The Educational Development of Children of Migrants in Moldova and Georgia

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Background

Transnational families, that in which members of the nuclear family migrate and leave children back home in the care of others, are common in Moldova, and Georgia

- Up to 22% and 25% of Moldovan and Georgian adult population, respectively, are abroad
- Up to 36% and 39 % of Moldovan and Georgian children, respectively, live transnationally at origin

Studies

- Money and time are pivotal resources parents provide for their children [Thomson, Hanson, & McLanahan, 1994]

- Along these lines, the literature points to:
  - Difference between maternal and paternal migration
  - The role of remittances
    [Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2011; Dreby, 2007; Fresnoza-Flot 2009; Jordan & Graham 2012; Schmalzbauer 2004; Parreñas 2005]

- Studies conclude that, depending on context, parental migration comes with benefits and costs for children

Gaps

- Children live in families with complex migrant configurations, of which not all are accounted for by existing studies
- Studies primarily based on adult perception of child well-being
- Double separation: migration + marital dissolution
- The gender dimension of child well-being is under-researched
- Focus on L. America and Asia – limited E. European cases.

Aim

- To assess the relationships between different forms of parental migration and child education in Moldova and Georgia
    - We do this by comparing children in migrant and non-migrant families
    - We compare education assessments made by **caregivers** and **children** themselves.

Data

Nationally representative household surveys: 2011-2012

Children 11-18 years old
  Moldova: N = 1601
  Georgia: N = 1193

  Orphans are excluded
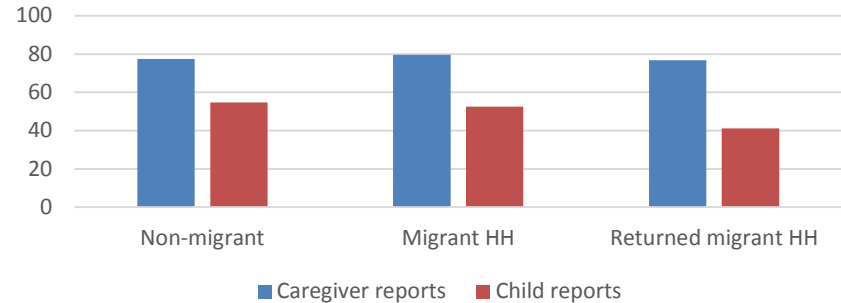
Measures: Outcome

Caregiver Reported*:*
How would you say [child] is
performing in school?
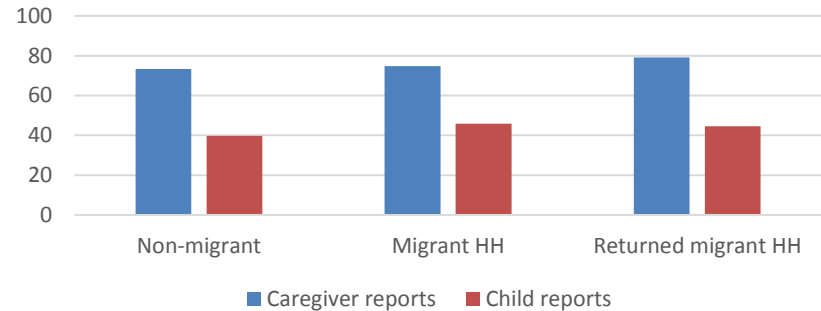***very well*, *well*,** neither
well or bad, bad, very bad

Child reported:
"Would you say in
your class you are among
***top students, above average*,**
average, below average,
among the worst students*?*

school performance: Georgia

school performance: Moldova

Measures: Transnational forms of living - I

- Parental migration and divorce: parents in the country and together, parents in the country and divorced/separated, parents abroad and together, and parents abroad and divorced/separated

  - The absence due to divorce has a greater negative impact on children than the absence due to migration (Nobles, 2011)

