



**Researching “Second Generation” in a Transitional, European, and  
Agricultural Context of Reception of Immigrants**

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## RESEARCHING “SECOND GENERATION” IN A TRANSITIONAL, EUROPEAN AND AGRICULTURAL CONTEXT OF RECEPTION OF IMMIGRANTS

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### Abstract

Previous research focusing on the study of immigrant offspring has shown inconclusive results and uncovered different ways of their incorporation into society. This contrasts with the unilateral model suggested by the more radical notions of “linear assimilation”, for instance, the possibility of an “upward” as well as a “downward assimilation”, giving rise to the *segmented assimilation* thesis (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Some experts have given empirical evidence to support this view, but other researchers have pointed out that the model of “segmented assimilation” is not so productive in other cases or they have defended that it presents a pessimistic point of view on assimilation processes (see i.e. Alba and Nee, 2003). The majority of these debates have been focused on empirical data obtained in “old countries of immigration”. Since knowledge of second generation immigrant activity is of such importance to social, political and applied sciences in general the objective of this paper is to present a review of some of the theoretical and methodological problems encountered in the research of second generation immigrants in Spain and particularly in Andalusia and one its provinces, Huelva. It is hoped to contribute to the debate on the feasibility of researching this generation in “transitional contexts of immigration”, but also under the eye of the particularities regarding local contexts impregnated in a strong historical tradition of employing immigrants (at first national, later international migrants) according to the agricultural calendar. Primary data taken in Huelva and Andalusia (Spain), in a preliminary exploration, expose the similarities, differences and difficulties in researching second generations in “transitional contexts”. The first results, though preliminary, seems to give support to the thesis of *segmented assimilation*.

**Keywords:** Second generation; children of immigrants; segmented assimilation; transitional countries of immigration; Huelva, Spain.

## **Importance of researching *Second-Generation Immigrants* and *Segmented Assimilation* processes**

Previous research focusing on the study of immigrant offspring has shown inconclusive results and uncovered different ways of their incorporation into society. This contrasts with the unilateral model suggested by the more radical notions of “linear assimilation”, for instance, the possibility of an “upward” as well as a “downward assimilation”, (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990, 2001, 2005, 2006; Waldinger and Feliciano, 2003). This focus is especially interesting in the case of studies concentrating on second or later generations (“*The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study*” –*the CILS*-, directed by Professor Alejandro Portes<sup>1</sup>). Second generation immigrants, as several researchers have shown, seem to exhibit a greater variety in ways of integration than the first generation. The latter are more homogeneous or linear in their assimilation processes. This is why first generations are more frequently oriented to the country of origin (Gualda, 2001), even in artistic expression (Fernández-Kelly, 2006; Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2005). In this sense, the study of “segmented assimilation” is especially centred on the “second-generation” (Waldinger and Feliciano, 2004). Zhou (1997) added that it is a suitable theoretical framework for explaining the process of incorporation of second generations of immigrants in the social stratification, and also their outcomes.

Others recent works, as well as those cited above give us some empirical evidence to support this view (Nuñez, 2004; Wildsmith, 2001; Nagasawa, Qian and Wong, 2001; Martinez, Lee and Nielsen, 2004; Brandon, 2002; Portes and Rumbaut, 2005, 2006; Portes and Bach, 1985; Feliciano and Rumbaut, 2005; Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2005, and others). Nevertheless, some researchers note that the model of “segmented assimilation” is not so useful in other cases (Landale, Oropesa, Llanes and Gorman, 1999; Rosenfeld, 2002; McKeever and Klineberg, 1999), or that it presents a pessimistic view point on assimilation processes (Alba and Nee, 2003). When applied to “second-generation”, there are authors who see the usefulness of distinguishing between second- and other generation immigrants, as in the case of Ramakrishnan (2004), who documented differences between a 2.0 and 2.5 generation in the U.S. Despite these arguments, it seems undeniable that second-generation immigrants experience a different life from first generation, and experiment different opportunities and risks from their elders. Some of these differences can even be found in medical, psychological and psychiatric research, reporting the links between second generation and alcohol-drug abuse, psychoses, mental distress, depression... (Carta et al., 2001; Hjern, 2004; Hjern, Wicks and Dalman, 2004; Hjern and Allebeck, 2004; Leão, et. al., 2006; Leão, et. al., 2005; Leão, 2006).

Until now the majority of research has focused on the adaptation processes of second generation immigrants and has been carried out on the so called “old countries of immigration”, characterised by waves of migrants whose children had been born in the host-country of their parents. Studies on second generation immigrant activity are currently being carried out in Spain which highlights its importance to social, political and applied sciences in general. Recently, some advances have been made (see Aparicio, 2001; Aparicio and Tornos, 2006; Cachón, 2003; García, 2004; Pedreño, 2005; Colectivo loé, 1996; 2003; Comisiones Obreras, 2002; Cabello, 1994...), but the majority have focused on the wide group of “children of immigrants”, or “young

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<sup>1</sup> For information on the project see The Centre for Migration and Development: “The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)”. In: <http://cmd.princeton.edu/cils.html>, or in the bibliography cited at the end. Also Portes and Rumbaut (2006): *Immigrant America. A portrait*. University of California Press.

immigrants” (without specifying a “second” or “1.5 generation”, as it occurs –for instance- in the U.S. tradition. Studies in Spain have mainly been centred on schooling issues, and less on the complete process of school and labour market incorporation. So, a more continuous and broader focus is needed, in order to cover the whole national territory (at least the regions with young immigrants), the experience of different ethnical groups, and the particularities of local contexts (urban and rural ones).

The main objective here then is to contribute to the debate on the feasibility of researching new second generation in “transitional contexts of immigration” (defined below), but also under the eye of particularities regarding local contexts impregnated in a strong historical tradition of employing immigrants (at first national, later international migrants) according to the agricultural calendar. New questions will be posed such as: Are these kinds of phenomena regarding second generation now being developed in Spain similar to those in France, Germany...?. Is now it possible to talk about a “new second generation” in Spain? Are young immigrants integrating in Spain? To do this, it will be necessary to define what is considered in this paper as a “transitional country of immigration”, and to continue describing the particular context of reception of immigrants and clarifying the term of second-generation which in this paper will mostly be concentrated in Huelva (Andalusia, Spain)

At this stage, studying second generation immigrants in a similar way to studies carried out in the US, particularly the CILS, presents certain methodological and technical problems. This study is one of the most representative examples of second-generation investigations in an old country of immigration<sup>2</sup>. The potential comparability of these studies with those that will be undertaken will enable the establishment of some kind of comparison between integration processes of second generation immigrants. Primary data taken in Huelva and Andalusia (Spain), in a preliminary exploration, expose the similarities, differences and difficulties in researching second generations in “transitional contexts”, where conceptualizations, statistical and other sources for investigation differ, sometimes because they are at their beginnings. Finally, a description is given of what appears to be happening with second and 1.5 generation immigrants in this local context, and a call is made for further research in this issue in Spain, and for a wider development of statistical data in the region in order to facilitate the task of researchers.

### **“Transitional countries of Immigration”: the case of Spain at the turn of the XXI century**

In order to identify and understand the present situation of Spain as a receiver of immigrants, it is first necessary to consider its recent evolution. Compared with old countries of immigration such as the U.S., France, Germany or others, Spain as recently as the 1960s was considered an emigrant country due to their high emigration rate (Martinez and Gualda, 2006; Gualda, 2001). Around the mid-eighties the immigration rate began surpassing the emigration one, and currently Spain is a clear immigration country. Andalusia, where Huelva is situated (see Map # 1), is one of the most important immigrant receiving regions in the country. Immigrant influx has increased year on year and now, twenty years on, Spain is not only an immigration country, but a country where second generation immigration is gaining in importance both quantitatively and qualitatively. In this context the question must be raised as to whether Spain can continue being considered a “new country of immigration”. It is perhaps true to say that there is a “transition” towards what old countries of immigration

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<sup>2</sup> We consider CILS a relevant example due to: their focus on the second-generation and assimilation processes; their longitudinal approach; and also their combination of Quantitative and Qualitative Methods.

experience. Spain could be defined as a “transitional country of immigration”, in an attempt to express what is currently being experienced, similar to other Mediterranean countries such as Portugal, Italy or Greece, in a European context. In this second phase of immigration the settlement of immigrants produces the creation of new families and children, which are the current subject of concern. However, at the same time, new immigrants continue entering, which renders the situation even more complex. Some basic traits of the present situation in Spain were experienced in Europe by the so called “old immigration countries” (Germany, France, Belgium, United Kingdom, Switzerland...)<sup>3</sup>, but now there is the opportunity to learn lessons from the past, and try to avoid the negative consequences of the immigrant social integration processes. This is why it is very important to gain an insight into new second generation activity. And what is most relevant, to observe the changes continuously, in longitudinal studies.

### **“Immigrant Reception Contexts ”: Huelva, as a transitional, European and agricultural Immigration Context**

The importance of understanding and recognising immigrant reception contexts in social integration processes research has been widely documented by Portes (1995), Portes and Rumbaut (1990, 2001, 2006), Portes and Bach (1985), etc. As they pointed out, “modes of incorporation of immigrants” depend on how “reception contexts”<sup>4</sup> combine, and particularly, “*the combination of these three reception levels constitutes the overall mode of incorporation of a particular immigrant group*” (Portes, 1995:25). As a reception context, Huelva should be considered as neither “new” nor “old”.

The reception context can be favourable or unfavourable to the integration of immigrants in that it can function as a barrier or as a trampoline and can either hold back some ethnical groups or impulse others. Portes (1995:26) explained this in his classification of different groups of immigrants, noting, for example, the difference between being Haitian and being Cuban in the U.S. This can be applied to the description of the case of Huelva as a reception context for immigrants. It should be mentioned that the province of Huelva has experienced three important migratory periods since the end of XIX century. Firstly, at the end of the XIX century Huelva experienced an influx of population from England. The cause of this migratory process was the exploitation of minerals by the Rio Tinto Company Ltd. (especially pyrite, and copper). This had lasting cultural consequences for society in Huelva. The legacy of the English can be seen today in the architecture of the Queen Victoria Quarter in the province’s capital city - a Victorian housing development built to house Rio Tinto Company workers; also “Columbus House” once a hotel; in Spain’s first football team – proudly known as the “Dean”; their love of tennis, with the celebration of the King’s Trophy in the capital, as a particular legacy of King Alfonso XIII in 1912 to the city of Huelva, in recognition of one of the oldest tennis clubs in the world<sup>5</sup>; and an iron bridge for the transportation of minerals to the Atlantic Ocean<sup>6</sup> built by the Eiffel factories at

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<sup>3</sup> The famous sentence proclaimed by the Swiss novelist Max Frisch some decades before is still relevant: “*Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte, es kamen Menschen*” (We wanted workers, but human beings were arriving). Remembering that we wonder if we are we really prepared to politically and socially manage the question of New Second Generation.

