EDITORIAL

SOFIA GASPAR
ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL)/Centre for
Research and Studies in Sociology (CIES-IUL)

Descendants of immigrants in Portugal

INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades, Portugal has definitely been established as an immigration country, receiving different national groups from both traditional origin (Africa, Brazil) and new origin countries (Ukraine, Russia, China). First generation migrants, once their situation had settled and been legalized, started to build their families or to ask for reunification with those family members they had left behind. This social reality increased the presence of those children who had been born abroad and who had arrived in Portugal in late childhood or early adolescence (1.5 generation), and of those who had actually been born in Portugal (second generation). In the space of a few years, descendants of immigrants became part of Portuguese society, intervening in different structural sectors and boosting new inter- and intra-ethnic social, professional and cultural bonds. In fact, in 2017, from a total of 86,154 newborns in Portugal, 9.6 per cent of them were from foreigner mothers (INE, Pordata 2018), accounting for the growing visibility of this social group in Portugal.

Cross-national research indicates that, in Europe, the children of first generation immigrants tend to experience upwards social mobility, typically doing better for themselves socio-economically than their parents, despite differences in the national settings that can offer specific educational and professional

opportunities (Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Thomson and Crul 2007). In fact, immigrants' descendants are normally better educated and, consequently, they are able to find more highly qualified jobs than can the precedent generations. The establishment of second generations in settlement countries like Portugal raises an important question related to the social integration of this generation and, linked to this, their school and labour performance. An important issue is how we can understand differences between different ethnic groups of descendants, and how we can associate such differences to the development of immigrant policies that should sustain social inclusion.

The settlement of immigrants' children has given rise, in academia, to critical reflection developed to the concept of 'second generation'. According to some authors (Machado 1994; Machado and Matias 2006; Machado et al. 2005), this expression labels these children according to the migratory experience of their parents, and automatically assumes that these parents' social experience of migration still exerts an influence on their own social trajectories. This perspective particularly stresses the importance of the differences established between first and second generations, in terms of their daily interactions with the host society in educational and professional settings.

Research conducted so far in the Portuguese context has tended to be mainly focused on African descendants (from Portuguese-speaking African countries, PALOP – *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*), and centred, specifically, either on their educational performance in secondary school and in higher education (Seabra et al. 2016), or on ethnic identity affiliations (Padilla 2011; Padilla and Ortiz 2014). Findings here indicate that, compared to students who are native Portuguese or from other immigrant groups, male African-origin students (whether born in Portugal or having lived here for decades) are more prone to failure at school and less likely to experience positive educational attainment; such students will, on leaving school, typically follow a vocational track. Correspondingly, this group also has less presence in higher education institutions (Seabra et al. 2011, 2016), and demonstrates a lower propensity to imagining their future and making the transition to adulthood (Mateus 2014). Other investigations found that African-origin descendants tend to report racial discrimination and prejudice by some sectors of Portuguese society, such as at school and other public institutions, which contributes to moulding their cultural and social identities (Padilla and Ortiz 2014).

However, there is still scant research on the lives and experiences of immigrants' children, despite their growing presence in Portugal. In fact, until now, no special issue has centred on the descendants of immigrants. This special issue wishes to fill this gap and contribute to enhancing the debate on the social integration and the life trajectories of this segment of the population – not only addressing some structural dimensions of their lives (school and educational achievements, and labour market insertion) but also considering some issues related to social relations, conviviality and integration among peers, and identity affiliations.

More specifically, this volume includes contributions from several renowned researchers, whose work is empirically anchored in cases which specify new trends and insights on the lives and experiences of immigrants' descendants. The ethnic groups that will be under focus comprise African (PALOP), Chinese and also Canadian-Portuguese and French Portuguese descendants. The articles include original investigations centred on school compositional effects on students' performances (both non-immigrant and PALOP students) (Seabra, Carvalho and Ávila); vocational tracks in the

educational system as a risk of augmenting the ethnic-racial segregation of African descendants (Abrantes and Roldão); school integration and the performance of children of mixed origin (with one foreign parent and one native parent) (Mateus); the identity affiliations of young people 'returning' to their emigrant parents' country of origin, i.e. Portugal (Sardinha); Chinese descendants' entrepreneurship as linked to companies involved in Portugal's Golden Visa programme (Gaspar); and spaces of conviviality in school settings in Lisbon and Granada (Padilla and Olmos Alcaraz).