- Household type: Non-migrant, migrant, or return migrant HH

  - Migration and return migration are likely positive predictors of children's health [Carling and Tønnessen 2013]

Measures: Transnational forms of living - II

- Migrant parent and child's caregiver: non-migrant; father migrant/mother caregiver; mother migrant/father caregiver; both parents migrants/grandparent caregiver; both parents migrants/someone else caregiver
  - Maternal migration is likely to affect children more negatively [Cortes 2015; Parreñas 2005]
  - The closer the caregiver is to the nuclear family, the better children's outcomes (Lahaie, et al. 2009)

- Remittances: yes; no; Yes, remittances spent on education
  - Remittances are likely to reduce the household's liquidity constraints and improve children's health (Gao et al. 2010)

Controls

Individual-level

    Gender

    Age

    Long-term illness

Household characteristics

    Living conditions

    Quality of housing

    Nr of children

Caregiver characteristics

    Education level

    Level of happiness

Mediating factors

    Distance to school

    Urban – rural location

    Region

Analysis

- Binary logistic models
  - First stage: distinguishing between the effects of migration and marital discord on child health
  - Second stage: measuring the effects of different transnational forms of living in relation to health.

Results: Parental migration, marital status and child education

	Moldova				Georgia			
	Caregiver-report		Self-report		Caregiver-report		Self-report	
	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI
Type of separation (ref. Live with both parents: married/together)								
Parents in the country: divorced/separated	0.83	[0.42,1.63]	0.51	[0.25,1.01]	0.45	[0.20,1.04]	0.54	[0.24,1.23]
Parents abroad: together	1.13	[0.71,1.81]	1.68**	[1.13,2.48]	0.53	[0.28,1.02]	0.45	[0.25,0.83]
Parents abroad: divorced/separated	0.88	[0.33,2.31]	2.52*	[1.17,5.40]	0.58	[0.21,1.58]	0.89	[0.33,2.38]
Child is girl	2.98***	[2.07,4.28]	2.84***	[2.04,3.95]	2.27***	[1.44,3.58]	2.99***	[1.97,4.55]
Child age (in years)	0.94	[0.81,1.02]	0.92	[0.85,0.99]	0.80***	[0.72,0.89]	0.85**	[0.77,0.94]
The child is healthy	1.51*	[1.06,2.19]	1.58**	[1.14,2.18]	1.51	[0.93,2.46]	1.04	[0.65,1.65]
Years of education of child's main caregiver	1.17***	[1.08,1.27]	1.14***	[1.06,1.22]	1.18***	[1.07,1.31]	1.18***	[1.09,1.29]
Good living conditions	1.72*	[1.12,2.63]	1.37	[0.89,2.11]	1.40	[0.81,2.43]	1.06	[0.66,1.73]
Nr. of People per Nr. of Rooms	0.76*	[0.59,0.99]	0.90	[0.69,1.19]	0.89	[0.70,1.13]	0.73*	[0.56,0.94]
Number of children in household	1.00	[0.81,1.23]	0.93	[0.77,1.11]	1.08	[0.82,1.42]	0.83	[0.64,1.09]
Distance to school	1.21	[0.80,1.81]	1.05	[0.71,1.54]	1.16	[0.61,2.21]	0.77	[0.43,1.36]
Happiness status caregiver	1.08	[0.98,1.19]	1.08	[0.99,1.18]	1.02	[0.92,1.13]	1.05	[0.95,1.16]
The child lives in urban area	1.17	[0.71,1.92]	0.86	[0.54,1.37]	1.09	[0.65,1.81]	1.17	[0.71,1.94]
Region Moldova (ref. Centre)								
Chisinau	0.45	[0.20,1.01]	0.99	[0.46,2.11]				
North	0.92	[0.59,1.44]	0.95	[0.62,1.43]				
South	0.98	[0.64,1.49]	0.78	[0.53,1.14]				
Region Georgia (ref. Tbilisi)								
Guria					0.35	[0.10,1.15]	0.34	[0.10,1.16]
Adjara					0.32**	[0.15,0.65]	0.17***	[0.08,0.34]
Shida-Kartli					0.85	[0.30,2.36]	0.22**	[0.08,0.57]
Kaxeti					0.76	[0.17,3.35]	0.25**	[0.09,0.68]
Kvemo-Kartli					0.38*	[0.16,0.89]	0.25***	[0.12,0.55]
Samegrelo					1.49	[0.64,3.48]	0.62	[0.29,1.32]
Imereti					0.38*	[0.18,0.82]	0.72	[0.35,1.48]
Samcxe-Javaxeti					0.24*	[0.07,0.83]	1.13	[0.29,4.34]
Mcxeta-Tianeti					0.33	[0.10,1.07]	0.60	[0.18,1.98]