<sup>4</sup> Government Policy, Societal Reception and Co-ethnic Community (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Portes, 1995, Portes, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> Needless to say it was the English, through the Rio Tinto Mining Company, who introduced tennis and football in Riotinto, Huelva (Archer, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> The capital city of Huelva is situated between the estuaries of two rivers (Odiel and Tinto) which flow into the Atlantic Ocean. This is why historically Huelva occupied a strategic geographic position in the Contemporary Era, first for mining, later for industry.

the end of the XIX century and now considered a heritage site. It is agreed that the city of Huelva and its province are influenced by XIX century English architecture and urbanism (Ayuntamiento de Huelva, 2005; González, 1978, 1981; Ruiz, 1998; Gibson, 2002).

In documents from the time, this immigration was remembered somehow as the immigration of elites, very popular among the aristocracy of the period, and citizens' lives were affected by them (Martínez, 1988). This is a totally different case from the important, interior migratory process that occurred much later in the 1960s, with the industrialization process in Huelva and the installation of a large chemical complex (as one of the "Poles of Development" during Franco's dictatorship) (Monteagudo, 1986, 1987, 1999; Fournau, 1978, 1980, 1982; Gualda, 2000). The peculiarity of that moment was the conjunction of two parallel migratory processes in the province of Huelva. People left Huelva to work in Western Europe (Germany and France) or in Madrid, Catalanian and the Basque country (main areas of industrialization or services in the Spain of the 1960s), in a process of national and international emigration, and at the same time, there was an important influx from rural areas of the province to the capital to work at the newly established industrial complex.

The third turning point in the space of a century was the arrival of new immigrants, in this case, as an international migratory process, in a context of globalization; heavily influenced by political decisions – international agreements made by central government in Spain and others countries (Martinez and Gualda, 2006). In the nineties the majority of immigrants were from Morocco, but currently there is a more diverse profile where an east European population (especially women), and Latin-Americans have an important role (Gualda and Ruiz, 2004; Gualda, 2003; Gualda, 2006a, 2006b, 2006d). Observing the evolution from the XIX, mining was the *leit motiv* for immigration of the English population in the XIX century, and industry was the reason in the sixties, and agriculture has been the main economic attraction for immigrants since the 1990s. At the end of the XX and at the beginning of XXI centuries there has been an increment in the jobs occupied by immigrants, this occurring not only in agriculture but also in services and tourism, which has enlarged the areas in which they are inserted, and increased the family members through new married couples and new children -the "new generations"-, and through new familiar regrouping processes.

Having studied the historical context, this "transitional context of immigration" can be investigated further. Problems with insertion into the labour market along with the consequences to society have been documented (Gualda, 2006a, 2006b, 2006d; 2005a, 2005b; 2003; Márquez and Gordo, 2004; Gualda y Ruiz, 2004). For the majority, their incorporation into the "Onubense"<sup>7</sup> labour markets can be classified as problematic, representing a kind of *downward assimilation*, as they normally concentrate in specific niches, in jobs already rejected by the local population as non-desirable. This problematic insertion is emphasised in the case of immigrants of African origin (particularly people from Morocco), and recently from Eastern Europe and Latin-America. Labour niches are now left to them, and the attitudes in recent surveys in the province mark strong differences between people coming from Western Europe and the others (Fundación Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2003; Gualda, 2006c). What is normally found with regards to the image of immigrants shown in the local media is a strong association between insecurity and certain ethnic groups, particularly men from Morocco, Algeria, Colombia or Rumania (Gualda, Montes and Piedra, 2004a, 2004b; Gualda and Montes, 2007). As for the women, normally made invisible in the media,

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<sup>7</sup> Term coined to refer to people born in Huelva ("Onuba"), originally from the Phoenicians, who gave the first name (Ono-Baal), though it was after changed by Romans, and even by Arabs, who baptized it as "Welva", as it currently sounds.

but with high-visibility in society (as a new survey shows -Gualda, 2006c-), Polish and Rumanian women stand out as new workers in the province, as a result of international agreements between Spain and their countries of origin to promote immigrant entrance in agricultural markets (Fernandez, 2006; Martinez y Gualda, 2006). As other researchers have also documented in Spain and Andalusia, the focus of the media is on the problems associated with immigration (Gualda, 2006c) such as delinquency and crime (Igartúa, Muñiz, Elena and Elena, 2003; Igartúa, Cheng and Muñiz, 2005a y 2005b; Checa, 2001; Checa, 2002; Granados, 2002; Lorite, 2004; Iguartua, J.J.; Muñiz, C.; Calvo, P.; Otero, J.A. and Merchán, J., 2005; Cea, M.A., 2004; Vallés, M.; Cea, M.A. and Izquierdo, A., 2001; etc).

All these precedents are bound to exert some influence on the extent to which some 1.5 and 2.0 generation ethnic groups integrate into the "Onubense" society. In fact, some qualitative interviews and focal groups conducted in the province pointed to labour discrimination as a factor in the lack of career aspirations in younger generation immigrants. Some of them explained their dropping out of school, and not applying to university (despite having been given the opportunity and means to), saying that they had learnt from their parents that: *as they belong to that ethnical group, they will not have good job prospects*. As a consequence, they left school and began looking for work. One of the aims of this study is, precisely, to establish the theoretical and methodological basis for testing, through a representative sample, the extent of this kind of thought and behaviour in young immigrants, and if there are differences in the province of Huelva between those belonging to different generations of immigrants.

### **Young Immigrants, First, One-half, Second and beyond Generations of Immigrants**

If the concept of «Generation» caused a great intellectual debate about its meaning (Ortega y Gasset, 1993; Mannheim, 1990; Marias, 1989, 1993; Ayala, 1984; De Miguel, 1994; Gualda, 2001), the same is occurring now with the concept of <<second generation>>, a common concept used to describe those born in the place of migratory destination of, at least, one of their parents. The international bibliography on migrations tends to distinguish between different «generations» of immigrants in order to consider their processes of integration, experiences and outcomes. Thus, the «first generation», easier to define, are those who first emigrate to a different country.

Some studies differentiate between a «first generation» and a <<one and a half generation of immigrants>>. Not always, but they sometimes establish the 13-14 year old as a limit to be included in one group or the other. Therefore, those who arrived in the country of destination aged 14 or more will be the <<first generation>>, and those who arrived under 14 will be the <<one half generation>>. These are associated to better situations of integration, because they were incorporated earlier to education and have more success with their studies. All of this allows some immigrants to achieve an occupational improvement (Fry y Lowell, 2006). Though other authors refer to other temporal limits (see, for instance, Rumbaut, 2002 and 2004), the more generally employed terms are "first" and "second generation". On the other hand, the terms "third" or "later/ beyond generation" are sometimes used. Recent research even defends the necessity to distinguish between a 2.0 generation and a 2.5 generation. In this case, the "2.5 generation" is constituted by those with one native and one foreign-born parent, and are even defined as "third generation" those with two native-born parents (Ramakrishnan, 2004; Rumbaut, 2002, 2004 and 2005). The reference here is particularly to the study of Ramakrishnan who arguments that the 2.5 generation is a numerically significant population, and that it varies from other groups in age structure, racial identification, educational attainment, and income, proposing that in studying the

U.S.-born children of immigrants, “*scholars should avoid lumping together the 2.5 generation with those who have no native-born parents*”. Sometimes under the disparity of definitions lie different objectives in the research or lack of information in official statistical data from Census or City Registers, which impede the design of samples with such analytical distinctions.

Problems of definitions and distinctions can be found in the case of this study, mainly because of the two reasons cited. According to Ramakrishnan’s definition of 2.5 generation, due to the lack of data in official statistical sources, it would be impossible to define a sample with such distinction unless a specific or <<ad hoc>> survey was conducted. There are also problems with the term of “second generation”, because when a foreign population acquires Spanish citizenship they are included in the data base as “Spanish”, and they automatically disappear, even those from the very first generation. The problem is the same with children, with the added issue that if they were born in Spain, they are sometimes classified as Spanish, especially if their parents are naturalised. Neither the Census nor the city Registry include ethnic characterizations, often a useful category, because the National Institute of Statistics does not ask for ethnic auto identification. Official publications do not say anything about first and second generation; they simply refer to “young immigrants”, without considering their generation (see i.e. in: Observatorio de la Infancia en Andalucía, 2006).

Nevertheless, some cited studies show empirical differences between processes of integration of different immigrants groups, which highlights the relevance of researching and comparing those generations, or at least makes it interesting in the sense of Ortega’s sociocultural idea of generation (1993): “*that composed of people who although they are not identical, share common social experiences and traits that give them important similarities. So, a generation is a people with “collective memory”*<sup>8</sup>.

Some of the most cited differences between “first” and “beyond” generations are shown in Chart # 1. First generations are socially and culturally orientated to their past, or to their origin. Second and beyond generations are less easy to define (Alba, 2005; Apitzsch, 2005), in that they seem to have diverse and complex vital trajectories (Fernandez-Kelly, 2006; Fernandez-Kelly and Konzcal, 2005; Gualda, 2001): from being between “two waters” (origin and destination countries), until they draw transnational trajectories in their lives (see, for instance, in the Levitt and Waters’ compiled book, 2002). This is why studying second generation our capacity for general predictions, if they could be made, diminish; and the research must be in a greater measure concentered in particular collectives, contexts of reception and return intentions, etc. Furthermore, the age limit is important in demarcating generations. Some authors have established 13-14 years (sometimes 18...) as a “personal maturity barrier”. Arriving in the country of destination over the established age limit usually means a more predictable orientation to the country of origin. But it should not be forgotten that due to the changing scenarios and contexts, and due to the changeable personal orientations of human beings, universal predictions and generalizations are very hard to be found in the social sciences.

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<sup>8</sup> People who share what he defined as: “*los sistemas de supuestos vigentes de cada época*” (*the idiosyncratic and current ideas or conceptions of one era*).



**Chart # 1. Generations of Immigrant and Integration processes.  
Several conceptualizations Rumbaut 2005**

|             | <i>First Generation or (1)</i>  | <i>One half Generation (1.5)</i>  | <i>Second Generation (2.0)</i>  | <i>Two and half Generation (2.5)</i>                     | <i>Third and beyond Generation</i>                 |
|-------------|---|---|---|--|--|
| Definition  | Foreign born or born in the country of origin, arrived with 14 years old or more at the destination country | Born in the country of origin, arrived with less than 14 years old to the destination country | Born in the country of destination from –at least– one of their parents | Those with one native parent and one foreign-born parent | Born in the country of destination of both parents |
| Integration | Mostly oriented to home country <sup>9</sup>  | Mixed orientation (home or host country). It depends on a great variety of circumstances.     |   |  |  |

Finally, it should be remembered that some authors, especially in a European context (García, 2003; Aparicio and Tornos, 2005), highlight the grammatical and social problems of defining as “second generation” those who were born in the host countries of their parents. There is a strong rejection associated with the use of the term “second generation”, because it is conceived as a discriminatory one, for it is somehow established that children of immigrants are going to be problematic, or have problems, and are thus stereotyped and categorised (García, 2003). Nevertheless, the idea of a non-linear assimilation process included in the terms *upward* and *downward assimilation* processes may solve those criticisms. Curiously, some official statistics in Spain give rise to those categorizations distinguishing between “Born in Spain and with Spanish parents” and “Born in Spain but without Spanish citizenship” (Observatorio de la Infancia en Andalucía, 2006, National Institute of Statistics, 2006). The latter is similar to saying “second generation immigrants”. On the other hand, researching “second generation” or children of immigrants is perhaps the only way to know if the discrimination practices that parents usually suffer, disappeared in the processes of incorporation of their children.

