person's mobility. For example, Lee (1966) pointed out that migration is a selective process because differences in age, gender, and social class affect the ability to and decision of migration. The propensity to migrate increases with the age of the individual, peaking in the early twenties. The migration theories provide also explanations for high youth participation in migration due to individual, family and community factors. The older the person, the lower the expected gain from migration, the higher the costs and thus the lower the propensity to migrate (see, e.g. Bauer and Zimmermann, 1999). The young are more likely to migrate because of individual, family and community socio-economic characteristics. From the argument that migration can be seen as an investment, young people are likely to ace lower costs in moving and have higher lifetime return (World Bank 2007).

However, while the opportunity costs of migration are lower for youth and the motivation is higher, policy conditions and personal circumstances determine the migration decision. For example, if legal migration requires tertiary education or high job experiences young people are less likely to migrate. The opportunity to obtain a better education is one the major motivations for young people to migrate. In particular, tertiary education in another country is growing motive to migrate.¹⁰ Higher levels of education is considered as a positive determinant for migration because it increases income returns and provide better abilities to process relevant information, thus, lowering migration cost. Existing social networks determine the likelihood of

¹⁰ In addition to that, it often serves as the only legal way for young people from developing countries to migrate to developed countries (World Bank 2007).

especially young people to migrate. If other young people have migrated before, social networks lower the costs and increase the benefits of other young people to migrate too.

2.3 Impact of Migration

While not a main focus of this paper, in this section, we want to briefly discuss the central findings on the impact of migration on sending countries, because this helps to explain, what affects the currently ongoing migration debate in European countries regarding the question what role international migration play to solve the problem of the declining population issue in EU countries.

Migration contributes to the level of social welfare, human capital formation, and economic and social development both in the host countries and the countries of origin through various channels. And the migration of youth plays a particularly important role. From the perspective of many developed countries, particularly in Europe, which face the problem of an aging population, youth migration creates the opportunity to favorably affect the age structure of the population to insure economic development and to sustain the social security system. From a developing country perspective, migration of youth offers a way for young people to increase income and invest into their human capital resulting in positive potential externalities for the home countries that are associated with having higher educated and more skilled population. Researchers in economics have emphasized the migration process as an important determinant of economic development for a long time. At this, migration can be both an opportunity for sending and receiving g countries but also can lead to economic problems for both.

Today, countries in Western Europe are more and more concerned with the challenge of their aging populations and with the role that international migration might play to mitigate this problem in the long run. Issues that arise besides the problem of the aging populations are the shortages of the working age population, rising dependency ratios and sustainability of social security systems, and a possible shortage both of unskilled and skilled labor (see, e.g. Punch and Pearce, 2000). Many European countries have realized that international migration, which is dominated by the young, can be an important element in future demographic and economic development (Haug et al. 2002). Migrants can play an important role to deal with the demographic problems of European countries. The United Nations has estimated that countries in Europe would need between one and 13 million migrants per year between the year 2000 and 2050 to cope with the potential problems described above (United Nations 2000).¹¹ Migration

¹¹ Alternative measures to fill this demographic gap are moving the total fertility rate back to the replacement level, increasing the labor force participation of the national population (Holzmann 2005).

rapidly enhances the labor force and generally improves the dependency ratio, at least in the short to medium term.¹²

Although the aging societies in Western Europe economically can gain from international migration of the youth, receiving countries typically are concerned that migrants lower national welfare by increasing unemployment and lowering wages for native workers. For example, skepticism among European populations about large numbers of immigrants is an ongoing election campaign issue in many European countries. Many Europeans seem to increasingly fear that especially the non-EU immigrants are too expensive for their social welfare systems, exacerbated by high rates of unemployment in many European countries in recent years (see, e.g. Givens and Luedke 2005).

Whether such negative effects exist empirically, is a much studied question. A large body of literature exists that measures the effects of immigration on the wages of native workers. For example, recent research from the United Kingdom and the United States show no significant evidence for an adverse effect on wages through immigration (see, e.g. Borjas, 2003; Card, 2005, and Dustmann et al., 2005). Overall the average effect is found to be small but positive.¹³ While individual studies differ in their findings, in general there is rather little support that immigration has a sizable negative effect on the economic fortunes of natives.

Migration also directly affects the social welfare and security systems in developed countries. In countries with well-developed and well-functioned social welfare systems, migrants contribute to the functioning of these systems through their payments of taxes and social insurance fees. This holds especially for young migrants. Here, their contribution exceeds their benefits and, therefore, they relieve pressure on the social welfare systems in the host countries.

A further channel through which migration affects the development in receiving countries lies in the social dimension of migration. Economic effects of migration can also be determined by social issues, for example, due to problems of integration of migrant workers and their children. An important factor for integration is the length of stay. The awareness of this issue has risen in the last few years among policy makers. Many migrants who live in the second generation in European countries have still relatively low language skills and have, on average, lower educational levels, which hamper them to participate at the live of the society of the host

¹² However, some authors argue that such numbers of migrants would be unrealistic to expect and even wish for mainly due to difficulty to incorporate such a big scale of migrants in the national economic and social systems (see e.g. Feld 2000; Coleman and Rowthorne 2004).

¹³ See, for example, Pischke and Velling (1997) for Germany, Winter-Ebner and Zweimuller (1997) for Austria, Dolado et al. (1996) for Spain, Longhi et al. (2005), and Angrist and Kugler (2003). Cross-country studies for European countries found that the negative effects on the wages of young workers tend to be higher if labor market restrictions are more rigid such as in Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. For countries with a more flexible labor market like Denmark, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, the negative effects from youth immigration are very small (Angrist and Kugler 2003). Additionally, the recent enlargement of the EU shows an overall positive impact of the increased migration into countries in Western Europe (Portes and French 2005). The majority of workers are aged between 18 and 34. The main impact of the inflow of the relative young labor force was to relieve labor market shortages and had little impact on native workers (Portes and French 2005).

country. This is partly due to the initial uncertainty of the length of stay in host countries (as perceived by both migrants as well as policy-makers in host countries), few efforts to promote integration and the acquisition of language skills in some host countries, and large migrant groups that enabled to ability to function in native languages in enclaves dominated by migrants.

While there is the potential that migration will help overcome Europe's demographic and economic problems, it is unclear whether it is able to solve these problems. As argued by some, mass immigration into countries with already high population densities could lead, first of all, to higher aggregate income but must not make a country 'richer' on a per capita basis (Demeny 2006). There also exists a large body of literature that shows that immigrants tend to be more welfare depended than natives (see, e.g. Peder et al. 2006). Thus, simply increasing in the number of migrants towards the EU would not automatically be the first best solution to solve the demographic problem of an aging society, but can even lead to higher pressure on the social security systems. This problem is even more evident when looking at the recent wave of migrants towards the EU that mainly come from developing countries (Chiswick and Hatton 2002). Examining the size, causes and future of international migration within and out of Africa, Hatton and Williamson (2003) argue that the slow economic growth, combined by a rapid growth of the cohort of potential young migrants in many African countries, will increase the pressure of emigration out of Africa into the OECD countries considerably in the next two decades.¹⁴ These immigrants, on average, have lower skilled and educational levels resulting in difficulties to enter the job market (Borjas 1999). Furthermore, the integration of migrants from African and Asia is perceived to be more difficult than the integration of migrants from southern or eastern Europe (Parsons and Smeeding 2006).

¹⁴ For example, Holzmann (2005) estimates for Europe, Russia and high income countries in East Asia and the Pacific that, without further migration, the labor force would decrease by 43 million between 2005 and 2025. For Sub-Saharan Africa Holzmann (2005) estimates an increase by 2111 million and for South and East Asia an increase by 292 million.

3. International Migration in Europe

3.1 The European Migration System

Whereas the international migration of workers is a global phenomenon, three main directions of flows can be distinguished. First, from the East to the West, i.e. from the Transition countries of Eastern Europe including the successor states of the Soviet Union into countries in Western Europe; second, from the South to the North, i.e. from developing countries into industrialized countries (particularly strong in the Americas but rising in Europe) and, third, from the South to the South, i.e. from very poor developing countries to less poor developing countries.¹⁵ Although migration systems differ across countries with respect to the size of inflows and regarding the dominant origins of international migrants, they also show one distinct common indicator. Today, most immigrants come from countries or regions that are characterized by limited supply of capital and are overall labor-intensive economies. In addition, large imbalances between receiving and destination countries exist also in the levels of wealth, income, power, economic growth. Concentrating on the European migration system, this region is dominated by two major receiving areas. The largest flow of migrants comes from countries in Eastern Europe, moving particularly to Germany, Switzerland and Austria. The second largest inflow comes from countries of North Africa, particular moving to France (Massey 2006).

Most European countries never had and also now only partially have a clearly enunciated migration strategy. At the same time, there has been immigration to Europe throughout history which tended to be encouraged or discouraged on an ad hoc basis. As a result, immigration to Europe is very strongly affected by these ad hoc approaches to particular problems and issues.

According to Ardittis (1990), the evolution of European migration can be summarized into five main phases. The first phase started with the beginning of the 20th century and lasted until the early 1950s. During this phase Europe was a major region of emigration, sending a significant number of workers to the rest of the world. (It also was a major region of immigration; for example, large flows of workers from Eastern Europe moved to the industrializing regions of Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.) After World War II, the economies in Western Europe experienced a phase of strong economic growth that strongly increased the demand for labor in the 1960s. The response was active recruiting of workers from Southern and Eastern Europe, most of which took place during the 1950s and 1960s, leading to the second phase.

¹⁵ The South South migration is very often not a permanent migration but rather provides a basis for further movements in richer countries. With respect to the movement of people from developing countries, The 'South South' movement is as important as the 'South North' movement. About one half of the reported international migrants that come from developing countries move into other developing countries (ILO 2004). Please note that there is also a North-North migration of mobile highly skilled workers moving throughout the industrialized world. While some of the well-being issues identified here might be relevant for them as well, these (generally quite privileged) migrants and their children will not be of particular concern here.

The second phase started in the early 1950s and lasted until the early 1970s (see, e.g. Stalker, 1994). As a result of rapid economic expansion that was accompanied by low population growth, several nations, especially Germany and Switzerland, experienced serious labor shortages. The demand for labor was satisfied by migrants from Southern Europe followed by migrants from North Africa and Turkey. During the 1970s, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the former countries of net emigration that were relative intensive in labor, also began importing migrant workers mainly from the Middle East and North Africa (Massey et al. 2006).

The third phase began with the oil price shock in the year 1973, which led to a phase of economic recession for many countries (United Nations 2004). During this phase countries of Western Europe stopped their recruitment programs and adopted more restrictive migration policies to limit the number of immigrants; immigration was largely restricted to family reunification and asylum seekers.

By the early 1980s the economic and political configuration of Europe was changing. The fourth phase began in the mid of the 1980s and was characterized by a sharp increase of migrants from the Eastern Europe. Asylum applications rose everywhere. Inflows to Europe from countries in Eastern and Central Europe started to increase in the mid 1980s when some regimes have weakened their travel restrictions. Especially Germany recorded a large increase of inflows from these countries, mainly because of the admission of the *Aussiedler*, i.e. ethnic Germans who had the right to German citizenship upon their entry into the country and who have mainly originated in Kazakhstan, Poland and the Russian Federation.

The fifth phase started in the 1990s and is characterized by the consolidation of Western Europe as an internal market with free movement of EU citizens between member countries and by the incorporation of the countries from Central and Eastern Europe into the EU. At the same time, restrictions for asylum applications have been tightened. Since the end of the 1990s several countries in Western Europe have eased the opportunities and for temporary migration of workers, which are regulated by bilateral agreements between the respective countries.

EU enlargement in 2004, when the EU took in an additional ten members, has begun a possible sixth phase in European migration. So far, free movement of labor from the accession countries has only been allowed in selected Western European nations (most notably the UK and Ireland), attracting considerable flows from EU accession countries. But restrictions on movement will only be dropped in most other old EU members at the beginning of the new decade. It is expected that this would lead to an increase in migration flows to Western Europe, the size of which is however much debated.

A distinctive feature of international migration to countries in Western Europe is that European government sought to recruit 'temporary' migrants or 'guest worker' who would return, once the economic conditions under which they were brought in, i.e. the shortage of

labor, disappeared. However, large numbers of migrants workers opted to settle permanently in Europe began to bring their families into Europe. As a result, whereas the number of immigrant workers stopped growing, the size of the foreign population continued to rise (Martin and Miller 1980). In contrast to international migrants in the US, migrants live in Western European countries come to a large extent from other countries in Europe (including Turkey).

As a result of the improved economic climate in Europe in the late 1990s, the number of international migrants rose to 32.8 million by the year 2000 (United Nations 2004). Today, the EU 25 has 455 million habitants with 381 million living in the EU 15. The patterns and processes of migration are very complex. The continuing demand for immigrants, accompanied by relatively high rate of unemployment among the national population and a growing ethnic diversity makes international migration a complex phenomenon that governments seek to manage through entry policies that attempt to ease immigration of desired highly skilled migrants while tightening rules of immigration for others.

Two points in this short discussion are particularly noteworthy. First, migration policies have changed drastically over time, sometimes encouraging migration, sometimes trying to reduce inflows. More recently, policies towards economic immigration have generally become more welcoming, certainly for those within the EU and the accession states, but also beyond. But secondly, the migrant stock in any European country at this time comprises a very heterogeneous population that entered the host country at very different times under very different circumstances. Germany is a good example of this heterogeneous migrant stock. On the one hand, you have second-generation immigrants whose parents came as a result of active recruitment in the 1950s and 1960s (who entered with little thought given on whether and how to integrate these populations). Then there are asylum seekers who came in the 1970s and 1980s from all over the world, and refugees from the Balkan wars of the 1990s; there are immigrants from Eastern Europe with German passports that constituted the bulk of legal immigration; there are increasing flows of labor of all categories within the EU; and now there are increasing numbers of immigrants with high skills from all over the world, who come as a result of more welcoming immigration policies. In addition, there are large numbers of illegal immigrants, particularly from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, plus forced migration, trafficking and migration for prostitution. It is therefore not surprising that it will be quite difficult to study well-being and its determinants in such a heterogeneous population. All the more is it important to tackle this issue. Some of this heterogeneity will be discussed below in more detail.

3.2 Current Trends in Migration in Europe

In recent years the EU has become a more integrated migration system that is characterized both by a high mobility and circulation of informal and short-term movements and also by long-term movements quite similar to the guest worker phase between the 1950s and 1960s (Salt

2005). According to estimates of Eurostat and national statistical offices, the total numbers of non-nationals currently living in the EU in 2004 was about 25 million, which is almost 5.5 percent of the total population. The greater part of this stock of foreign population lives in countries of Western Europe.¹⁶ Germany is Europe's most important destination country of migration with annually inflows of migrants that exceeded the numbers of inflows of all other Western European countries. Table 4 shows that by far the largest number of non-nationals lives in Germany, followed by France, the UK and the Netherlands. One reason for this large inflow is the large number of the so called *Aussiedler* countries from central and Eastern Europe and from the CIS who invoke their right to German citizenship IOM (2000). In contrast, although some countries in Central and Eastern Europe have also experienced some permanent migration, flows have been relatively modest and stocks are relatively low.¹⁷

Regarding the growth of the stock of migrants in Europe, western European countries can roughly be separated into two main groups: North Western Europe and Southern Europe. Whereas the former countries have experienced a large numbers of migrants during the last decades, the latter group has become a net immigration region quite recently. In Western Europe, the historical shift from emigration to immigration is evident. In 2005, all Western European countries had a positive growth of the migrants stock (except Belgium) (Table 4). In addition, in several EU countries, population growth mainly stems from migration, with the exception of Denmark, France, Malta, Netherland and Finland where population growth is mainly due to native population growth. In addition, migration also contributes to a positive population growth since part of the observed fertility can be attributed to migrants, who are usually younger than the indigenous population (and often have, at least temporarily, higher fertility rates).

¹⁶ If one considers the great disparities in wealth between sending and receiving countries, the actual size of migrants is likely to be quite modest compared to the potential size of migrants who would move towards Western European countries if the system were left to operate without state interferences to constrain immigration.

¹⁷ Table 4 shows that among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, most migrants live in the Russian Federation.