Household type and child education

	Moldova				Georgia			
	Caregiver-report		Self-report		Caregiver-report		Self-report	
	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI
Household type (ref. Non-migrant household)								
Migrant household	0.90	[0.59,1.37]	1.31	[0.89,1.93]	0.75	[0.43,1.31]	0.77	[0.47,1.26]
Returned migrant household	1.23	[0.69,2.20]	1.42	[0.86,2.34]	0.71	[0.30,1.68]	0.77	[0.33,1.76]
Child is girl	2.55***	[1.75,3.72]	2.89***	[2.04,4.08]	2.59***	[1.57,4.29]	3.29***	[2.09,5.19]
Child age (in years)	0.92	[0.84,1.01]	0.93	[0.85,1.01]	0.80***	[0.70,0.90]	0.82**	[0.74,0.92]
The child is healthy	1.26	[0.85,1.87]	1.50*	[1.07,2.11]	1.52	[0.87,2.65]	1.13	[0.66,1.92]
Years of education of child's main caregiver	1.19***	[1.08,1.30]	1.12**	[1.03,1.21]	1.29***	[1.14,1.45]	1.31***	[1.18,1.45]
Good living conditions	1.53	[0.97,2.42]	1.13	[0.71,1.77]	1.61	[0.88,2.92]	1.22	[0.71,2.07]
Nr. of People *per* Nr. of Rooms	0.78	[0.60,1.02]	0.90	[0.67,1.22]	0.96	[0.74,1.25]	0.79	[0.59,1.04]
Number of children in household	0.96	[0.77,1.19]	0.93	[0.76,1.13]	1.11	[0.82,1.49]	0.79	[0.59,1.05]
Distance to school	0.98	[0.64,1.48]	0.92	[0.61,1.38]	1.02	[0.52,1.99]	0.69	[0.37,1.28]
Happiness status caregiver	1.15**	[1.04,1.28]	1.12*	[1.01,1.23]	0.99	[0.88,1.11]	1.04	[0.93,1.16]
The child lives in urban area	1.42	[0.81,2.49]	0.92	[0.55,1.54]	1.02	[0.58,1.81]	1.08	[0.63,1.86]
Region Moldova (ref. Centre)								
Chisinau	0.33*	[0.13,0.83]	1.05	[0.47,2.36]				
North	0.91	[0.57,1.47]	1.00	[0.64,1.55]				
South	0.81	[0.52,1.26]	0.78	[0.52,1.17]				
Region Georgia (ref. Tbilisi)								
Guria					0.60	[0.14,2.48]	0.60	[0.16,2.26]
Adjara					0.35**	[0.16,0.76]	0.19***	[0.09,0.41]
Shida-Kartli					0.90	[0.29,2.74]	0.26*	[0.09,0.75]
Kaxeti					0.82	[0.17,3.88]	0.26*	[0.09,0.78]
Kvemo-Kartli					0.57	[0.21,1.53]	0.38*	[0.16,0.91]
Samegrelo					2.37	[0.85,6.57]	0.80	[0.34,1.87]
Imereti					0.45	[0.20,1.03]	0.88	[0.40,1.93]
Samcxe-Javaxeti					0.29	[0.07,1.19]	1.17	[0.26,5.10]
Mcxeta-Tianeti					0.24*	[0.07,0.79]	0.47	[0.13,1.61]