### **The New Second Generation in formation: present tendencies in Andalusia and Huelva**

Before discussing the methodological and technical aspects of approaching second generation and children of immigrants in “transitional” contexts, a minimal characterization of the demographic composition of this group is needed. This is to be done with the aid of official statistical data. In 2005, according to City Registers, 16% of foreigners in Andalusia (6,353) were younger than 18 years old (17.1% for Spain as a whole). Moreover, in this region it was established that 10.6% of all foreigners were under 18 years old. According to the area of origin, the European Union-25 (37.4%) accounts for the largest group, but South-Americans follow with 28% and Africans (18.1%) are also an important group. Nevertheless, in Spain as a whole, the number of south Americans surpasses Europeans. According to nationality the most important country of origin in the region at this age is Morocco, followed by the United Kingdom, Argentina and Ecuador. Another important and verified trend is the increasing number of foreign students in schools –most important although still in lower levels of education

<sup>9</sup> Especially if oriented towards return.

(Observatorio de la Infancia en Andalucía, 2006). In the case of Huelva, in the last school year, 2005-2006, a total of 2.455 foreign students were enrolled, from 3 to 19 years old. Most of them are under 14 years old (Consejería de Educación, 2006). It is important to note that some of them are the children of temporary workers who stay around three to six months in the province. As school is mandatory in Spain until the age of sixteen, all the children that accompany their parents in their migratory process are obliged to attend. The problem is that some of them are only resident in the seasonal period, but City Registers do not account for them. Furthermore, some of them join their parents at the end of the season. This is one of the complexities of investigating second generation immigrants in agricultural contexts.

In this province the percentage (3.7) of under 18 year olds is equal in both the immigrant and native Andalusian population. In 2005 these minors represented 2.7% of all Spanish minors, and 13.4% of all foreigners in Huelva, a somewhat smaller figure than for foreign minors in all Andalusia and Spain, easily explained by the importance that temporary workers for the agricultural season have in the province. Nevertheless, it is a significant figure if compared with young non-naturalised immigrants five years before (see *City Registers*). The total population of the province of Huelva is 484.792 inhabitants. The 18,809 foreign population included in the 2005 City Registers represents 3.89% of the total. By age, the most significant groups are those from 16 to 64 (4.84%) and less than 16 (3.89%). The over 65s only represent a 0.99%, as is indicative of a very young population pyramid.

According to continent, the most important is Europe (European Union-25 and other European countries), followed by Africa, and, of course, America, as shown in Chart # 2. As for the countries, some of them are very important, though Chart # 3 includes those with at least 100 people if we sum all the ages. The most important countries of origin for foreign population in Huelva are now Romania, Portugal and Ukraine (the first and the last corresponding to a new wave of immigration from east European countries to Spain), and Portugal as a traditional country of origin of temporary workers coming to Huelva to work in agriculture, some of them Portuguese gypsies. This migration is very well explained by the proximity of Huelva to Portugal, and through the opened frontier between Spain and Portugal. Other European countries follow the previously cited: Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, United Kingdom and Lithuania, among others, some of them traditional, some new, as Poland, Bulgaria or Lithuania (for more details of this evolution see Gualda, 2006a, 2006b, 2006d).

As for Africa, there is a strong traditional migration from Morocco, and also from Algeria, which are the principal ones in this case. Regarding America, although some collectives were old in the province, but small in size (Argentina, Cuba...), those coming in recent years from Ecuador and Colombia have increased and are now between the first five countries of origin in the province (Morocco, Romania, Portugal, Ecuador and Colombia).

**Chart # 2. Foreigners in Huelva, by Continent of Birth and Age (Total, 0-4 to 30-34)**

|                            | <b>Total</b> | <b>0-4</b> | <b>05-09</b> | <b>10-14</b> | <b>15-19</b> | <b>20-24</b> | <b>25-29</b> | <b>30-34</b> |
|----------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Total                      | 18.809       | 624        | 684          | 724          | 924          | 2.178        | 3.395        | 2.883        |
| Europe                     | 8.384        | 438        | 255          | 245          | 347          | 890          | 1.298        | 1.083        |
| - European Union (25)      | 4.295        | 380        | 158          | 132          | 138          | 350          | 462          | 372          |
| - Other European Countries | 4.087        | 58         | 97           | 113          | 209          | 540          | 836          | 710          |
| Africa                     | 5.725        | 72         | 163          | 188          | 317          | 768          | 1.316        | 1.050        |
| America                    | 4.410        | 108        | 258          | 287          | 243          | 494          | 738          | 690          |
| Asia                       | 285          | 6          | 8            | 4            | 16           | 26           | 43           | 60           |
| Australia                  | 5            | 0          | 0            | 0            | 1            | 0            | 0            | 0            |

Source: Own elaboration from National Institute of Statistics (2006): *City Registers, 2005*. [www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es)

Two important insights were gained by considering age groups<sup>10</sup>, with relevant methodological and technical implications for further studies. Firstly, in Chart # 3 the National Institute of Statistics includes Spain as country of birth because they are publishing data of people with non-Spanish Citizenship. However, this data does not provide any information about the country of origin of their parents<sup>11</sup>, supposedly foreigners. It would be important to know the circumstances in order to delimitate a 1.5; a 2.0 or even a 2.5 generation immigrants. Secondly, included under “Spain” are the so called, “second or beyond generation immigrants” (depending on the definition employed), and the majority are still very young to be included in a sample for a survey. Mostly they are between 0 and 4 years old, which presents an important limitation for now.

It may be possible to speculate, based on qualitative and other data and records, that the other foreigners in the table are divided between young first generation (they migrate with their parents, or by themselves), or 1.5 generation, but the data makes distinguishing the group more precisely impossible. Due to these figures specific difficulties are foreseen in a context such as Spain, with a problematic set of data to be applied in a quantitative study of second generation immigrants, following –for instance- the steps of CILS. The only apparent solution is through an “ad hoc” study via survey, implementing a representative sample of the complete universe of young immigrants, evaluating the results, and creating the categorizations of 2.0 generation and others at the end, after the fieldwork.

<sup>10</sup> We excluded those over the age of 35, to concentrate on the youngest immigrants, in this attempt to study “second generation”. For more details see the original source ([www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es)).

<sup>11</sup> It could be deduced through a similar published table with data by citizenship, but they do not distinguish between father and mother. Ordering and paying for more detailed data, supposing confidentiality is maintained, it would be possible to obtain something more disaggregated, but we can not assure that now.

**Chart # 3. Foreigners in Huelva, by main Countries of Birth and Age  
(Total, 0-4 to 30-34). In descendent order.**

|                    | <b>Total</b>  | <b>0-4</b> | <b>05-09</b> | <b>10-14</b> | <b>15-19</b> | <b>20-24</b> | <b>25-29</b> | <b>30-34</b> |
|--------------------|---------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>18.809</b> | <b>624</b> | <b>684</b>   | <b>724</b>   | <b>924</b>   | <b>2.178</b> | <b>3.395</b> | <b>2.883</b> |
| <b>Europe</b>      | <b>8.384</b>  | <b>438</b> | <b>255</b>   | <b>245</b>   | <b>347</b>   | <b>890</b>   | <b>1.298</b> | <b>1.083</b> |
| Romania            | 2.310         | 39         | 65           | 59           | 159          | 391          | 516          | 393          |
| Portugal           | 1.668         | 35         | 45           | 40           | 50           | 106          | 143          | 132          |
| Ukraine            | 907           | 5          | 14           | 26           | 21           | 61           | 158          | 161          |
| Spain (*)          | 501           | 306        | 48           | 18           | 11           | 15           | 18           | 16           |
| Germany            | 473           | 5          | 13           | 29           | 27           | 22           | 23           | 57           |
| Bulgaria           | 460           | 6          | 6            | 19           | 15           | 54           | 87           | 82           |
| Poland             | 456           | 7          | 22           | 9            | 4            | 127          | 139          | 58           |
| United Kingdom     | 396           | 18         | 13           | 12           | 13           | 11           | 22           | 24           |
| Lithuania          | 203           | 2          | 3            | 8            | 17           | 26           | 43           | 15           |
| Russian Federation | 191           | 3          | 10           | 4            | 5            | 15           | 41           | 32           |
| France             | 162           | 5          | 5            | 1            | 2            | 14           | 19           | 30           |
| Italy              | 110           | 0          | 2            | 4            | 4            | 4            | 15           | 12           |
| Netherlands        | 100           | 1          | 6            | 3            | 3            | 7            | 5            | 3            |
| <b>Africa</b>      | <b>5.725</b>  | <b>72</b>  | <b>163</b>   | <b>188</b>   | <b>317</b>   | <b>768</b>   | <b>1.316</b> | <b>1.050</b> |
| Morocco            | 4.377         | 65         | 148          | 164          | 265          | 623          | 1.004        | 741          |
| Algeria            | 568           | 1          | 7            | 18           | 24           | 24           | 110          | 161          |
| Senegal            | 199           | 2          | 3            | 3            | 18           | 24           | 24           | 35           |
| Mali               | 176           | 0          | 0            | 0            | 3            | 47           | 68           | 33           |
| Nigeria            | 116           | 2          | 0            | 0            | 1            | 23           | 48           | 24           |
| <b>America</b>     | <b>4.410</b>  | <b>108</b> | <b>258</b>   | <b>287</b>   | <b>243</b>   | <b>494</b>   | <b>738</b>   | <b>690</b>   |
| Ecuador            | 1.375         | 42         | 86           | 98           | 87           | 193          | 250          | 205          |
| Colombia           | 1.288         | 16         | 71           | 95           | 78           | 132          | 216          | 202          |
| Argentina          | 388           | 18         | 28           | 20           | 17           | 33           | 52           | 51           |
| Bolivia            | 351           | 13         | 27           | 11           | 20           | 43           | 61           | 56           |
| Central America    | 309           | 3          | 14           | 22           | 11           | 18           | 39           | 62           |
| Brazil             | 233           | 4          | 14           | 12           | 9            | 20           | 53           | 48           |
| Cuba               | 152           | 0          | 2            | 8            | 2            | 7            | 21           | 36           |
| Venezuela          | 127           | 2          | 9            | 13           | 6            | 21           | 22           | 21           |
| Peru               | 102           | 1          | 1            | 6            | 5            | 7            | 11           | 17           |
| <b>Asia</b>        | <b>285</b>    | <b>6</b>   | <b>8</b>     | <b>4</b>     | <b>16</b>    | <b>26</b>    | <b>43</b>    | <b>60</b>    |
| China              | 173           | 6          | 6            | 4            | 12           | 18           | 24           | 41           |

Source: Own elaboration from National Institute of Statistics (2006): *City Registers, 2005*.