Table 4: Stock and Flows of Migrants in Europe

	Estimated number of international migrants at mid-year				Growth rate of migrant stock (percentage)			
	1990	1995	2000	2005	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005
Europe	49381119	55286554	58216735	64115850	3.1	2.3	1	1.9
Western Europe								
Austria	473341	717164	926835	1233546	10.3	8.3	5.1	5.7
Belgium	899357	909044	879262	719276	0.3	0.2	-0.7	-4
Denmark	220193	249747	304249	388535	2.9	2.5	3.9	4.9
Finland	60969	102547	134135	156179	4.6	10.4	5.4	3
France	5906752	6089154	6277189	6471029	-0.2	0.6	0.6	0.6
Germany	5936181	9092443	9802793	10143626	na	8.5	1.5	0.7
Greece	411923	548718	730941	973677	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7
Iceland	9005	10549	15610	23097	4.3	3.2	7.8	7.8
Ireland	229924	264131	384872	585429	0.4	2.8	7.5	8.4
Italy	1346174	1483253	1634290	2519040	1.9	1.9	1.9	8.7
Luxembourg	113936	135205	160645	173645	1.9	3.4	3.4	1.6
Netherlands	1191634	1386821	1563564	1638104	9	3	2.4	0.9
Norway	184740	231000	298616	343929	3.6	4.5	5.1	2.8
Portugal	435766	527901	634934	763668	4.6	3.8	3.7	3.7
Spain	765585	1009021	1628246	4790074	12.7	5.5	9.6	21.6
Sweden	780698	905628	992623	1117286	3.7	3	1.8	2.4
Switzerland	1376417	1471205	1562606	1659686	2.7	1.3	1.2	1.2
Turkey	1150463	1210113	1259322	1328405	4.3	1	0.8	1.1
United Kingdom	3753370	4198050	4764824	5408118	0.7	2.2	2.5	2.5
Central and Eastern Europe								
Bulgaria	21510	46610	101000	104076	-0.3	15.5	15.5	0.6
Czech Republic	424498	453713	453489	453265	na	1.3	0	0
Estonia	382012	308781	249588	201743	na	-4.3	-4.3	-4.3
Hungary	347510	293266	295990	316209	0.5	-3.4	0.2	1.3
Latvia	805491	712915	539728	449215	na	-2.4	-5.6	-3.7
Lithuania	349233	272110	212018	165197	na	-5	-5	-5
Poland	1127166	962951	822660	702808	-3.1	-3.1	-3.1	-3.1
Romania	142770	134972	134204	133441	-3.4	-1.1	-0.1	-0.1
Russian Federation	11524948	11706951	11891829	12079626	na	0.3	0.3	0.3
Slovakia	41295	113501	118458	124464	na	20.2	0.9	1

Note: Estimated number of international migrants: Measured in a country, area or region as of mid-year for each of the years indicated. The estimates refer to both sexes combined. The number of international migrants generally represents the number of persons born in a country other than that in which they live. Growth rate in migrant stocks: Estimated average exponential growth rate of the international migrant stock over each period indicated, expressed in percentage terms.

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, Trends in total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision.

In Europe, the share of the foreign-born population varies significantly. Table 5 shows that the proportion of the foreign-born population varies from 1.9 percent in Turkey to 32.6 percent in Luxembourg, but in the majority of country the proportion of foreign-born population was between 2 and 8 percent.

Table 5: Foreign born population in selected European countries (2000-2001)

	Foreign born (in 1000)	Proportion of total population	Foreign born with the citizenship of the country of residence (in 1000)	Percentage of foreign born with the citizenship of the country of residence	Percentage of non citizens
Austria	1002.5	12.5	408.1	40.7	8.8
Belgium	1099.2	10.7	447.6	40.8	8.2
Denmark	361.1	6.8	145.5	40.3	5
Finland	131.4	2.5	54.1	41.6	1.7
France	5868.2	10	3114.7	53.1	5.6
Germany	10256.1	12.5	na	na	na
Greece	1122.6	10.03	466.2	41.5	7
Ireland	400	10.4	179	45.2	5.9
Luxembourg	142.7	32.6	18.6	13	36.9
Netherlands	1615.4	10.1	1050.6	65	4.2
Norway	333.8	7.3	158.9	47.6	4.3
Poland	775.3	2.1	741.9	96.1	0.1
Spain	2172.2	5.3	671.5	30.9	3.8
Sweden	1077.6	12	673	62.5	5.3
Switzerland	1570.8	22.4	459.6	29.3	20.5
Turkey	1259	1.9	na	na	na
United Kingdom	4865.6	8.3	na	na	na
Czech Republic	448.5	4.5	357.4	79.8	1.2
Hungary	292.9	2.9	208.3	71.1	0.9
Slovakia	119.1	2.5	98.4	84.2	0.5

Source: Calculation by the OECD based on national censuses; Dumont and Lemaitre (2004).

Most international migrants move between countries within Europe. Despite the importance of immigration from other European countries, there are also significant numbers from migrants from developing countries. In Western Europe, France is the dominant destination country for non-EU migration. Almost half of the stock of international migration comes from African countries.¹⁸ As a result of the high share of young people living in Africa accompanied by the difficulties of the young cohort to find work, the demographic and economic pressure lead to a mass emigration out of Africa. In OECD countries immigrants from Africa are younger than immigrants from other part of the developing world. As a consequence, migration policies in many countries, particularly in the European Union have become very selective (OECD 2008).

Despite a growing diversification of the countries of origin of international migrants towards Western European countries, no significant diversification can be observed regarding the destination of migrants from a given origin. In other words, nearly all Algerian migrants live in France, whereas most migrants from Greece, Poland and Turkey live in Germany (United Nations 2004); more recently, many Poles have also moved to Britain and Ireland, largely as a result of the free labor migration offered by these EU countries. The transition countries (CETs) constitute a large region of emigration. In Europe, besides Switzerland and Italy, Germany is the main receiving country of migrants from the CETs, driven by the strong historical link between Germany and many Eastern European countries and the geographical closeness (United Nations 2002); more liberal labor migration rules have also ensured that Britain and Ireland are becoming

¹⁸ Table A2 shows that also in Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, and the UK have the stock of international migrants exceeds the 10 percent.

important destinations. The enlargement of the EU to the East is likely to further accelerate migration flows from the East to West; first Germany and Austria are likely to receive more migrants, but in the medium term they are likely to move beyond these countries.

The composition of the stock of the foreign population in countries in Western Europe is characterized by the inflow of the migrant after the war induced to the shortage of labor and more recently (since 1970) by the phase of migration associated with family reunion and formation and with refugees both from within and without Europe. Thus, the highest share of foreign nationality within the countries in Europe reflects from which countries workers were recruited since the Second World War and also particular historical links between these countries, their bilateral relationship with former colonies and also the entry opportunities for refugees, both politically and geographically (Salt 2005).

Trends in the numbers of asylum seekers:

Whereas family reunification comprises the largest share of authorized foreign migration recently (IOM 2000), another group of migrants to and within Europe are asylum seekers. Inflows of asylum seekers to countries in Western Europe have varied both in absolute numbers and between countries of destination since the end of the 1980s (Salt 2005). In the beginning of the 1990s, countries in Western Europe have experienced an increase of around 40 percent of the number of asylum seekers (670,000 applications in 1992). Since then the number has decreased rapidly to 226,000 in the year 1996. Then, Europe recorded again an increase in asylum seekers and about 430,000 persons applied in 1999 (IOM 2000). Asylum requests spread widely across countries in Western Europe. Germany, which is still the main destination country for asylum seekers, the number of asylum requests continuously decreased since 1999. The reason for this change reflects a changing situation in Europe with respect to more restrictive entry policies. France, The United Kingdom, Austria, Belgium and Denmark have experienced a sharp rise in asylum requests in the last few years.

Trends in illegal migration:

In recent years much attention has been paid to the problem of illegal migration including also the smuggling of human beings, especially women and children, and international trafficking and the enormous complexities of irregular migration has become more apparent (see, e.g. Salt and Hogarth, 2000). For example, Passel (2006) estimates that about one third of the foreign born population in the U.S. are unauthorized migrants and that there are 6 million children, which accounts for 6 percent of all children in the U.S., in families in which either the household head or the spouse is a unauthorized migrant. Besides the issues of violations of human rights and a low status of well-being that are inherent with trafficking and human smuggling, from a statistical point of view, unrecorded or irregular migration remains one of the biggest concerns leading to fundamental gaps of knowledge relating to most aspects of this problem. The main

reasons for the lack of data availability on irregular or illegal migration are, firstly, the problem of indentifying and counting people who are not registered in some form and, secondly, the problem of different country-specific legislations and definitions on legality and illegality migration, which results in lack of comparable data on illegal migration (see, e.g. Futo and Tass 2001). Data on the scale of irregular migration are either based on estimates or on the principle that those people living irregular in a country will be, in some point, manifest their identity in researchable form. Therefore, reliable information about the actual amount of irregular migration across Europe barely exists and estimates should be treated with caution.

Some statistical sources exist that shed light on the magnitude of illegal migration. Estimates of the number of illegal or unauthorized migrants in Europe vary between 3 million (IOM 2000) in the late 1990s and 3,3 million in 2000 (ILO 2004). Some authors have provided various methods to estimate the amount of illegal migration in Europe. For example, Jandl (2004) examines several methods to estimate the size of illegal migration (or illegal border crossing) and illustrates the approaches for Austria. Attempts to estimate the actual number of irregular migration in Europe gives a crude picture of the problem. For example, Baldassarni estimates that about 600,000 illegal workers live in Italy and a range of 70-180,000 illegal workers live in Switzerland (Piguet and Losa 2002).¹⁹ Data on flows of migrants are usually based on information on border crossing data. A recent study by ICMPD (ICMPD 2004) reports more than 160,000 apprehensions at the borders of 17 CEE countries. Compared to previous periods, the number of apprehensions has decreased for most European countries. The reason for this decline might be due to fewer attempts of border crossing as a result of better border management in Western European countries, which are still the main destinations countries for illegal border crossings. The study by ICMPD shows that most illegal migrants are males aged between 20 and 45 and only about one fifth of illegal migrations are women. The main regions from which illegal migrants come from are the countries of the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia and Romania.²⁰

While trafficking, forced labor, and prostitution also among children and the youth is an increasing for of illegal and/or undocumented migration, data availability remains inadequate only few estimates exists. For instance, Heckmann and Wunderlich (2000) estimate for the EU in 1999 a number 400,000 people from both sexes.²¹ For Germany, Laczko et al (2002) shows that the main suppliers of illegal migration through trafficking in women and children are the CEE countries. Data of the IOM estimated that 81 percent of victims of trafficking between 2001 and 2005 were females and 71 percent were aged between 14 and 24 (Omelaniuk 2005). A study

¹⁹ One of the main sources of these estimates used as an indicator of illegal workers lies on the number of workers who applied to regularize their status when amnesty programs were introduced (Salt 2005).

²⁰ In addition, Jandl (2007) shows that the main stream of irregular migration is from the west to the east of Europe.

²¹ In general, estimates of illegal border crossing considered as trafficking or smuggling rely on assumptions about the ratio between apprehensions and about those who have succeed the illegal border crossing (see, e.g. Salt 2005; Heckmann et al 2000). However, the numbers of trafficked or smuggled people is very likely to be underestimated because a smuggler is also registered if he or she is caught.

from Western Europe shows that the majority of victims of trafficking end up in the sex industry (Clert et al. 2005).

It is reasonable to assume that the number of potential migrants to Europe that have not yet taken the step (due to legal, administrative, or financial hurdles) is substantial. A large number of young people in developing countries express a strong desire to migrate. The large proportion of the youth in developing countries and the aging societies in developed countries is likely to increase the demand and the flows of international migration. In the near future, the inflow of migrants from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa is very likely to grow for several reasons. Because the demographic gap between the latter group of countries and those in Western Europe will grow rapidly. From countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the flow of migrants is estimated to annually between 1.5 million and 2.1 million by 2025 (Hatton and Williamson 2003).

3.3 A profile of EU immigrants

The new Database on Immigrants in OECD countries (DIOC) provides comprehensive information of a profile of the immigrant population in OECD and EU countries and allows comparing characteristics of immigrants compared to the native population. The OECD (2008) provides an overview about the profile of immigrants in OECD countries based on the DIOC data source.

Immigrants are concentrated at ages between 25 and 64 and under-represented among the youngest and oldest age groups. The differences in the age structures between national and non-national populations in the EU are sizable (Table 6). The most significant difference is found for the population aged 65 and older. Whereas this age group accounts for about 17 percent of the population, the share for non-nationals is only about 9 percent (Eurostat 2006).²²

A similar trend is observable for nearly all OECD countries. In all OECD countries, the age structure of the foreign-born population differs substantially from the age structure of the native population (Table 7).²³ The share of the 15-24 and 65+ years old among the total population are higher among the native born, while the share of the 25-64 years old is higher among the foreign-born population. One reason for these differences might be that many children of immigrants are themselves are not foreign-born and, therefore, not distinguishable from native children. Differences in the age structure of immigrants across OECD countries mainly stem from the

²² Based on micro-data, McKenzie (2006) examines the age and gender composition of young migrants from developing countries; whether they move alone or with their family, and their participation at school and their employment status in the destination country, what types of jobs they do and whether or when they move back to their home country. He finds that young people are more likely to migrate and the youth are a large share of the flow of migrants; the share of young females varies across countries but averaging around 50 percent; female migrants are more likely to be married and accompanying a spouse than male migrants; there is a substantial migration for education; young migrants tend to be more concentrated in a few occupation than older migrant workers; the age of return varies between 25 and 30, which leaves much time for working in the their country of origin.

²³ The DIOC provide no information on the share on the population aged under 15.

timing of migration. Some countries have less restrictive or more restrictive migration policies at different points in time and at different points in the life-cycle have been more or less attractive for migration in terms of labor opportunities.

Table 6: Age Shares of Immigrant Population by Region of Origin, EU 15 (2002)

	0-14	15-24	25-54	55-64	65+	Total
EU West (1)	6.62	9.15	51.72	13.3	19.21	100
EU South (2)	1.45	4.36	48.65	19.41	26.13	100
CEEC (3)	7.27	13.24	57.25	8.84	13.4	100
Turkey (others)	4.15	11.65	69.32	8.19	6.69	100
Africa, Middle East	2.31	7.8	59.12	15.5	15.26	100
USA, Canada, Australia	12.41	10.17	62.93	5.34	9.14	100
Latin, America, Caribb.	8.53	16.28	62.79	4.65	7.75	100
Asia	5.05	9.46	60.83	11.35	13.31	100
Total	4.68	8.76	56.01	13.49	17.07	100
EU 15	16.59	12.01	43.42	11.37	16.6	100

Notes: (1) EU 15 (except Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain) + Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Switzerland; (2) Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain; (3) New EU Member States, candidate countries, other countries in Central/Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Caucasus, Central Asia.

Source: LFS 2002, taken from Münz and Fassmann (2004).

Table 7: Percent of Native and Foreign Born Youth (15-24) of the Native and Foreign-born Population

Country	Native Born	Foreign Born
Australia	19.90	10.00
Austria	14.70	11.70
Belgium	15.30	10.00
Canada	18.60	10.00
Switzerland	15.10	11.90
Czech Republic	18.60	6.20
Germany	13.30	11.70
Denmark	13.50	17.70
Spain	16.20	16.80
Finland	15.30	23.50
France	17.00	7.90
United Kingdom	15.30	13.40
Greece	16.40	20.40
Hungary	17.60	11.80
Ireland	21.40	15.60
Italy	13.00	13.90
Japan	14.70	17.90
Luxembourg	15.90	11.20
Mexiko	30.40	26.40
Netherlands	14.90	12.50
Norway	15.00	16.50
New Zealand	18.40	14.50
Poland	21.10	1.60
Portugal	16.80	19.50
Slovak Republic	21.40	7.30
Sweden	16.70	14.10
Turkey	29.50	19.30
United States	16.30	14.90
OECD (weighted)	17.90	13.20
OECD (unweighted)	17.60	13.90

Source: OECD (2006).

Although there is very limited information on the numbers and share of migrant children for European Countries, in the United States, children and youth under the age of 18 are the fastest growing segment of the population (Van Hook and Fix 2000).

The profile of educational attainment of the foreign-born population within the EU also differs from that of the total population. On average, immigrants are more qualified than native born in terms of tertiary education achievement (23.6 percent of the foreign-born compared to 19.1 percent of the native-born). Differences in the educational distribution among migrants exits across countries because more recent migrants waves tend to be better educated as a results of more selective migration policies in many countries, compared to earlier waves.

Based on LFS data, Münz (2004) shows for the year 2002 that the share of people with low skills is higher among migrants than the share among the population of the EU15 (52 percent compared to 48 percent) (Münz 2004). However, also the share of high skilled is higher among the migrants than the share among the EU 15 (20 percent compared to 17 percent). A large difference can be observed when looking at medium skilled population. Here, the migrants are to a large extent underrepresented (28 percent compared to 39 percent of the EU15 average). The main reason for this is the high demand of the market economies in Western Europe for high and low skilled labor. Looking at differences in employment rates between migrants and the total population of the EU 15, it is observed that in the year 2002, on average, migrants have a slightly lower employment rate (61 percent) and higher unemployment rate (9.7 percent) than the average population of the EU 15 (64 percent and 7.8 percent, respectively) (Münz 2004).

There exist also substantial differences in labor market outcomes among migrants across countries. In most northern and central European Countries, the employment rate is below 50 percent, but higher in most southern European Countries

When looking on household composition and socioeconomic background, immigrants, on average, live larger household size than the native population. Children of immigrants live more often with other relatives than native children. In addition, immigrant families often confront educational and economic challenges. In EU countries, many children have parents with limited education. As a consequence, many immigrant children and immigrant youth experience poverty. Children and youth living in poor families often lack resources for decent housing, food, clothing, books, leisure activities, childcare, early, education, and health care. Children and youth in poor households also tend to experience several negative developmental outcomes including less success in school, lower educational attainment resulting in lower earnings during adulthood.

Migration to EU countries is gender balanced (OECD 2008). While there exists a gender bias in brain drain (women with tertiary education are more likely to migrate than men). Almost half of today's international migrants are women (United Nations 2004a). In Europe, the share was even 53.4 percent in the year 2005. During the last decades, there were continuously growing female specific sectors, especially in the tertiary and health sector and private housing, which have accelerated the migration of woman. Whereas for a long time women had only moved with their family, today, more and more women move alone and leave their families behind, which leads to the high share of the stock of female migrants. Young people built a higher flow of international migrants than the stock. About in third of all migrants from developing countries are young people, building about one fifth of the stock (World Bank 2007). This means that the age structure of migrants has become younger in recent years.

With respect to the length of the stay, the share of long-term migrants varies significantly across countries. For example, the share of recent migrants (five years or less) is high in Luxembourg, Norway, and Spain, while about 70 percent of migrants in France, Germany,

Australia, UK, Netherlands, Canada, and Australia are long-term migrants. This itself is a source of heterogeneity which is mostly correlated to other forms of migrant heterogeneity. For example, the high share of short-term migrants in tiny Luxembourg is driven by postings in Luxembourg's burgeoning financial sector from many other European countries.