Parental migration, child's caregiver, and education

	Moldova				Georgia			
	Caregiver-report		Self-report		Caregiver-report		Self-report	
	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI
Parental migration and child caregiver type (ref. Live with both parents)								
Father migrant: mother caregiver	1.15	[0.63,2.07]	1.71*	[1.01,2.89]	0.37*	[0.16,0.83]	0.29***	[0.14,0.59]
Mother migrant: father caregiver	1.07	[0.51,2.24]	1.73	[0.94,3.12]	1.89	[0.71,5.01]	1.11	[0.40,3.05]
Both parents abroad: grandparent caregiver	2.06	[0.62,6.87]	1.88	[0.81,4.36]	0.23	[0.06,0.88]	0.46	[0.10,2.09]
Child is girl	2.49***	[1.70,3.64]	2.85***	[2.02,4.04]	2.64***	[1.59,4.39]	3.31***	[2.10,5.22]
Child age (in years)	0.92	[0.84,1.01]	0.93	[0.85,1.01]	0.80***	[0.71,0.91]	0.83**	[0.74,0.93]
The child is healthy	1.27*	[0.86,1.89]	1.49*	[1.06,2.10]	1.49	[0.86,2.58]	1.11	[0.65,1.89]
Years of education of child's main caregiver	1.19***	[1.09,1.31]	1.13**	[1.04,1.22]	1.29***	[1.14,1.45]	1.31***	[1.18,1.45]
Good living conditions	1.49	[0.94,2.36]	1.11	[0.70,1.76]	1.56	[0.84,2.87]	1.20	[0.70,2.06]
Nr. of People *per* Nr. of Rooms	0.79	[0.60,1.04]	0.91	[0.67,1.23]	0.98	[0.74,1.29]	0.77	[0.58,1.03]
Number of children in household	0.97	[0.78,1.20]	0.95	[0.78,1.15]	1.09	[0.80,1.47]	0.77	[0.58,1.04]
Distance to school	0.97	[0.64,1.47]	0.94	[0.63,1.40]	1.01	[0.51,1.99]	0.69	[0.37,1.30]
Happiness status caregiver	1.16**	[1.05,1.29]	1.12*	[1.02,1.23]	0.99	[0.88,1.11]	1.04	[0.94,1.17]
The child lives in urban area	1.43	[0.82,2.49]	0.92	[0.55,1.54]	0.99	[0.56,1.77]	1.08	[0.63,1.87]
Region Moldova (ref. Centre)								
Chisinau	0.35*	[0.14,0.88]	1.10	[0.48,2.49]				
North	0.91	[0.56,1.48]	1.01	[0.65,1.58]				
South	0.77	[0.50,1.20]	0.78	[0.52,1.17]				
Region Georgia (ref. Tbilisi)								
Guria					0.59	[0.14,2.52]	0.55	[0.14,2.17]
Adjara					0.33**	[0.15,0.74]	0.17***	[0.08,0.38]
Shida-Kartli					0.85	[0.27,2.60]	0.24**	[0.08,0.69]
Kaxeti					0.77	[0.16,3.61]	0.24*	[0.08,0.72]
Kvemo-Kartli					0.58	[0.22,1.52]	0.36*	[0.15,0.88]
Samegrelo					2.23	[0.81,6.08]	0.75	[0.32,1.72]
Imereti					0.41*	[0.18,0.92]	0.80	[0.36,1.75]
Samcxe-Javaxeti					0.28	[0.07,1.13]	1.10	[0.25,4.83]
Mcxeta-Tianeti					0.21*	[0.06,0.70]	0.44	[0.12,1.53]