[www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es)

(\*) Correspond to birth in Spain people, but they have not Spanish citizenship.

In Spain, Andalusia and other Andalusian provinces, it is clear that a new generation of children of immigrants is now in formation, just emerging (Chart # 4). Note that the number of resident permits is lower than the City Registers show, the latter being considered a better source<sup>12</sup>. It is important to know that Spain allows the registration of undocumented populations in the municipalities, in order to facilitate access to social, educational and health services.

<sup>12</sup> See Rincken, 2003; Perez and Rincken, 2005.

**Chart # 4. Sociological Profile of Foreigners with Residence Permits (at 30-9-2005)**

|               | % Women      | Age (mean) | Until 15 years old | % 16 to 64 years old | % More than 64 years old | Born in España | % Born in Spain |
|---------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| España        | 45.87        | 34         | 11.4               | 84.1                 | 4.5                      | 113.650        | 4.4             |
| Andalucía     | 44.26        | 37         | 9.1                | 83.1                 | 7.8                      | 10.394         | 3.3             |
| Almería       | 35.99        | 32         | 11.4               | 85.0                 | 3.6                      | 2.890          | 3.4             |
| Cádiz         | 48.83        | 37         | 10.9               | 81.8                 | 7.3                      | 1.102          | 5.1             |
| Córdoba       | 49.97        | 32         | 11.2               | 86.7                 | 2.1                      | 309            | 3.3             |
| Granada       | 46.54        | 35         | 10.0               | 84.2                 | 5.8                      | 1.054          | 3.1             |
| <b>Huelva</b> | <b>35.94</b> | <b>34</b>  | <b>8.4</b>         | <b>87.8</b>          | <b>3.8</b>               | <b>404</b>     | <b>3.3</b>      |
| Jaén          | 37.37        | 31         | 12.9               | 85.8                 | 1.3                      | 447            | 3.7             |
| Málaga        | 48.45        | 42         | 6.3                | 79.4                 | 14.3                     | 3.158          | 2.8             |
| Sevilla       | 50.87        | 34         | 9.2                | 87.8                 | 3.1                      | 1.030          | 3.8             |

Source: Ministry of Interior (2005). [www.mir.es](http://www.mir.es).

## ***Segmented Assimilation and the Second Generation: on Social Indicators and their feasibility in a transitional context of Immigration***

### ***1. Methods and Sources***

This section deals with different approaches to the study of the process of segmented assimilation of immigrants. It is by no means exhaustive, but includes a range of recent bibliography on this issue. Three complementary methodologies emerge in the study of integration processes of second generation immigrants when taking into account the publications of authors such as Portes and Bach (1985), Portes and Rumbaut (1990, 2001, 2005, 2006); Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller (2005); Rumbaut (2005); Feliciano and Rumbaut (2005), Fernández-Kelly and Konczal (2005). On the whole, the usage and triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methodology in these studies is rooted in the CILS survey and field work based on in-depth interviews, and even on an exploitation of secondary data (from the census...). These complementary methodologies, and their subsequent employment of techniques, produce direct knowledge of processes of young immigrant incorporation. They are used as *primary sources* of social research, essential for the comprehension of the phenomenon. Due to their focus on the processes of incorporation in labour markets or in society, the successive surveys conducted through the CILS also provide a longitudinal perspective. All of these methodological and technical mechanisms made CILS a good point of comparison in order to think about the possibilities of studying second generations in Andalusia in that way. Nevertheless, the use of other approaches to studying second generation (Alba, 2005; Apitzsch, 2005, and others), encountered similar problems to those described earlier in this paper, especially the handicap of statistical demarcation of the different generations (the procurement of our Population), and their implications for the design of samples. As for qualitative approaches, these problems tend to disappear, because the statistical representativeness of data and the inference of results are not so important.

## **2. Indicators**

Maybe one of the most important results of CILS is the discovery, through the usage of longitudinal data, of different ways of immigrant incorporation into American society, giving support to the hypothesis of *segmented assimilation*, linked in turn to the confirmation of *upward* and *downward* assimilation processes. In fact, the latest book by Portes and Rumbaut (2006:283-284): *Immigrant America. A Portrait*, again supports this previously exposed hypothesis. As they propose political measures to confront *downward assimilation*:

*“For the moment, it suffices to note that while downward assimilation is a reality, it may still be possible to overcome its worst effects by drawing on external support, a resilient immigrant drive, and the role models by those who, like Aristide Maillol, have managed to carve a place in the sun for themselves. These examples can be multiplied if we do not turn our backs on the most vulnerable members of this rising population”.*

As one of the aims in evaluating the feasibility of studying second generation in the described local context is to glean some knowledge about processes of incorporation in school and work, it is now pertinent to delimit the most important social indicators under the segmented assimilation thesis. For this task bibliography in its most part from the CILS has served as a guide. Though the list of variables is very long, as are the questionnaires used in these studies, they seem to have a powerful explanatory power. See Chart # 5 (following page).

## **3. Feasibility**

Several quantitative indicators were normally used to evaluate the incorporation of Second Generation Immigrants into society. Some of them usually function as predictors (P., in the Chart), or give information about the context (C.), and the last are used to assess the outcomes (O.) of assimilation processes (they provided information about the results and indicate the more positive or negative modes of incorporation). Though they are shown separately, some of them can be seen as predictors or outcomes, depending on what kind of analyse is carried out. The only concern here is the feasibility of getting these indicators in our local context. Of course, almost all of them can be obtained through the application of an <<ad hoc>> instrument or questionnaire. However, it is not the case, for it can be made at any time. In the event of this instrument being implemented, indicators should be adapted to the context, (for instance, how stages of education are expressed; change references to US currency and other obvious cultural references). Therefore, the first step is to assess the availability of these indicators in Spain, Andalusia and Huelva through the official sources, and second, to provide some feedback related to other indicators which are normally obtained via one-to-one interviews in sociological research. Considering Chart # 5, the question that arises immediately is the possibility of measuring such indicators in a local context like Huelva.

As for the *basic predictors*, it has already been mentioned that the main problem with variables such as sex, age, and others was obtaining them from the City Registers, especially when disaggregated by Generations. These data are usually supplied according to “national origin”, but not to “generation” (distinguishing parents’ origin), as discussed before. One of the exceptions is “racial identities”, because the City Register does not ask for them. Neither City Registers, nor other official sources supply information about the political issue of “citizenship” disaggregated by municipalities and “generations”. They normally refer to country of origin.

**Chart # 5. Main Social Indicators for the study of Second Generation Immigrants and Segmented Assimilation. From School to Work.**

**Predictors and Outcomes**

|   |   |  |   |
|---|---|--|---|
| <p><b>C./ Sociodemographic Profile</b><br/>Immigrant Population<br/>% Foreign Stock<br/>National Origin Country</p> <p><b>C./ Citizenship</b><br/>US Citizen - nationality</p>  | <p><b>National Origin</b><br/>Foreign-born (First G. Immigrants)<br/>One parent born in US<br/>US-born (Second G. Immigrants)<br/>Native Parentage (Third Generation)</p>   | <p><b>C./ School</b><br/>Percent Minority Students in School</p>   | <p><b>C./ Neighbourhoods poverty rate</b><br/>Under 15%<br/>Over 50%</p>  |
| <p><b>P./ Basic Characteristics (Children and Parents)</b><br/>*Sex<br/>*Age<br/>*Racial identities<br/>Citizenship<br/>National Origin<br/>Location<br/>Grade in School<br/>Current residence<br/>Per cent living in a particular place (city...)<br/>Per cent Living with Parents<br/>Length o US. Residence<br/>Educational Aspirations<br/>Educational Expectations</p>   | <p><b>P./ Characteristics of Immigrants Parents</b><br/>Parents Countries of Birth<br/>Relationship to Child<br/>Gender<br/>Marital Status<br/>If Married, Partner's Relationship to Child<br/>Present Citizenship<br/>Immigrant parents' concern with negative influences on their children</p> <p><b>P./ Religious ties</b><br/>Percent never attends church<br/>Percent attends church often, regularly<br/>Percent Catholic<br/>Percent Buddhist<br/>Percent Protestant</p>   | <p><b>P./ Parents' level of education</b><br/>Under 12 years, father<br/>Under 12 years, mother<br/>College graduate, father<br/>College graduate, mother<br/>Grade point Average<br/>Educational Expectations<br/>College graduated /High School Dropout<br/>Inactive in School (including dropout) at Time 2<br/>College graduated /High School Dropout</p>  | <p><b>P./ Suspended from School</b><br/>Females, males<br/>If yes, how many times<br/>Total days suspended<br/>Achievement test in 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> grade., math and reading<br/>Grade point average (GPA) by the end of high school<br/>Inactive in School<br/>Do daily homework<br/>Hours daily watch TV</p>   |
| <p><b>O./ Education</b><br/>Averaged Years Completed<br/>Per cent Less than High School<br/>Per cent High School Only<br/>Per cent College Graduate or More<br/>Per cent Still Attending School</p> <p><b>O./ Home country ties</b><br/>Percent has never travelled to parents' country<br/>Percent has travelled three or more times to parent's home country<br/>Percent have never sent remittances abroad<br/>Percent send remittances at least yearly<br/>Percent says United States feels most like "home"</p> <p><b>O./ Health Insurance</b> Percent does no have health insurance</p> | <p><b>O./ Income (Family)</b><br/>Average annual <b>Family</b> Income (\$/ Year)<br/>Median Family Income %<br/>Percent &gt; \$ 75,000<br/>Percent &lt; \$ 20,000<br/>Percent Received Cash Assistance, Last Year<br/>Family SES (composite escale)</p> <p><b>O./ Legal/ Criminal Justice System</b><br/>Per cent Arrested, Last Five Years<br/>Per cent Had Kin Arrested, Last five Years<br/>Per cent Incarcerated or Sentenced, Last Five Years<br/>Per cent Males Incarcerated or Sentenced</p> <p><b>O./ Homeownership</b><br/>Percent home owners (self or parents)<br/>Percent renters (self or parents)</p> | <p><b>O./ Income (Personal)</b><br/>Average annual <b>Personal</b> Income, \$<br/>Median Personal Income, \$<br/>Per cent &gt; \$ 50,000<br/>Per cent &lt; \$ 15,000</p> <p><b>O./ Language preference and proficiency</b><br/>Percent Prefers only English<br/>Percent Prefers Other Language<br/>Percent Prefers Children Bilingual<br/>Percent speaks English very well<br/>Percent speaks other language very well<br/>Percent reads English very well<br/>Percent reads other language very well<br/>-Language spoken at home</p> | <p><b>O./ Employment</b><br/>Per cent Employed Full-Time<br/>Per cent Employed Part-Time<br/>Per cent Unemployed<br/>Per cent Self-employed<br/>Occupational Prestige Score (Occupational Status by Treiman)</p> <p><b>O./ Family /Family structure</b><br/>Intact family<br/>Step family<br/>Single parent, other<br/>Early Parenthood<br/>Early Parenthood (Females)<br/>Per cent Married<br/>Per cent Cohabiting<br/>Per cent with Children<br/>Average Number of Children (among respondents with children)<br/>% Females with children</p> |

Sources: Own elaboration. We constructed the list through the indicators reported in Portes and Rumbaut (1990, 2001, 2005, 2006); Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller (2005), Rumbaut (2005), Feliciano and Rumbaut (2005), Haller and Landolt (2005). Note: P (normally as predictors in the Bibliography), C (context), and O (outcomes).