3.3 Legal Framework, Policies and Institutions

The most important difference between European Countries and traditional immigration countries is not the numbers of migrants but the difference in migration policies.²⁴ Whereas, for example, the United States has had a relatively open and flexible immigration policy for the past two centuries, the policies in Europe show only very little flexibility; in fact, until recently, legal economic immigration was hardly possible. Despite this, levels of legal immigration through administrative decisions remained high, especially as a consequence of family reunification of former guest worker (Schain 2006), asylum policies, refugee programs, and other specialized provisions. More recently, restricted opportunities for high-skilled immigration have been instituted in most European countries. Unlike immigrants from non-EU countries, EU nationals are allowed to enter and live in other member states without the need for special visas or residence permits.²⁵

Given these tight restrictions on legal migration, it is an open question to what extent immigration into Europe is indeed influenced by economic factors and how much is explained by other factors like social networks, immigration policies, cultural and linguistic differences? Economic factors are important but so are traditional factors such as linguistic and cultural distance (Peder et al. 2006). In addition, Massey et al. (1999) show the importance of existing social networks.

The EU Commission has increased its efforts to promote the necessity of a global approach to immigration within the EU. Before the 1990s immigration policies were kept outside of the EU legal framework. However, by the early 1990s with the EU single market and the Schengen agreement including free movement within the EU member states, makes a common supranational coordination of immigrant inflows more important. And the EU enlargement in 2004 increased the need urgency to this debate. However currently, the policies concerning the control of migration remain the preserve of national governments.²⁶

²⁴ To make clear, immigration policies differ from immigrant policies. While the first is concerned with the regulation of the number of immigrants, immigrant policies are concerned with measures governing the immigrant's life in the host country (Marinello 2006).

²⁵ EU nationals and their families have the right to live every in the EU for three months, after they must be working, studying or be financially independent if they want to stay in that country. After five years, this right or resident becomes permanent. These rights are set out in detail in the 2006 European directive on free movement. However, the right of free movement does not automatically mean the right to work in another member state because EU members were allowed a transitional period of seven years before opening their labor markets to the new members.

²⁶ Most EU countries are part of the Schengen area, where passports checks and border controls have been abolished. In 1997, the Schengen agreement was merged into the Amsterdam treaty by the EU member states. In 2007, EU

For example, the European countries have strengthened the management of circular migration. The adaptation of national immigration and visa regimes to allow of circular migration is seen as an important instrument to address many migration challenges. For example, labor shortages would be met; developing countries would less worry about brain drain; illegally migration would drop as temporary workers are going home willingly (because they would be allowed to return). The IOM argues that dual citizenship and residence should be available for more migrants and that more flexible visa regimes should be established.

Regarding asylum seekers, international law under the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, sets down the rules for treating newly arrived refugees. The underlying EU law is the so-called Dublin regulation agreed in 2003. The regulation says that refugees are to be looked after by the EU country in which they first arrive. This means that a refugee cannot enter a EU country as a refugee with the aim of getting to another EU country, which have better working conditions or social security. Also important to note is that a person is not entitled to seek refugee status for being poor. However, migrants often claim asylum after being denied a work permit, or because there is no way to migrate legally, which undermines faith in the practice of the asylum process.

Migrant children and migrant youth can be directly and indirectly by immigration policies. Directly, because policies on long term residence, anti discrimination, family reunion and access to nationality determine the risk of deportation (whether alone or with other family member) after a certain period of being in the host country and also determine the integration opportunities both for first and second generation immigrant children and immigrant youth. Indirectly, because policies on the access to the labor market, access to nationality, and access to political participation determine the well-being and socioeconomic status of the household of immigrant children and immigrant youth. However, a comparative analysis on the effects of immigration polices remain a very difficult task because there exist a large heterogeneity among European countries with respect to above mentioned polices.

The 'migrant integration policy index' funded by the European Commission ranks the EU countries depending on how effective their integration laws are. Indicators, for example, are laws on family reunion, residence rights, labour market access, political participation, access to nationality and antidiscrimination. The 2007 survey shows that Finland, Sweden, the Western Mediterranean, the Benelux and the UK perform the most effective integration policies, whereas the polices of the Baltic republics, Denmark, the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean and central Europe perform worse (Niesson et al. 2007).

countries sign the Lisbon treaty were the members ratified that they switch all remaining EU decisions on asylum, immigration and integration to qualified majority voting after 2009. However, the treaty also makes clear that no harmonization will take place with respect to the decisions on the number of immigrants in each member state. In addition, also the laws on social welfare remain a matter of national law. In 2007, the Schengen area was extended by new EU members Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic (plus the two non-EU countries Norway and Iceland).

4. Migration and Well-being of Children and Youth

4.1 Measuring Human Well-being

Well-being is a description of an individual's standard of living. Although very different terms are used to describe well-being, here the term is used as synonymous to 'quality of life'.²⁷ Thus, well-being concepts try to assess an individuals' current standard of living. In addition, well-being indicators are also used to measure progress towards specific benchmarks set, for example, by the international community such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Several issues arise when conceptualizing and measuring human well-being. The first issue is concerned with the question of the identification of the relevant dimensions of well-being and of an appropriate measure for the living standard of individuals, i.e. what should 'well-being' measures try to measure? Historically, the measurement of poverty and well-being was dominated by the notion of economic well-being, i.e. equating the standard of living of person in terms of income and consumption levels. Improvements in human well-being are associated with a rise in average incomes or consumption levels per capita, or with a decreasing number of people below a specific poverty line, which is defined as the minimum threshold to satisfy the daily basic needs and which separates the poor from the non-poor.

Sen's capability approach (1985, 1987, 1988, and 1999) links well-being to broader concepts of freedom and human rights. Sen focuses on the multidimensionality of poverty and defines human well-being in terms of functionings and capabilities, where functionings are achievements of human well-being and capabilities the ability to achieve these functionings. The main advantage of the capability or rights-based approach is that it focuses directly on achievements in assessing well-being in terms of capabilities to achieve valuable functionings. In other words, well-being is defined as the 'end' to be achieved and capability as the freedom to achieve it (UNDP, 1990, 2000).²⁸ As money-metric indicators of poverty reflect only the means to achieve some (but far from all) functionings, they serve only as indirect measure of the standard of living, whereas direct measures are, for example, the status and access to health and education, which are two fundamental outcomes of human well-being and important factors for economic development (see e.g. Schultz, 1999; Strauss and Duncan, 1998). Thus, income is a 'means' and not an 'end'. Applied to the well-being of migrants, one would therefore not only focus on income differentials but study differences in a broad set of capabilities between migrants and native-borns.²⁹

²⁷ For a detailed overview about different terms of well-being, see, for example, McGillivray (2007).

²⁸ Such a capability or rights-based approach to human well-being or child development differs sharply from a utilitarian approach of maximizing wealth or consumption. For example, considering the Convention on the Rights of Children, article 29 about the goals of education illustrates this difference. Whereas an utilitarian approach to education would promote education that increase the sum of educational achievements and, therefore, target resources to those who are best able to use them, the rights-based approach calls for the maximization of the potential of each child, independently of whether this would lead to further growth and development (Klasen 2001).

²⁹ A related concept of 'equality of opportunities' was recently proposed by Roemer (1998) and applied by the World Bank in its 2005 World Development Report. This approach suggests that inequality of opportunities exists as long as

Applying this concept to the well-being of children necessitates some adjustments. First, it has to be recognized that children typically live as dependents in households and their well-being has to take account of that. Thus a well-being perspective will need to examine intra-household distributional issues to examine the well-being of children (see Klasen, 2001, 2003, 2007). Such a perspective may well lead to situations where households have incomes above the poverty line but children may still suffer from inadequate access to resources.³⁰ Second, a well-being perspective when applied to children must consider the intrinsic and instrumental relevance of childhood and youth. Children as human beings are endowed with the same right to be considered as 'ends' as anyone else; thus their well-being in terms of the capability approach should be intrinsically relevant. On the other hand, the opportunities and experiences of childhood and adolescence will critically shape their capabilities as adults; thus there is an important instrumental concern about child well-being (Klasen, 2001; 2003). In this context, education (both in the formal as well as in the informal sense as the skills one acquires) will be critical.

Based on the capability approach, the multidimensionality of poverty has been widely accepted and applied in the empirical analysis and measurement of well-being and poverty (see e.g. UNDP, 1990; World Bank, 2000; Bourguignon and Chakravarty, 2002; Tsui, 2001, Klasen, 2000).³¹ Many authors have emphasized the necessity of defining well-being and poverty as a multidimensional concept rather than relying on a single money-metric indicator. The explicit inclusion of non-monetary indicators and among the MDGs reflects that these indicators are fundamental dimensions of human well-being (Cornia et al., 2007).³²

Another advantage of the capability approach is that it allows researchers to adjust techniques of analysis depending on the context of the underlying study. Sen (1976) proposes the measurement of poverty and well-being in two phases, namely identification and aggregation. In particular, the identification phase is concerned with the choice of the dimensions and respective indicators of well-being and with the choice of an analysis unit. Within the aggregation phase, the all information is aggregated into an index of poverty or well-being. While the capability approach by Sen provides the most solid framework for defining multidimensional human well-being and poverty, the question that remains unanswered in the capability approach is the choice

circumstances which include migrant status, parental background, race, ethnicity, nationality, etc have a significant impact on outcomes (such as earnings or household incomes).

³⁰ Related arguments have been made regarding gender. Sen (1999) distinguishes also between female agency and female well-being. He argues that strengthening female agency (i.e. empowerment) will lead to an increased capability to achieve female well-being. See also Klasen (2007).

³¹ The plurality of dimensions of human well-being was also one of the central focuses in the recent welfare literature that proposes a set of indicators describing the standard of living (see, e.g. Townsend, 1985). Most attempts are related to economic resources, education, health, social relations, and subjective deprivations.

³² The most prominent composite indicators of human well-being are the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI).

of the capabilities to be included in an evaluation.³³ Many different dimensions of well-being have been identified depending on the place and situation, the level of analysis, and the information available. Well-being refers to being well, which means being able to live long, being well nourished, being healthy, and being literate, etc. Specific indicators, therefore, are life expectancy, child and infant mortality, access to health services, access to clean water and sanitation, literacy, years of schooling, and school enrollment ratios. While some indicators of well-being reflect the progress towards fundamental development goals, others can be seen primarily as intermediate indicators of well-being. For example, Narayan et al. (2000) identifies a set of basic capabilities of human well-being that is built of six main categories, material well-being, bodily well-being, social well-being, security, freedom of choice and action, and psychological well-being (Table 8).³⁴

Table 8: Dimensions and Indicators of human well-being

Dimension of well-being	Indicator
Material well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food • Assets • Work
Bodily well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being and appearing well • Health • Appearances • Physical environment
Social well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being able to care, bring up, marry and settle children • Self-respect and dignity • Peace, harmony, good relations in the family/community
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil peace • A physical safe and secure environment • Personal physical security • Lawfulness and access to justice • Security in old age • Confidence in future
Freedom of choice and action	
Psychological well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace of mind • Happiness • Harmony (including religious observance)

Source: Narayan et al. (2000).

The second issue deals with the perspective to be taken when assessing human well-being. This refers on the one hand to the question whether well-being should be defined in 'absolute' or 'relative' terms, and on the other hand, whether from an 'objective' or 'subjective' perspective. The international community often takes an absolute perspective for developing countries,

³³ In addition, the question of the relative weights given to each component may be controversial (Sen 1992).

³⁴ Other attempts to categorize dimensions of well-being are, for example, proposed by Doyal and Gough (1991), Max-Neef (1993). Nussbaum (2000) identifies 12 basic functional capabilities, namely life, bodily health, senses, imaginations, thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, material, control over one's environment. For a more detailed description and discussion of several attempts to define well-being and identify basic human needs, see Alkire (2002). Klasen (2000) constructs a deprivation index including variables for education, wealth, housing, sanitation, energy, employment, transport, financial services, nutrition, health care, safety, perceived well-being.

where poverty lines are based on a minimum calorie intake, and a relative perspective for developed countries, where poverty lines are defined as a percentage of a mean or median income of a given population. For instance, the World Bank currently applies the one US\$ PPP per capita per day poverty line to developing countries whereas the EU defines the poor as people with an income below the poverty line of 60 percent of the median income in the respective country.³⁵

In recent years, the discussion and measurement of subjective measures of well-being has been growing. Many sociologists and anthropologists focus also on subjective well-being measures, such as the economics of happiness (Veenhoven 2004). In such a subjective perspective, responses to questions about happiness and life satisfaction are taken as the basic building bloc of well-being assessment, linking subjective well-being to family status, health, social support, and employment (Easterlin 1974, 2003). Inherent in such subjective and participatory approaches to measure human well-being is the assumption that participation will enhance human well-being both as 'end' in itself but also as a 'means' for a better representation of other dimensions of an individual's well-being (White and Pettit 2004).

Related to this discussion of well-being and poverty, more recent developments emphasize also the social inclusion (or exclusion) as an alternative attempts to define well-being, focusing on the social process that hamper individuals from acquiring resources to meet their basic needs (see, e.g. Silver, 1994 and Cannan, 1997). Following the social inclusion approach, individuals can be excluded in three basis dimensions, economically, for example, through exclusion from the labor market in the formal sector, politically through, for example, a lack of participation in political activities, and culturally through, for example, through exclusion from benefits from social networks.³⁶ Focusing on the measurement of social exclusion in developed countries, Atkinson (1998) identifies three basis categories of social exclusion, namely relativity (i.e. exclusion relative to a specific social norm), agency (i.e. exclusion as a result from the actions of agents), and dynamics (i.e. future aspects are as relevant as the current situation).³⁷

A third issue when assessing human well-being is the time dimension, which has been neglected in the discourse on the definition and measurement of poverty and well-being for a long time. Time in well-being analysis can refer both static versus dynamic well-being measures as well as to ex-post versus ex-ante well-being analysis. Time or duration certainly is an important aspect for the understanding of individual's current as well as lifetime well-being (Baulch and Hoddinott 2000). Whereas there is a long history of thinking of well-being over time at the macro-level (see, e.g. the World Development Reports), the study of micro-level poverty

³⁵ In the multidimensional approach to measure well-being and poverty, one poverty line is defined for each attribute. Poverty lines used in multidimensional poverty analysis typically relay on the absolute approach to define poverty lines because most social indicators like life expectancy are better expressed in absolute terms (see, e.g. Chakravarty, 2002 and Tsui, 2002).

³⁶ For a more detailed discussion, see, for example, Strobel (1996), Atkinson (1998), and Evans (1998).

³⁷ See also Klasen (2001) for a discussion, and Bossert and D'Ambrosio (2006) for a proposal for such a measure.

dynamics, i.e. the study of chronic versus transient poverty, had been largely neglected until the late 1990s, mostly due to data limitation. Furthermore, in recent years, the concept of well-being dynamics has moved from an 'ex-post' to an 'ex-ante' analysis, acknowledging that an individual's current or past well-being might not be good indicator for his or her poverty risk, or in other words his or her vulnerability to poverty (Calvo and Dercon 2005), which might not only influence the individual's future well-being but also on his or her current well-being. This literature, however, is still in its infancy both from a conceptual as well as from a methodological perspective.³⁸

4.2 Measuring Well-being of Migrant Children and the Youth

Based on the right-based approach of well-being in the foregoing section, in this section we describe possible framework to measure well-being of migrant children and migrant youth. The general approach taken is that measuring the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth can be seen as a subfield of the well-being measurement literature.

Several issues arise when assessing the wellbeing situation of migrant children. First, we need to distinguish how children and the youth are affected by migration. Second, we need to choose appropriate dimensions and indicators of well-being, bearing in mind the 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' importance of childhood and youth that was just discussed.

How can one distinguish between first and second generation migrants?

What dimensions to choose ?

What indicators?

What is the reference group?

The main issue to address is the question what dimensions of well-being should be considered. In the case of studying the impact of migration on children and the youth, the choice of the dimensions heavily depends on the availability of data.

It is difficult to select the dimensions of human well-being that are related to migrant children, because first, the relevant dimensions have to be chosen at the start of the analysis. Whereas Nussbaum (2000) argues there should be list of core capabilities Sen (1998) argues that capabilities should be selected in the light of the purpose of the study and be based on a process

³⁸ A glaring shortcoming of static indicators of well-being is that they do not distinguish between those who are transiently poor or chronically poor. Especially in European countries, where policy interventions increasingly focusing on long term well-being (e.g. unemployment, pension systems), the time dimension has become increasingly important for the measurement of well-being. Children and the youth, those who face discrimination, are most vulnerable for being chronically poor because their future economic and social position heavily depends on the current position of their parents.

of public discussion in the society for which the assessment should be undertaken. While these are important debates, we would propose to be rather pragmatic here and focus on established indicators of capabilities used by authors such as Alkire (2002), Klasen (2000), and Narayan et al (2000).

Even if these disagreements can be settled, a number of critical questions arise when applying these well-being measurement concepts to migrant children. Let us raise these questions and then propose ways to move forward. Following from the discussion above, well-being issues will differ greatly if we talk about well-being directly associated with the process of migration. If this is our focus, procedural legal, economic, and social issues will be of particular importance. We may also want to focus (or at least also consider) those left behind and there is indeed some literature pointing to the important economic and social issues in this context (e.g. Hugo, 2002; Westin, 2002). Alternatively, we may want to mainly focus on the situation in the host country after migration has taken place. If we focus on the situation in the host country, we have to decide whether to focus just on first-generation immigrant children, or also on the next (or even third) generation.