In the first article, Teresa Seabra, Helena Carvalho and Patrícia Ávila explore the effects of a school´s ethnic composition on the mathematics results of students of immigrant origin in primary school. Although this question has been widely researched in Anglo-Saxon contexts, the authors analyse the issues involved specifically in the Portuguese context. Their findings enable them to draw some conclusions that need to be further explored in order to map future educational policies. First of all, a school's social composition (i.e., its socio-economic profile) appears to be more determinant in respect of students' performance than does its ethnic composition. This conclusion, when applied to the case of PALOP students, indicates that these individuals are those who are most affected by the social composition of the school they attend. This means that students originally from PALOP countries particularly benefit from attending schools in which the average student comes from a relatively higher social class background, but also that they tend to suffer in schools with a lower social-economic profile (experiencing here greater levels of racial and migrant-specific prejudice, as well as achieving poorer academic results). These findings thus reveal how African-origin students are extremely vulnerable to the contextual factors of the social environment in which they live.

In the second article, Pedro Abrantes and Cristina Roldão also focus on the educational context of African-origin descendants. Using a longitudinal quantitative analysis, the authors explore the link between high rate of retention and a stronger orientation towards embarking on vocational tracks by students of African descent. Their results clearly point to the idea that these children, by mainly pursuing vocational trajectories at school, limit their opportunities for accessing higher educational paths and a wider humanistic and scientific, education. According to the authors, the persistence of a vocational pathway in school among African-origin students contributes not only to reinforcing their ethno-racial segregation but also to legitimizing and sustaining the institutional racism prevalent in the educational system.

Both the first and the second articles in this issue make strong contributions towards educational policy recommendations in Portugal. Seabra and colleagues sustain the need to re-direct school policies, particularly in terms of classroom formation and organization, in order to include students with differentiated academic and social backgrounds (PALOP and non-PALOP). In these authors' opinion, this measure could improve the academic performance of PALOP students, and prevent their school segregation and early dropout. In the same vein, Abrantes and Roldão make a solid statement when recommending the implementation of a monitoring system of the vocational track, in order to prevent discrimination and exclusion of those social groups more prone to following these educational pathways. Alongside this, according to the authors, policy-makers should make a clear effort in establishing strategies of educational equity among students, so as to guarantee freedom of access to different educational trajectories.

The next article is extremely innovative in focusing on an under-researched social group: mixed-origin children. Here, Sandra Mateus brings to the debate an analysis of the social and family characteristics and the school performance of ninth-grader children with parents of different ethnic origin (native Portuguese and non-Portuguese). By developing a comparative analysis between this group and other children, including native Portuguese and immigrant-origin children, the author contributes to revealing the diversity of experiences and characteristics that lie behind the social conditions of immigrant children more generally. The findings here show that mixed-parentage children disclose social conditions and family characteristics more resembling of those of their native Portuguese peers than those of children of immigrant background. Not only do they tend to come from a family environment more professionally and socially aspirational, but they also present more stable academic trajectories, with higher grades and with less school-retention patterns. The future orientation of these children is also consistent with their family background and school results, since they present higher levels of ambition with regard to future careers and lower levels of holding undefined plans concerning their future.

The article presented by João Sardinha also contributes to broadening the notion of 'second generation', by centring his focus on the strategies of identity and belonging of immigrants who are 'returnees' to their parents' country of origin – that is, the children of Portuguese natives who, in the past, emigrated to another country (namely, France and Canada) and raised their family there. In fact, this is an extremely original and unexamined topic, hardly studied in the 'immigrants' descendant' literature. Sardinha explores how Portuguese Canadian and Portuguese French individuals engage with the process of returning to Portugal as young adults, and negotiate their identity and sense of belonging within Portuguese society. As the author shows, they will often experience feeling disappointment and disenchantment as they attempt to integrate themselves successfully, particularly when confronted by the anti-emigrant sentiments of some native Portuguese. Constantly confronted with their 'foreignness' and with multiple identities and allegiances, returnees often thus (re)discover feelings of identity and attachment for the society they have left behind (Canada or France). The complex process of negotiating their identities becomes, then, anchored in two national contexts, in which the emergence of different identifications and experiences contribute to the upsurge of a hybrid identity.