Official data about educational outcomes are also available, through the educational reports coming from the Andalusian government. With regards to this study, the problem is again the disaggregation by generations. Nevertheless, this information can be obtained by distinguishing "Spanish/ Foreigners", but not in the case

naturalised immigrants, as for the poverty rates, or income, information could only be obtained by a specific survey, and as will be discuss, with a high proportion of “do not know”, or unanswered questions. In the case of un/employment, statistical data can be obtained from the INEM, and they are disaggregated by municipalities and age, but nothing is said about parents and ancestry ([www.inem.es](http://www.inem.es)). The National Institute of Employment only indicates if they are foreigners, but not if they are naturalised. Regarding the official data about un/employment from *The Active Population Survey*, the same problem occurred, and it must be added that there is no significant data on municipalities ([www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es)). This statistical source only reaches the provinces and regions in Spain.

It is necessary to obtain other commonly used indicators via the personal interview, these include for example, parents’ characteristics, home ownership, religious and home country ties, etc. Finally, as far as incarceration or similar indicators are concerned, two different kinds of problems are encountered. In the event that official data is preferred, official sources find difficulty in supplying figures disaggregated by “Foreigners/ Spanish”. What will happen with second generation and municipalities? Furthermore, some of the data include people who have been arrested, for instance, people for not having the documents in order, all of which make their investigation even more difficult. On the other hand, if this information is solicited to interviewed populations, it will be supplied, but sometimes the “do not answer, do not know” rates are very high. Infra-estimations are likely in this case. Moreover, in the case of Spain it is not possible to check on-line whether or not a particular person is in prison, as indeed, is reported in the case of the U.S. (Portes and Rumbaut, 2005). Pragmatics will probably lead to this information being obtained from people such as social workers, teachers, members of pro-immigration groups, or associations, etc., because Spanish towns and cities are relatively small and it is very common that these type of professionals have this information. However this is impossible to predict.

## **The study of Second Generation in Huelva: an indirect approach, preliminary results and comments**

### **1. *Introductory notes***

This paper was conceived as a preliminary observation of methodological and theoretical issues on the study of second generation immigrants, particularly on the possibilities of replicating previous studies, looking for broad comparative perspectives between what is going on in Spain (especially in Huelva, Andalusia), and what kind of results were found in other scenarios (especially in the U.S.). The U.S. was chosen mainly because of an interest in testing the hypothesis of *segmented assimilation*, from a longitudinal perspective (namely, from the CILS study). Of course, other approximations to the issue are not to be discarded. Those of most relevance to our aims are centred on the observation of the transition processes from school to the labour market, under the supposition that, when school is tremendously focused on assimilative or pluralistic practices (as the old migration history of Germany and France was, and maybe now in Andalusia, Spain), it is in the labour markets where the immigrants suffer from discrimination and have insertion problems, revealing difficulties in achieving upward mobility, and possibly social integration (this is also suggested by Alba, 2005). In the case of Andalusia and Spain, it was demonstrated with official statistical data from the National Institute of Employment (the “Inem”), that from 1996 to 2004 an ethno-stratified and gendered labour insertion existed and this was not only limited to second generation (Gualda, 2006a, 2006b). Would this happen with second generation? Furthermore, these tendencies were previously verified through qualitative



approximations (about Spanish immigrants in Germany -Gualda, 2001)- and in some personal interviews and focal groups carried out recently in Huelva (Gualda, 2005b).

Therefore, in order to test the idea of segmented assimilation in Huelva, it is necessary to apply longitudinal approaches, and this explains the focus of the research presented in this paper. Synchronic approaches are useful (as the results described in the following sections show), although they cannot assess the process of social insertion in the temporary perspective of a life course. Of course, from a synchronic study interesting information can be obtained about the second generation (questions to be answered about the immigrants' past, present and future can even be included), and they can suggest new hypotheses and lines of research. What is presented in the following sections supposes an indirect approach to knowledge. Nevertheless it is planned and presents an opportunity to begin to find out about the situation of second generations in Huelva. The writing of this paper overlapped with the documentation and final design phase of two funded projects on Second Generation Immigrants in Huelva<sup>13</sup>. The specific fieldwork, however, on Second Generation Immigrants will begin by the beginning of 2007. Several surveys were strategically designed to be conducted in Huelva<sup>14</sup>. In order to gain information in advance about the situation of Second Generation in the province, we added to those questionnaires different questions on particular issues about the topic.

## **2. What did Young and Adults describe?**

The survey on "Attitudes towards immigrants in Huelva" (Gualda, 2006c) aimed to gain an insight into opinions on migration. It was conducted through a representative sample of total residents in the city of Huelva, and two important areas in the province: the "Costa" and the "Condado", these –and the city of Huelva- being the places with most immigrants in the entire province. Once the home had been randomly selected, both Spanish and non-Spanish were interviewed (all of them residents and over 15 years old) through a conventional system of random routes, corrected by quotas of gender and age. 800 personal interviews were obtained and the sample error was  $\pm 3.5\%$  ( $P/Q=0.5$ ; at a level of confidence of 95.5%). The interview was conducted through a semi-structured questionnaire, and lasted approximately one hour, as it included a very wide range of questions on socio-demographic issues, social capital and social networks, opinions and beliefs on migration, and other varieties of questions. Some questions were also included as predictors and outcomes of segmented assimilation, such as school dropouts, childbearing and incarceration. This type of question was included in order to find out if the population was willing to answer these potentially very embarrassing questions.

Through this random system, a total of 94.2% Spanish residents and 5.8% Foreigners was obtained, a figure which is a good representation of the present importance of immigrant population in the province. Note that the fieldwork was carried out between May and August 2006, and that in the 2005 City Register for the entire

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<sup>13</sup> "Processes of social integration of foreigners in Huelva: social networks and second generation", supported by: Junta de Andalucía. Consejería para la Igualdad y el Bienestar Social, and "Second Generation Immigrants in Huelva: processes of integration", supported by: Junta de Andalucía. Consejería de Gobernación. Dirección General de Coordinación de Políticas Migratorias, both planned for 2006-2007.

<sup>14</sup> One of them directed to Young and Adult residents (Spanish and Foreigners), another to Students and the third to Teachers in Schools, as it is described in the following sections. These surveys were financed through two research projects: "Attitudes towards foreigners: Huelva and agricultural municipalities" (2005-06), supported by the Dirección General de Coordinación de Políticas Migratorias. Consejería de Gobernación and the Project "Itineraries of socioeconomical insertion of immigrant population in Huelva, social integration and exclusion process and social needs: a comparative study about rural and urban areas" (2003-06), by the Ministry of Science and Technology. Funds FEDER (Ref. SEC2002-04795).

province, immigrants already accounted for 3.9% (National Institute of Statistics, 2006). Remember that our fieldwork took place in the two areas with the highest immigrant population in the province plus the provincial capital. This 5.8% supposed only 46 cases in the end, but they are sufficient for the purposes of this paper, which is to examine, one by one, the interviews in order to identify the wide range of life courses that could be documented under the segmented assimilation thesis. The intention is not to make a generalization or an inference of results for the entire group of immigrants. Some comparative data between Spanish and foreigners is shown and the results between age groups are differentiated<sup>15</sup>. Some comments follow about how people answered these questions (see Charts 6, 7, 8 and 9). Spanish and foreigners are differentiated and in the case of foreigners, the differences were observed between age groups.

Firstly, with regards to methodology, as can be seen in Chart # 6, and in Chart # 7, when probed on what are considered embarrassing matters, people do not normally find this problematic. Only in a few cases did they answer “Don’t know/ don’t answer”, and sometimes it was more typically a Spanish reply than a Foreign one, even in the case of having a non-desired pregnancy, being arrested or in prison. This brings us as a consequence to the viability of posing this kind of question in the future to the second generations. While previously with this type of question one would expect to obtain more “Don’t know, don’t answer” replies, as is the normal case in Spain with questions on income, the normalization in society of having a non-desired pregnancy, being a single mother/father is perhaps the reason for this high rate of replies (even more in the case of repeating a school year, dropping out of studies or divorcing/ separating, all of which are very common in our social context). However, equally well answered were the “hard” questions regarding being arrested by the police or being in prison. This occurred both when the questions focused on close family and the interviewees themselves.

In comparing Chart # 6 and Chart # 7, as expected, it was found that the questions oriented to immediate family produced more frequently “Yes” answers, than those oriented towards the interviewee. It was also observed that, in both cases, the incidence of repeating a school year, dropping out of school and divorcing or separating, was very high, and it was always a more frequent response of foreigners than Spanish. It can be considered as a good set of indicators showing how some special problems linked to downward assimilation can be found in immigrants in Huelva. Nevertheless, note that in this case, all of the foreign cases in this survey were randomly selected youths and adults belonging to the so called first or one-and-a-half generation.

As far as educational indicators are concerned (all these questions were well answered by immigrants –Chart # 8-), it was found that the immigrants educational aspirations were very high in the younger cases, but they were corrected by high levels of a pessimistic “*I don’t believe that I will be able to achieve it*”. In the case of our immigrants, it must be noted that those between 25-34 years old achieved a university degree. Nevertheless, the majority of parents had not finished secondary education, a slightly worse outcome than for Spanish parents.

In the case of socioeconomic status and characteristics (Chart # 9), as expected, a higher orientation towards employment of young immigrants was observed. Regarding the outcomes, it was observed, again, that the immigrants were

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<sup>15</sup> Extracted with the help of the Program SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences), latest release.

experiencing a worse situation than the Spanish population. Immigrants scored higher in “middle-middle class” (Spanish more in an “upper-middle”), also their income is less than 1200 euros per month (but here we find important figures for “don’t know, don’t answer”). They sometimes reported being “very poor” (but none of Spanish interviewees said that), and they reported more “difficulties” with the cost of living with their present income. The greatest difference was found in home ownership where the majority of the Spaniards own their home while immigrants do not.