While clearly the process of migration is critical and the impact on those left behind of great importance (as already discussed above), the focus here is to concentrate on the long-term well-being of migrant children in the host country. This is done for several reasons. First, the long-term well-being is, at least in the long-term, of greatest importance to migrants as well as their host societies. Second, our approaches to the measurement of well-being are particularly suited to capture these long-term aspects. Third, such an assessment will place the focus on the economic and social systems of host countries as the critical drivers of well-being of migrants.

An important further issue to consider is the relevant comparison group. As discussed above, voluntary migrants might compare their economic and social status to the situation in their country of origin; their children might also compare themselves with the native population (depending on the age of their migration). While from a subjective assessment the perceived reference group is important, for the analysis of migrant children (particularly those that same with their parents) the comparison with the native population should be the relevant one. This is all the more the case, the more distant migration was, and certainly should be the case for second generation children.³⁹

In this context, another distinction between doing well and being well might be worth emphasizing. Migrant children and migrant youth face considerable difficulties of maintaining their sense of self-worth. The topic of self-esteem has particular relevance to the question of the subjective well-being of migrant children and migrant youth but also on the objective outcomes

³⁹ Of course, such comparisons should not be confused with ways to measure 'assimilation' of migrants in some social or cultural sense. These well-being comparisons should ideally compare economic and social opportunities and not measure a process of erasing difference.

of well-being. For example, the achievement in education of migrant children and migrant youth may also be hampered by low self-esteem in a foreign and different society (see, e.g. Harter et al., 1998). A body of literature suggests that there exist, furthermore, a strong relationship between self-esteem, school performance and parental care (see, e.g. Bankston and Zhou, 2002).

Lastly, it is important to consider that the well-being of children will depend greatly on the households they live in; something over which they tend to have little control. While attempts should be made to measure their individual well-being, often it is only possible to comment on the economic and social situation of the household. For example, analyses of child poverty typically measure the share of children that live in poor households (rather than examine the plight of the children directly, e.g. Smeeding et al. 2002); in other dimensions, it is possible to study the children directly.⁴⁰

To summarize the discussion, child well-being (including agency) in the way conceptualized using the capability approach will be a multidimensional concept that will consider education, health, economic well-being, opportunities for social integration, and the ability to actively shape one's life and surroundings. The particular indicators for each dimension that could play a role are summarized in Table 8 below.

⁴⁰ For a related discussion of the well-being by gender, see Klasen, 2007.

Table 8: Well-being Dimensions and Indicators of Migrant Children and Migrant Youth

Dimension	Indicator
Employment / Unemployment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal opportunities (migrants-natives; women-man) • Employment status • Sector of Employment • Durations of unemployment • Subjective importance of work and job characteristics
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to educational institutions • Level of education • Enrollment status • Educational outcomes • Investment in education (household) • Engagement in school and afterschool activities
Standard of Living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing characteristics • Household structure (size, number of children) • Assets • Income/expenditure • Poverty • Subjective importance of income
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health status (morbidity/mortality) • Subjective evaluation of health status • Access to health system • Health expenditures • Health prevention • Health knowledge • Health behavior • Mental health
Social cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social security coverage • Access to social services (insurances) • Discrimination • Social exclusion • Identity • Measures of social capital • Measures of integration • Relationship with family members • Transition to adulthood • Parenting/child abuse
Safety and crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of safety • Structure of victims • Victimization • Fear/risk of deportation

Source: Illustration by the authors.

Loosely based on the capability approach, UNICEF (2007) provides a comprehensive list of indicators to examine the well-being of children in rich countries and also provides an assessment of the situation of well-being of children and youth in 21 developed countries. Well-being of children and youth is measured in six different dimensions, material well-being, health and safety, educational well-being, family and peer relationships, behaviors and risks, and subjective well-being. For each dimension, several indicators are defined, which are shown in Table 9:

While this conceptualization usefully summarizes many useful indicators related to children, it is not always clear how to interpret the information. As shown by UNICEF (2007) country rankings are very different for different indicators so it matters which dimensions are considered. But it is not always clear whether a particular characteristic is really a well-being problem per se, or merely possibly correlated with one. For example, is it necessarily the case that growing up in a single-parent family or not eating the main meal of the day with the parents is a well-being problem in itself? The problem appears to be that the approach mixes inputs, outputs, risks, and well-being outcomes and it is hard to therefore come to a comprehensive assessment. It might be preferable to focus on well-being outcomes and only consider indicators related to that.

There are also practical problems with this approach. For example, the indicator 'number infants that die before their first birthday' has some serious limitations, because, first, numbers are overall very low in industrialized countries, and, second, since we are interested in the well-being of migrant children, i.e. a specific sub-group of the total population, we are interested in differential mortality by specific socio economic characteristics. Therefore, subjective health indicator provides a useful starting point for a better assessment of the health status of migrant children (see also Atkinson et al. 2004). However, subjective indicators of well-being face problems with respect to their interpretation and comparability.

The report provides both, an average ranking for 6 dimensions as well as for each dimension separately. One glaring finding is that, when looking comparing outcomes for each dimension, in some country, very different outcomes appear for each dimensions of well-being. For example, whereas in the Netherlands the material well-being of children and youth is very high, however, the subjective well-being is very low, which illustrates the discussed problem that material well-being must not be a good indicator for subjective well-being. In contrast, the United States and United Kingdom show a very homogenous picture across the well-being dimension. To the extent that these differences are not driven by the problems described above, studying them would be a very worthwhile endeavor.

Table 9: Dimensions of well-being to examine child well-being in rich countries by UNICEF

Dimension	Components	Indicators
1. Material well-being	relative income poverty	percentage of children living in homes with equivalent incomes below 50% of the national median
	households without jobs	percentage of children without an employment adult
	reported deprivation	percentage of children reporting low family affluence percentage of children reporting few educational resources percentage of children reporting fewer than 10 books in the home
2. Health and Safety	health at age 0-1	number of infants dying before age 1 per 1000 births percentage of infants born with low birth weight
	preventative health services	percentage of children age 12 to 23 months immunized against measles, DPT, and polio
	safety	deaths from accidents and injuries per 100,000 aged 0-19
3. Educational well-being	school achievement at age 15	average achievement in reading literacy average achievement in mathematical literacy average achievement in science literacy
	beyond basics	percentage aged 15-19 remaining in education
	the transition to employment	percentage aged 15-19 not in education, training or employment percentage of 15 years-olds expecting to find low-skilled work
4. Relationships	family structure	percentage of children living in single-parent families percentage of children living in step families
	family relationships	percentage of children who report eating the main meal of the day with parents more than once a week percentage of children who report that parents spend time 'just talking' to them
	peer relationships	percentage of 11, 13 and 15 years-olds who report finding their peers 'kind and helpful'
5. Behaviours and Risks	health behaviours	percentage of children who eat breakfast percentage who eat fruit daily percentage physically active percentage overweight
	risk behaviours	percentage of 15 years-olds who smoke percentage who have been drunk more than twice percentage who use cannabis percentage having sex by age 15 percentage who use condoms teenage fertility rate
	experience of violence	percentage of 11, 13 and 15 years-olds involved in fighting in last 12 months percentage reporting being bullied in last 12 months
6. Subjective well-being	health	percentage of young people rating their own health no more
	school life	percentage of young people 'liking school a lot'
	personal well-being	percentage of children rating themselves above the mid-point of a 'life satisfaction scale' percentage of children reporting negatively about personal well-being

Source: UNICEF (2007).

The Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics (2007) provide a similar list of dimensions and indicators to measure child-wellbeing in the United States. Especially within the health dimension, one important indicator is additionally taken into account, in particular, emotional and behavioral difficulties, which is directly linked to mental health problems.

Another way to tackle the question of well-being of migrant children is to consider the particular risks they might face as a result of their migrant status. These are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10: Risk of children and youth affected by Migration

Left behind	Migrating with family	Migrating alone (whether forced or voluntarily)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less parental care • Drug abuse • Lack of health • Lack of schooling • Teenage pregnancy • Psychological problems • Pressure to become labor migrant as part of transition to adulthood <p>When father migrates:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased responsibility for women and children • Female headed households face higher risk of poverty • Household vulnerability • Material and psychological insecurity <p>When mother migrates:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater Risk of dropping out of school • Abuse of children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of educational opportunities • Lack of health • Teenage pregnancy • Incomplete citizenship rights • Difficult access to social services • Reduced access to employment • Social exclusion • Discrimination, victimization • Identity • Intergenerational tension • Barriers (language, culture, race) • Vulnerability • Poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of schooling • Lack of health • Drug abuse • Teenage pregnancy • Crime commitment • Absence of adult protection • Risk of trafficking and exploitation • Social exclusion • Discrimination • Identity • Psychological problems • Barriers (language, culture, race) • Lack of birth registration (stateless) • Increased risk of vulnerability • Increased risk of poverty

Source: Illustration by the authors.

Lastly, it is possible to take the EU approach of measuring social exclusion (based on the Laeken approach) to child well-being. An example with possible indicators is shown in Table 11 below.

While these debates have so far focused on measuring the well-being of children, a critical research issue will be to study the determinants of well-being of migrant children. To do that, one needs to specify the linkages between determinants and outcomes. In fact, one way of re-thinking the plethora of indicators proposed by UNICEF above is to examine to what extent some of them might be determinants of others and how the linkages operate. Well-being can be thought to be a function of characteristics of the child and the respective household, specific household socio-economic characteristics and the timing since migration, etc. To summarize the factors that need to be studied when measuring the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth, we can express a basic equation for well-being written as:

$$\text{well-being of migrant children} = f(H, B, C, D \text{ etc})$$

H is a vector of human capital variables, including, for example, the age of the child, the age at immigration, its health endowments and health care access, its language skills, and its educational opportunities. B is a vector of demographic and economics characteristics such as gender, marital status of the parents, household size and household structure, household income, race and ethnicity, C can be a vector of the country of origin to capture country fixed effects and differences in the outcome depending at the country of origin; D can capture effects that are particular to immigrants groups or the immigration process (e.g. illegal labor migrants, asylum seekers, particular constraint and opportunities of certain ethnic background due to migration networks and/or discrimination and disadvantage, advantages and disadvantages associated with the migration process). Such a production function can then guide research on the determinants that have a particularly large impact on well-being of children.

Table 11: Indicators of Child Well-Being according to their availability in EU Countries

Economic security and material situation	Type A indicators	Type B indicators	Type C indicators
	Child poverty risk, gap between child poverty risk and poverty risk and poverty risk of the total population	Deprivation related to economic strain (fulfillment of basic needs, capacity to face unexpected required expenses, enforced lack of durables) (EL)	Affordability of childcare, impact of non-cash benefits
	Relative median poverty risk gap of the children	Percentage of children living in a household that cannot afford one week holiday away from home (BE)	At-risk-poverty rate among children (threshold fixed at the level of the minimum of subsistence) (PL)
	Persistent child poverty risk	Deprivation related to the lack of educational and/or cultural goods such as books, internet connection, educational games, etc. (SK)	Percentage of children living in households with low incomes in an absolute sense (Great Britain)
	In-work poverty risk of households with dependent children		
	Anchored at-risk-of-poverty rate for children and for households with children		
	Children living in jobless households by household types, in % of total number of children living in jobless households		
	Employment impact of parenthood: EES indicator showing the difference in percentage points in employment rates with/without children aged 0-6 (LFS)		
Housing	Type A indicators	Type B indicators	Type C indicators
	Life expectancy at birth	Housing comfort (BE)	Percentage of children living in overcrowded dwellings (RO)
		Housing shortcomings (BE)	Percentage of children aged 10-18 living in a home with not enough space for an own room (SE)
		Housing space (BE)	Percentage of children without an own room (DE)
			Proportion of children who live in a home that falls below the set standard of decency (England)
Health	Type A indicators	Type B indicators	Type C indicators
	Infant mortality rate (BE, DE, FR, IT, MT, RO, FI, SE)	Infant mortality rate (BE, DE, FR, IT, MT, RO, FI, SE)	% of children with low birth weight (DE, IE, MT, SE)
	Low birth weight (BE, MT)	Low birth weight (BE, MT)	% of mothers breastfeeding their child at 6 weeks or more (Scotland)
	Body Mass Index (DE, FR, MT)	Body Mass Index (DE, FR, MT)	Vaccination rate among children (BE, MT, SK)
	Access to health care and dental care (see EU-SILC module 2009)	Access to health care and dental care (see EU-SILC module 2009)	% of children (a) at age 5; and (b) aged 11-12 years with no signs of dental disease (Scotland)
	Child injury rates (SE, SK, Scotland)	Child injury rates (SE, SK, Scotland)	% of children at age 3, 6, and 12 without caries (SE)
	Suicide rates (FR, Scotland)	Suicide rates (FR, Scotland)	% of children meeting the minimum recommended level of physical activity (Scotland)
	Breakfast every day, proteins every day (see EU-SILC module 2009; see also Health Interview Survey in MT)	Breakfast every day, proteins every day (see EU-SILC module 2009; see also Health Interview Survey in MT)	% of children eating more healthy, with at least 5 or more portions of fruit and vegetables daily (Scotland)
			% children with overweight (FI, SE, England)
			Mental well-being (DE, SE)
			Percentage of children affected by chronically diseases (DE, RO)
			Incidence of infectious diseases: SK (national, regional and district level), MT (national level)

Education	Type A indicators	Type B indicators	Type C indicators
	Early school leavers	Pupil/teachers ratio (MT)	School failure rate in the lower secondary education (PT, RO)
	PISA – Literacy performance of pupils aged 15 (BE, DK)	Accessible child care before and after school (SK)	Difference in reading abilities between 25% most privileged pupils and 25% least privileged pupils (BE), reading deficiencies (FR)
		Computer/Internet access at school (MT, SK)	Percentage of pupils reaching the goals in the compulsory school, i.e. passing (SE)
			Inadequate schooling, not completed comprehensive education (FI)
			Percentage of pre-school education centres that are rated as at least “good” on the HMIE52 quality indicators (Scotland)
			Computer usage rates in and outside school; frequency of usage; availability of internet access (DE)
			Young people (15-19) who have finished school but are not at work, in education, military service or in pension (FI, MT)
			Schools that are health promoting (Scotland)
			Access to affordable food services facilities in schools (SK)
Exposure to risk and risk behavior	Type A indicators	Type B indicators	Type C indicators
		School truancy (MT at ages 15-16, SK)	Exposure of children to violence or crime (SK)
		Teenage pregnancy (MT)	Risk behavior of children
			Teenage pregnancy - adolescent fertility rate, births per 1000 girls aged 13-16 (MT, SE); idem DE (at ages 15-19)
			Percentage of children with high alcohol consumption (MT, SE, Scotland)
			Percentage of children aged 11-15 smoking cigarettes regularly (England, MT at ages 13-14 and 15-16)
			Percentage of smokers aged 15-24 (BE, MT at ages 15-16 and 18-24, FI, SE)
			Proportion of women who continued to smoke throughout pregnancy (England)
			Percentage of children and young people under 25 who are involved in substance misuse (MT under 24, Scotland)
			Percentage of children who have been offered narcotics (age 15) (MT, SE)
			Percentage of children age 15 participating in a criminal activity (MT, SE)
			Percentage of children age 15 experienced crime (DE, MT, SE)
			Suicide and self-harm rates among 10-24 year olds (Scotland)
			Percentage of students age 10-18 saying they have been harassed, beaten etc. by other children/ by a teacher (SE)

Note: Type A indicators based on commonly agreed EU indicators. Type B indicators that could be available for all EU member States (based on EU data like EU-SILC) but which are only used by some countries. These indicators are not included in the common EU indicators; Type C indicators used by some countries either as an alternative to the common EU indicators, or to cover specific groups of children, or to cover dimension of wellbeing which are not yet considered by the common EU indicators.

Source: European Commission (2008).

5. Empirical Evidence on Well-being of Migrant Children and Migrant Youth in the EU

In this section, we want to briefly discuss existing literature about dimensions of well-being of migrants and migrant children in the EU. We focus on four dimensions on well-being, in particular poverty and economic integration, education, social exclusion, and health. We show for each dimension the effect of the migration status, the determinants that influence the differences in well-being between migrant children and migrant youth and we identify and summarize the most significant shortcoming of the existing literature in EU countries by considering also empirical literature of traditional migration countries.

5.1 Poverty, Assimilation and Economic Integration

Poverty among immigrant families is a major problem in OECD countries. For example, in the United States, African Americans, Latin Americans, and Native Americans have poverty rates that are three times higher than that for the European Americans (DeNavas-Walt et al. 2005). Even higher rates are found when also the intergenerational status of immigrant families is taken into account. First generations immigrant families show considerable higher poverty rates than second generation immigrant families. However, although poverty rates tend to decrease in the second generation, it can also be transferred, sometimes in accentuated fashion, to the second and third generation.

What factors drive inequality in well-being between immigrant children and immigrant youth compared to the native population? Models of integration suggest three different paths that children of migrants can take (Boyd 2002). First, the so-called '*linear*' assimilation implies that typically occur after two of three generation in the destination countries, the socio-economic and socio-cultural different between migrants and native-born population diminish. The *linear assimilation theory* is based on research on early waves of European immigrants to the United States. The main assumption of the theory is a single trajectory of upward mobility of immigrants over time (Rumbaut 1997). Over time the educational achievement, earnings and socioeconomic status catch up to that of the native population. In other word, we would expect that over time inequalities in well-being between immigrants and natives disappear.

Second, the so-called '*segmented*' assimilation implies intergenerational socioeconomic improvements of migrants that are accompanied by a preservation of the ethnic and socio-cultural background. The *segmented assimilation theory* suggests that there are three different routes of integration possible for first and second generation immigrant: upward mobility into the middle class, downward mobility into the underclass, and advancement within the ethnic community (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Borjas, 1992).