Taken together, these last two articles contribute to the deconstruction of the category of second-generation children, by very specifically bringing into the academic debate segments of this social group frequently overlooked: mixed-parentage children (Mateus) and second-generation returnees (Sardinha). In fact, it is fundamental to explore beyond the classic concept of 'second generation', to ensure that a whole range of children, of various different origins and with particular life experiences and attachments to their ethnic and social environments, are encompassed.

The article presented by Sofia Gaspar explores the professional position occupied by Chinese-origin youths, and whether they follow similar professional and entrepreneurial activities than first generation Chinese migrants. In-depth interviews demonstrate that Chinese descendants are embarking, alongside others, in intermediation activities linked to the Golden Visa residence permits that have been issued in Portugal since 2012, following

the economic and financial crisis of the previous year. As the author reveals, several structural, ethnic and personal resources have contributed to detaching Chinese youths from those labour activities and businesses traditionally developed by Chinese migrants (i.e., wholesale trade and catering), and have stimulated them to instead position themselves within Portuguese society in a way that is more consonant with the work lives and lifestyles of natives.

The final article, written by Beatriz Padilla and Antonia Olmos Alcaraz, offers a comparative analysis of conviviality between native Portuguese, young foreigners and adolescent descendants of immigrants at two educational spaces in Lisbon and Granada. 'Conviviality' is defined as the everyday social interaction between different groups of people of various ethnical, racial or cultural origins, who live alongside each other in particular urban areas. Padilla and Olmos Alcaraz compare some educational indicators provided by Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) and their own ethnographic information in educational settings in Lisbon (Free Time Activities [ATL]) and Granada (Temporary Language Adaptation Classrooms [ATAL]). The comparative findings obtained by the authors, concerning the level of conviviality between natives and young immigrants, indicated that, both for Portugal and Spain, the phenomenon of intercultural convivial interaction in educational spaces occurs, although much can still be done to improve it. In fact, intercultural teaching and top-down conviviality seems to encourage social interactions in schools that better facilitate migrants' social integration.

The six articles included in this special issue illustrate some thematic research that is currently ongoing concerning immigrants' descendants in Portugal. Research on areas such as educational attainment and vocational pathways, labour market integration, and social identity and conviviality will not only allow us to fill existing intellectual gaps but to better understand and tackle some of the more important challenges relating to the experiences of these descendants as they attempt to live their lives in Portugal.

Given the contemporary national and European context, the social integration of the children of immigrants will undoubtedly remain one of the most important issues among the public-policy concerns of the twenty-first century. As found in cross-national research, the picture of the success of the second generation's social integration is rather complex, since, as is well-known, their inclusion can be dependent on, and inhibited by, a number of macro and micro indicators – race, ethnicity, family and social networks, religion, language competence or cultural values (Thomson and Crul 2007). However, social integration is constrained not only by structural variables, but also by institutional and political determinants. Government policies are of utmost importance as facilitators of the social inclusion of migrants, providing the legitimate tools for their settlement.

Some issues have remained unaddressed but they challenge us to pursue further investigations on this topic: for example, citizenship and political participation as a resource for social inclusion; second-generation transnationalism and how the children of migrants connect to their relatives' native country; and intergenerational conflicts within families and ethnic communities. Additionally, it is crucial to continue exploring different constellations of 'children of immigrants', including mixed-parentage offspring, second-generation returnees and, indeed, third generations (with both parents born in the host country).

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Contact: ISCTE-Lisbon University Institute/CIES-IUL, Avenida das Forças Armadas, Edifício Sedas Nunes, 1649-026 Lisboa, Portugal.
E-mail: sofia.gaspar@iscte-iul.pt

 https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0002-6246