**Chart # 6. Segmented Assimilation Indicators in Huelva.  
Spanish and Foreign Population, by age.**

**Did it happen sometime to any member of your close family...?**

| Indicators   | Foreigners |       |      |       | Spanish |
|--|------------|-------|------|-------|---------|
|  | 15-24      | 25-34 | 35+  | Total |         |
| <b>Repeating a school year</b>                       |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 66.7       | 50.0  | 70.0 | 65.2  | 59.5    |
| % No   | 16.7       | 50.0  | 23.3 | 28.3  | 33.7    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | 16.7       | -     | 6.7  | 6.5   | 6.8     |
| <b>Dropping out studies</b>                          |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 83.3       | 70.0  | 70.0 | 71.7  | 48.7    |
| % No   | 16.7       | 30.0  | 30.0 | 28.3  | 45.4    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | -     | 6.0     |
| <b>Divorcing/ Separating</b>                         |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 83.3       | 40.0  | 36.7 | 43.5  | 25.3    |
| % No   | 16.7       | 60.0  | 63.3 | 56.5  | 69.0    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | -     | 5.7     |
| <b>Being a single mother/ father</b>                 |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 20.0  | 26.7 | 21.7  | 11.8    |
| % No   | 100.0      | 80.0  | 73.3 | 78.3  | 83.0    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | -     | 5.2     |
| <b>Having a non-desired pregnancy/ or her couple</b> |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 33.3       | 30.0  | 10.0 | 17.4  | 4.1     |
| % No   | 66.7       | 70.0  | 90.0 | 82.6  | 89.0    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | -     | 6.8     |
| <b>Being arrested by the police</b>                  |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 10.0  | 13.3 | 10.9  | 4.4     |
| % No   | 100        | 90.0  | 86.7 | 89.1  | 90.0    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | -     | 5.6     |
| <b>Being in prison</b>                               |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 10.0  | 6.7  | 6.5   | 3.8     |
| % No   | 100        | 90.0  | 93.3 | 93.5  | 90.6    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | -     | 5.7     |

**Chart # 7. Segmented Assimilation Indicators in Huelva.  
Spanish and Foreign Population, by age (%)**

**Did it happen sometimes to YOU...?**

| Indicators   | Foreigners |       |      |       | Spanish |
|--|------------|-------|------|-------|---------|
|  | 15-24      | 25-34 | 35+  | Total |         |
| <b>Repeating a school year</b>                       |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 33.3       | 40.0  | 40   | 39.1  | 35.5    |
| % No   | 66.7       | 60.0  | 53.3 | 56.5  | 59.2    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | 6.7  | 4.3   | 5.3     |
| <b>Dropping out studies</b>                          |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 83.1       | 10.0  | 53.3 | 47.8  | 35.9    |
| % No   | 16.7       | 90.0  | 40.0 | 47.8  | 59.0    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | 6.7  | 4.3   | 5.0     |
| <b>Divorcing/ Separating</b>                         |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 0     | 21.4 | 13.0  | 2.1     |
| % No   | 66.7       | 80.0  | 78.6 | 73.9  | 93.6    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | 33.3       | 20.0  | -    | 13.0  | 4.7     |
| <b>Being a single mother/ father</b>                 |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 0     | 13.3 | 8.7   | 3.1     |
| % No   | 100        | 100   | 86.7 | 91.3  | 92.8    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | -     | 4.2     |
| <b>Having a non-desired pregnancy/ or her couple</b> |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 0     | 14.3 | 8.7   | 1.6     |
| % No   | 100        | 100   | 85.7 | 87.0  | 94.3    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | 4.3   | 4.2     |
| <b>Being arrested by the police</b>                  |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 0     | 7.1  | 4.3   | 1.5     |
| % No   | 100        | 100   | 92.9 | 91.3  | 94.4    |
| % Don't know / Don't answer                          | -          | -     | -    | 4.3   | 4.2     |
| <b>Being in prison</b>                               |            |       |      |       |         |
| % Yes  | 0          | 0     | 7.1  | 4.3   | 0       |
| % No   | 100        | 100   | 92.9 | 91.3  | 95.9    |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                           | -          | -     | -    | 4.3   | 4.2     |

**Chart # 8. Segmented Assimilation Indicators in Huelva.  
Spanish and Foreign Population, by age (%)**

| Indicators   | Foreigners |       |      |       | Spanish |
|--|------------|-------|------|-------|---------|
|  | 15-24      | 25-34 | 35+  | Total |         |
| <b>Achieved Degree of Education (Interviewed)</b>                  |            |       |      |       |         |
| Less than <i>Secondary</i>   | 0          | 40.0  | 46.7 | 21.7  | 52.1    |
| Secondary  | 100        | 10.0  | 53.3 | 45.6  | 30.6    |
| Tertiary or University   | 0          | 50.0  | -    | 10.9  | 14.1    |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer   | -          | -     | -    | -     | 3.2     |
| <b>Achieved Degree of Education (Father)</b>                       |            |       |      |       |         |
| Less than Secondary  | 83.3       | 60.0  | 83.3 | 78.3  | 72.5    |
| Secondary  | -          | 30.0  | 3.3  | 8.7   | 11.8    |
| Tertiary or University   | -          | -     | 6.7  | 4.3   | 5.0     |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer   | 16.7       | 10.0  | 6.7  | -     | 10.6    |
| <b>Achieved Degree of Education (Mother)</b>                       |            |       |      |       |         |
| Less than Secondary  | 83.3       | 80.0  | 83.3 | 82.6  | 77.4    |
| Secondary  | 16.7       | 0     | 10.0 | 8.7   | 8.9     |
| Tertiary or University   | -          | 20.0  | -    | 4.3   | 4.5     |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer   | -          | -     | 6.7  | -     | 9.2     |
| <b>% Would like achieve University degree</b>                      | 66.7       | 50.0  | 13.3 | 41.3  | 26.8    |
| <b>% Believe will achieve an University degree (realistically)</b> | 16.7       | 0.0   | 13.3 | 10.9  | 17.4    |

**Chart # 9. Segmented Assimilation Indicators in Huelva.  
Spanish and Foreign Population, by age (%).**

**Socio Economic Status**

| Indicators  | Foreigners |       |      |       | Spanish |
|---|------------|-------|------|-------|---------|
|   | 15-24      | 25-34 | 35+  | Total |         |
| <b>Labour Situation</b>                                 |            |       |      |       |         |
| Employed  | 83.3       | 80.0  | 53.3 | 63.0  | 44.2    |
| Student   | -          | -     | -    | -     | 14.1    |
| Unemployed  | -          | -     | 20.0 | 13.0  | 10.4    |
| Handicapped, retired, disabled, sick, in home duties... | -          | 20.0  | 26.7 | 23.9  | 28.2    |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                              | 16.7       | -     | -    | -     | 3.4     |
| <b>Subjective Social Class</b>                          |            |       |      |       |         |
| Upper   | -          | -     | -    | -     | 0.3     |
| Upper-Middle  | -          | -     | -    | -     | 11.8    |
| Middle- Middle  | 100.0      | 90    | 80.0 | 84.8  | 73.9    |
| Lower-Middle  | -          | 10    | 6.7  | 6.5   | 11.1    |
| Lower   | -          | -     | 6.7  | 4.3   | 0.4     |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                              | -          | -     | 6.7  | 4.3   | 2.6     |
| <b>Monthly Net Income per family</b>                    |            |       |      |       |         |
| < than 1200 Euros                                       | 33.4       | 30.0  | 53.3 | 45.7  | 32.3    |
| > than 1200 Euros                                       | 16.7       | 30.0  | 13.4 | 17.3  | 37.4    |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                              | 50.0       | 40.0  | 33.4 | 36.9  | 30.3    |
| <b>Poverty (Autoreported)</b>                           |            |       |      |       |         |
| Very poor   | -          | -     | 6.7  | 4.3   | 0.0     |
| Poor  | -          | -     | 3.3  | 2.4   | 5.3     |
| Neither poor neither rich                               | 100.0      | 100.0 | 83.1 | 89.1  | 90.7    |
| Rich  | -          | -     | -    | -     | 2.1     |
| Very rich   | -          | -     | -    | -     | 0.3     |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                              | -          | -     | 6.7  | 4.3   | 1.4     |
| <b>With the present income you live...</b>              |            |       |      |       |         |
| Comfortably   | 16.7       | 50.0  | 33.3 | 34.8  | 42.4    |
| We manage   | 66.7       | 40.0  | 40.0 | 45.7  | 43.9    |
| With difficulties                                       | 16.7       | 10.0  | 23.3 | 15.2  | 7.7     |
| With lot of difficulties                                | -          | -     | 3.3  | 4.3   | 0.8     |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                              | -          | -     | -    | -     | 6.2     |
| <b>Housing</b>  |            |       |      |       |         |
| Owner   | 16.7       | 60.0  | 36.7 | 39.1  | 86.2    |
| Hired   | 83.3       | 10.0  | 43.9 | 41.3  | 4.4     |

In conclusion, it seems that immigrants in Huelva –at least those interviewed– are in a worse position than Spanish people, but diverse results were also found, i.e. successful and unsuccessful life trajectories, which seems to corroborate the idea of different modes of incorporation in society, at least for this first and one-a-half generation. Beneath this cold statistical data lie the warm and diverse lives of people, as the following three women show<sup>16</sup>:

*Gabrielle, of Romanian origin, 23 years old, abandoned her studies and she could not obtain a university degree (but she would like to in the future). She is now working in Huelva as a waitress in a bar. She thinks her neighbourhood is a good place to live, but she neither agrees nor disagrees with the idea of “feeling at home”. But she presently identifies more with Andalusia, than with Romania.*

<sup>16</sup> The names are not real, to preserve the anonymity.

*Lorena, from Colombia, 21 years old, a secondary school graduate, completely identifies with her country of origin, and she, of course, does not feel at home here, neither does she think this is a good place to live. She currently works as a house-cleaner, as a maid, and describes the main problem to be how she is affected by racism. Her monthly net income is under 1200 Euros.-*

*The situation of Lydia is completely different, born in Spain, but with a Venezuelan father. She finished university, and now is the boss of a firm specialising in aesthetics. She is 27. She feels identified with Huelva, and she is worried about delinquency and material infrastructures of the place in which she lives. Nevertheless, if she wanted to move, she would not have problems because she presently earns more than 2700 Euros per month.-*

### **3. What Students wrote about immigration**

We also conducted a similar survey about “Attitudes towards immigrants” through a representative sample of students in Huelva and its province, but in schools and high schools. It was applied to a representative sample of adolescents aged between 14 and 17 between March and June 2006. Both Spanish and non-Spanish (all of them as residents) were interviewed. The schools were randomly selected, but previously classified into three groups, depending on the number of foreigners enrolled in order to obtain statistical representation. The principals and heads were contacted and the groups in which the interviews were going to be applied were randomly selected. The survey was a pre-tested auto-performed instrument and was carried out in the classroom with a member of the research team always present to help the students to fill in the questionnaire. 1.285 personal interviews were obtained. The questionnaire, as a mean, took the students around 30 minutes to fill in (Gualda, 2006c, for more details).