Third, there is also a possibility of socio-economic disadvantages, especially for groups that do not manage to decrease language and cultural barriers over time or facing other forms of social and economic exclusion. The path of assimilation depends not only on economic, social, political, and cultural factors but also on the process of adaptation immigrant households make towards their new environments across generations including the adoption of social norms, the accumulation of human capital investments (Borjas 2006). According to the theory of assimilation, the socio-economic status of migrants in the host country is positively correlated with the length of the time since arriving and negatively correlated with the age at time of arrival (Kazemipur and Halli 2001). With longer stay in the destination country, immigrants manage to diminish language and cultural barriers, improve their educational and occupational skills, enter into or create social networks which results in a better socio-economic position. Matto et al. (2005) find large differences in the occupational attainment of migrants with similar educational level than native-born workers in the United States. Based on estimates using the European Community Household Panel (ECHP), Adsera and Chiswick (2006) also show the differences in earning between migrants and native-born workers for 15 European countries. They show that the differences in earning decrease with the time since migration. Immigrants earning catch-up to those of the native workers after about 18 years of stay in the destination host country; but this is just an average hiding a great deal of heterogeneity between more successful and less successful migrant groups

The situation for migrant children differs from those of their parents. For those already born in the host country, the assimilation process already starts with their birth in the host country. Second generation migrants are assumed to catch-up even faster because they often do not face large language and cultural barriers as they parents had to struggle with. Very limited empirical evidence exists about the economic situation of the second generation of migrants living in Western European countries. Structural barriers might lead to segmented assimilation that is characterized by a downward mobility in terms of objective and subjective dimensions of human well-being.⁴¹

Westin (2003) shows for Sweden that rates of unemployment are considerably higher for second-generation migrants than for native-born Swedish youth. Worbs (2003) presents similar results for Germany. The second generation of migrants in Germany, in particular the children of the former *guestworker* face a worse socio-economic position than the native-born German. From all ethnic groups among the second generation, children of Turkish migrants are the ones whose are most disadvantaged. Ethnic disparities in education among the second generation of migrants are also found in the United States (Feliciano 2005).

Migration widens the opportunities to work. However, entry barriers to employment affect migrant children trying to enter many occupations in many Western European countries. As a

⁴¹ Borjas (2006) find considerable empirical evidence for economic assimilation of the second generation of immigrants in the U.S.

result, migrant youths often tend to work only in distinct occupations. The most frequent jobs for young men are particularly involving heavy manual labor (e.g. construction or agriculture) and young women tend to work in the service sector (World Bank 2007). The kind of clustering of occupation of young migrant workers mainly stems from the relatively low entry barriers into these jobs and little work experience and education. In addition, even migrants from developing countries with high levels of education have difficulties to find job in the field they are trained in, depending on the country of origin (Mattoo et al. 2005). For example, an educated person from India has a higher probability to find a job in the USA than a person from Mexico with a similar level of education.

Many questions in this literature remain unanswered. In particular, it is unclear what explains the very heterogeneous economic experience of migrants European countries. In particular, the role of the different migration regimes, host country versus country of origin effects, the role of labor market and social policies in affecting this experience are all issues that deserve greater scrutiny.

5.2 Education

A successful integration of migrant youth and migrant children is essential for ensuring social cohesion in receiving countries. Education plays a central role in this process, because schools set the stage of integration of migrant children and migrant youth into the society and economic system of the host country.

In the long run, educational attainment is one of the most important means to obtain a more favorable occupation. Lower educational attainments among international migrants help to explain the concentration of migrant employees in certain job sectors and industrial branches. Given the differences in fertility between natives and immigrants and the increasing share of second generation immigrants among the youth population in European countries, a growing share of lower educated population has severe negative socioeconomic consequences (Mayer and Riphahn 2000).

What impact has the migration status on educational outcomes and educational achievements and what factors determine differences between migrant children and migrant youth compared to the native population? In contrast to other dimensions of well-being, a relatively rich empirical literature is available on the differences in educational outcomes and educational achievement between migrant children and migrant youth in European countries. Mainly seven determinants of differences in educational achievement and educational outcomes can be found in the literature:

- socioeconomic background and family cohesion;
- problems of integration;
- language difficulties;
- school segregation (concentration of immigrant peers);
- process of selection of migrants;
- level of education of parents;
- first versus second generation migrants (or time since migration).

Most empirical studies analyzing the differences in educational outcomes between migrant children and migrant youth in European countries focus on the relatively poor socioeconomic background of migrants (Ammermüller; 2005; Frick and Wagner, 2001; Gang and Zimmerman 2000). Although their countries of origin are different and although immigrant groups are very diverse, on average, they are less educated than natives in most European countries and the acceleration in educational achievements of immigrants (both children and adults) is still an ongoing challenge (Hernandez 2004). The differences in the family socioeconomic background of children with a migration background compared to the native population are of particular importance for differences in school performances in European countries (see also, for example, Gang and Zimmermann, 2000; Frick and Wagner, 2001).

Acquiring cognitive and social skills is a dynamic process, which means that investment in children in different stages of their life affects the formation of different kinds of abilities. Heckmann (2000) suggests that longer-term socio-economic factors like parental care and family resources available to children over the life cycle are far more important for promoting readiness for higher level education and social attachment than family income during the relatively short period of adolescence. The impacts of factors operating in early childhood cumulate in later years of life in the form of improved cognitive and social skills, which explains inequalities in later socio-economic attainment.

As a result of low income, lack of language proficiency, and low parental background places many immigrant children at higher risk of lower readiness for school and face considerable problems of integration (Levin and Belfield 2002). Therefore, increased attention has been giving to the role that preschools and after school programs can play to foster children's school readiness and later educational success and their integration (Hernandez 2004). However, immigrant children are often bypassed by the access to preschool and after school programs. Immigrant children whose parents do not sufficiently speak the native language often show lower rates of enrolment in kindergardens. Therefore, especially in poor immigrants households,

children are more likely to stay at home and less likely to participate in preschool (Chiswick and DebBurman 2006). Other factors that hamper immigrant children from participating in preschool include the concern about the legal status, knowledge about the access opportunities to preschools, or cultural and linguistic preferences (Matthews and Even 2006). While the role of preschools and after school programs has been analyzed in traditional immigration countries, lack of research is still a problem for most European countries.

After school programs and participation in leisure activities such as sports and clubs help immigrant children to integrate into the social environment and to help to build social skills (Moore and Halle 1997). However, participation rates in after school programs or activities are substantially lower for immigrant children than for native children, even when controlling for income (Reardon-Anderson et al. 2002).

School segregation, i.e. the educational system in the host country and how the immigrant children and youth are distributed across schools within the host country, is an important determinant to explain educational inequality, which has been comparatively neglected in the empirical research, especially when focusing on second generation migrant children and migrant youth, because they experience the same educational institution like native pupils. In particular, peer effects on educational outcome are shown to positively influence the educational outcomes of migrant children and youth (see, e.g. Hanushek et al. 2003). However, if the majority of migrants pupils attend schools with, on average, lower school performance than schools populated by native pupils then migrant pupils are not able to take advantage from these peer group effects resulting in an overall lower school performance.

For example, Dustman (2004) and Hanushek and Wößmann (2006) provide a critical assessment of the selective German school system which streams children (usually at age 10) into three types of schools largely based on skills and ability. It is argued that early differentiation by skills have negative impacts on migrant children because they often come to school with lower language skills or social deficit resulting in poor school performance. Thus, early differentiation by skills hampers these children to catch to the native counterparts. In other words, the type the school system can accelerate inequalities in educational outcomes between migrant children and migrant youth compared to native pupils especially due to missing social interaction between high and low ability pupils (Entorf and Lauk, 2008; Brunello and Giannini, 2004; Dobbstein et al., 2002, Meier et al., 2004, and Wößmann, 2006). In this context, Entorf and Lauk (2008) examine the effects of peer groups and social multipliers in ability-differencing school systems and non-comprehensive school systems using PISA data. They found that migrant-to-migrant peer effects are higher in inability differencing schools than social interaction in non-comprehensive school system and, therefore, this school type tend to magnify inequalities in educational achievement between migrant children having a low socioeconomic background compared to children having

a higher socioeconomic background.⁴² The main reason for this is the social clustering in these school types of children with low socioeconomic background on the hand (mostly immigrant children and immigrant youth) and children with high socioeconomic background on the hand. Hence, in those countries, where family socioeconomic background has a large impact on educational outcome like Germany and Switzerland immigrants' educational inequality is not likely to change over time, whereas countries with a relatively low social gradient like Sweden manage to lower educational dispersion (Schnepf 2008).⁴³

Besides the educational system also the immigration policies in the host countries determine differences in education between immigrants and the native population. Immigration policies determine the degree of heterogeneity of immigrants and set the stage of integration. Countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand have a strict immigration policy are more likely to select highly skilled immigrants. Given that the parental socioeconomic background is a main determinant of educational achievement of children, it could be assumed that inequality in education is lower in these countries in contrast to countries with a less restrictive immigration policy like, for example, Germany, Sweden, and the United States (here policies often address family reunification in former guest worker countries) resulting in a more heterogeneous group of immigrant intake in terms of their socioeconomic background, which would lead to higher educational inequality in these countries. Entorf and Minoiu (2005) analyze the role of migration policies by comparing educational achievements of migrant youth and migrant children in European countries (France, Finland, Germany, United Kingdom and Sweden) with migrant children and migrant youth in traditional countries of immigration (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States). They also confirm that in countries with less selective migration policies higher language barriers and lower socioeconomic background lead to high inequality in education that also tend to persist over time.

Numerous studies show that the educational attainment of the parents is the most important factor that explains the educational achievement of the second generation migrants (see, e.g. Neels and Stoop, 1999; Kalter and Kogan, 2002; Vanours and Veenmann, 2001). The educational level of children is strongly by their parents endowments. Besides the material status of the parents (see, e.g. Duncan et al., 1998), these endowments refer also to biological and cultural attributes and attitudes towards learning (Becker and Tomes 1995). Given their economic resources and their preferences, the parents make decisions towards the investment in their children with respect to education and health, but also about residential location and mobility, fertility and family structure (Pan 2007). Pan (2007) analyzes the relationship between legal status of international migrants in the U.S. and the scholastic achievement of their children. The study shows that there is a close relationship between the legal status of migrants and the

⁴² Also other researchers have found a significant positive peer group effect on educational outcomes. See, e.g. Winston and Zimmerman (2003), Fertig (2003), Angrist and Lang (2004).

⁴³ Entorf and Minoiu (2005) show that for both immigrants and non-immigrants, the intergenerational social gradient is relatively high in Germany and the UK while it is relatively low in Finland and Sweden.

educational attainment of their children. First, an illegal status hampers the access to well-paid legal occupation, which leads less economic resources to invest in the education of children. Second, unauthorized migrants live in ethnic enclaves, which make it more difficult for their children to overcome language barriers and social and cultural differences important for their school performance. Third, illegal status increases economic and geographically instabilities, because unauthorized migrants often have to change their job and locations. Additionally, also the type of the neighborhood in which the children grow up and existing residential influence the school performance of children (see, e.g. Rosenbaum, 1995; Rumberger and Larson, 1998).

Length of stay in the host country matters for the performance in school. It is assumed that the second generation immigrants perform much better in schools than the first generation youth. For the first generation migrants this issue mainly refers to problems that language barriers or non-existing social networks makes it very difficult to obtain occupations with respect to their qualification. For the second generation migrants this issue refers more to the question of integration and social exclusion. However, Research on the well-being of second generation migrants is a relatively new phenomenon. The literature on intergenerational educational mobility is mainly focused on industrialized countries outside of Europe. For example, Borjas (1992, 1993), Card et al. (2000), and Card (2005) examine both the education and earning outcomes of the children of immigrants that were born in the United States and how they do relative to their parents and relative to children whose parents were also born in the United States. Aydemir et al. (2006, 2007) analyze the intergenerational education mobility among children of Canadian immigrants. Only for a few European countries empirical research exists that investigates intergenerational mobility in education, in particular, Van Ours and Veenmann (2001) for the Netherlands, Hammarstedt and Palme (2005), Osterberg (2000), Rooth and Ekberg (2003) for Sweden, Nielson et al. (2003) for Denmark, Bauer and Riphahn (2007) for Switzerland, and Fertig and Schmidt (2002), Gang and Zimmermann (2000), Riphahn (2002, 2003) for Germany, and Crul and Vermeulen (2006) for Turkish second generation migrants in five European countries. For example, Frick and Wagner (2001) show for Germany that although there exist no formal discrimination of children with migration background by the German school system, low educational attainment is still partly transferred from one generation to the next generation. In other words, children with migration background are not able to 'catch up' their level of education to their native counterparts.

On average, the second generation of migrants in Europe are better educated than their parents and also have better jobs. However, compared to the rest of the population, the second generation migrants (as well as other vulnerable minorities) are potentially disadvantaged in the education system for several reasons resulting in an overall low educational level among international migrant children and migrant youth that the average population (see, e.g. Jonsson, 2002; Riphahn, 2003). Strong empirical evidence exists that show large differences in the educational attainments between migrant children and migrant youth and the native population

in industrialized countries and also large heterogeneities regarding the extent of educational disadvantages among migrants (see, e.g. OECD, 2005; Mullis et al. 2004).

Recent available survey data on educational achievement (TIMS and PISA) allows a better analysis of differences between immigrant children and immigrant youth in OECD countries. However, the current existing literature that investigates the disadvantage in education of immigrant children and immigrant youth in European countries is very much focused on differences in average educational outcomes between immigrants and the native population (OECD, 2006; Schnepf, 2007; Marks, 2005). What has only rarely been done in the empirical literature so far is to take into account that the immigrant population constitutes a very heterogeneous group, which stands in contrast to a rising literature on that emphasizes the importance of diversity among the immigrant population in the United States (see, e.g. Rumbaut and Portes 2001). In order to analyze the reasons for inequalities in educational achievements between immigrant and natives, taking into account the diversity of immigrants is of particular importance.

Recent papers by Schnepf (2006, 2006a, 2008) examined the determinants of differences in educational achievements between migrants and the native population in ten OECD countries⁴⁴ using PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS data and takes into account the heterogeneity of the immigrant population. First, she compares inequality between first and second generation migrants, second, at two different stages of educational development (pupils in the 4th and the 8th grade) and third, using two different achievement subjects (math and reading). One result confirms that educational achievement is lower for immigrants than for natives. She also find that in countries with a highly selective immigration policies, where the immigrants are a more homogenous groups than, for example in Germany or Switzerland, inequality in education is smaller, on average but also between first and second generation of migration indicating that heterogeneity in terms of language skills, cultural background, length of stay and socioeconomic status among immigrants is an important factor for educational inequality in the host country. Apart from countries where the majority population speaks English, she also found large differences in educational achievements between natives and migrants.⁴⁵

Also Gang and Zimmermann (2000) compare the educational achievements of the second generation immigrants in Germany to those of the native population in the same age. They also show that the second generation has made considerable improvements compared to the first

⁴⁴ In particular, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and, the USA.

⁴⁵ In countries like Switzerland or Germany where most children with a migration background stem from the former active recruitment programs high compositional and socioeconomic differences between these immigrants and native exist that contribute to the large differences in educational outcomes (see also, for example Castles and Miller, 2003; Entorf and Minoiu, 2005).

generation immigrants but also that they lag behind the educational attainment of the native in the same age cohort.⁴⁶

Due to the lack of micro data, there is only very limited empirical evidence about the well-being of unauthorized migrants. Existing literature is mainly focused in the earning and job mobility of illegal migrants (see, e.g. Borjas and Tienda, 1993; Philips and Massey, 1999; Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark, 2002). Almost no empirical evidence exists about the intergenerational effect of migration status. An exception is the study by Dustmann (2007) who find for Germany that the probability of a permanent stay of the father (who had migrated illegally) positively affects the probability of the children attending school. As this discussion shows, there is some literature available, but it lacks a comprehensive and consistent focus on the well-being of children. This is also partly related to data and measurement issues to which we now turn.

For the analysis of the relationship between educational attainment and the well-being of migrant children, four issues need to be addressed: First, the level of education and skills that migrant youth (if migrating independently) or the parents of migrant children and migrant youth have brought with them. Migrant children are often exposed to adverse family environments, when viewed in comparison to host country averages. In many European countries, migrant children are more likely to be born into or are living in poverty, more likely to grow up in single-parents homes and in homes in which the parents have low levels of education. These disadvantages are associated with poor childhood education often resulting in low levels of education in adulthood. Children from disadvantaged families are more likely to drop from school and are less likely to achieve tertiary education.

The second issue in analyzing the educational well-being of migrant children and migrant youth is whether migrant children and migrant youth can realize their skills. A persistent shortcoming is that most studies do not distinguish between the different generations of immigrants and in particular the question of how education is transmitted from generation to the next. However, several studies indicate the importance of immigrant generation as a factor of educational attainment and school performance (see, e.g. Kao and Tienda 1995).

Third, it needs to be addressed whether international migrants experience intergenerational upward mobility in the level of educational attainment over time and which determinants influence this mobility.

⁴⁶ Similarly findings are shown by Chiswick and DebBurman (2003) for the second generation of U.S. immigrants. Besides large differences in educational attainment between immigrant generation they also show substantial heterogeneity between the educational attainment of immigrants depending on their country of origin.