Remittances and child education

	Moldova				Georgia			
	Caregiver-report		Self-report		Caregiver-report		Self-report	
	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI
Remittances (ref. Non-migrant household)								
Migrant household: no	0.52*	[0.29,0.94]	0.97	[0.51,1.85]	1.22	[0.55,2.70]	0.76	[0.39,1.47]
Migrant household: yes	0.82	[0.48,1.37]	1.18	[0.72,1.93]	0.60	[0.32,1.12]	0.52	[0.28,0.93]
Migrant household: yes, money spent on education	0.97	[0.36,2.57]	1.96	[0.89,4.28]	0.83	[0.31,2.24]	1.20	[0.52,2.79]
Child is girl	2.56***	[1.75,3.74]	2.89***	[2.03,4.09]	2.62***	[1.58,4.34]	3.34***	[2.12,5.27]
Child age (in years)	0.92	[0.84,1.01]	0.93	[0.85,1.01]	0.80***	[0.71,0.91]	0.83**	[0.74,0.93]
The child is healthy	1.29	[0.87,1.92]	1.50*	[1.06,2.11]	1.49	[0.86,2.58]	1.09	[0.64,1.86]
Years of education of child's main caregiver	1.18***	[1.08,1.29]	1.12**	[1.03,1.21]	1.30***	[1.15,1.47]	1.31***	[1.18,1.46]
Good living conditions	1.57	[0.99,2.50]	1.14	[0.72,1.80]	1.58	[0.87,2.89]	1.18	[0.69,2.02]
Nr. of People per Nr. of Rooms	0.77	[0.58,1.01]	0.90	[0.66,1.22]	0.97	[0.74,1.27]	0.79	[0.60,1.06]
Number of children in household	0.96	[0.77,1.19]	0.94	[0.77,1.14]	1.10	[0.82,1.48]	0.78	[0.58,1.05]
Distance to school	0.97	[0.64,1.47]	0.91	[0.60,1.36]	1.01	[0.51,1.97]	0.68	[0.37,1.27]
Happiness status caregiver	1.15**	[1.04,1.28]	1.12*	[1.01,1.23]	0.99	[0.88,1.11]	1.04	[0.93,1.16]
The child lives in urban area	1.42	[0.81,2.50]	0.94	[0.57,1.57]	1.01	[0.57,1.78]	1.06	[0.62,1.83]
Region Moldova (ref. Centre)								
Chisinau	0.35*	[0.14,0.87]	1.03	[0.46,2.34]				
North	0.90	[0.56,1.46]	0.98	[0.63,1.54]				
South	0.85	[0.54,1.33]	0.78	[0.52,1.17]				
Region Georgia (ref. Tbilisi)								
Guria					0.59	[0.14,2.42]	0.60	[0.16,2.25]
Adjara					0.36*	[0.16,0.79]	0.20***	[0.09,0.42]
Shida-Kartli					0.93	[0.30,2.84]	0.28*	[0.09,0.83]
Kaxeti					0.86	[0.18,4.06]	0.28*	[0.09,0.82]
Kvemo-Kartli					0.62	[0.23,1.65]	0.41*	[0.17,0.98]
Samegrelo					2.51	[0.91,6.89]	0.85	[0.36,1.98]
Imereti					0.47	[0.20,1.07]	0.90	[0.41,1.97]
Samcxe-Javaxeti					0.31	[0.08,1.27]	1.25	[0.28,5.49]
Mcxeta-Tianeti					0.25*	[0.08,0.82]	0.48	[0.14,1.66]

Mediating factors

- Girls-> better school performance
- The HH head has secondary education or more -> better school performance (MD)
- The caregiver's emotional status -> better school performance

Concluding remarks

1. Depending on context, caregivers and children may have differing perceptions on school performance
    – Context matters

2. Migration + divorce not a risk factor for children's education

1. Living transnationally is not necessarily a vulnerability for children
    – The need to distinguish between different migrant family configurations