It was found that 3.7% of students had foreign ancestry or were foreign born, and the others were Spanish, with no foreign ancestry. In order to know whether or not a second generation of immigrants was to be found in Huelva, the students were asked different questions: place of birth, father and mother’s place of birth. It was found that 96.3% were Spanish students, 3% were of foreign origin – we found here a 1.5 or 1.0 generation integrated by people who were born in different countries of Europe, Latin-America and Africa-, and finally, a mere 0.7% was born in Spain but with foreign origin. The latter constitutes the second generation. From the age pyramid (see Chart # 4), it can be seen that the situation is in the initial stages, we are now only at the beginnings. As for the parents, the majority were born in Argentina, Bulgaria, Colombia, Ecuador, Sahara, Italy, Lithuania, Morocco, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Ukraine, some of the main countries of origin of immigrants in Huelva. Both parents were normally born in the same country, but sometimes we found mixed couples: Sahara- Spain, Portugal – Spain, Morocco-Kenya, Italy-Argentine, etc.

Due to their age, it was desirable to limit the length of the questionnaire. Therefore the students were not asked about their experience with regards to dropping out of school, instead their teachers were asked. However, they were asked about their educational and socioeconomic status, in order to observe if there were differences between Spanish and foreigners or with foreign ancestry. Chart # 10 gives account of that.

Curiously, parents of foreign origin seemed to have higher level qualifications than Spanish parents (this may be influenced by parents of European origin), but the Spanish score higher in “Upper-Middle” class, and those of foreign origin more in “lower class”. And we found that the Spanish assessed their situation as “comfortable”

in a greater measure, whereas “we manage” or we have “difficulties” were more concentrated in foreigners’ responses. However, the differences are not very significant; at least as far as the students’ opinion is concerned and again significant differences are found between those placed in an upper class position, and those located in a lower class, indicating diverse outcomes and modes of incorporation, as reflected in some biographical reports.

**Chart # 10 . Segmented Assimilation Indicators in Huelva.  
Spanish and Foreign Population, by age (%).**

**Educational and Socio Economic Status (Family)**

| Indicators                                   | Foreign Origin | Spanish |
|--|----------------|---------|
| <b>Achieved Degree of Education (Father)</b> |                |         |
| Less than Secondary                          | 28,0           | 50,5    |
| Secondary                                    | 32,0           | 27,3    |
| Tertiary or University                       | 20,0           | 14,8    |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                   | 20,0           | 7,4     |
| <b>Achieved Degree of Education (Mother)</b> |                |         |
| Less than Secondary                          | 16,0           | 47,2    |
| Secondary                                    | 32,0           | 28,9    |
| Tertiary or University                       | 28,0           | 14,1    |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                   | 24,0           | 9,8     |
| <b>Subjective Social Class</b>               |                |         |
| Upper  | 4,0            | 2,8     |
| Upper-Middle                                 | 8,0            | 25,0    |
| Middle- Middle                               | 68,0           | 57,6    |
| Lower-Middle                                 | 8,0            | 6,7     |
| Lower  | 8,0            | 0,5     |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                   | 4,0            | 7,5     |
| <b>With the present income you live...</b>   |                |         |
| Comfortably                                  | 56,0           | 63,2    |
| We manage                                    | 32,0           | 28,4    |
| With difficulties                            | 4,0            | 1,9     |
| With lot of difficulties                     | -              | 0,9     |
| % Don't know/ Don't answer                   | 8,0            | 5,6     |

One of the common aspects in the students’ declarations is their concern about racism, but there are differences in their opinions and the experiences about the problem. *Kati, from Bulgaria, 16 years old and living in a rural area in Huelva reports these racial problems in her area, and she is worried about violence, unemployment and housing. But she has good social networks and says that her best friend is Spanish, and she has others from Bulgaria and Romania. Her father has a University degree and her mother obtained a secondary education diploma/leaving certificate. Nevertheless, she classifies their economic situation as lower – middle class (they manage, as she says). As for Abdul, living in Huelva city, 16 years old and from Morocco, though he reports to be upper-class and says they live comfortably (both parents have university degrees), he agrees with Kati in that one of the problems about which he is more worried is racism, but also delinquency and unemployment.*

Other students seem to be racist, with a racism directed towards Africans. They make a clear distinction between *them* (Africans) and *us* (Europeans), thus showing the tip of the iceberg in intercultural relationships and latent problems. *That is the case of 17-year old Steven, from Ukraine. He thinks that “immigrants from Africa bring lot of problems”, and he reports problems such as drugs, terrorism, and delinquency (loads). He said immigrants shouldn't be trusted, but he declared his best friend was a Spanish guy and also some Germans. His parents had a secondary school education and*

university degrees, and he classified his situation as a middle-middle class, and they manage to live.

Curiously Steven and others immigrants from European origin do not see themselves as immigrants. Sometimes the suspicion is contradictory and applied only in some particular cases and nationalities. The case of Joni reflects all of these contradictions very well. *Joni is from Italy, and he lives in a mountain area where there are few immigrants. His father is from Italy and his mother from Spain. He considers the environment as one of the main problems, but also racism and drugs. His best friend is from Spain, but Joni has other friends from Brazil and Mexico. His parents have only primary school qualifications and he says they are middle-middle class and manage to live. But asked for his opinion about foreigners, even though both he and his parents are Italians, even with Brazilians and Mexicans as friends, he told us "we must preserve the distances", a posture perhaps understandable if he was thinking about "the others", because, he finally said that when thinking of foreign immigrants, he usually thought of Africans.*

On the other hand, Claudia, a 17 year old Italian girl living in the 'Costa' area, has fostered ideas of promotion of intercultural practices. These practices are currently being developed in Andalusia and Huelva through projects implemented in the schools in Huelva. She has a more profound idea of the diversity of cultures and presents a more comprehensive case. *She was born in Italy, but her parents in Italy (father) and Argentina (mother). She is also worried about the environment, violence and immigration, but she wrote: "It is good to know different cultures to enrich ourselves, and understand ours better". She also noted: "Sometimes there is racism and bad behaviour coming from immigrants and from Spanish people". She is very trans-nationally oriented, and reports having friends from Argentina, Morocco, Ecuador, and Bolivia... Her parents, both, have university degrees and they live comfortably (middle-middle class). The last case is a girl whose parents were born in Morocco, but she was born in Spain. She lives in the 'Condado' area and is 15 years old. Fatima reports problems with housing and unemployment. Her father is not able to read and write. They are lower class and have economic difficulties.*

The last case seems a clear one, for the moment, of a *downward assimilation*, but it would be advisable to wait some years in order to make a good assessment, with a longitudinal perspective<sup>17</sup>. But all of these stories reported, mostly in first and one-a-half generations, inform about diverse modes of incorporation of immigrant population in Huelva, some of them successful, others problematic. As specific questions about attitudes towards immigration have shown (Gualda, 2006c), Africans are clearly the main candidates for suffering downward assimilation in the province, unless particular measures are taken.

#### **4. What teachers wrote about personal, demographical and familiar characteristics of their Students**

The survey was applied simultaneously to both to students and teachers. The latter were asked for information about the macro-social contexts (city or towns), the meso-social (schools) contexts and micro-social (groups) contexts and 50 completed questionnaires were obtained of teachers who taught in different schools in the entire province of Huelva (the educational centres were randomly selected). Each teacher taught a different group and level (between 14 and 17 years old). Some teachers did not answer the questionnaire, but they were the minority. They told us that it included

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<sup>17</sup> In following research, but not here as anonymous responses were required.



very personal questions about students and their families. The responses were on particular experiences, through a semi-structured questionnaire where questions were also included about the personal and familiar situation of students and their parents (dropout, divorce, childbearing, incarceration). It was found that sometimes teachers were not very well informed about their students, nor they did not want to give information about themselves or they simply, did not know (the typical “do not know” and “do not answer” responses). With the responses diverse social indicators were obtained and compared with the reported situation of immigrants and Spanish students. Firstly, at the time when the fieldwork took place, only 7 immigrants were found that had not attended class that day (three from Morocco –different schools and towns-, and one from Venezuela, Romania, Ukraine, Poland). In contrast, 191 Spanish students did not attend classes that day. That is to be expected as absences due to illness need to be taken into account as well as the fact that some students may be in work from the age of 15. Others simply did not come to class that day, and that explains having to repeat the school year in some cases. However, the point here is that immigrants do not have a bad attendance record.

Some of the teachers reported that there were no special characteristics in the group that could affect the interaction in class. The majority informed that students were tolerant, and had positive attitudes. They also emphasized that immigrants were doing well, and made an effort to integrate and learn a new language and culture. Nevertheless, around one third reported some kind of problem. Some teachers said that some Spanish students were, like their fathers, sexist, violent, racist and xenophobic. And others reported bad behaviour in the relationships with immigrants (jokes, particularly directed at Islam). Other emphasized Moroccan students' absenteeism. Very frequently it was reported that students had good attitudes towards others immigrants' friends, but these opinions changed to rejection or racism to other immigrants in their own towns or cities (as it was reported in Joni's case before). Sometimes ethnocentrism was revealed. What it was frequently reported that some students changed their opinions after knowing the special reasons behind immigration, the culture, etc., indicating the interest of intercultural practices in school.

After having asked 50 teachers about the personal and familiar circumstances of their students (immigrants and Spanish) it was found that 18 of them (more than a third) answered these questions with a generic “Do not know, do not answer”. In other cases they reported on students repeating the school year, but to a lesser extent on family breakdowns and incarceration. This failure to answer was also a trait of Spanish and immigrant students. Nevertheless on several occasions completely performed questionnaires<sup>18</sup> were obtained, and they informed of similar situations to the case illustrated in Chart # 6 and Chart # 7 Spanish and Foreign Youths and Adults. It was found that the experience of repeating an academic year is very common, somewhat higher than having a marriage breakdown at home. Incarceration was an exception, as teachers reported.

**Chart # 11. Teachers' Report**

| <b>Number of Spanish repeaters</b> | <b>Number of Spanish students with parents divorced and separated</b> | <b>Number of Spanish students with parents in prison (now or before)</b> | <b>Number of foreign repeaters</b> | <b>Number of foreign students with parents divorced and separated</b> | <b><i>Number of foreign students with parents in prison (now or before)</i></b> |
|------------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|---|---|
| 183                                | 42  | 4  | 14                                 | 12  | 0   |

<sup>18</sup> Remember that teachers and student filled in their simultaneously. The instruments were, of course, different.