5.3 Social Exclusion

Social exclusion has become one of the most important concepts in the debate of the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth in Europe. The European Commission has strengthened its efforts to foster integration of migrant children and to fight social exclusion. While there is a strong debate about how to define social exclusion (see, e.g. Atkinson, 1998, Evans et al., 1995, Klasen, 1998; Micklewright, 2002), Duffy (1995) emphasizes that social exclusion is concerned with the 'inability to participate effectively in economic, social, and cultural life and, in some characteristics, alienation and distance from mainstream society'. It is important to distinguish social exclusion from poverty. While poverty is focused directly on households or individuals, social exclusion is concerned with the relationship and dynamics between the individual and the society she or he lives in. As social exclusion includes economic, social and political aspects of human well-being it is a multidimensional phenomenon. In addition, poverty may be both a cause as well as a consequence of social exclusion. In sum, whereas deprivation focuses on what people cannot afford, social exclusion focuses on what people do not do.

From a rights-based approach perspective Room (1995) defines social exclusion as the 'denial or non-realization of civil, political, and social rights of citizenship'.⁴⁷ Following Sen's capability approach, Klasen (2001) sees social exclusion as the 'failure of people to have access to critical capabilities relating to their integration into society'.⁴⁸ Klasen (2001) argues that applying the rights-based approach and the capability approach to the issue of social exclusion has several advantages. First, it takes into account that to participate in, and be respected by, mainstream society is a violation of a basic right. Therefore, it emphasizes the role of political, economic and social arrangements in generation exclusion and the role of solidarity among members of a society to overcome this exclusion (Townsend 1997). Second, seeing social exclusion from a rights-based and capability approach does not demand uniformity of outcomes, but instead calls for equal freedoms for all to enjoy aspects of citizenships. Therefore, there might be an important difference, for example, between economic and social discrimination of ethnic minorities as denial of some fundamental rights of participation, and diversity of cultural and social behaviors, where some groups choose to not participate in mainstream society arrangements despite having the option to do so. Whereas the former would be seen as a form of social exclusion, the latter would not. Third, it considers the diversity of people in their ability

⁴⁷ Besides the rights-based approach to conceptualize social exclusion, there exist two other main approaches in the literature. The first, interprets social exclusion as the lack of participation in social institutions (see, e.g. Duffy, 1995; Paugamm and Russel, 2000). The second sees social exclusion in terms of a growing distance among population groups within a society (see, e.g. Akerlof, 1997).

⁴⁸ The Targeted Socio Economic Research Programme (TSER) of the European Commission describes social exclusion as the 'disintegration and fragmentation of social relation and hence a loss of social cohesion. For individual in particular groups, social exclusion represents a progressive process of marginalization leading to economic deprivation and various forms of social and cultural disadvantages'.

to make use of their opportunities.⁴⁹ For example, physically disabled might be seriously constrained in their ability to participate in mainstream society (due to mobility barriers), as it could also be the case for people who are disadvantaged by birth or background.

Applying the concept of social exclusion to measure the well-being of children necessitates further considerations. Children are citizenships who are entitled to rights and capabilities on their own right. Therefore, social exclusion is a problem of violating these rights and capabilities directly, which is also recognized in the Convention of the Rights of the Children (UNICEF 1989). Failure to meet any of these fundamental rights could then be interpreted as evidence for social exclusion, since all these rights deal with the ability of the child to interact with the society in equal terms. At the same time, social exclusion affects the well-being also indirectly. Using the right-based and capability approach in defining social exclusion focuses both on the *intrinsic* problems related to social exclusion and on the *instrumental* reason why social exclusion may be a serious problem. If social exclusion violated basic human rights or capabilities, this implies that a society that tolerates social exclusion is intrinsically deficient as it fails to provide basic rights or capabilities to all its citizenship. The use of the Convention on the Rights of the Children, signed and ratified by 191 countries nicely illustrates this intrinsic importance. At the same time there are also several instrumental reasons why social exclusion might be problematic. First, since children are growing to be adults, and decisions, choices and opportunities during their childhood will crucially affect their position as adult, social exclusion, for example, in terms of access to education will have effects on future opportunities of children. Second, socially excluded groups might suffer from deficiencies in other important capabilities like the ability to be healthy, well-educated, well-nourished, or well-housed. This clearly reduces the well-being of those suffering from it, but can also have larger societal implications, for example, through health and education externalities. A large literature exists that shows a strong relationship between social exclusion and such shortcomings (see, e.g. Walker, 1985, Klasen, 2000, Room, 1995). In addition, social exclusion may also have close empirical relations to other social problems such as crime, violence, social pathologies, racism, xenophobia, etc. Third, socially excluded children might become a social and economic burden to the society or even might generate considerable social disruptions. If social exclusion is transmitted intergenerationally, social exclusion might create even deeper divisions between groups within society that tighten across generations. Thus, combating social exclusion among children helps to combat social exclusion as adults. Fourth, there may be even situations where one cannot speak of social exclusion among children, but nevertheless the particular situation in which some children find themselves might promote social exclusion among adults. For example, children might be legally well integrated into the educational system, but their special needs, resulting in learning difficulties and other disadvantages, are not sufficiently taken into account.

⁴⁹ It is very important to clarify here that the term 'rights' in the described rights-based approach does not necessarily refer to legally enforceable claims. Instead, these rights should be seen as a part of the endowment of human beings. Whether societies are able to enable these basic rights to all of their citizens depends on public consideration of the priority of these rights over other rights, as well as the policy means available (Klasen 2001).

Klasen (2002) classifies four main sources of social exclusion that can be linked to migrant children and migrant youth, economic, social, birth or background, and societal/political. Two economic disadvantages are of particular importance generating social exclusion. The first is related to unemployment, which hampers the access to income, value, and status that results in social exclusion associated with economic vulnerability. The other disadvantage stems from the low incomes, which can lead to many forms of social exclusions. For children social exclusion generated by a low economic bases is associated with the low inability of their parents to afford increasingly costly items that are in fashion among children, including brand-name clothes, expensive hobbies etc. Social exclusion among migrant children and the youth, above all, is linked to social exclusion and economic opportunities among the household or family they live in. There is a large literature on the intergenerational transmission of poverty and on the relationship between poverty and exclusion among children linked to the economic and social situation of the parents (see, e.g. Hills, 1998; Machin, 1998; Mincy, 1994).

The most important social disadvantages particular relevant for migrant children and migrant youth are related to their families. Relating to their families, divorce, separation, and death of parents tend to be the most important factors that can promote social exclusion among children. There are also disadvantages of birth and background that might accelerate social exclusion among children. For example, the recognition of various forms of learning disabilities that have little physical bases but may be related to birth or social background is more uneven in many OECD countries. At the same time there may also be societal and political bases of social exclusion. Societal bases for social exclusion are mainly prejudice and discrimination of certain groups of the population. Here, issues can range from racial or ethnic bias in some OECD countries relating to housing, labor markets, and civil society institutions to outright hostility and violence against certain groups. Public policy induced social exclusion include, for example, restrictive citizenship policies for long-term foreign residents and restrictions in movements or economic activities of foreign residents (or asylum seekers).

As already described, educational systems can be exclusionary in many ways. For example, schools draw most of their pupils from the local population and school resources are based on the local tax base. This means that for children living in a poor district, the exclusion associated with their poverty can be exacerbated by the educational system that underperforms in contrast to richer districts in the country. The USA is a typical example of such a situation.⁵⁰ In addition the ability to pay to higher quality private schools can generate considerable inequality in the educational opportunities for children.

The education system can also foster social exclusion in the way how it deals with the treatment of children with special needs. There exist significant differences in definition and treatment of these children in OECD countries. Children with learning difficulties are still very

⁵⁰ For the relationship between poor schooling outcomes and poor communities, see, e.g. Card and Krueger (1998) and Card and Payne (1998).

often in separate school systems. Since there is very little upward mobility from such school systems into regular education, this separation can become a form of social exclusion. In addition, in Germany, for example, children of foreign residents are heavily over-represented among students in schools for children with special needs, which create further barriers to their integration (Statistisches Bundesamt 2006).

Besides the impact of the social exclusion on migrant children and migrant youth themselves, childhood social exclusion has also larger negative social effects and on other aspects of well-being. For example, people who have suffered from social exclusion in education during their childhood are at high risk of becoming poor and unemployment in the long run. In addition, social exclusion during childhood is also associated with lower health outcomes, decreased access to housing and to food, and poorer access to healthcare systems, criminal behavior and to social cohesion in a country (Atkinson, 1998a; Mincy, 1994).

It is, however, very difficult to measure and monitor social exclusion among children and to compare levels of social exclusion between countries and, thus, only very limited empirical research has been undertaken to examine social exclusion in Europe.⁵¹ A study conducted by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC 2003) analyzes the situation of discrimination in employment of international migrants in the EU and indicates persistent exclusion, disadvantage and discrimination. The study shows that the labor market in the EU is highly segmented with respect to nationality or ethnic groups. Migrants from developing countries are disproportionately employed in low-skilled and low-paid occupations showing only little upward mobility. Migrants from non-EU countries are mainly employed in industrial sectors (manufacturing) and sectors that are characterized by high seasonal fluctuations (agriculture). Migrant women are often restricted to the low-skilled service sector (domestic services, cleaning, health care). Overall, migrants from non-EU countries show larger rates of unemployment than the majority population.

Since social exclusion is strongly linked to subjective connotations, just focusing on objective measures cannot fully assess the extent of social exclusion. According to Klasen (2002) the assessment of social exclusion can be achieved from two different levels. The first is to measure the extent of social exclusion directly, and the second focuses on measuring the extent of the bases of social exclusion. Measuring social exclusion directly has the advantage that one does not need to rely on presumed (and often not tested) linkages between certain bases of social exclusion and the actual existing exclusion. Measuring social exclusion via the bases of social exclusion has the advantage that there may be more data available. Measuring social exclusion of migrant children and migrant youth directly could include, for example, the ability to participate

⁵¹ For example, Chakravarty and D'Ambrosio (2007) develop an axiomatic approach to measure social exclusion both at the individual and at a higher aggregate level. Bossert et al. (2004) links social exclusion to the concept of deprivation and develops also an axiomatic approach to measure social exclusion that is based on two major determinants of social exclusion, namely the lack of identification with other members of the society and the aggregate of alienation experienced by an agent with respect to those who have less functioning failures.

in mainstream education, the ability to participate in social, leisure, and cultural activities, and the ability to enjoy the respect of one's peers. Based on this assessment, one could then develop indicators that show to what extent some children appear to be socially excluded in any of these ways. Possible indicators may than include objective and subjective item such as:

Measures of dispersion of educational performance and their relation to background, neighborhood, economic means, or social policies (with particular emphasis on the poorly educated tail of the educational distribution)

- Number/share of children excluded from normal educational system, number/share of children in special education systems
- Indicators of racial/ethnic/socio-economic mix in educational and social institutions (school, sport clubs, youth clubs, boy and girl scouts, etc.)
- Number/share of children not participating in leisure activities (sports, youth club, annual vacation with families) and indicators of segregation in such activities
- Number/share of children unable to afford costly youth culture activities (music, clothes, toys, etc.)
- Factors influencing school choice and educational streaming within schools
- Number/share of children involved in criminal activities or social pathologies (drugs, alcohol abuse, etc.)
- Number/share of children who feel excluded from certain aspects of youth culture (by causes, e.g. no money, no activity offered in neighborhood, not allow to join, etc.)

A related set of indicators has been proposed by Saunders et al. (2007) who distinguishes between disengagement, service exclusion, and economic exclusion.

- Disengagement: lack of participation in social and community activities
- Service exclusion: lack of adequate access to key services when needed
- Economic exclusion: restricted access to economic resources.

Although policies against social exclusion are still the responsibility of the member states of the EU, the European Union has increased their efforts to maintain and raise social inclusion. In 2001, the European Council adopted a set of indicators, designed and defined by the EU Social Protection Committee, which should help to monitor the performance of the member States of the EU to promote social inclusion and to reach the four EU objectives in the area of social

exclusion set by the European Council in the year 2000 (i.e. 1. Facilitating participation in employment and access by all resources, rights, goods and services; 2. Preventing the risks of exclusion; 3) Helping the most vulnerable; Mobilizing all relevant bodies) (Atkinson et al. 2004).

First results from the 2005 EU-SILC on intergenerational transmission of disadvantages of migrant children and migrant youth, presented in the 2007 Social Situation Report, indicate that inequality of opportunities in terms of correlation between educational achievement of parents and children, remains a serious problem in European Countries and that children from disadvantaged families still face substantial obstacles in realizing their full potential and achieving better living standards (EU 2007). Children living in migrant households (where at least one parent is born abroad) face a much risk of poverty that is two to five times higher than for children whose parents were born in the country of residence (European Commission 2008). In 15 of 17 member states, the proportion of children living in a jobless household was higher for those whose parents were born outside of the EU than for those whose parents were born in the country of residence. Therefore, high unemployment of among people born outside from the EU seems to be an important factor for the high poverty risk of poverty among children and youth with migration background.

Based on the data of the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) and the EU-SILC data, Eurostat has started to publish detailed analyses relating to issues on social exclusion of the poor population in the EU (Eurostat 2000). However, no distinction has been made between children with migration background and native children.

5.3 Health

The health status of immigrant children and immigrant youth is one of the most important well-being indicators because of two main reasons. First, children live in a process of physical and mental development. These processes are directly affected by the children socioeconomic environment and may have lifelong consequences on the health status of children. Second, through childhood and adolescence, children are dependent on their families and communities.

Disparities in health between migrant children and native populations can be inherently linked to immigration. As before, two different issues arise: What is the impact of migration on health compared to non-migration and what is the health status compared to native-born in the host country?

The relationship between health and migration can be complex and includes positive and negative aspects.⁵² In a first place, international movement could potentially further spread of

⁵² This includes also mental health. On the hand the migration process might be very stressful resulting in negative effects on the mental health status of migrants (this is a particular problem in the case of forced migration). On the

diseases. However, migration may also promote health either through better access to the health system or through remittances that rise income allowing a better access to essential treatments and drugs for those household members who were left behind. In addition, migration also promotes improvements in health indirectly through the spread of health knowledge and technology. A number other of health related issues arise with international migration and youth.

There are concerns, for example, about the mental health of migrants, the lack of access to healthcare of migrant workers, and also the potential risk for the spread of diseases through migration. When considering the health status of migrant children after having settled, other issues arise that relate mainly to disparities in the most important determinants of good health, which includes adequate incomes, good access to health care and health insurance, good access to health knowledge, and access to and knowledge of healthy lifestyles.

Migrants have changed environments with a specific set of health risks, systems, behaviors, and constraint into another set that might contain very different attributes. Thus, the socioeconomic well-being of the families directly affects the health status of the children. In studying the health status of immigrant children and immigrant youth both viewpoints need to be investigated with respect to the difference physical and mental health outcomes of immigrant children and immigrant youth compared to native children and youth. A large set of factors can characterize these differences including:

- the process of migration;
- family poverty and economic opportunity;
- culture and acculturation;
- generational status;
- language barriers.

However, as was also found for the other dimensions of well-being of children in EU countries, the differences in access to health and in health outcomes suffer by far the worst from empirical evidence for EU countries. Therefore, studies from other OECD countries, mainly from the traditional immigrant countries, are shown to illustrate the relationship between the migration status and well-being in health and to describe specific risk factors, which can be used to inform research about immigrant children and immigrant youth in EU countries.

other hand, migration can improve mental health through e better overall subjective and objective standard of living compared to the situation of non-migrating (Stillmann, et al. (2003).

Mendoza et al. (2007) review the literature on the research on health outcomes of immigrant children in the United States. They show that the combination of poverty, generational status and language difficulties lead to greater risk of poor health outcomes of children living in immigrant families. Hildebrandt (2004) studies the impact of migration from Mexico to the United States on child health using survey data from Mexico. She finds an overall positive impact of migration through an increased income that allows a better access to medical care, but also through improved health knowledge. In addition, Mendoza et al. (2007) also shows that, as a result of high prevalence of malnutrition in the country of origin, immigrant children from the first generation of immigrants can suffer from stunted and wasted growth. In contrast to that, increasingly, OECD countries report increased rates of obesity among immigrant children and immigrant youth.

Reardon-Anderson et al. (2002) compares the well-being in health of immigrant children with native children in the United States using the 1999 National Survey of America's Families. The authors report an overall very low health status, both in terms of health outcomes and access to the health system, of immigrant children compared to native children and inequality increases with lower levels of income.

Another risk factor for poor health outcomes is high-risk health behavior. Harris (1999) shows for Mexican Americans that the risky behavior tends to in every succeeding generation. This result confirms the sometimes reported result for the United States that children living in first-generation immigrant families show better health outcomes than children living in second or third generation immigrant families among of similar ethnic backgrounds (Mendoza et al 2007).

Another risk factor of the poor health outcomes of children living in immigrant families is not speaking the language of the providers of health care. As a consequence, even with public health interventions and access to the health system language barriers can lead to a higher risk of poor health of immigrant children and youth compared to those who speak the native language.

Health insurance coverage among the immigrant population remains a major concern in many OECD countries, especially in those where access to free health services is very limited as in the United States. Investigating differences in the access to health care, in the United States immigrant families show significantly lower rates of health insurance rates than European Americans (Mendoza et al. 2007). For example, in 2002, more than one five of children living in a mixed-status immigrant family were covered by health insurance. In addition, recent policy changes in health care programs like Medicaid and the State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) have been worsened the insurance coverage of children with migration background (Ku and Matani, 2001). Three main reasons are identified for the large differences in health insurance coverage: affordability, immigration status, and language barriers. For example, using data from the National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) (1997), Ku and Matani (2003) show that more than half of the low-income non-citizen adults and children were uninsured because of high

access barriers to health care services, especially due to language difficulties. However, while still on a low level, in recent years, the coverage of insurance of the immigrant population has been improved (Capps et al. 2003).

Language barriers determine the health status of migrant directly via two channels. First, language difficulties can hamper the access to the health system, because migrants are not able to understand the requirements for applications to benefit from public health care systems (Ku 2003). Indirectly, language barriers can affect the health status of migrant children and migrant youth because of the described limited access to the labor market or to the educational system. Furthermore, language difficulties directly determine not only the access to health care but also the quality of the relieved health care, because it affects the communication ability to convey the problems to get an appropriate treatment (Ku 2003).

There exist also a broad literature that shows that migrant children and migrant youth are at high risk of mental health problems, like, for example, Alati et al. (2003) for Australia, Atzaba-Poria and Pike (2005) for Britain, Beiser et al. (2002) for Canada, Sam (1994) for Norway.

Mainly three factors have been identified in the empirical literature that help to explain differences in mental health between immigrant children and immigrant youth compared to native children and youth (Gonneke and Vollebergh 2008). First, the process of migration, which causes stress due to the loss of family, friends, and surroundings but also because of migrant have to adapt to a new cultural environment (James, 1997; Pawliuk et al. 1996). When children and youth migrate and leave one culture to settle into another, they are faced with fundamental questions regarding who they are and to whom they belong. Their identity, i.e. their sense to belonging to the culture of origin, determines the way children and youth respond to challenges abroad. For immigrant children and immigrant youth, both the individual (or family) background and communal culture in the environment they grow up are important for the identity formation during childhood and adolescents (Phinney and Ong 2007). The migration process itself lead to enormous mental and physical stress, which can negatively affect the health status of migrants. An addition, the migration process, especially undocumented migration from developing to developed countries is accompanied by the fear of deportation. Therefore, unregistered migrants often avoid to go to a doctor or hospital (Ku and Matani 2003).⁵³

Second, migrant children and migrant youth often are in an ethnic minority position, who often face discrimination which can also promote mental health problems (Garcia Coll et al. 1996). In recent years, a large body of literature arose that emphasizes the importance of ethnic identity to the mental health of immigrant across a wide range of ages and social and cultural backgrounds and the positive link between identity and self-esteem, mental health and overall well-being is well documented for the United States (see, e.g. Phinney and Kohatsu, 1997;

⁵³ Furthermore, many migrants worry that their migration status could change if they apply for public health care programs (like Medicaid in the United States).

Nesdale et al., 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). For European countries, existing studies on these issues are still rare.

Third, the specific cultural background and also the selection of migrants as a result of the national migration policy can lead to mental health problems as a result of identity problems (Mohler 2001).

The most important issue in analyzing the health outcomes of children in immigrant families is the better provision of data collection to monitor the health status of immigrant children and immigrant youth. Without better data availability neither the persisting problems nor the changes to solve the problems can be addressed appropriately.

5.4 Gender

One of the most important issues in the context of international migration is the growing mobility of young women both in the context of family movement and alone. And there is a growing debate about a gender perspective in identifying and analyzing the effect of international migration on children and the youth. Migration can both increase the potential for greater equality and gender empowerment as well as increase female vulnerability. International migration can provide new opportunities for young women to improve their socio-economic status but also may expose women to new vulnerabilities.⁵⁴

Another main shortcoming in the literature is the limited examination of how different groups of migrants perform in the well-being indicators. For example, how does health of Turkish immigrants compare to health of Greek immigrants in Germany? Taking into account the heterogeneity of migrants is of considerable importance for further research to allow a better integration of each particular group into the society of the host country.

⁵⁴ However, from a micro-level and social perspective the movement of a family member can have considerable impacts on the left behind, especially on the children of the household. Children who grow up without their father or, in the course of a rising feminization of migration, without their mother, receive less parental care (Care Drain).

6. Data and Measurement Issues

The design and implementation of appropriate policy intervention to promote the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth need to be built on reliable and comparative data sources. Hence, in order to study the effects of international migration on children and youth and to formulate policy implications that enhance the well-being of children and youth affected by migration, there is a strong need for reliable and comparable data both at the micro-level and at the macro-level. Unlike traditional receiving countries like the USA, countries in Western Europe are sorely lacking of adequate data at the micro level with respect to international migration, particularly regarding the effects of international migration on well-being of children and youth.⁵⁵ Moreover, little detailed cross-country standardized comparable data sets are available on the socioeconomic characteristics by age of the immigrant population living in Europe.

In many European countries not even reliable aggregated data on migration are easy to obtain; nor are they published periodically.⁵⁶ Reasons for the persistent scarcity of data is the increasing mobility of people, which makes it more complicated to estimate stocks and flows of migration; the non-existence of a standardized way of how countries measure migration; and the increasing illegal migration that creates new measurement challenges (Whitehead and Hashim 2005). Of particular note is that few countries consistently monitor migrants by whether they or their parents have been born abroad. Instead, often migration is analyzed using nationality. This is highly problematic as naturalization policies differ greatly between countries and often naturalized migrants are then no longer followed or even identified as migrants.

In recent years more and more surveys have been conducted, both at the micro- and at the macro-level that provide interesting scope to analyze the effects of international migration on well-being in European countries. The Table 12 and 13 in provide a summary of available data sets both at the micro level and macro level.

Comparable Data at the micro level:

An often discussed issue when analyzing the well-being of household and individuals is the question of whether using quantitative or qualitative data on well-being. However, many of the latest available household survey data for European countries include, besides objective information about the socio-economic well-being of households and person, also a module on subjective well-being and life satisfaction, which allows analyzing subjective and objective well-being simultaneously.

⁵⁵ For example, in the United States, strong efforts are made to improve the data availability to analyze the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth. For example, the *New Immigrant Survey* (NIS) is a new plan for a national representative panel to examine the impact of migration on children in the United States. The first round of the survey is already available on web.

⁵⁶ In contrast, in Australia, Canada and USA, routinely distributed databases on the characteristics of arriving immigrants constitute to the main statistical data source used for research on international migration.

At the micro-level there exist, in general, household survey data that includes information on socio-economic characteristics by migration background that can be categorized by the type of survey, namely cross-section data versus panel data, and by internationally comparable data and nationally conducted household survey data (country case studies).

There exists some comparable cross-sectional household survey data that allows an assessment of the well-being of children and youth by their migration status like, for example the *Demographic and Health Surveys* (DHS) for developing countries, the *Labor Migration Survey* and the *Child Labor Surveys* by the ILO, the *Luxembourg Income Study* (ILS) and the *Luxembourg Wealth Study* (LWS), the *Health Behavior in school-aged children surveys* (HBSC) and the *Living Standard Measurement Surveys* (LSMS) that are available for several European and OECD countries. The strength of these data sets is the standardized data collection and the rich information on migration regarding the dimension of well-being these data sets have their focus on.

However, although these data sets are available for quite a large sample of countries, there are several weaknesses or problems to use this data to assess the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth: First, these surveys are not panel data sets and, therefore, do not allow an assessment of well-being of international migrants over time. Since we are interested in both, the differences in well-being of migrant children and migrant youth compared to their native counterparts and also compared to their parents, i.e. the well-being of the second generation of migrants, panel data are clearly preferred to analyze these differences over time.

Second, and the most glaring problem is, that the data sets face considerable identity problems of the migration status, i.e. the definition of a 'migrant' in the surveys often does not allow distinguishing first and second generation migrants and sometimes migration is only imperfectly captured by nationality or ethnic background. This holds especially, when surveys lack of information on the country of origin and the country of birth of the children and their parents. The inclusion of the information on the country of origin and country of birth, both the respondent as well as for his or her parents is essential for the analysis of the effect of immigration of well-being or to compare outcomes of well-being between migrants and the native population and between the first and the second generation of migrants. Having the information on the country of origin is especially important for analyzing migrant effect in Europe because this allows separating between 'within' Europe migrants and 'without' Europe migrants. If we cannot distinguish between migrants who move within Europe and migrants that migrate to Europe from non-EU countries, this could lead to biases in estimating the effects of migration on well-being.

Third, the focus of these surveys focus lies on adults (aged over 16) and not on children. Although these studies include some information on the well-being of children, the information

stem from the interviewed adults. Information on well-being outcomes of children by age are often still rare.

Fourth, these surveys typically do not oversample migrants and thus analyses focusing on migrants often have small sample problems which undermines the ability to make statistically valid statements.

The currently most promising international comparable panel surveys are the (now discontinued) *European Community Household Panel* (ECHP) and *European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions* (EU-SILC) and the *Labour Force Surveys* (LFS) and appear to be the most frequently used surveys to examine the well-being of children and youth within in the European Union. The surveys cover multidimensional information on household's and person's well-being. Besides substantial information about the income situation of interviewed households, the study includes also socio-economic characteristics such as social relations and responsibilities, health, education, pensions, and subjective life satisfaction. The main advantage of the surveys is their standardized methodology yielding comparable information across countries and over time. The ECHP, EU-Silc surveys provide also a migration module allowing a migration trajectory and including information such as, for example, the year of arrival, country of birth, citizenship.

A prominent example of a national panel survey data set is the German Socio Economic Panel (GSOEP) which includes substantial information on social-economic characteristics, income, education, health, and employment. In addition, the GSOEP includes also a module of subjective well-being, i.e. how the individual as actually satisfied with his or her life situation (including a question about disadvantages because of the respondent's origin). Concerning migration status the GSOEP provides comprehensive information such as the native language, information about the family the respondent grew up, citizenship, nationality, and whether the respondents was born in Germany. Although the GSOEP has its main focus on adults, the survey has introduced a specific Youth Questionnaire including information on subjective and objective well-being of youth since 2000. Lastly, the GSOEP oversampled migrant groups which allows an improved assessment of well-being of migrants by country of origin. Thus, the GSOEP can be seen as a particularly rich data source for analyzing well-being aspects related to migration.

However, since we interested in analyzing the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth across European Countries, we are more interested in data sources that are available for several European countries and not focused on surveys that are only available at the national level, because such data sources are typically not comparable across countries since they do not include standardized assessment of social and economic attributes of households and individuals. But the GSOEP can be seen as a prototype to what is needed for an comprehensive analysis of

the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth, both compared to their native counterpart but also compared to their parents.⁵⁷

Although to a very limited extent, in cent, also surveys with the focus on the well-being of children and youth became available for European countries. For example, the availability of data sources on educational attainment has been improved. Internationally comparable data such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study (PIRLS), and the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS) provide information on educational outcome such as ability or functional literacy and also comparable information on the migrant status, which has increased to opportunities to analyze differences in educational outcome between migrant children and youth and native pupils. The main advantage of these data sources is that they are based on standardized assessments, which allows an international comparison of the educational outcomes of children and by migration status allowing also the analysis of the differences between native children and youth and children and youth with migration background. For example, the PISA survey started in the year 2000 followed by the year 2003 and 2006 and was implemented for more than 40 countries including between 4500 and 10000 students in each country. Another advantage of the studies is that they implicitly include also information of the quality of education within countries. However, the main problem of the PISA, TIMMS and PIRLS data is that they do not provide information on the socioeconomic background of the children, but these information would be essential for an examination of the explanation of differences in educational achievements (see also Schnepf 2006).

Although there exist also other country specific surveys on specific dimensions of well-being of children (see Table 13), there are hardly any comparable micro data on health or social integration or other well-being aspects discussed above. Here all one can rely on is what is included in the household surveys and hope that these dimensions of well-being are reasonably covered. The alternative is to take recourse to smaller, non-comparable specialized studies or surveys.

What are the main challenges? In short, data availability issues remain highly problematic to systematically assess the well-being of migrant children. What is needed at the micro level is at

⁵⁷ Another example is the *Young Lives Project*, an international in-depth study of childhood poverty that has its main focus on the well-being of children and with the aim to track chances of outcomes and impacts of poverty of children. The data provide substantial information on indicators of childhood poverty including several dimensions of well-being. Besides family attributes and information about the physical environment, the study also provided information on education, health, nutritional status and social capital. The Young Lives Project provides a lot of scope for analyzing the well-being of migrant children, since it includes information of the migration status of the mother, particular, whether she was born outside the US or whether she was born in a developing country. However, the study is so far limited to four developed countries, namely Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam. But the Young Lives Project can be seen as a useful starting point that could be augmented to European Countries, which would provide very interesting new insights and information of actual childhood poverty in general, and well-being of migrant children and youth in particular.

least the extension of existing comparable panel data sets to include systematic information on the well-being of children in its multiple dimensions. In addition, more specialized surveys are probably required to deal with more complex issues such as health, economic and social integration, and trajectories of migrant children. What is additionally very important is standardization of surveys to conduct a multi-country study on the well-being on migrant children and migrant youth in developed countries. Furthermore, typically, we study the well-being of children from an adult perspective based on specific household characteristics. However, we have also to take into account the actual well-being of children in the sense of their subjective valuation. For this, we need more qualitative data. Lastly, the surveys need to oversample migrant populations to ensure that one can make statistically valid inferences. In specific country contexts (particularly in Scandinavia) where administrative data are widely available, the use of administrative data covering entire populations could also overcome the small sample problem, although with such data the number of covariates tends to be rather small.

Comparable Data at the macro level:

According to the United Nations (1998) data sources providing information on international migration can be grouped into four types: (1) administrative registers including population registers and registers of foreigners; (2) other administrative sources like issuance visa, residence permits, work permits and exit clearances; (3) border statistics; (4) household-based data including population censuses and household surveys of different types.

At the macro level, substantial aggregated data exists on the number of international migration in the EU. In general, there exist two main kinds of data on international migration for European countries, namely data on stocks or on flows of migrants. Stocks of foreigners are defined either by nationality or by country of birth and recorded through a system of residence permits, populations registers, censuses or surveys. Stocks of foreign workers are measured through work permits and labor force surveys (Salt 2005). Data on flows of migrants are much more difficult to measure and data for EU members mainly stem from joining or leaving a population register or residence permits. Both with data on annual flows of migrants as well as with data on total immigrants stocks, differences in the national views of who is considered as a 'migrant' that limits the comparability of data across countries.⁵⁸ Whereas in some countries immigrants are considered as persons who are 'foreign-born', other countries consider immigrants as persons of 'foreign nationality'. Because foreign-born persons can acquire the nationality of a country statistics on foreign population may differ from statistics on the foreign-born population. Therefore, for many European countries, the number of the foreign-born population exceeds the number of those with foreign nationalities (see, e.g. Münz 2004).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ For a detailed overview of this particular problem, see also Pearson et al. (2005).

⁵⁹ Some countries like Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and the United States define an 'immigrant' by the country of origin. Other countries like Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Norway, and Sweden define an 'immigrant' by citizenship. Other countries like Belgium, France, Hungary, Germany, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the UK define a 'migrant' by nationality.

Since 1995, UNECE and Eurostat use a joint questionnaire to collect statistics from European countries and since 1999 this collaboration was extended to the Council of Europe and some CIS countries. However, besides these developments to establish a harmonized system of data collection on international migration across Europe, there are still considerable gaps in data availability for countries for Central and Eastern Europe. For some countries no collection systems exist or countries are not willing to provide statistics (Salt 2005). A recently conducted review conducted by the IOM (IOM 2002) shows that the statistical data availability for the CIS countries is still limited and of uneven quality. The development towards a common system of data collection varies widely across countries. Whereas some countries have made much effort to establish a harmonized data collection system, in some other countries, especially those countries that have suffered from civil war or social conflicts, progress is very low.

Since 2006, the new Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) for almost all OECD countries include a question of the country of birth of persons enumerated, as well as on their nationality.⁶⁰ This new database is the first internationally comparable data set with detailed information on the foreign-born population. The database provides the possibility of a detailed, comparable and reliable analysis of the immigrant population living in OECD countries. In addition, the incorporated information on the educational attainment of migrants, allows assessing the impact of movements on the flow of human capital for these countries (Lemaitre 2005). In addition, Eurostat provides annually information on education, social well-being and other socio-economic characteristics for migrants for all European countries.

At the macro level, the most important data issue is to generate comparable data on migrant flows and stocks, including second and third generation migrants, using consistent definitions and data sources. This remains an area of urgent attention. In addition, it would be useful to be able to distinguish these flows and stocks by the type of migration to get the basic stylized facts of the migration experience.

Analysis issues:

After having decided what dimensions and indicators are included to measure the well-being of children and the youth affected by migration, several statistical and data issues have to be addressed. In measuring the multidimensional well-being of migrant children and migrant youth, we face a lot of similar measurement problems that are also found in the literature on traditional poverty measures.

Also for immigration stocks there exist different definitions across countries: Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Sweden, the UK, and the United States define the 'immigrant population' by country of birth and country of origin. The Czech Republic, Finland, Greece, Italy, and Norway define the 'immigrant population' by citizenship and Belgium, France, Hungary, Germany, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland define the 'immigrant population' by nationality.

⁶⁰ In particular, the database covers 227 countries of origin and 29 receiving countries within the OECD.

The first issue is the question about the reference group when examining the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth. In principle, three options are available: Relative to absence from migration (counterfactual); relative to natives in the host country; relative to natives in the host country conditional on individual and family characteristics (e. g. timing of migration, age at migration, agency issues in the migration decision process). The choice on the reference group then will depend on the specific research question. However, to compare empirical evidence about the well-being of migrant children and migrant youth across countries, it is important to interpret the results according to the reference group migrant children and migrant youth are compared with.

A second issue is the choice of dimension and the appropriate statistical aggregation techniques (e.g. multidimensional indices, factor or principal component analyses, dominance rankings, partial orderings, etc.). These are complicated, but in a sense, standard issues of multidimensional poverty measurement that need to detain us here in greater detail.