Finally, teachers reported on the meso- and macro-level contexts and wrote interesting information about the schools, towns or cities, and their links with immigration. They answered in the same way for the micro level (or groups): sometimes in a neutral, sometimes in a positive way, highlighting the advantages immigration had, but sometimes gave a negative approximation. They stressed the advantages of getting to know new people and cultures, they reported on the acceptance of immigrants, the tolerance and harmony. They informed about diverse intercultural practices that had taken place in the schools, towns or cities, such as , conferences, talks, debates, video-forums, gastronomic celebrations, tales, etc.

Likewise, they repeated similar negative arguments for the micro-level, saying that some people reject Moroccans who live outside this town, because some of them are racist. And they added new negative arguments such as *“This is an isolated society, where new things are sometimes seen as suspicious”* or, *“I am new here, but my landlord warned me about robberies, because -he said- they had been increasing since the east European immigrants’ arrival”*, or, for instance, *“You will not have problems renting a house, but nobody wants to hire a “Moro”<sup>19</sup>*. In the same context, there was the case of a particular Moroccan student with integration problems. And in other cases, the only reports of rejection were directed towards Moroccan people. In a particular case a teacher told us about problems with two Chinese girls with language integration problems. She said: *“Others students threw oranges at them... there is necessity of specific linguistic support to improve their language”*.

This shows that teachers themselves are divided about their assessment of immigration affairs, and they describe a wide range of experiences in the municipalities where the survey was carried out. Some of these interviews took place in different schools and high schools belonging to the same municipality, and some of them were answered by teachers of different levels but in the same school. Curiously, both similar and opposed descriptions were found at the same school. Teachers assessed immigration of Huelva in different ways, which could be seen as an expression of a new hybrid context in which social processes of incorporation into society are taking place and are going to take place. Furthermore, the maturing second generation is not indifferent to these *hybrid scenarios*

### **Preliminary conclusions and new ground to cover**

Underpinning this last point is a particular question posed both to students (14-17 years old) and to youths and adults (15 and older), all of them of Spanish and of foreign-origin (Gualda, 2006c). It was a question on the perception of intercultural relationships between foreigners and Spaniards. More or less a third of students reported an undetermined “Do not know, do not answer”, but the majority of students, youths and adults gave responses to the question.

It is interesting to observe the differences between the foreign and Spanish responses. The majority of interviewees fall into two opposite tendencies. The most prevalently held opinions can be considered as negative. Included here are those that think that Spanish people deal with foreigners with “suspicion” (the most frequently answered), or “with indifference”. On the other hand, others with positive ideas think they deal with foreigners “with kindness”, or “in the same way as Spanish”. Others

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<sup>19</sup> “Moro”: Derogatory term for Moroccan or North African immigrants, Arabs, etc.

reported “disdain” and even “aggressiveness”. Fortunately, the latter were more isolated responses. What is very interesting is that the Spanish population seems to be more critical with other Spanish people than the foreigners themselves, especially when they are older, and when reporting “aggressiveness” towards foreigners. However, it should not be forgotten that these data could vary under the influence of the “Do not know, do not answer”. But nonetheless, again, it seems that there is a social fragmentation in the host society, and in this case when interacting with immigrants, which will probably affect the different modes of incorporation of this maturing new second generation.

**Chart # 12. How do Spanish people of your city or town deal with Foreigners?**

|                                 | Foreigners  |             |             |             |             | Spanish     |             |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                                 | 14-17 (*)   | 15-24 (**)  | 25-34 (**)  | 35+ (**)    | Total (**)  | 14-17 (*)   | 15+ (**)    |
| With disdain                    | 4,0         | 0,0         | 20,0        | 13,3        | 1,0         | 11,0        | 6,1         |
| With aggressiveness             | -           | 0,0         | 0,0         | 0,0         | -           | 3,3         | 0,9         |
| With suspicion                  | 16,0        | 50,0        | 30,0        | 36,7        | 37,0        | 23,8        | 39,6        |
| With indifference               | 20,0        | 33,3        | 10,0        | 0,0         | 6,5         | 15,1        | 18,5        |
| <b>Suspicion + Indifference</b> | <b>36,0</b> | <b>83,3</b> | <b>40,0</b> | <b>36,7</b> | <b>43,5</b> | <b>38,9</b> | <b>57,1</b> |
| With kindness                   | 16,0        | 16,7        | 20,0        | 36,7        | 30,4        | 8,5         | 18,6        |
| In the same way as Spanish      | 8,0         | 0,0         | 20,0        | 0           | 4,3         | 8,1         | 8,0         |
| <b>Kindness + As Spanish</b>    | <b>24,0</b> | <b>16,7</b> | <b>40,0</b> | <b>36,7</b> | <b>34,7</b> | <b>16,6</b> | <b>26,6</b> |
| <b>Don't Know/ Don't Answer</b> | <b>36,0</b> | <b>0,0</b>  | <b>0,0</b>  | <b>13,4</b> | <b>8,6</b>  | <b>30,3</b> | <b>8,3</b>  |

Source: Gualda (2006c): *Actitudes de los onubenses ante la inmigración*. Memoria técnica correspondiente al proyecto subvencionado por la Consejería de Gobernación. Dirección General de Coordinación de Políticas Migratorias en su convocatoria pública de subvenciones. Proyecto: “*Actitudes hacia extranjeros: Huelva y municipios agrícolas*” (2004/ 202). Huelva, agosto.

(\*) Students Survey. (\*\*) Young and Adults Survey.

At this stage, one of the main theoretical conclusions is that the indicators and discourses seem to support the idea of a *segmented assimilation* or, in our transitional context, the likelihood of the pre-conditions for this to happen in an immediate future. Nevertheless, segmented assimilation processes were observed in the few cases of second generation interviewed, and also in the 1.0 and 1.5 generations. The present circumstances do not allow for any conclusions with regards to the quantitative importance of these trends, nonetheless this does not mean to say that trends are of qualitative importance.

On the other hand, some methodological, technical and practical conclusions can be made, including a guide for second generation research in our context in the future. In order to design the best representative samples for research it would be very useful to encourage Spanish statistical institutions to employ better measures for estimating the size of second and other generations of immigrants. Possibly, estimations could be made based on “ad hoc” studies, for instance, implementing a representative sample of the complete population of young immigrant residents in a particular place, and assessing the results, and constructing the categorizations of 2.0 generation and beyond after the fieldwork.

Due to the reduced figures of second generation immigrants in our local contexts, and due to the importance of adolescents and young immigrants of first and one-and-a half generation (some of them here for agricultural reasons), it makes sense

to begin studying the maturing of this second generation at the same time as we get information about the integration processes of other young immigrants. Our study of second generation can then be reconverted to a comparative one where life trajectories of either “first G. established residents”, “first G. temporary residents”, “one-a-half”, and “second G.” and beyond can be studied and compared. In that case, our objective would then be so called “children of immigrants”, or “adolescent and young immigrants” (or with foreign ancestry), in a broader sense. In fact these distinctions would be a reflexion of different social life cycles: the seasonal, and the annual, which are at present taking place in the province of Huelva. There are still some questions to raise: Are there reciprocal influences between these social cycles? How is the continuous turn imposed by the agricultural season affecting the modes of incorporation of the second generation immigrants?,

## Opening Windows

Rather than with closed doors, it would be more appropriate to finish this paper with opened windows, to new questions and points for the discussion, which emerged while working on this document:

- Will gendered and ethno stratified processes of labour insertion be reproduced in young second generations in the same way in which it is currently occurring in Spain for immigrants ? (Gualda, 2006a; 2006b).
- Is the Moroccan’s case in Spain the equivalent to the Mexican one in the U.S., the Turkish in Germany or the Algerian in France?
- Are new generations of Africans in Spain going to have similar experiences to North-Africans and Turks in France and Germany, respectively, or to Mexicans in the U.S.?
- Taking into account the trends towards a “dualization of society” emerged from the dualization and fragmentation of labour markets and the so-called dual economy (Faist, 2006; Wacquant, 2002; Swyngedown, 2004), how could we clearly demarcate the downward – upward assimilation processes brought about by being immigrants or second generation immigrants? How could we demarcate that process from those due to the consequences of dual economies in individual lives? That is to say, is it a question of being immigrant, or of foreign origin, or a matter of social class? As some young second generation immigrants analysed: “*This is not racism, but classism!!!*” (in Gualda, 2005b; the quote corresponds to a 22-year old young man of South-African origin, born in Huelva,; his actual word in Spanish were: “*¡Esto no es Racismo, es Clasismo!*”).
- Furthermore, how will different social policies applied by social-welfare states affect the modes of incorporation of the second generations? Are the regional policies applied in Andalusia affecting those modes, for example, with the promotion of complete inclusion of immigrants in the social services, educative and health system, even if they are undocumented minors?
- How important are qualifications for immigrants in order to progress from school to university to the labour market, in a local context where not even Spanish graduates are fully employed, and suffer high unemployment? In a context where there is an important underemployment of native Spaniards?
- What will be the role of transnational practices for the new second generation? Will these practices have an influence in their modes of incorporation?
- And, finally on a theoretical note, how to articulate (or even translate to the Spanish context) this idea of “*segmented assimilation*”<sup>20</sup>, considering that in the last twenty years in Spain any idea of “assimilation” received a tirade of

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<sup>20</sup>Empirically documented by the observed processes of upward, downward and acculturation processes), as we previously showed (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006).

criticism, mainly from the left, the main argument being that it is not sociologically possible because it assumes some kind of “Spanish mainstream”, which, of course, does not exist for them.

What this means is that in the social discourse the strong association between assimilation and loss of identities, language, culture etc. and even impositions made by new immigration laws make it a very controversial issue, even for specialised scholars. The re-introduction (*for non-conservative uses*) of this term of assimilation in Spain is contentious as it is associated more with a political orientation, than a social reality and the word assimilation can sound as if it were a kind of imposition to join the supposed “Spanish mainstream”. This is difficult to promote in a context where nationalist parties and regions fight to maintain differences, more than communalities. However, for the immigrants themselves, who are fighting for intercultural practices (rooted in the high value given to the concept of diversity) and for civic citizenship (see, for instance [www.acoge.org](http://www.acoge.org)), the assimilation model (even a *segmented* one), will possibly be understood as the opposite to what is now conceived as the *intercultural* one (understood, more or less, as a kind of very generous pluralistic orientation). Though it was not applied specifically to second generations, or to the *segmented assimilation* thesis, Solé and Izquierdo (2005), recently edited a book whose title, may reflect how in the sociological arena in Spain we can find an approximate translation of the idea of the occurrence of segmented assimilation processes. As they titled: “*Integraciones diferenciadas*”, which in a very literal translation could be: “*Differentiated integrations*”. This attempt to articulate sociological languages across the Atlantic, and to apply them to the study of second generations, is another opened window for new and future explorations.

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