A third issue particularly pertinent to migration analysis is the sample selection issue. Migrants are never a random sample of their sending country population. Depending on the question at hand, such selectivity would have to be taken into account. If we want to examine, for example, the economic success of the migration decision or the determinants of the migration decision, it is critical to consider the selectivity of the migrant pool, as done, for example, in Trübswetter et al. (2006).⁶¹ If however, our focus is on the long-term well-being of migrants in the host country, the selectivity issue becomes much less important. Now the focus becomes one of comparison of the actual group of migrants with the native population and it makes little sense to include in an assessment that this actual group is a non-random selection of the native population.

Pan (2007) point out two other statistical problems for the estimation of the intergenerational effects of the legal status of migrants to the educational attainment of their children. The first issue is related to a potential joint determination of legal status of migrants and the school performance of their children. For example, the migration status is determined by the education of the parents and better educated migrants are more likely to be legal migrants and since the educational level of the parents strongly influence the educational attainment of the children than a potential, on average, lower educational attainment of illegal migrants leads to an overestimation of the effect of the legal status of migrants on the educational outcome of their children. The second issue is related to existence of under- or misreporting of the legal status by illegal migrants, which can lead to a selection bias resulting in potential biased estimation results. These issues can be seen as general estimation problems to be overcome if one wants to analyze intergenerational well-being effects of migration.

⁶¹ One should also think about instruments for migration to deal with the endogeneity issue. For example one could use historical migration data as in instrument (see. e.g. Hildebrandt and McKenzie 2005).

Moreover, regardless of these overall effects of migration on aggregate poverty, the migrant will perceive poverty quite differently. In the host countries, many migrants will find themselves disproportionately among the poor (this is especially true for unskilled migrants), while they might be among the better-off when compared to the peers they left behind in the sending country. While the migrant often will see an improvement of the standard of living, compared with the sending country and their own position there, migrant children might see more their poorer position in the host country; so they may feel poorer and more marginalized than their parent generation. This will be important to consider when studying the well-being of migrant children in Europe.

Table 12: Summary of internationally comparable data sources

Data Source	Summary description	Access	Panel/Cross-Country	Year(s)	Information in child migration	Information on child well-being
MICRO LEVEL European Labour Force Survey (EU LFS)	The European Labour Force Survey (EU LFS) is the main data source for the domain 'employment and unemployment' in the European databases. The contents of this domain include tables on population, employment, working time, permanency of the job, employees etc. The data is commonly broken down by age, sex, education level, economic activity and occupation where applicable. The European Union Labour Force Survey (EU LFS) is conducted in the 25 Member States of the European Union and 3 countries of the EFTA.	Via application at Eurostat or special variable evaluation from www.eds-dstatis.de	Cross-section	1983-2005 (annually)	Country of birth, Nationality, Years of residence in member state	Education, income, children by age, employment, employment status, occupation, and job characteristics
Young Lives Project	The Young Lives Project is an international in-depth study of childhood poverty and has its main focus on the well-being of children with the aim to track changes of outcomes and impacts of poverty. The data provide substantial information on indicators of childhood poverty including several dimensions of well-being. Besides family attributes and information about the physical environment, the study also provided information on education, health, nutritional status and social capital.	Young Lives Round 1 available on web	Panel Countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru, Vietnam	1st Round 2002, 2nd Round 2006/07	Migration mother and child last 12 months	Child characteristics, health, nutrition, assets, social capital; child outcome by age
European Community Household Panel (ECHP)	The European Community Household Panel (ECHP) is a panel survey in which a sample of households and persons has been interviewed year after year. These interviews cover a wide range of topics concerning living conditions. They include detailed income information, financial situation in a wider sense, working life, housing situation, social relations, health and biographical information of the interviewed.	Application at Eurostat	Panel (12 EU member States) Cross-sectional comparability	1994-2001 (8 waves)	Migration (trajectory, year of arrival in region, last residence, country of birth, citizenship, second citizenship)	Household and child demographic characteristics, income, assets, payments for children, source of income of children under 16, education, health social relations, satisfaction; objective and subjective well-being; child outcome by age
German Socio Economic Panel (GSOEP)	The German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP) offers microdata for research in the social and economic sciences. The data include information on many objective living conditions, values, willingness to take risks, and about the dynamic relationships currently being undergone in these areas of life their changes. The data is used not only for basic academic research but also for policy-related social reports directed at a broader audience. SOEP data make it possible to test a wide range of economic and social theories as well as psychological theories. SOEP places great value on integrating users' input for improvements and theory-based extensions to the survey.	Available on request	Panel	Panel started in 1984 (since 2000 youth questionnaire)	Country of birth; country of origin, nationality	Youth Questionnaire: income, education, friends, relationships, freetime, sport MPTHER AND CHILD Questionnaire (0-18 months): Child Health, happiness of mother with child; objective and subjective well-being Individual/household questionnaire: variables on the socioeconomic status; child outcome by age
Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS)	The LSMS was designed as a multi-faceted program to: (a) improve the quality of household survey data; (b) increase the capacity of statistical institutes to perform household surveys; (c) improve the ability of statistical institutes to analyze household survey data for policy needs; and (d) provide policy makers with data that can be used to understand the determinants of observed social and economic outcomes.	On web or request through LSMS office	Cross-country (various industrialized and developed countries)	Since 1985 (various countries with cross-section data)	Migration (place of birth, property of displaced person, reason for migration, relatives in new area, past residence, residential moving)	Consumption, income, health, education; child outcome by age

Data Source	Summary description	Access	Panel/Cross-Country	Year(s)	Information in child migration	Information on child well-being
MICRO LEVEL World Happiness Database	The World Database of Happiness is an ongoing register of scientific research on the subjective enjoyment of life. It brings together findings that are scattered throughout many studies and provides a basis for synthetic work.	Available on request	Cross-section	Various years	No information on country of birth, country of origin or nationality	Subjective well-being; child outcome by age
EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (SILC)	The European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) is an instrument aiming at collecting timely and comparable cross-sectional and longitudinal multidimensional micro-data on income, poverty, social exclusion and living conditions. This instrument is anchored in the European Statistical System	Official access request at Eurostat	Cross-section and panel	2004 (follow up of the ECHP survey)	Country of birth	Child care, assets, income, employment, health, education; child outcome by age
Child Labour Surveys (ILO)	The ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) was created in 1992 with the overall goal of the progressive elimination of child labour, which was to be achieved through strengthening the capacity of countries to deal with the problem and promoting a worldwide movement to combat child labour.	Data available on ILO Website	Cross-section	Since 1992 (various developing countries in various years)	Place of birth	Household characteristics (size, structure, income) employment; child outcome by age
Luxembourg Income Study (LIS)	The Luxembourg Income Study - is a non-profit cooperative research project with a membership that includes 30 countries on four continents: Europe, America, Asia and Oceania. The LIS project began in 1983 under the joint sponsorship of the government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and the Centre for Population, Poverty and Policy Studies (CEPS).	Data available on web	Cross-section	1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004), varies for countries and years	Demographic variables: Immigration Status, country of birth	Assets, income, expenditure, demographic information of household head and spouse
Luxembourg Wealth Study (LWS)	On 6 December 2007, the Luxembourg Income Study released for public use the Luxembourg Wealth Study (LWS), a new database containing harmonized wealth microdata. The LWS database was modelled after its "sister database", the Luxembourg Income Study, our 24-year-old database that contains harmonized income datasets.	Available on web: http://www.lisproject.org/lwstechdoc.htm	Cross-section	Various Years	Immigration Status of household head and spouse	Demographic, labour, wealth (assets), expenditure, income, behavioral variables (saving, happiness,...)
Demographic and Health Survey (DHS)	The DHS are nationally representative population-based surveys with large sample sizes (usually between 5,000 and 30,000 households). In all households, women age 15-49 are eligible to participate; in many surveys men age 15-54(59) from a sub-sample are also eligible to participate. There are core questionnaires in DHS surveys: A Household Questionnaire, a Women's Questionnaire, and a Male questionnaire.	On request at DHS homepage	Cross-section	Various years	Place of birth	Assets, household socio-economic characteristics, education, health, nutrition; child outcome by age
World Value Surveys	The World Values Survey is a worldwide investigation of sociocultural and political change. It is conducted by a network of social scientist at leading universities all around world.	free access on web:	Cross-section	1990, 1995, 2000, 2005		Trust, happiness, satisfaction, priority towards children (subjective well-being)

Data Source	Summary description	Access	Panel/Cross-Country	Year(s)	Information in child migration	Information on child well-being
MICRO LEVEL Health Behavior in school-aged children (HBSC)	Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) is a cross-national research study conducted in collaboration with the WHO Regional Office for Europe. The study aims to gain new insight into, and increase our understanding of young people's health and well-being, health behaviors and their social context.	Request at: www.hbsc.org	Cross-section (38 developed countries – mainly Euro Area and the US)	1983/84, 85/86, 89/90, 93/94, 97/98, 2001/02, 2005/06	No information on migration status	Subjective and objective well-being, subjective; behavior; child outcome by age (ages 11, 13, 15)
ILO Labor Migration Survey	In 2004, the International Labour Conference of the ILO adopted a Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration which is part of a plan of action for migrant workers agreed by ILO constituents. The Framework is part of an ILO plan of action which aims at better managing labour migration so that it contributes positively to the growth and development of both home and host societies, as well as to the well being of the migrants themselves.		Cross-section	2003	Migration by sex, citizenship, inflow/outflow	Socioeconomic characteristics; child outcome by age
Programme for International Student Assessment" (PISA)	PISA is part of the "Indicators of Educational Systems" (INES) of the OECD. The study is an internationally standardized assessment. The survey was implemented in the year 200, 2003, and 2006 for more than 40 countries including between 4500 and 1000 students for each country.	Available on web	Panel (2000, 2003, 2006)	1998-2001; 2000-2004; 2003-2007	Migrational background	Reading, mathematics, science education
Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS)	PIRLS 2006 is the second in a cycle of internationally comparative reading assessments carried out every five years. Conducted at the fourth grade, this world-wide assessment and research project is designed to measure trends in children's reading literacy achievement and collect information about policy and practices related to read and reading instructions. PIRLS 2006 provides information on the impact of the home environment on reading achievement and how parents can foster reading literacy.	Available on web	Cross-section	2001, 2006	Migrational background	Reading, comprehension
Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)	TIMSS 2007 is the fourth in a cycle of internationally comparative assessments dedicated to improving teaching and learning in mathematics and science for students around the world. TIMSS provides data about trends in mathematics and science achievement over time.	for 2007 coming May 2009, 2003 available on web	Cross-section	1995, 1999, 2003, 2007	Migrational background	Mathematics and science knowledge
Integrated Public Use Microdata Series — International (IPUMS International)	Census Microdata for Social and Economic Research. IPUMS-International is a project dedicated to collecting and distributing census data from around the world. Available for 26 developed and developing countries.	Available on web	Cross-section	Various years from 1960 to 2002	Country of birth, place lived five years ago	Household characteristics; education, employment and occupation characteristics; child outcome by age

Source: Authors' illustration.

Data Source	Summary description	Access	Panel/Cross-Country	Year(s)	Information in (child) migration	Information on child well-being
MACRO LEVEL						
UN World Population Prospects	Official UN population estimates (1950-2050), survey and projections for the world, 6 major areas, 21 regions and 228 countries or areas. Estimates and projections are also given for more developed regions, less developed regions, least developed regions and sub-Saharan Africa	Available on web	Cross-section	20 rounds since 1950	Net-migration (stocks and flows of migration)	
EUROSTAT	Official online database of the European Commission	Available on www.eurostat.com	Cross-section	Annually	Migration, place of birth	Education, social well-being, socioeconomic characteristics
The new Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC)	Standardised statistics on immigrant inflows results, sources and methods	Available on web	Cross-section	Since 2006	Migration inflows, and size (country of birth, nationality)	Demographic and labor market characteristics

Source: Authors' illustration.

Table 13: Country specific Data Sources on Child Well-Being in the EU

Administrative/register sources	Indicator/Survey
Country	Recipients of child-related social allowances
BE, DK, DE, EE, ES, FR, IE, IT, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, RO, SK, FI, SE	
BE, DK, IT, HU, MT, FI, SK, SE	- Health status of children
DK, DE, IT, LT, HU, AT, PT, FI, SE	- Income, taxes, transfers, poverty
DK, IT	- Housing
BE, DK, ES, IT, LT, LU, MT, AT, RO, SK, FI, SE	- Childcare facilities
DK, DE, FR, SE	- Employment
BE, DK, FR, IE, IT, LV, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, RO, SK, SE	- Education
DK, IT, MT, AT, RO, SE	- Population
DK, IT, AT, LV, MT, PT, SK	- Justice
DK, IT, AT, SK, SE, UK	- After-school care, leisure, sport
Specific data sources on children in vulnerable situation	
BE	- Monitoring systems on child abuse set up by government agencies in cooperation with specialized grass-roots.
DK	- Data on children taken into care outside the family or receiving treatment in order to prevent a placement outside the family.
ES	- Information on children at particular risk or in situation of social exclusion is available at national and regional levels. This information includes guardianship by legal mandate as well as special social care for children and family refuge.
IT	- Administrative/register data on children placed out of family, abuse and maltreatment, prostitution, difficulties in the learning process; and health data on infective illnesses, pediatric AIDS, admissions to hospitals, disabilities, wounded in road accidents, suicides.
LV	- Administrative/register data on orphans from local government children's homes and specialized social care centres for children.
HU	- Administrative/register data on children with health problems (new-born with congenital anomalies, patients in psychiatric wards, patients prone to - addictions, patients treated in dermato-venereal dispensaries, drug abuses).
SK	- Data on socio-legal protection.
FI, SE	- Administrative/register data from the child welfare services on children in placement.
UK	- Data on educational and job outcomes for children looked after. i.e. aggregate indicators compiled by the department for Education on the basis of returns of children looked after completed annually by the institutions where they are placed.
Special Surveys on Children	
DK	- Cohort Study in Children (CSC) and Cohort Study in Children into Care
DE	- Living conditions of children, youths and families. Further: "German Health Survey for Children and Adolescents" (KIGGS) includes self-reported information and health examination.
FR	- Longitudinal panel survey from childhood to adult life.
IE	- Data on literacy and innumeracy (children aged 17), also surveys on health status of pupils and childcare.
FI	- Survey examining the factors contributing to children's well-being.
	- HYPA 2006: additional questionnaire on child population.
	- STAKES: annually School health survey with lots of indicators (14-17 year olds).
	- Young People's Health Survey: indicators about alcohol and drugs; health behaviour, etc. (12-18 year olds).
UK	- Several panel surveys on children.
	- In Scotland: surveys about "Being Young in Scotland", "Children in need survey", etc.
IT	- Household Budget Survey: Additional information on living conditions of children (age 3-17); Labor Force Survey
	- Furthermore: Special surveys on child prostitution, childcare services, etc.
AT	- Satisfaction about school and education system.
SE	- Different surveys concerning living conditions of children, information on alcohol and other drugs, crime prevention.
FR, DE, BE, ES, NE, AT, SE, CH, TU, UK	- TIES project: comparative research project on the descendants of second generation immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia and Morocco in eight European countries

Source: European Commission (2008).

7. Concluding Remarks

This survey has first shown that migration issues are critical areas of economic and social research in European countries. Migrant stocks and flows are rising and the future economic and social development of Europe will greatly depend on the ability of migrant groups to be able to actively participate and promote economic development in their host countries. Much of this will depend on how migrant children are faring within Europe, which is also a rising and critical question from a well-being perspective.

We have also pointed out that there has not been a comprehensive assessment of the well-being of migrant children in Europe. This is partly due to the complexity of the task, esp. given the heterogeneity of the migration populations, partly is an area neglected as immigration has only recently been acknowledged as a permanent feature of European societies. Also, the data and analytical concepts for such analyses are largely lacking.

We propose that therefore there is much scope to develop a research agenda that would focus on the well-being of migrant children in Europe. Elements of such a research agenda should include (at least):

- Research into a conceptual framework for analyzing the well-being of children. Much of the well-being literature is largely focused on adults individuals and needs to be extended to consider children and their special position as citizens and persons still undergoing a process of formation; The basic framework could (and probably should be) the capability approach that would then need to be extended.

- Research into defining the most important dimensions of well-being, as they particularly pertain to migrant children. Of particular importance would be approaches that explicitly take account of the heterogeneity of the migrant experience and that would also distinguish between well-being dimensions associated with the process of migration, short-term as well as long-term effects of the migration experience in host countries.

- The compilation of databases that can be used to analyze the experience of migrant children in European countries. A start is made in this paper which should be extended, particularly by including more specialized surveys that cover particular dimensions of well-being.

- The systematic analysis of existing databases and surveys to study the experience of migration children from a well-being perspective. Many surveys exist but have not systematically been used to analyze this issue. In fact, much of the migration literature has been focused on education and labor market performance. Much more can be done using the same data to study well-being using a wider perspective.

-The extension of existing survey instruments (particularly panel household surveys) by including questions about the well-being of children in general (and migrant children in particular).

-The systematic assessment of the heterogeneity of experience of migrant children in Europe. To do this, most current households (with the exception of some national panel surveys) are not able to address this question at the required level of disaggregation. Therefore specialized surveys will be required that focus particularly on migrant groups, using standardized definitions and distinguishing between first and second generation migrants.

-The establishment of long-term cohort studies that have proven to be very valuable in the US to track the experience of migrant and native cohorts over longer period of time.

-The systematic development of comparable macro data on migrant stocks and flows in Europe using consistent definition and differentiating by types of migration and countries of origin.

The field of examining the well-being of migrant children in Europe is still in its infancy. We have outlined some ways how the field could be strengthened and hope that some of the issues will be taken up in future research programs.

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